

**Tourism Development and Women in Under Crises Destinations: A
Case Study of Chilas, Pakistan.**

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Abstract

This thesis discusses tourism development for the purpose of improvement in the current environment, including financial and socio-cultural conditions of an under crises destination and community. The emphasis of this thesis is to explore factors which have significant impact on a place and local community that is under natural and anthropogenic crises. For this research Chilas- a valley situated on the Silk Road under the control of the Gilgit-Baltistan territory of Pakistan is being used as a case study. The main purpose of this research is to explore the problems relating to tourism and development since the destination and community is facing the situation of crises which have worsened since the September 2011 terrorist attacks and the following involvement of Pakistan in the “war against terrorism”. Chilas- being a remote destination and present in North of Pakistan was known to be a hiding place of terrorists who were assumed to cross the Pak-Afghan border.

Due to Chilas’s location access by communication media and law enforcement agencies is not an easy task, However since the opening of the Babusar pass- that connects Islamabad the capital city of Pakistan to Chilas the valley has become less isolated. With the opening of the Babusar pass and efforts by the local authorities in terms of promoting tourism for example opening tourist resorts named Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation there has been a slight increase in tourist arrivals.

Though Chilas was always a centre of attention for Archaeologists and Botanists, the destination however at all times lacked basic tourism infrastructure. There have been several internal and external causes for instance: attitudes of local community towards visitors especially women tourists and place image propagated by com-media, which hinder tourism development in the region. Using ethnographic methods to collect data this thesis discusses how tourism development accompanied with NAC and com-media can change the situation of a destination and a community specifically women members of a community in an under crises destination. The last chapter of this thesis makes recommendations for the tourism development in Chilas and for Chilassi community by concluding the findings from the fieldwork.

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Copyright Permission **Appendix (A)**

Chapter1

Introduction

1.1 Rationale of Research

This research is an ethnographic study of tourism development in Chilas District Diamer, NAP (Northern Areas of Pakistan), an area that comes under the control of G-B (Gilgit-Baltistan) territory in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). It serves as case study to explore a number of issues regarding tourism for the development of an Under Crises Destination (UCD) and Under Crises Community (UCC) responding to the difficulties and challenges of a negative place image. This is the first study that brings together discussions of tourism development in an UCD in a less developed country which also considers the roles of communication media and natural and anthropogenic crises.

The image of a third world and a “less developed nation” is often associated with a given country’s economic position, which typically means the ascription of the status of Less Developed Countries (LDC). In this thesis the term LDC is taken in accordance with Todaro’s (2000) suggestion that LDC are often characterised by a lack of development, shortage of information, and instability in major economic, social and environmental sectors. LDC can also be associated with Natural and Anthropogenic Crises (NAC); as Handelman (1996:1) points out, poverty, crime, turmoil, starvation, ethnic violence, conflicts, suffering and war are often concurrent with lower stages of development.

Paul (2004:29) asserts, “The lack of development in the newly globalized world might induce serious impacts to the LDC communities. Political conflicts and confrontation, civil turmoil and unrest, poverty, famine, illiteracy, marginalization and inequality are some of the common features and underlying problems”. It is for these reasons that the author associates the words UC with LDC, meaning that a country possesses the characteristics of an LDC along with suffering from NAC. The concept of Under Crises Less Developed Countries (UCLDC) is used throughout the thesis to indicate LDC which is under the influence of gender discrimination, terrorism, civil turmoil and undeveloped or unskilled communication media (com-media), along with natural crises.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine:

- The potential for tourism for and through development in an UCD with a negative place image.
- The potential for tourism for and through development of an UCC with special reference to women of UCDs.
- The role of com-media) and NAC in tourism development studies with reference to the UCD and UCC of UCLDC.
- The potential application of the findings from this research in the development of a specimen for Regional Codes of Conduct for Under Crises Communities (RCCUCC) specifically for the Diamer district.

A summary of the aims of this research are therefore:

- To contribute towards key issues in the field of tourism for the development of an UC fragile-eco potential tourism destination by drawing on examples of research conducted by De Kadt (1979), and Harrison (1988, 2006). Understanding of the role of tourism in the development of UCC of LDC, especially UCC with gender biased perception and attitudes toward tourism development and the impact of tourism on women in particular. Relevant studies have already been conducted to a certain extent by Swain (1995), Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995), Datta (2002), Sarsar (2002), Scheveyens (2003), Cole (2006, 2007a, b), Kendall (2010) and Pritchard *et al.* (2011).
- To examine the role and impacts of com-media and NAC on tourism and development of UCC by using Chilas, NAP-GB and the Chilassi community as a case study. com-media with relation to tourism has been discussed to a certain extent by Wilkinson (1991), De Sausmarez (2007) and Cascante (2010), while crises in tourism have been studied by Sonmez *et al.* (1994), Glaesser, (2003), De Sausmarez (2007), Hitchcock and Putra, (2009), Causevic (2010), Novelli (2004), Novelli and Tisch-Rottensteiner (2012); and Novelli *et al.* (2012).

Many studies have been conducted to gauge community responses to tourism in developed and industrialised countries (Ward and Berno, 2011), but there are fewer studies that have explored a community's behaviour in developing countries (see for example: Cole, 2006, 2007; Nunkoo and Gursoy, 2012) claim that there are differences in responses to tourism amongst the first and third world. Hence, the rationale for conducting further social and community-based research in response to tourism and development studies is to ascertain the actual and current impacts of tourism development on a political instable and gender biased UCC. This is especially the case for those destinations where the image of place and people is also an issue (Nunkoo and Gursoy, 2012), there is political instability and gender bias.

According to Patel and Hastak, (2013) and Jha (2010) the entire globe is facing NAC, however recordings of the specific nature and intensity varies across regions. For example, anthropogenic crises such as gender discrimination, child labour, civil turmoil and corruption, unskilled and biased com-media, negative place image and acts of terrorism are seemingly taking their toll on less developed countries and having irreparable impacts on communities. On the other hand, natural crises, such as floods, tsunamis, earthquakes, avalanches, storms, fires and epidemics are occurring in both developed and less developed world, but have more damaging physical and psychological impacts on UCCs of LDCs comparatively (Richter, 1999, Kahler, 2007; Novelli *et al.*, 2012).

There is thus a need to investigate these concerns in consideration of the ways tourism can be a tool for development in areas and communities facing NAC,

specifically those belonging to LDCs. To examine the development issues the role of com-media, NAC and their impacts on UC tourism and development will be investigated in Gilgit-Baltistan. In Pakistan there has been an on-going civil war since 2001, the war against terrorism, an earthquake in 2005, floods in 2010, and avalanches in 2012, which have caused the spread of life threatening epidemics such as Dengue, Congo, Hepatitis. Above all, however, gender discrimination, unskilled com-media and a negative destination image are amongst some of the major causal factors that make Pakistan a UCLDC.

It is noted from a review of the relevant literature (e.g. Morakabati, 2007), and from field research conducted in the area, that not only are UCDs themselves suffering the impacts of physical and psychological trauma, they are also contributing towards instability in other parts of the world specifically their neighbouring regions. However, research for this thesis indicates that tourism has the ability to revive and restore an UCD, improve its destructive place image, and minimise variance between nations with the help of skilled com-media.

By maintaining the view that tourism is one of the predominant development options for LDCs, as most tend to possess cultural and environmental assets that have the ability to attract tourists from the rest of the world (Richter, 1999; Dieke, 2000; Becken and Hay, 2007; Honey and Gilpin; 2009), As an UCD as a central point on the world's highest road-the Silk Road, containing unique rock carvings on big boulders left by traders, invaders and pilgrims dating back 5000 and 1000BC (Dani, 1983). Additionally the presence of the world's second highest peak The K2, highest mountain- Nanga Parbat also known as The Killer Mountain, Fairy Meadows in the base of Nanga Parbat makes the region potentially strong as a tourist destination. Local cultural values and traditional practices i.e. hospitality trait, Zeeto Kalak, Nasaalo [discussed in section 1.2] are yet other attractions. Chilas-GB represents an ideal case study to commence investigations in this area.

Recommendations and findings drawn from this study will be beneficial for the development of tourism for the benefit of regions and communities, specifically those which are facing political or natural instability and a negative place image which can be harmful for the growth of tourism. It will also be beneficial for media and marketing departments to help promote tourism as a mechanism to maintain or develop the best standard of life and to improve relationships and perceptions in the main global tourist generating markets.

1.2 Background of the Area

1.2.1 Demographic, Historic and Cultural Background of Chilas

Pakistan a developing country in South Asia is the fourth largest populated country in the region and the World's sixth largest country (Masood, 2012). The Chilas Valley is situated in the district of Diamer, in a province named Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) formerly known as the North West Frontier Province

(NWFP) in NAP. Since 2009 Chilas has been under the control of G-B territory (Travel and Culture¹, 2013; Chilas², 2011).

Chilas is a small valley located at the centre of the ancient Silk Road (Tourism Division Pakistan, 1971; Dani, 1983) at the left bank of the Indus river at a height of about 914 metres³ above sea level at the foot of the Nanga Parbat mountain which acts as a wall against the monsoon winds, thus leaving Chilas with very little rain. This fact makes Chilas dry and very hot. In summer temperatures can reach 52 degrees centigrade and be as low as -10 degrees centigrade in the winter (Travel and Culture⁴, 2011).

¹ (Available on) <http://www.travel-culture.com/pakistan/chilas.shtml>

² (Available on) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chilas>

³3000feet

⁴(Available on) <http://www.travel-culture.com/pakistan/chilas.shtml>

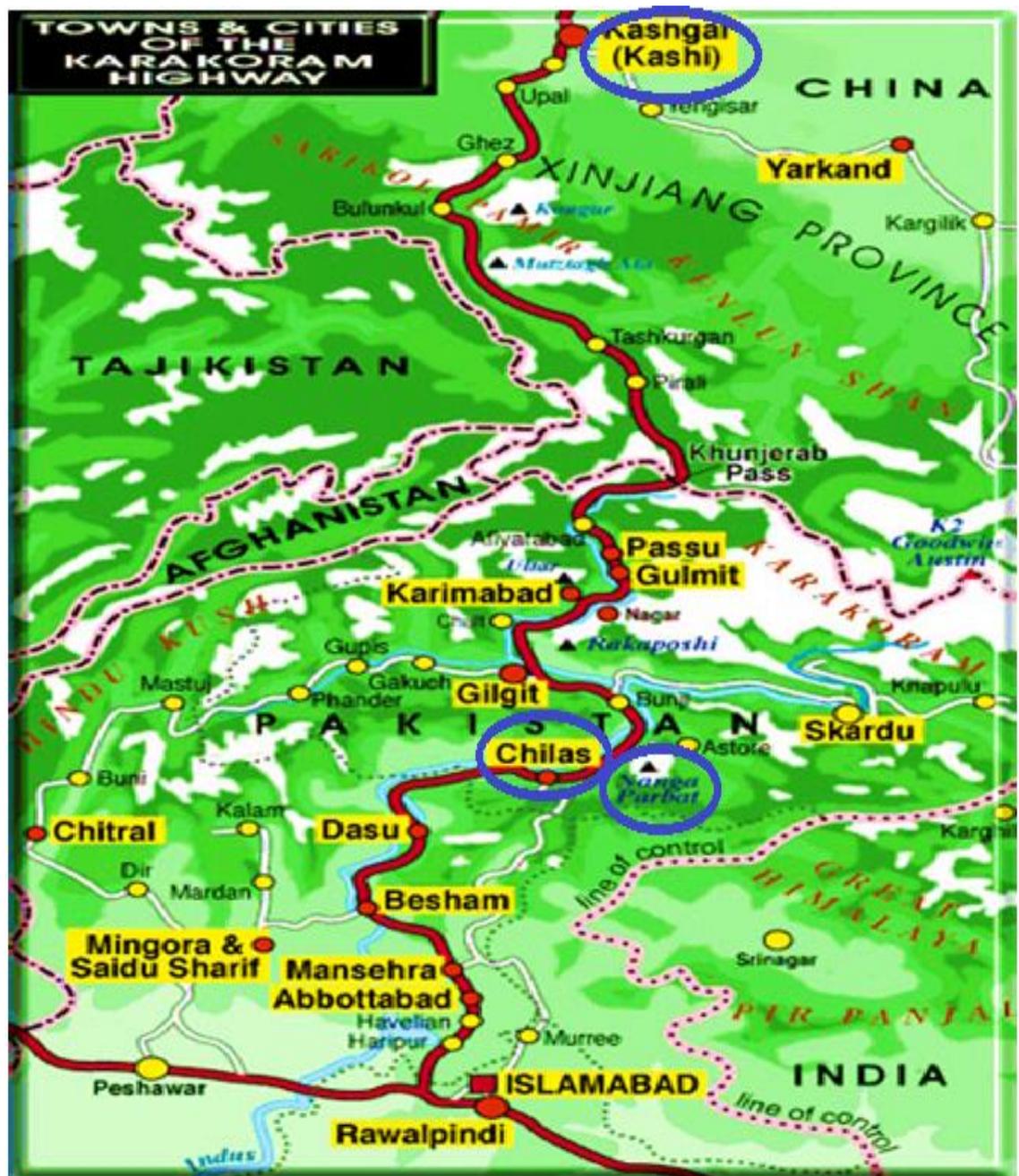


Figure 1.1 Northern Areas of Pakistan along the Silk Road. Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chilas> (Available online)

Chilas is connected to the Chinese cities of Kashghar and Tashkuragan via the Gilgit, Sust and Khunjerab Passes. It can be reached through Karakoram Highway (KKH) - the ancient Silk Road, and also from the Kaghan Valley, passing over the Babusar Pass (see figure 1.1). There is an airport but this is not currently used by any passenger airline (Travel and Culture, 2011⁵; Chilas Airport, 2012).

⁵ Available online: <http://www.travel-culture.com/Pakistan/Chilas.shtml>

Population of Chilas	150,000-200,000
Family average size of Gilgit-Baltistan	17 ⁶
Language:	
Spoken	Shina, Pashto, Kohistani, Hindko,
Understood	Urdu, Punjabi, English
Literacy Level ⁷ :	
Women:	Low
Men:	High as a whole in GB territory but Low in Chilas,(depopulation is a cause that has made most of literate community out of the region literate)

Table 1.1 Demographics in Chilas

Table 1.1 summarises the demographics in Chilas regarding population, family size, languages, and literacy level. The population of District Diamer is approximately 300,000. Chilas is the district headquarters and is where most of the population lives in and around (the population of Chilas is estimated to be between 150,000 – 200,000 (Tourism Official: Chilas). Large family size has recorded and many languages other than the local language are spoken and understood by many members of the local community. The literacy level in Chilas is relatively low as compared to surrounding regions i.e. it is considered high in Gilgit in the further northern end of territory.

In terms of natural resources the area is known for its gold and along the banks of the Indus River gold washers (Maruts) can be seen searching for gold in the water. The Chilas community owns private montane [that are not planted but grown themselves] alpine forests and receive a free grant of timber and firewood from the government of Pakistan⁸ (Rao and Marwat, 2003⁹). The region is surrounded by some of the highest mountain range in the world, i.e. Karakoram, Himalaya, Pamirs and Hindu Kush, with 120 peaks of an average height of 6000m, along with the world's second and ninth highest peaks, K2 (8,611m) and Nanga Parbat, also known as the 'killer mountain' (8125m). These peaks along with Rakaposhi (7788m) (Skardu), and Trichmir (7,708m) in the NAP-GB are accessed through the world's highest Silk Route (Barry, 1987; Bianca, 2006; Searle, 2006; Sabir, 2006, 2007; Khan and Beg, 2006; Mock and O'Neil, 1996, 2008). At the base of Nanga Parbat is the Fairy Meadows, a valley surrounded

⁶ (Available online) http://www.pjlss.edu.pk/sites/default/files/9.%20revised%20sarfraz_1stock43-51.pdf

⁷(Available on): (Gilgit-Baltistan literacy rate) <http://tribune.com.pk/story/360991/gilgit-baltistan-sectarianism-police-chief-denies-foreign-hand-in-violence/>

⁸As per Ailan no.40 of 1940

⁹ Available online at: http://www.wfpak.org/nap/dnap_forest_rangelands_legalclassification.php

by green forest and natural lakes, known as 'Heaven on Earth' (Fairy Meadows, nd; Khalid, 2009).

In addition to the natural attraction of the region the unique rock art in Chilas also attracts national and international researchers and tourists (Buddhist Channel, nd; Khalid, 2009; Mujtaba, 2009; Baseer, 2009, 2010). This unique rock art has also gained attention at an international level from scholars based in Germany with the aim of preserving these cultural and historical remains (Balochistan Times, 2009). Phuguch village in the Darel Valley in Diamer is also famous for its ancient Buddhist University remains (Kalhor, 2011).

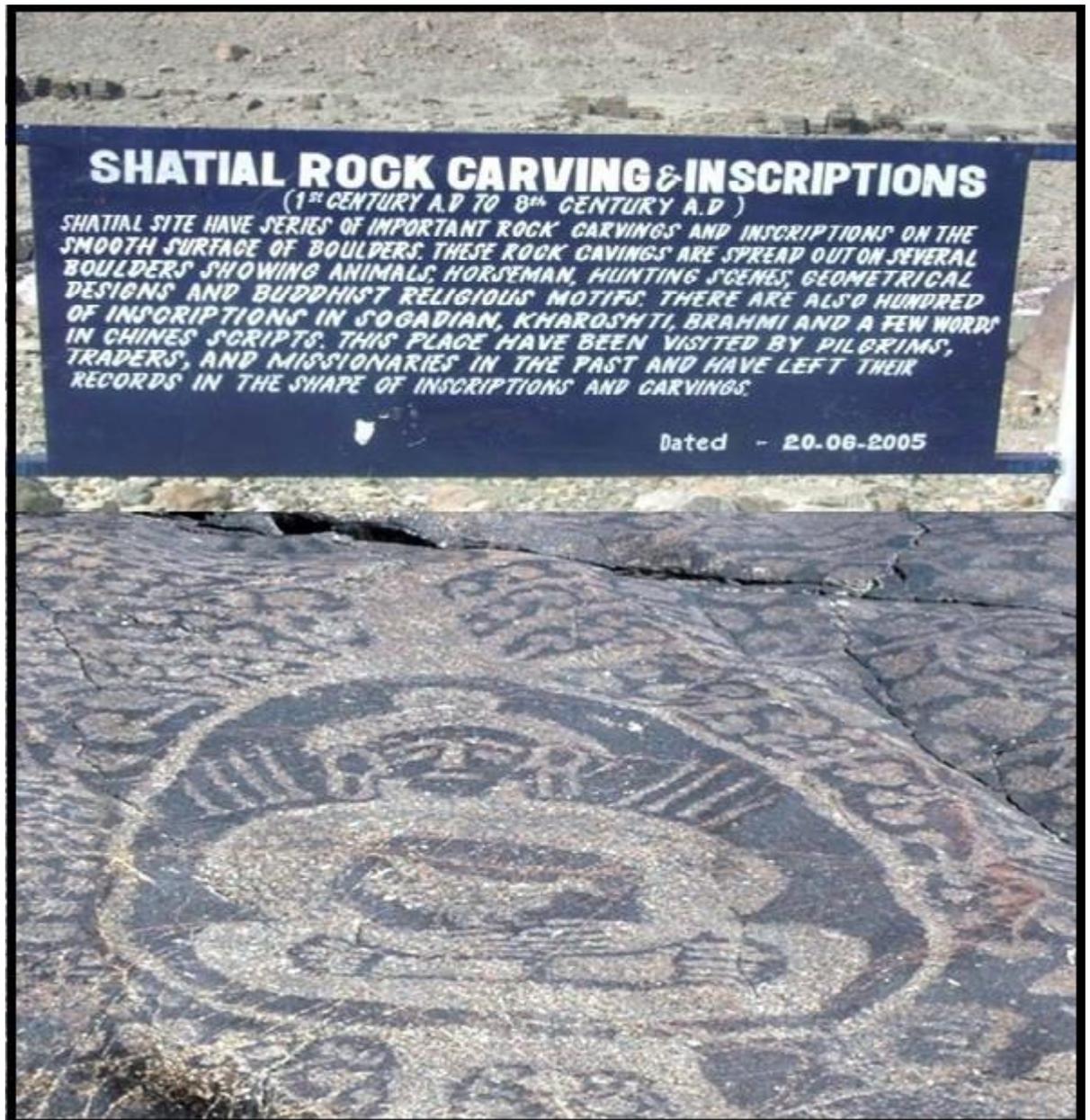


Figure 1.2 the description of the rock art on a board located in Shatial (Pictures taken in 2010).

The region is situated on the ancient Silk Road, which is known as an ancient channel of communication between the east and the west. The reason it is known as the Silk Route is because in ancient times it was used by traders of silk and spices from regions in the east to those in the west. The ancient traders who travelled the Silk Route used to stop at the Indus River side to make use of the water facilities in Diamer. During their short stay in Diamer by the Indus River the traders used to write their stories in Sogadian, Khroshti, Brahmi, Chinese, languages and these can be seen in the form of rock drawings (figure 1.2).



Figure 1.3 Rock Art at Chilas (showing the combination of pictures and inscription) Buddha and Buddhist temple (Picture taken in 2011).

Figure: 1.3 shows the carved Buddha and the Buddhist temple on a big rock boulder. As well as Buddhist pilgrims, national and international archaeologists have begun to take a keen interest in this area for the preservation of the unique rock art. Similarly in the area of Chilas and Thalpan more than 50,000 rock carvings and inscriptions have been discovered ranging from the Epipalaeolithic or Neolithic (9th/8th millennium BC) to the emergence of Islam around the 16th century. The tremendous diversity of the carvings not only provides insights into the history of the different socio-cultural and political traditions as well as religious beliefs associated with the region, but also discloses the region's strategic importance (Balochistan Times, 2009¹⁰; Tourism Division Pakistan, 1971; Dani, 1983).

¹⁰Available at: <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Open-air+museum+to+preserve+remains+of+Bhasha+Dam-a0203514299> (July 12, 2009)

An adjacent valley to Chilas called the Darel valley is famous on account of its ancient school of arts. The school of arts was functional in the British colonial era, and is now restored by archaeologists as part of the cultural heritage of the valley. Chilas and surrounding villages such as Thalpan and Shatial are also known as the meeting point of the world's two greatest civilisations: the Indus valley civilisation and the Gandhara civilisation (Dani, 1983).

In addition to the natural and cultural ecology, the Government of Pakistan plans to establish an open air museum in Chilas to attract tourists (Ali, 2008, Balochistan Times, 2009). In the museum the ministry of culture has decided to make 3D replicas of some of the rock carvings for tourists, future generations, researchers and archaeologists (Balochistan Times, 2009).

The Chilas valley has many characteristics typically associated with remote locations i.e. rural depopulation, low population density, homogeneous lifestyles, low economic diversity, high quality natural environment, and a hierarchical community structure with some masjids (mosques) as a centre of influence. The main economic activity is based on agriculture and horticulture, as well as income from depopulated members of the community. In addition, a small number of people are working with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and other public and private organisations, such as tourist resorts, schools and small businesses specifically retail and production.

Chilas is surrounded by a number of developed tourist destinations located in Gilgit, Chitral, Kailash, Hunza and Bhamburait valleys, while to the south of Chilas, Dassu, Besham, Mansehra, Abbottabad, Swat (see figure 1.1) attract a large number of both national and international tourists each year. As Buckley (2000) and Liu (2006) note, a large number of tourists are attracted by the natural heritage of the region. Similarly, Diamer region has a concentration of natural and cultural attractions and is visited by many tourists each year. However, due to minimal academic and civic attention focused on the area, and the lack of up to date records, to date it has not been possible to reliably ascertain the number of visitors to the Diamer region.

1.2.2 Traditional Activities

Mujtaba (2008) has highlighted some unique cultural and traditional activities of the Diamer region which could attract the attention of researchers, tourists and policy makers to the area:

- Zeeto/Kalak – a local informal police of volunteers- is, for example, a committee that is constituted for the purpose of maintaining a peaceful environment in the area. Nobody is allowed to violate the system as framed and regulated by the committee. If anybody breaks the rules, s/he is liable to receive a fine, which is exacted by the committee. The functions of the committee are to impose restrictions on free grazing, to keep an eye on the observance of religious duties, and the mobilization of

people for the construction of public works, such as repair work and maintenance alongside the river.

- Biyaak – a local informal court where elderly men community members are the judges- is a traditional system whereby villagers get together to settle disputes such as arguments amongst local community members, family problems, and issues related to outsiders by mutual consultation and the Jirga system. The Jirga is a meeting of elderly and influential male community members who congregate at a certain public place to resolve community issues. General community members (with the exception of females) are permitted to contribute to the suggestions. Everyone based in the area is expected to comply with the rulings of the committee, failure of which means their having to face the consequences. Biyaak, therefore, is more or less like an informal court for local people where judges are chosen from within the local community. This system is strictly practiced in all the villages of the Diamer.
- Nasaalo is another traditional practice in which people prepare the storage of meat for winter days. This involves the slaughter of buffalos, cows, and goats, and the hunting of animals during the summer, following which the meat is preserved for use according to their needs during the winter months. Similarly, seasonal fruits are preserved for use out of season or to send as gifts to friends and relatives residing in other towns and cities.

1.2.3 Tourism infrastructure in Chilas

In terms of local information there is no written material available either for tourists or locals. Nor is there information or maps showing routes to various visitor attractions which makes it difficult for tourists to reach their desired destination on time or without having to rely on the help of others. There is no functional tourist information office in the Chilas valley and there is a lack of trainings and skills available for those who have started their own firms to guide tourists. There are no services available in the region for interpretation so again international tourists need to book in advance with agencies situated in Islamabad for an extra charge.

There are some NGOs working to promote education, skills, training and tourism, however, due to political instability most of them have non-functioning offices in the area. There is little in the way of tourism development or place promotion in Chilas, with the exception of one tourist resort by the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation (PTDC) also known as PTDC resorts, and a bus service by Northern Areas Transport Corporation (NATCO) for the entire Northern Areas of Pakistan (NAP).

With regards to physical tourism infrastructure there is a shortage of tourist accommodation and a developed transport system. There are no public toilets or roadside bins and clean water is not available. There are no provisions outside of the domestic environment as men and women are catered separately for which

discourages tourists with families. There are only a few well equipped resorts naming Shangrila Hotel, Hotel Chilas Inn and Panorama that increase their prices during the high season. Unavailability of electricity i.e. short fall of power is getting worse in the area as well as in Pakistan more generally, creating difficulties and discomfort for locals and visitors whilst indoors due to their not are able to operate electric fans or air-conditioners.



Figure 1.4 Site¹¹ for the Diamer Basha Dam¹² Chilas Pakistan

¹¹(Available on):

http://www.google.co.uk/search?q=diamer+basha+dam+tourism&tbn=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=N2W4UfnRMKf80QXnzYDACQ&ved=0CEQQsAQ&biw=1366&bih=667#facrc=_&imgrc=0r_IKUqoeoEGvM%3A%3BuQVWNKZw3kKWAM%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252F4.bp.blogspot.com%252F-O5XkNvERzQ4%252FTav8CuiaHYI%252FAAAAAAAGAs%252FW-3goMNktb0%252Fs1600%252FDiamer%252BBhaha%252Bdam%252Bby%252Bpakistani%252Btourisam%252B%252525283%25252529.jpg%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fwww.crazygallery.info%252FBhambore.html%3B1024%3B768

¹²(Available on):

http://www.google.co.uk/search?q=diamer+basha+dam+tourism&tbn=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=aGO4UdXXAe-Z0AW79oGoCg&ved=0CEQQsAQ&biw=1366&bih=667#facrc=_&imgrc=IJ8N2zZZ5sRI2M%3A%3Bf7zrb1jiQi6PHM%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fi1.tribune.com.pk%252Fwp-content%252Fuploads%252F2011%252F06%252FDiamer-Bhaha-Dam-File-640x480.jpg%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Ftribune.com.pk%252Fstory%252F189012%252Fdiamer-bhaha-project-boundary-dispute-threatens-scheme%252F%3B640%3B480

There is a plan to overcome many of the economic, social and environmental issues with the construction of the Diamer Basha Dam (Figure 1.4). The tourism and developmental projects around the reservoir i.e. construction and establishment of hotels and businesses, the development of fresh-water fishing industry, and water sports is expected with this dam (Siddiqui, 2011¹³). According to Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA, 2009) the benefit of this project is the creation of a massive infrastructure, i.e. roads, clean water supply, schools, health centres and electricity supply, which, it is hoped, will lead to the overall socio-economic development of the area.

Moreover, at a height of 272 meters, Diamer Basha Dam Project will be the highest Roller Compacted Concrete Dam in the world (Balochistan Times, 2009¹⁴). The Water and Power Development Authority [WAPDA] (2009¹⁵), a writer in a Pakistani newspaper Iqbal (2012¹⁶) and a Pakistan based newspaper in English language-The Dawn (2012¹⁷), believe that as Pakistan is an agricultural country and its resources based mostly on water, water dams and barrages are constructed for the purpose of drinking, irrigation and energy production. As the writer in the Dawn commented, “Basha Dam is life line for country’s economy and its construction will reduce dependence on thermal generation, save foreign exchange create employment and socio-economic uplift of the area and standard of living of people” (The Dawn, 2012¹⁸).

However, at the same time, dams and barrages such as the Tarbela and Khan Pur dams are very important resources for tourism and they are attractive places for tourists. Similarly, rivers are becoming potentially more important for recreation and adventure based tourism by presenting unlimited choice of water activities and to keep mind and body healthy (Contour, 2002, Fleminger, 2006; Tatar, 2011). In addition to the hoped for socio-economic improvement of the area, there are recommendations to compensate the physical loss of rock carvings and properties belonging to the local community during the construction, for example:

Five scholarships per year for students of Diamer District would be funded for related studies [related to history, geography]. This will be a welcome gesture for compensating the loss of heritage rock carving objects. Furthermore, it will contribute significantly to development of incentives to improve the educational qualifications of the interested youth in the project area (WAPDA, 2009:5¹⁹).

¹³ (Available on): <http://dawn.com/2011/04/11/kick-starting-diamer-bhasha-project/> (April 11, 2011) also available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diamer-Bhasha_Dam

¹⁴(Available on): <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Diamer-Bhasha+Dam+to+bring+green+revolution%3a+Minister.-a0202097178> (June 17, 2009)

¹⁵ (Available on): <http://www.wapda.gov.pk/pdf/ImpactRockCarvingsBasha.pdf>

¹⁶(Available on): <http://beta.dawn.com/news/769467/us-to-provide-200m-for-diamer-bhasha-project>

¹⁷(Available on):<http://dawn.com/2012/10/11/diamer-basha-dam-project-life-line-for-countrys-economy-mukhtar/>

¹⁸(Available on):<http://dawn.com/2012/10/11/diamer-basha-dam-project-life-line-for-countrys-economy-mukhtar/>

¹⁹(Available on):<http://www.wapda.gov.pk/pdf/ImpactRockCarvingsBasha.pdf>

In addition to what it has already made available, the Government plans to increase tax subsidies on wheat, electricity, and water in order to help the community economically. This also benefits tourism by offering economic incentives to visitors to stay in the region, as hotel bills and costs will be low due to the subsidised product Northern Areas Water and Power Development (NAWPD²⁰, 2008).

Access to electricity will have positive impacts on women's lives that bear the responsibility and hardship of main household chorus. With the availability of sufficient and subsidized electricity and the use of electric appliances relieve women from physically demanding work and reduce their workload. As a result women have more choices to manage their daily work. Besides lighting, electricity provides the basic tools for small business like entertainment, access to communication media, and other commercial and productive activities (NAWPD, 2008: 27).

1.3 Tourism in Pakistan

Due to the fragile ecology and tourism potential in the area, further research needs to be conducted on Chilas in the field of tourism development. Moreover, there is a need to enquire about the factors and reasons that are affecting tourism development in the region. While doing field study in the region, it was noted that it was anthropogenic factors which were seriously hindering the tourism growth in the region. The anthropogenic factors relate to the patriarchy system, gender inequality, perceptions of terrorism and crime, smuggling and the political instability (discussed and explored in chapters 3 and chapters 5, 6 and 7). This research will contribute to understandings of the various factors which are affecting tourism and development in UCDs and demonstrate that there is a need to address these factors for the development of tourism and the local community.

There are many factors for example increase in tourists' fascination towards unspoiled, untouched natural tourist destinations, cultural and historical visits, pilgrimage, Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR), behind the increasing demand for tourism in the third world countries (Kanso, 2005; Robinson and Picard, 2006). However, the costs and benefits associated with tourism development are well rehearsed in the tourism literature. These cover economic, social, political, psychological, natural and technological factors (Equations, 2007). As explored further in the chapter 3 Bianchi (2006: 64) highlights several costs of tourism including less "freedom associated with the intensification of market relations and consumption upon which the expansion of contemporary tourist mobilities often depends".

Moreover with the expansion of tourism the "global [in] security" of tourist has become "a threat to tourism" (Bianchi, 2006: 65) further discussed in chapter 3. Thompson (2010), for example, illustrates the ways in which in Sri Lanka and Lebanon tourism has been affected due to political instability, internal and external disputes and interferences, noting that the governments in these countries are paying attention to issues of tourism industry development in order to

²⁰(Available online): http://www2.adb.org/Documents/Resettlement_Plans/PAK/34339/34339-Chilas-Diamer.pdf

compensate for the effects of these problems. An issue which influences tourists' decisions to visit a destination relates to the image of that destination. A destination can therefore obtain a negative image by the publicity of negative effects of NAC (Wahab, 1996; Morakabati, 2007; Causevic, 2010; Novelli *et al.*, 2012).

In this regard along with positive tourism strategies, com-media can therefore play a vital role in reducing the feelings of fear. Relevant institutes may ensure the security and safety of the tourists to overcome any negative thoughts and concerns of the visitors. Researchers, development workers, archaeologists are more likely to visit the areas after NAC it is therefore more likely a restriction to visitors whose purpose is to spend time in leisure activities (Causevic, 2010; Novelli *et al.*, 2012) because of the safety and security fear, slowing down of development, maintenance process in post-NAC destination [chapter 3 and 5]. In the case of Pakistan, the tourism industry is under the threat of shut down due to NAC and delayed recovery from them, and above all the lack of a positive and skilled tourism com-media image in potential tourist markets makes the situation even worse.

The situation in various parts of the planet is one of tension and instability due to national and international conflicts such as the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Centre, which has affected the peace amongst various Asian countries, particularly Afghanistan and Pakistan (Ali, 2011, Hassan, 2011). Before 9/11, Pakistan had suffered just one suicide bombing in 1995, an attack on the Egyptian Embassy in the capital, Islamabad, which killed 15 people. In the last decade, suicide bombers have struck Pakistani targets more than 290 times; killing at least 4,600 people and injuring 10,000. The country averaged nearly six terrorist attacks of various kinds each day in 2010, according to a report by the Pak Institute for Peace Studies (Scoble, 2011).

Specifically in Pakistan, hundreds of guest houses have been shut down in NAP due to the frontline activism in the war on terror. The social and economic conditions of Pakistan have worsened following 9/11. This situation has affected the tourism industry of Pakistan very badly and also affected human resources associated with it. The most affected guest houses and hotels are those known for receiving foreigners and due to lack of visitors many hotels are on the verge of closure (Hassan, 2011²¹). A National Terrorism Advice (NTA) is a warning issued by a government to dissuade its citizens from visiting certain countries; this warning has been issued by many foreign governments against regions in Pakistan. Life in Pakistan post-9/11 and the war on terror have become very difficult due to the advice issued by foreign governments warning against travelling to Pakistan (Hassan, 2011). As Bianchi cites Bach (2003: 227) regarding in the state defense in the situation of crises that, "The first action that government takes is to close their borders. States seem intent on gaining security by stopping the world from moving" followed by complex passport and visa issues (Bianchi, 2006)

²¹ Available on: <http://insider.pk/national/the-effects-of-9-11-on-pakistan/>

The tourism sector in Chitral and the Northern Areas has received a great setback due to the war on terror since 2001 (Hassan; 2011). According to the “Pakistan Economic Survey (2010-11):

The economy was subjected to enormous direct and indirect costs which continued to rise from \$2.669 billion in 2001-02 to \$13.6 billion by 2009-10, projected to rise to \$17.8 billion in the current financial year and moving forward, the direct and indirect costs to the economy are most likely to rise further... Pakistan has never witnessed such a devastating social and economic upheaval in its industry, even after dismemberment of the country by a direct war. (Dawn, 2011²²)

After assuming the role of a front line supporter of the war on terror, Pakistan’s economy suffered a disruption of its normal trading activities. The cost of trading increased because of higher insurance cover while the growth demands slowed down which resulted in a decline in tax collection and foreign investment. The cost of Pakistan’s involvement in the war on terror amounts to \$67.93 billion or Rupees. 5037 billion (£36 billion) which has affected the education budget, the health and nutrition sector and the sanitary projects that could have taken place but were halted due to the presence of the war against militancy in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Since the start of the war on terror, Pakistan’s investment-to-GDP ratio hit a downfall from 22.5 percent to 13.5 in just a few years. It requires a compensation for the resources it spent in a pursuit that resulted in very little success (Hassan, 2011; Dawn, 2011).

Political instability also means that there is less ability to cope with natural disasters which effectively worsen the situation. There is no positive media presentation to project the fragile image of Pakistan. This is a commonly held view that: “Pakistan is facing serious problems in almost all the sectors ... lack of governance, corrupt leaders, inadequate and faulty planning, and non-availability of speedy justice are the most critical of a long list of problems being faced by Pakistan” (Masood, 2012: 231).

But there are examples of areas which are victims of NAC although they tried to overcome the problems and draw attention towards tourism development in an effort to eliminate the negative place image. (See section 1.3).

Country	Reserves (bbl.)	Production/day (mbl)	Reserve life (yr.)
Saudi Arabia	260	8.8	81
Canada	179	2.7	182
Iran	136	3.9	96
Iraq	115	3.7	85
Kuwait	99	2.5	108

²²(Available on): <http://dawn.com/2011/06/20/war-on-terror-cost-pakistan-679-billion/>

Table 1.2 the list of top 5 oil reserve countries²³ of the world (Available at:

<http://www.insaf.pk/Media/InsafBlog/tabid/168/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/1347/Pakistan-The-Richest-country-in-natural-resources.aspx>)

On the other hand Pakistan is amongst the world's richest countries in terms of natural resources. As compared to the table 1.2, the reserves of coal in Thar-a desert spans an area of 175000 square kilometers and covers large areas of both Pakistan and India. It is the seventh largest desert on the planet and the third largest in Asia; possess 175 billion tonnes of coal, which is equivalent to 618 billion barrels of crude oil. This amount of coal is more than the oil reserves of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia [KSA], Iran and many countries known for their oil reserves (Noman, 2008²⁴; APM, 2008²⁵). Apart from coal reserves and natural gas, Pakistan is also known for its good quality rice, wheat, vegetables, fruits, salt mines, gold mines, petroleum, iron, copper, lime stone (Natural Resources Index, 2003). Despite its richness in natural and cultural resources Pakistan is still undergoing the process of development. The country still needs advanced technology to use its resources for its ultimate benefit and to attract many tourists to the region.

Regardless of the wealth of natural and cultural resources, Pakistan, specifically NAP, is receiving fewer tourists (see figure 1.5) due to political instability.

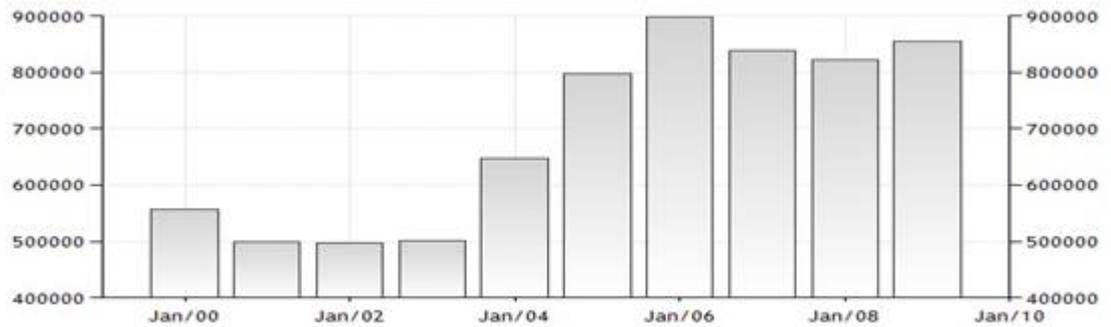
²³(Available online):

<http://www.insaf.pk/Media/InsafBlog/tabid/168/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/1347/Pakistan-The-Richest-country-in-natural-resources.aspx>

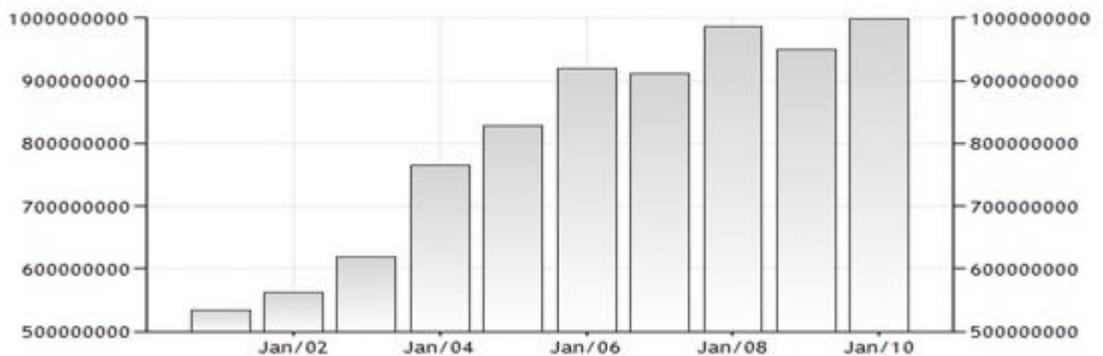
²⁴(Available on):

<http://www.insaf.pk/Media/InsafBlog/tabid/168/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/1347/Pakistan-The-Richest-country-in-natural-resources.aspx>

²⁵ <http://apmpk.com/terms/43-thar-pakistan-coal-reserves>



1



2

Figure 1.5 (1) International Tourist Arrivals in Pakistan (2000-2010)²⁶ and (2) International tourism receipts (US dollar) in Pakistan (2001-2010)²⁷

In Figure 1.5 (1) it is evident that tourist arrivals in Pakistan were significantly lower in 2001-2003 and then starts increasing from 2004. From 2001 onwards tourism revenue shows an increase until 2010 as shown in the figure (2) the data shows a very low tourism figure in 2001-2003 and then an upward trend in tourist arrivals and receipts. The reason of low tourist figure was due to the incident of 9/11, categorised as an anthropogenic crisis. Moreover, as Aqeel observes (2008: 7), quoting an economic analyst Zafarullah Siddiqui in the tourism ministry of Pakistan,

[...] 808,000 tourists had visited Pakistan from January to November 2006 and the revenue generated through tourism was US \$234.7 million. [...] In 2007 the country had received 755,000 tourists and generated revenue of US \$234.7 million. The number of tourists in 2007 in the given time dropped by 6 percent while the revenue increased by approximately 6 percent. The reason for the low number has been attributed to terrorism

²⁶ <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/international-tourism-number-of-arrivals-wb-data.html>

²⁷ <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/international-tourism-receipts-us-dollar-wb-data.html>

and the reason for the increase in revenue has been attributed to the high profile and high maintenance tourists who visited the country.

Therefore in order to bring about a steady recovery from the crisis the tourism industry can help to raise revenue and the living standards of people.

1.3.1 Tourism, Anthropogenic Crises and Pakistan

The discussion about sustainable tourism is associated with the stable political, social and environmental background of a destination [chapter 3]. With regard to Pakistan, especially the NAP, at the time of this research political instability is the root cause of the decline of the tourism industry. UNDP (2011a) maintain that if the security situation in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) [the Northern Province] remains stable or improves then it will be possible to accelerate the economy and improve social standards of living. Due to weak travel and tourism infrastructure, low branding and marketing of tourist destinations, and above all low priority given to the tourism sector, the 2008 World Economic Forum's Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report (TTCR) ranked Pakistan 103 out of 124 countries to visit. Along with existing drawbacks to the tourism industry of Pakistan, instable economic conditions, such as rising inflation and poverty, is yet another key factor of the reduced tourist movement to Pakistan, especially NAP (Hassan, 2011²⁸).

As previous discussion suggests, since the incident of 9/11, Pakistan has been facing a downward tourist trend. Later on the tourism industry of Pakistan was damaged further by a disastrous earth quake of 2005 which devastated almost half of the North Pakistan, which hitherto had been the most visited region in the country. Another major blow for the tourism industry was the floods in 2010 (Asad, 2011). More recently, Taliban control over the Swat Valley [known as Switzerland of Pakistan] and the military operation against terrorism in the area has also had damaged the tourism industry. Moreover, as Belhimer, (nd), Globeserver, (2011) and World Travel Market (2011) note, Pakistan is perceived as a hotbed of terrorism which is causing obstacles in the way of the growth of the tourism industry.

The major concern is security for travellers to the area. As Bianchi (2006: 65) explores the "global [in] security" as a threat to tourism in a place. Pakistan's image is more like a country where a continued war is going on and a place which is not safe for travellers, especially at a stage where other Asian countries such as Nepal, China, and the Maldives are providing attractive tourist options. Therefore, anthropogenic factors along with natural crises are interrelated factors with regard to the study of tourism. According to Schwab and Brende (2012:14), "Any manifestation of violence can potentially damage a country's image and have a major impact on tourism, as fear can lead tourists and travellers to cancel, postpone, or change their plans".

When informants were asked to provide examples of what they regarded as organised and developed tourism and tourist destinations, models from the developed countries i.e. UK, America, France were provided. Does this mean that

²⁸ (Available on): <http://www.dawn.com/news/665048/boosting-tourism-in-pakistan>

due to the lack tourism, LDC is known as third world or LDC? There are several traits to be believed as characteristics of the LDC such as poor records of political rights and civil liberty, human development index, poverty conditions, literacy rate and freedom of the press (Nations online, 2011a²⁹). In other words, Less Development is defined as, “high infant mortality, low economic development, high levels of poverty, low utilization of natural resources, and heavy dependence on industrialized nations”(Nations online ³⁰, 2011b). Furthermore, in more concrete terms:

Third world nations tend to have economies dependent on the developed countries and are generally characterized as poor with unstable governments and having high rates of population growth, illiteracy, and disease. A key factor is the lack of a middle class—with impoverished millions in a vast lower economic class and a very small elite upper class controlling the country’s wealth and resources. Most third world nations also have a very large foreign debt (Nations online³¹, 2011b).

1.3.2 Tourism Forecast

As far as the importance and growth of tourism are concerned, the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) predicted that global tourism figures will rise and South Asian countries will see a large increase as compared to the other tourist destinations (2000: 9). WTO highlighted a figure of international tourist arrivals from 1950 to the forecasted 2020 as shown in the figure 1.7

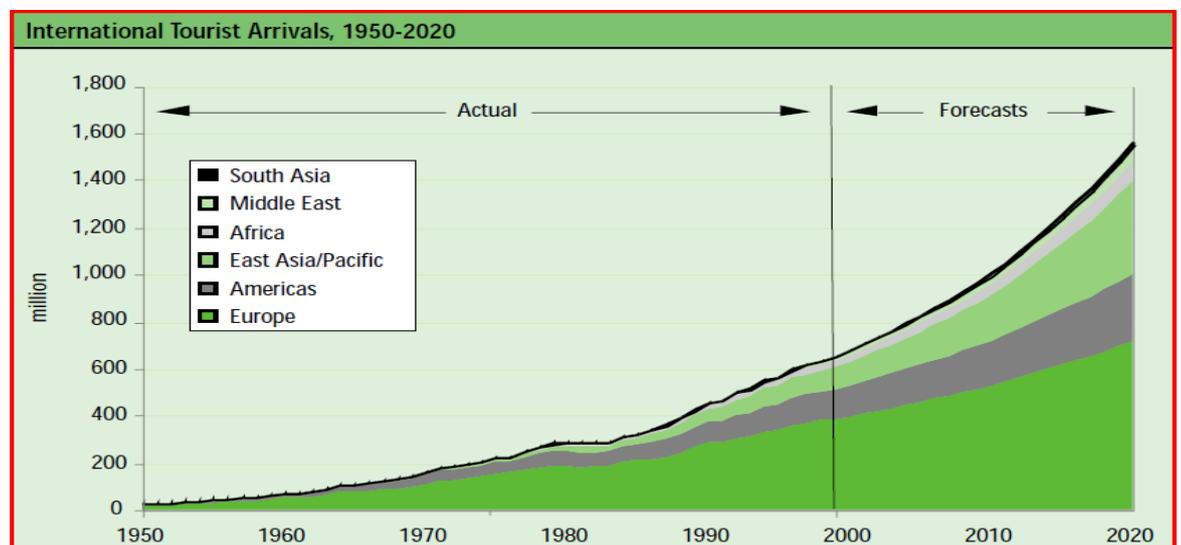


Figure 1.6 International Tourist arrivals, 1950-2020 in Tourism 2020 vision, Source: WTO (2000), volume 5 Middle East (Available online): <https://pub.unwto.org/WebRoot/Store/Shops/Infoshop/Products/1183/1183-1.pdf>

It is evident that the tourist arrival arrivals rate will be increasing in the South Asian region until the end of 2020 (figure 1.6). The growth rate in Europe will

²⁹ (Available at) http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/third_world_countries.htm

³⁰(Available at) http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/third_world_countries.

³¹(Available at) http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/third_world_countries.

still be the highest but Africa and the South Asian region is also showing an upward trend for tourist arrivals. Honey is of the view that 4 out of 5 countries (over 150) tourism is one of five top export earners. In 60 countries it is the number one export. International tourist arrivals have grown enormously over the last half century, from 25 million in 1950 to 898 million arrivals in 2007, “This trend is likely to continue even with the current global economic crisis by 2020, tourist arrivals are projected to reach 1.6 billion” (2009:2).

As the growth of tourism shows an upward trend in the next ten years until 2020, it seems that the policy makers and tourism industries of the third world have time to revise their existing tourism policies and infrastructure to attract more tourists from different parts of the world. Hence for the development of an area to compete with the surrounding tourist destinations, there is a need to plan and implement tourism strategies along with regional codes of conduct. Nevertheless, it seems hard for local communities to practise development objectives where communities are not allowed to take part in decision making processes for the area and are not properly educated and well aware of the concepts of development with regard to tourism.

There is a need to educate local communities and provide them with appropriate skills and training regarding tourism development and make them able to take part in decision making processes. It is noted in Cole (2006, 2007) and Kendall (2008) that local communities need to be empowered to participate in anything that is associated with their area and can affect their lives [further discussed in chapter 3]. In order to understand local community views and effects of tourism development on rural, socially imbalanced and under anthropogenic crisis communities, field work in three different phases was conducted in Chilas, District Diamer and relevant literature was reviewed as a research process (shown in Figure 1.7).

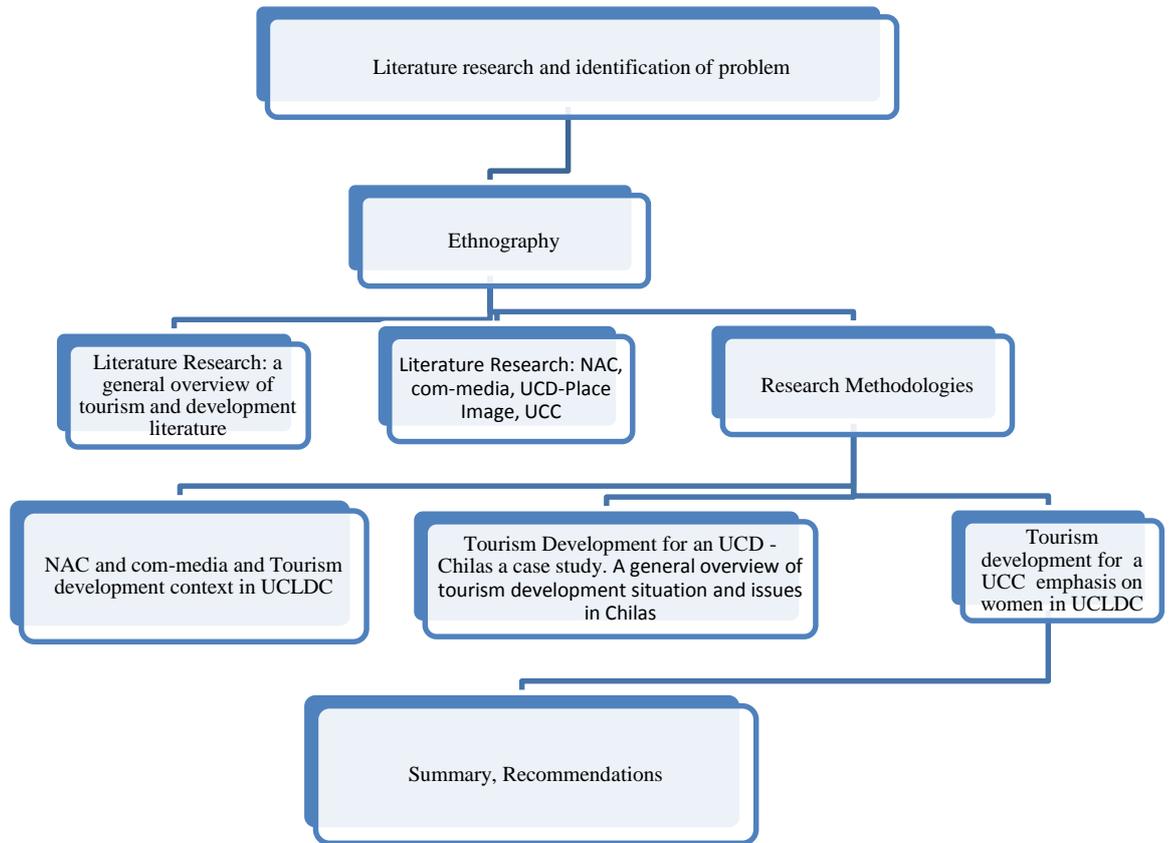


Figure1.7 the Research Process

1.4 Research Aim and Objectives

This research is an attempt to ascertain the potential development factors in the case of UCD and UCC using Chilas, NAP-GB as a case study.

Aim: To explore the tourism development potential of Chilas, NAP-GB situated on the world highest route known as the Silk Road.

Objectives:

- 1:** To evaluate the factors of tourism for and through development of UCD and UCC and their impacts on the local community, especially with reference to gender attitudes and perceptions of a region.
- 2:** To investigate the synthesis of com-media and NAC in a tourism context.
- 3:** To develop an understanding for regional codes of conduct for Diامر Region based on the ethnographic findings and requirements observed during research.

4: To address key issues in respect of place image, the role of com-media as tools for physical and moral uplift of a UCD and UCC will be analysed. To present recommendations on the basis of field data, as how to address negative place and people's image for potential tourism development in UCD.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is presented in eight chapters. The first chapter is a general introduction to the main topic and area of research. Rationale for the selection of topic and region are explained followed by an outline of the thesis.

Chapter two presents the conceptual and theoretical background of this research. It explains the theoretical context relating to this study, and the concepts of tourism in the development context in general. The theoretical background focuses on sustainable ethical tourism.

Chapter three presents the theoretical background of issues related to NAC and Post-NAC recovery for the tourism development of an UCD. The literature regarding connection between place image and com-media is analysed in this chapter. Then the discussion narrows down to the Post-NAC communities with special reference to the women of an UCD.

Chapter four explains the methods and methodology employed to collect data for this study and a description of the research design is presented. Detail and means of data collection and analysis is described. Procedure for conducting interviews and the time frame of field work is also presented in this chapter.

Chapter five focuses mainly upon the place image in connection with com-media. The current position and impacts of com-media on tourism growth of a place under NAC, local community and potential tourists are compared with existing literature. Empirical data is also presented to demonstrate the ways in which com-media influences place image as well as wider societal (host and guest³²) perceptions. It presents the importance of correlation between com-media with tourism.

Chapter six presents problems of tourism for and through development in Chilas considering an area with a negative place image. The actual position of tourism in the UC researched area in comparison with existing literature is presented.

Chapter seven is about the impacts of tourism on the local community and women of an area with negative image associated with NAC. It shows how tourism contributes towards a local community's physical and moral development. This chapter also presents the effects of tourism on the perceptions of local community as well as those of potential tourists about a destination.

³² Guest societies refer to potential tourists

Chapter 1

Chapter eight summarises findings from this research and makes recommendations for the development of tourism in Chilas. In so doing it draws the thesis to a conclusion.

Chapter 2

Tourism for Development: Theoretical Background

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief review of the social science literature regarding development as a process with the aim to analyse the impacts of development process on UCDs and UCCs in chapters 5, 6 and 7). In early studies development was conceived of in terms of economic development, industrialisation, and the switching of agrarian economies to manufacturing industries. With more people-focused approaches to economic approaches, the concept of development has shifted towards a focus on the holistic development of people, place and product. Therefore development is taken as a multidimensional process that revolves around place, politics, economy, culture, environment and community.

Tourism emerged initially as an easy option for the development of the economies of the under developed regions (Fredrick, 1993). Later on the costs for considering tourism as a development tool became apparent. Many authors for instance Briedenhann and Wickens, (2004); Getz *et al.* (2007) and Novelli and Tisch-Rottensteiner (2012) share the view that tourism development comes with costs but if it is properly planned, resources are evenly distributed (Spencer and Rurangwa, 2012) and it leads to socio-economic growth.

This research revolves around two main aspects of tourism studies: 1. Development and 2. Impacts of tourism growth. Sharpley and Telfer (2002) and Xiao and Smith (2006, 2007) acknowledge that there are a significant number of publications about methodologies, theories, development, and impacts of tourism and development. For this research, the approach discussed by Xiao and Smith (2006, 2007) is followed by combining development and impacts together in the conclusions based on the findings of the research. However, the tourism development field still lacks studies regarding UC com-media and UCC – especially women in LDCs (discussed in chapter 3).

2.2 Theories of Development in the Social Sciences-Capitalistic approach

There are several theories of development for instance Modernization Theories emerged right after World War II (Burns, 1999, Ali, 2005), “with the declaration of the first United Nations Development Decade of the 1950s” (Burns, 1999: 139) when, “development thinking marked the “West” as the sign of modernization and industrialisation” (Ali, 2005:11). By that time, “The 'West' was, therefore, believed to be different from the underdeveloped countries because of having attained a self-sustained economic growth” (Ali, 2005: 11). This is why the economic factor of growth was considered as a key factor in development (Scott,

1995; Wilson-Moore, 1996; Burns, 1999). Therefore for the development of underdeveloped countries, the need for economic development was emphasised initially (Scott, 1995). The Keynesian Growth Theory of Development (1940s-1950) however discusses the processes of accumulation of wealth with the help of investment and savings in order to achieve economic development. Indeed, in a review of the social science literature of the 1950s, Todaro (1982) observes that there was an emphasis placed on economic aspects of development, and that, according to much of this literature, development can be taken as a process which brings structural and institutional changes in societies which result in economic growth for the societies and their populations.

More recently, Balaam and Vaseth have discussed development in terms of material/economic remuneration; they suggest that “development is an ability of a nation to produce economic wealth which has the ability to transform an agriculture based economy to a manufacturing economy” (1996: 32). In this definition, there is the implication that the conversion of an agriculture based economy to manufacturing economy is inherently positive. This prompts the question as to whether an agricultural economy is necessarily less important than a capitalist/ manufacturing economy, or perhaps the term agricultural is thought of as equivalent to pre-modern, while a capitalistic economy is considered as modern. Moreover, is it beneficial for the entire economy to become capitalistic. Schech and Haggis (2002), Hui and Wan (2003) and Hui *et al.* (2009) consider the decrepitude of conventional agrarian economies and marginalization of those as adverse effects of development.

Meanwhile, Paul (2004: 31) agrees that there are disadvantages to development and states, “commercial crops, industrialization and modernization enforce new standards and practice and sometimes further enhances rather than mitigates poverty”. Furthermore, to consider economic background as a tool for development perpetuates a “gap between the rich and the poor and between modern and traditional methods of production” (Todaro, 1982: 94). Isaak (1995: 241) agrees, arguing that,

[development] accentuate[s] the distance between the winning and losing social groups, constantly redirecting resources to the winners in order to make them self-fulfilling prophecies and ‘locomotives’ for the economy. To the extent capitalist incentives are inevitable, so are manifestations of social inequality.

In contrast to the Modernization theories, the Dependency Theories emerged during the 1960s (Valenzuela and Valenzuela, 1978). Modernization theories were criticised for considering only economic factors for growth and ignoring social issues (Hulme and Turner, 1990; Ali, 2005). For instance Booth (1995) explains that the reason for failure in development is not just down to the economy but factors outside the economy i.e. the social factors also need to be taken into account. By criticizing the Modernization theories, Frank (1969a: 46) states, “if the now underdeveloped [countries] were really to follow the stages of growth of the now developed ones, they would have to find still other peoples to exploit in to underdevelopment as the now developed countries did before them”.

In the same vein in the 1970s the Neoliberal theory of development was championed to counteract the Keynesian Growth theory and advance further capitalistic approaches to development. In the neoliberal theory the emphasis was on the development at an expanded area of study which benefits the social class at grassroots level rather than the accumulation of wealth at only the industrial and investor's level.

Initially both Modernization and Dependency theories primarily discussed economic factors of development. The application of Modernization theories successfully brought about economic development but overlooked socio-cultural aspects relevant to development. On the other hand the dependency theory discussed the social factor of development. However this theory has also been criticised for its lack of theoretical implications by overlooking in-depth social matters at local and individual level.

Initially the research regarding human development was mainly carried out by health scientists. For example Keenan (2002) analyses theories of human development for example in relation to Psychoanalytic Theory founded by Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) with an intention to research how behaviour influences motivation to work mainly in health sciences. Freud discusses self – gratification, superego and ego to elaborate development at individual level (Keenan, 2002).

A further development was Psychosocial Theory by Erik Erikson (1902-1994), a neo-Freudian psychologist arch. This theory discusses the social context as a factor for human development. According to Psychosocial theory human behaviour is liable to change with a change in his surrounding environment. Erikson and Erikson (1997) highlight the fact that conflicts and tensions lead to growth, strength and commitment, therefore these factors needed to be studied for the development research. As the research regarding human factor in development progressed the Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory of Development was developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979).

This theory discusses the environmental factor as well as the social factor that impacts human development. This theory presents four levels of environmental influences on the human development i.e. Macrosystem, Exosystem, Mesosystem and Microsystems. Where Macrosystem contains cultural belief and belongings and ideologies, Exosystem and Mesosystem suggests influences and impacts of extended family, education systems, political environment, com-media, and friends on human development, while Microsystem suggest impacts on development by family, work place, and peer pressure (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). However these theories particularly targeted health sectors and psychological development phases in a person's life. At this time the literature regarding the other aspects of human development i.e. human development in business and political sector and socio-cultural environment was scant.

2.2.1 Marxist Approach

The goal of governance initiatives should be to develop capacities that are needed to realise development that gives priority to the poor, advances women, sustains the environment, and creates needed opportunities for employment and other livelihoods (UNDP, 1994^{1,2}).

The third decade of development (the 1970s) saw the “World Bank shifting its official position from relative indifference about the distribution of the benefits of development” (Burns, 1999: 141) i.e. the (social scientific) study of development began to take on and engage with Marxist approaches (Burns, 1999). Adams (1990:199) asserted,

Development ought to be what human communities do to themselves. In practice, however, it is what is done to them by states and their bankers and ‘expert’ agents, in the name of modernity, national integration, economic growth or a thousand other slogans.

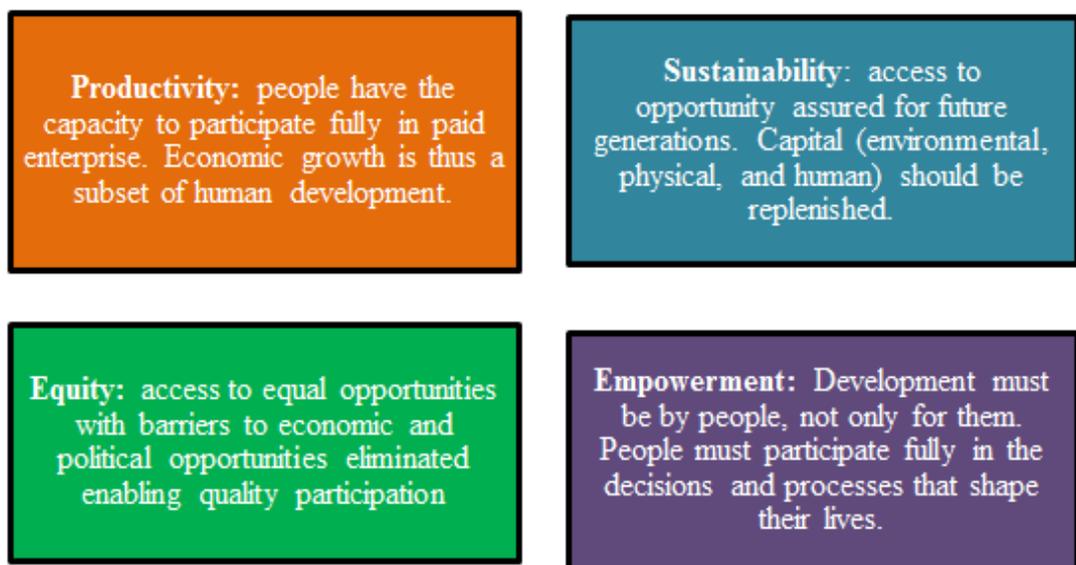


Figure 2.1: Four essential components of human development model (Adapted from UNDP 1995: 12 and Burns, 1999: 144)

Figure 2.1 sums up the main concepts of 1990’s development research –it shows that in order for sustainable development, human resources (i.e. local communities) need to be empowered to participate in decision making, and they need to have equal access to opportunities for their social, political and economic aspects of lives. In this vein, United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (1995) identifies ways to ensure human resources are facilitated to play their vital role in the development process; to enable people to take an active part, their productivity and creativity needs to be developed - for example, by providing them opportunities for equal rights to get education and work opportunities, accessibility to skills and training programs in addition to human, financial,

¹ (Available online)

<http://mirror.undp.org/magnet/Docs/!UN9821.PDF/!RECONCE.PTU/!sec1.pdf>

²<http://gis.emro.who.int/HealthSystemObservatory/Workshops/WorkshopDocuments/Reference%20reading%20material/Literature%20on%20Governance/GOVERN~2.PDF>

physical and information resources. They need to be empowered to make decisions for themselves in their personal lives as well as in local development matters.

2.2.2 Neo-Colonial Dependence Model

With the emergence of a Marxist approach to development a Neo-Colonial Dependence model highlighted the difference in the status of human resources emphasizing the relationship between rich and poor countries due to the differences in development. Similarly after the 'economic development' decades of the 1950s-1970s, it is realised that there were still gaps between the rich and the poor (Todaro, 1982) and that this was a setback to social development contributing to social inequality (Isaak, 1995). Waters (1995: 109) attests that a reason behind "impossible development" is social inequality in "poor states". Aronsson (2000: 31) argues that, as a result, the term development is used differently in different contexts - for example, "development of an individual, an organization, a place or of society as a whole". But what is meant by development? The simplest definition is that "development means change" (Aronsson, 2000: 31). In more concrete terms, development means a positive change which means moving forward to something that is better than the present (ibid).

As discussed in the preceding discussion Development has several meanings ranging from development of economies, human, physical and information resources. This is why Todaro (1982) calls development a multi-dimensional process which involves reorganisation and reorientation of entire economic and social systems. Todaro further explains the objectives of development in three stages where the first is fulfilment of the basic needs of the human resource. The second objective is self-esteem where the human resource is receiving satisfaction from what they have and they feel respect and dignity in doing their jobs. The third objective of development is freedom to the human resource to choose between opportunities to access goods and services they want. Development is also considered as a tool to modernisation which requires changes to the existing economic, social, physical and information (com-media) set up in order to improve basic needs and opportunities at the grassroots level of communities.

As the research regarding development progressed, it therefore entered the phase in the 1980s and 1990s where definitions and understandings regarding development changed, becoming more elaborate insofar as development can also be viewed as process and tourism development is considered as a 'physical change' (Adams, 1990). Thus far the discussion shows that development is a process which is associated with the perceived betterment of a place, people and products: economically, socially, culturally and politically by empowering local communities (Ali, 2005). In order to ensure long lasting satisfaction of changes in the economic and socio-culture dimensions, the process of development has to

be sustainable and cost effective (Abou-Jaoude, 2008). With the issue of sustainability in development - especially at the grassroots level of a community - the empowerment factor for disadvantaged groups, for example women needs to be highlighted. The issue is discussed in chapters 3 and 7.

2.2.3 Gender and Development – The Power Factor

As discussed in the preceding section the word development is used in several contexts by researchers e.g. emphasis on economic development by researchers who studied Capitalistic approach (Grant, 1977), human development by health scientists (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Erikson and Erikson, 1997) and researchers who analysed Marxist approaches to development (Todaro, 1982; Adams, 1990; Waters, 1995). As the research progressed, the word development expands to the socio-cultural lives of people which includes issues of gender which gives a focus on women and gendered power relations. These issues have been objects of study for some time. For instance Boyce (2002:239) argues that the relationship between development and the power factor is not constructive for development. Similarly Wiens (2001) discusses the implications of development at “individual and community level” in order to build capacity, knowledge and experience with the development process.

The existing development theories were criticized by feminists as the largely 'negative' situation of women received scant attention in the literature (Bosrup, 1970, Moser, 1993 also see chapter 3 of this thesis). Similarly Staudt (1991) explains the variations within the definitions and understanding of the word development as due to its manifold dimensions, objectives and infinite ends. Staudt's focus on development inclined towards sustainability in the living standard of a community and an equality based development system. For instance Staudt cites Sen and Grown (1991: 28-29),

We want a world where inequality based on class, gender, and race is absent from every country, and from the relationships among countries [...] where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated [...] where massive resources now used in the production of the means of destruction will be diverted to areas where they will help to relieve oppression both inside and outside the home [...] where all institutions are open to participatory democratic processes where women share in determining priorities and making decisions.

This is the era of the start of Women in Development [WiD] approach by feminists who criticised existing development approaches where women's status was ignored. The WiD approach was believed to help women to come to the fore and take active part in development activities (Ramji, 1997) in order to solve their problems by taking part in development processes (Karl, 1995). This approach however only discussed the productive side of women at work, it therefore failed to discuss gender issues by bridging the gap between men and women (Ali, 2005). Criticism to the WiD approach brought about the Women and Development [WAD] approach during 1976-1985 (CEDAW, 2002). The basic difference between WiD and WAD was to draw attention from impacts of domestic development structures to international development structures (Moon, 1997;

Visvanathan, 1997), it is therefore criticised that both WiD and WAD highlighted mainly the economic aspect in women's lives and the basic social issue of gender discrimination as a constraint in development was over looked (Rathgeber, 1990). With the criticism of these two approaches, another approach Gender and Development [GAD] emerged during the late 1980s with the objective to empower women, improve gender relations, and identify and address the reasons behind gender discrimination in order to modify existing power structures (Rathgeber, 1990; Crawley, 1998; Pokharel and Mira, 2001). The discussion therefore concludes that, "the meaning of 'development' has never remained the same; rather it has changed and modified with emerging needs/demands" (Ali, 2005: 10).

There is still a need to do research about the meaning of development within the UCC especially UCW other than economic empowerment. As Scott (1995) suggested there is a need to recognise the importance of the rereading of the development theories in order to understand the development context for women in the third world. Similarly apart from the appearance of women in theories of development, there is a need to encourage UCW to play their role in development processes in order to maximise the outcome of development theme. For this reason I suggested the importance of the role of national and local government to encourage local women to utilise their skills for the betterment of the destination, community and for their empowerment (see chapter 8). Similarly Datta (2002: 85) suggests

the need for the governments to play a more proactive role in making gender transformative policies and in ensuring that the fruits of development reach all women. Coupled with grassroots participation and activism, this can go a long way toward empowering women.

The next section considers literature that addresses the particular connections between tourism and development of an economy, place and community with specific reference to LDCs whilst the discussion regarding gender and development further continues in chapter 3.

2.3 Tourism and Development

Tourism as a separate field of study is relatively new to academic research. Although tourism literature can be traced back in 1930s it attracted more specific attention from researchers in the 1960s (Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Jansen-Verbeke, 2009 a,b and c). Moreover, as Taillon (2009: 4) explains, "Although unsubstantiated, tourism has been referred to in scholastic literature as an academic community, a study, or a discipline. Tourism is referred to in multiple fashions by those who study tourism as an academic field". Indeed, there are several definitions of tourism put forward in the literature. For example, Beaver (2005:310) defines tourism largely from the tourists' perspective, as "comprising the activities of persons travelling to, and staying in, places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes".

An early research by Jafari (1974) explains tourism as a combination of natural features, for example geographical and meteorological, socio-cultural i.e. historical, religious and political features and man-made structures for instance ancient monuments, temples, shrines and modern architecture. Here in this definition everything creates a tourism environment which relates to nature, socio-cultural and man-made variables. This is another vague definition as it does not describe factors under all natural, socio-cultural and man-made environments, whether these are objects, situations or include human resources.

Later on as the research grew Mathieson and Wall (1982: 1) define tourism as “the temporary movement to destinations outside the normal home and workplace, the activities undertaken during the stay, and the facilities created to cater for the needs of tourists”. This again views tourism from a tourist point of view; people leave their normal place of residence and benefit from facilities that are meant to cater tourists ‘only’. Taillon (2009:5&6) argues that these definitions are problematic because they do not “[...] approach tourism from an academic stance” and they take only “the physical action of tourism” into account.

On the other hand, taking the host stakeholders’ point of view, Macintosh and Goeldner (1986) view tourism as the sum of relationships between tourists and host government and host business communities. Taillon (2009:8) says, “The bottom line is that a definition for tourism studies has not been established [...] a field of study that does not have an agreed upon definition is problematic”. Furthermore, the existing definitions (e.g., Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Beaver, 2005; Random House Dictionary, 2009) each have shortcomings. They have highlighted tourists, their business activities and relationships with host industry stakeholders. However UNWTO (2008³) define tourism in relatively comprehensive way as,

Tourism is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes [...] tourism has implications on the economy, on the natural and built environment, on the local population at the destination and on the tourists themselves. Due to these multiple impacts, the wide range and variety of production factors required to produce those goods and services acquired by visitors, and the wide spectrum of stakeholders involved or affected by tourism, there is a need for a holistic approach to tourism development, management and monitoring. This approach is strongly recommended in order to formulate and implement national and local tourism policies as well as the necessary international agreements or other processes in respect of tourism.

Sustainable tourism development requires the informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, as well as strong political leadership to ensure wide participation and consensus building. Achieving sustainable tourism is a continuous process and it requires constant monitoring of impacts, introducing the

³<http://media.unwto.org/en/content/understanding-tourism-basic-glossary>

necessary preventive and/or corrective measures whenever necessary. Sustainable tourism should also maintain a high level of tourist satisfaction and ensure a meaningful experience to the tourists, raising their awareness about sustainability issues and promoting sustainable tourism practices amongst them (WTO, 2004⁴). Therefore national and international organizations promote tourism as a development agent (Richter, 1999; Dieke, 2000). It is noted from 1980s and 1990s academic concepts, as the preceding discussion suggests development brings institutional and structural advancement along with economic benefit and costs to communities and physical change due to development in tourism.

The connection between two fields of studies i.e. development and tourism emerged after the Second World War (Sharpley, and Telfer, 2002). Initially, in the 1960s, the concept of tourism and development emerged as a tool for economic development by the UN, World Bank and OECD, focused on the monetary benefits of tourism, i.e. currency exchange and opportunities of employment (Graburn and Jafari, 1991; Sharma, 2004). Fredrick (1993: 215) stated that for more than “40 years” tourism was taken as the most suitable option for speedy development of underdeveloped economies. Similarly Sharpley and Telfer (2002) argue that most of the literature on tourism and development was about the impacts of tourism on economies.

Tourism has become the major source of income in developing countries in terms of creation of employments. Becken and Hay (2007: 90) argue that, in order to raise the standard and image of a region “Tourism has become the hope for many developing countries”, “[...] and it is already an integral part in most developed economies”. Colclough (1996) concurs with the view that tourism has the ability to raise the standard of economy of a destination as investment increases with the increase in trade due to the expansion of tourist industry. As many tourist destinations in the third world are undisturbed and untouched (Paul, 2004) the vast lands, low cost of living, excessive human resource, and low wage workers in the tourism sector will provide opportunities for investors in businesses (Dieke, 2000; Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004). Moreover local communities become involved in planning, decision making and the management of an ecosystem. It also brings a greater level of awareness and education amongst them. These also give strength and a sense of authority to them (Felmy, 2006; TIES, 2010).

Tourism development in LDCs has been identified as one of the tools to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by the United Nations (UN). Honey and Gilpin (2009) state that as far as economic development is concerned, tourism (known as the world’s largest business sector) helps the economies of the poor countries as 83% of developing countries earn their foreign exchange through tourism and for the world’s 40 poorest countries, tourism is the second important source of foreign exchange after oil. The Secretary-General of the UN’s World

⁴<http://www.sustainabletourism.net/definitions.html>

Tourism Organization (UNWTO) Francesco Frangialli has noted that, “while mature markets [in Europe and North America] remain the leading destinations in the world, the faster growth rate of new markets confirms UNWTO’s main message of tourism’s potential for the developing world” (Honey, 2009: 2).

For many developing countries with limited industrial sector and natural resources, “tourism represents the only realistic means to win the much desired foreign income, creating jobs and attracting more foreign investments” (Afrodita, 2011:334 cited in Sharpley and Telfer, 2002 and Sharma, 2004).As Spencer &Rurangwa point out (2012: 1052), “For many developing countries [...]tourism has been viewed as one of the most lucrative industries to diversify the economy, create jobs and enhance the general welfare of that part of the population living in poverty”.

It is further researched that tourism can bring backward linkages with agriculture and other sectors by bringing back the outgoing migrants to their home place (De Kadt, 1979), for instance in the case of Chilas tourism opportunities are seen as bringing outgoing emigrants back to the destination in order to grow their own food and offer that produce to tourists to retain local income in the destination.

Moreover as De Kadt’s argument regarding tourism as a tool for economic development held true in case of Chilas where the community especially the women have been benefitted by tourism development in the region. Women are getting more opportunities in terms of individual social and economic development as entrepreneurs because they have been able to develop home-based women only businesses as a result of their interaction with tourists as an informant [female: 30s: farmer] said, “*I have got chance to learn a lot from visitors [...] I am saving money now to open a shop inside my home for which I have allocated a room already [...]*” (see chapter 7 sub-section 7.2.5 for further details).

Tourism is also seen as playing a vital role in the empowerment of Chilassi women, therefore, I must say that the power relations in Chilas is already in transition due to tourism. This is not a total transition of power from men to women however, in a few houses informants advised that the situation was more equal due to women earning their own income through tourism (see chapter 7). Similarly as Harrison (1992 and 2001) highlights the issue of poverty and its elimination with the help of tourism has also held true to a certain extent. In the case of Chilas as tourism is not as developed as in neighbouring destinations, the effect of tourism on poverty cannot be determined. However respondents explained that the families who have business contacts and engage with tourism in neighbouring regions i.e. working for tourism sector on a sustainable basis have improved their economic condition.

In addition to the economic aspects of tourism and development, the environmental impacts of tourism on natural resources and recreational activities have also been addressed (Harrison, 2001 & 2006; Brezezinska-Wojcik, and Baranowska, 2012). For instance nature based tourism is not only a fast-growing sector of the international tourism industry, but a major draw card for countries

seeking to attract visitors who are on the lookout for new experiences in challenging and scenic environments (Page *et al.*, 2005; Bentley *et al.* 2010).Contour (2002) adds that water based tourism is a popular type of tourism amongst adventure tourism. Similarly the rivers can be an important source in the process of leisure through the sport activities which can unfold in this environment thus becoming a geographic factor with a tourist vocation (Tatar, 2011:118). Fleminger (2006) believes that water based tourism activities present an unlimited choice of activities for outdoor recreation. For instance participants to water-based activities have both the possibility to train their body in participating at various activities such as sailing, rafting, kayaking, snorkelling and breathe in fresh air and therefore keep both the mind and the body in a healthy condition (Tatar, 2011:117).

Moreover water based areas have been a source of tourist attraction since ancient times (Tatar, 2011) as well as communities. For instance Abbott (2013: 49) states, “water trails can add significantly to a community's bottom line”. As research in this area has progressed the concepts of sustainability in development and community development have emerged (Manavhela and Spencer, 2012; Cole, 2006).As many tourist destinations in the third world are undisturbed and untouched (Paul, 2004) the vast lands, low cost of living, excessive human resource, and low wage workers in the tourism sector will provide opportunities for investors in businesses (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Dieke, 2000). Moreover local communities become involved in planning, decision making and the management of an ecosystem. It also brings a greater level of awareness and education amongst them. These also give strength and a sense of authority to them (TIES, 2010; Felmy, 2006).According to TIES (2010⁵), “By employing local people whenever possible and paying fair wages [...] prevents exploitation and benefits the local economy by preventing leakages of the revenue acquired through tourism. Many Eco tour operators are involved in working on initiatives and projects with the local community such as training and education programmes”.

There is still much to do in research on tourism and development tourism specifically in LDC as Burns (1999: 136) says, “The ‘promise’ of tourism is economic and social development. The reality is often something else [...] the big question remains: ‘Development for whom?’” Likewise tourism development is a very common term used by academics and people, but the true meaning and expression of tourism is still to be understood (Hall, 1994). In the case of LDC, this may take the form of technological and economic development or advancement, while in the developed world it is a combination of the well-being of people, place and products Critics of tourism development have highlighted the fact that, “tourism continued to be driven by levels of government rather than community interests” (Manavhela and Spencer, 2012:535, refers to Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1994). Mowforth and Munt (1998) state that

unplanned tourism growth is proved to be more damaging for the natural and socio-cultural environments for many tourist destinations. Moreover it causes long term disadvantages to the environment and social development of community (Akiset *al.* 1996).

On the other hand, it is also believed that due to “uneven” tourism arrivals and distribution of tourism resources and income, “there have been disappointments in some developing regions of the world on tourism’s ability to pull the economy out of the doldrums of underdevelopment and poverty” (Spencer and Rurangwa, 2012: 1053). In addition to that, “tourism has the potential to become destructive if it over-exploits or degrades the resources on which it depends [...]”, (Okello and Yerian; 2009:605). Moreover, tourism has also negative impacts on the development of a community (see chapter 3) and economy of a country specifically the destinations which are already UC (Harrison, 2001, 2006). Fredrick (1993) highlights the ways in which tourists or visitors from developed economies cause rise in inflation by increasing the demand of local products, meaning that discrimination between locals and tourists takes place.

In addition to the negative impacts of tourism at local level Spencer and Rurangwa (2012: 1054) accept the fact that, “Foreign domination by multinational tourism and hospitality companies suffocates local entrepreneurship potential and is often blamed for foreign currency leakage from the developing to the developed countries where multinational companies are based”. Rather than developing underdeveloped regions it sometimes causes the degradation to the existing economic set up. In this regard Briedenhann and Wickens (2004:71) highlight the fact that struggling with financial crises and downfall of economies, developing countries often ignore the negative impacts of tourism. Paying attention to tourism planning, tourism can be more beneficial for developing countries in creating a sustainable linkage between neighbouring regions seeking development (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Okello and Yerian, 2009).

There are many different views in respect of changes in methodology and strategies for tourism, but authors such as Frederick (1993), Briedenhann and Wickens (2004) and Getz *et al.* (2007) agree that although there are costs for tourism for the purpose of development, if it is properly planned it can be beneficial for economic and social growth of marginalised places. Tourism development may be a cause of clashes in the socio-cultural environment of the region as studies have shown that under developed countries may face negative impacts of tourism development as compared to developed countries (De Kadt, 1979; Brohman, 1996b; see chapter 3). Prices and access to goods and services increase due to tourism development in an area and negatively influence poorer groups (De Kadt, 1979; Allison, 2008; Harrison, 1995, 2001 and 2008).

Displacement of local communities is yet another factor which can influence badly the host community which has to be displaced due to increased infrastructure and an industrial network. Financial leakages when the host country is to import goods to fulfil the tourist demand are another drawback of tourism in

less developed countries (Donald, 2010; Fishing, 2010; Baum, 2013). Regarding impacts on gender Fishing, (2010) and Baum, (2013) state that 46% of the tourism work force is women. The author further added that women working in tourism earn 79% of what men earn and work 89% of the hours men work. They are paid less and are more likely to be part time. On managerial positions women are less likely to be found in key positions in tourism sectors (United Nations Environment and Development UK Committee, 1999).

During the research it is noted that the uneven distribution of opportunities and resources in the tourism industry has initially affected the attitudes of the Chilassi community towards tourism (details in chapter 7). Like all other forms of development, community development through tourism needs sustainability. The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, 1987) defines tourism development as that, “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987:43).

2.4 Tourism forecast in the South Asian region until 2020 and Tourism in Pakistan

As stated in the preceding discussion third world countries are mainly known for their untouched and undisturbed areas. It is therefore believed that the increasing trend of tourism in these destinations is due to their closeness to nature. With the reference of Echtner and Prasad (2003), according to the tourism statistics in 2003 the fastest growing tourist destinations are in the third world countries. Therefore 30% of all international tourist arrivals which shows a tripling in number over the past 20 years are present in the third world (Echtner and Prasad, 2003:660).

As far as tourism’s importance is concerned, WTO (2000:9) forecasts that the tourism industry is expected to grow world-wide especially in South Asian countries.

Region	Tourist Arrival Market Share [TAMS] in 1995	Forecasted TAMS in 2020	%age change
Europe	59%	46%	(27%)
Middle East	2%	4%	0.08
Africa	4%	5%	0.02%
America	20%	18%	(3.6%)
Asia and the Pacific	15%	27%	4.05%

Region	Growth Rate % (1995-2020)
Africa	5.5
Americas	3.8
East Asia and Pacific	6.5
Europe	3.1
Middle East	6.7
South Asia	6.2
World as a whole	4.1

Table 2.1 Actual Tourist arrival vs. Forecasted tourist arrival; Tourists forecast by receiving region (adapted from WTO, 2009:5⁶,6⁷,7, 14)

In Table 2.1 compares the actual growth rate of tourist arrival in 1995 and the forecasted figure for 2020. According to the statistics given by WTO (2009) there was a downward trend of tourism during 2000-2005. On the other hand in the Asian region the forecast is showing an upward trajectory until 2020. As far as the present study site of Chilas is concerned, table 2.1 indicates an opposite trend: upward tourism tendency i.e. 15% - 27% in the Asian region until 2020. This is an important figure for the development of communities and UCDs in the third world.

Table 2.1 shows that in South Asia (6.2%) the average growth rate is higher than Africa (5.5%), America (3.8) % and Europe (3.0%). This tourism forecast is taken as an indication that tourism will bring positive economic, social changes and also will reform existing gender biased traditional practices in the Asian region

⁶ (available at)

http://www.mots.go.th/ewtadmin/ewt/mots_km/download/article/Knowledge_Base/Tourism/long_term_thai.pdf

⁷ (available at):

http://www.mots.go.th/ewtadmin/ewt/mots_km/download/article/Knowledge_Base/Tourism/long_term_thai.pdf

including Pakistan. WTO (2009: 17) further indicates that tourism is growing in the next ten years specifically in the Asian regions, it is therefore the policy makers and tourism industries of the third world specifically the MoT of Pakistan has to revise the tourism policies and infrastructure to attract more tourists from the rest of the world.

As many tourists are interested in visiting places different to their home world such as many European citizens are drawn towards visiting eastern and most likely developing countries to experience diverse and most likely un touched historical, cultural, social, physical and ecological environments. Another advantage of increasing nature-based tourism is that from the financial point of view the LDC does not need a vast amount of money to invest in a destination to attract tourists who believe in natural settings of tourism and environment. Moreover mostly the cost of living is relatively low in LDC as compared to that of developed countries.

With regard to Pakistan as a part of the South Asian region, the country possesses destinations that are undisturbed and untouched [chapter 1] i.e. NAP still receives a greater number of tourists each year. However for many reasons for example unstable economy due to a number of factors including population increase, disastrous earth quake in 2005, A chain of Floods in 2010, 2011 [2012, 2013 and 2014], occurrences of epidemics due to those floods, unstable government resulting from for example high levels of corruption in government development institutes, fear of terrorism resulting from the incident of 9/11/2001 followed by the Taliban Movement⁸ the tourism industry has failed to gain the targeted achievements since 2001 (TIES, 2011⁹) [discussed further in chapter 5].

Despite the fact that the country was going through the phase of recovery from NACs, the tourist arrival has shown a rise that caused an increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP) in the year of 2010 (Ministry of Tourism, 2011).

Years	Tourists (Million)	Receipts (US\$ Million)	Percentage Change
2001	0.4997	92.2	0.46%
2002	0.4981	105.4	0.52% ↑
2003	0.5009	135.6	0.67% ↑
2004	0.648	185.6	1.20% ↑
2005	0.7983	185.3	1.47% ↑

⁸ Extremist's resistance towards penetration of foreign security forces to Afghanistan

⁹<http://www.yourtravelchoice.org/2011/06/add-your-voice-to-support-tourism-as-a-tool-for-sustainable-and-peaceful-development-in-pakistan/>

2006	0.8984	260.1	2.33%	↑
2007	0.8395	276.1	2.31%	↓
2008	0.8228	243.5	2.00%	↓
2009	0.8549	240.6	2.05%	↑
2010	0.9068	305.9	2.77%	↑

Table 2.2 Tourists' arrival and receipts from tourism since 2001- 2010 (Adapted from the data from Ministry of Tourism: Pakistan, 2011)

Table 2.2 provides an overview of tourist arrivals and receipts from tourism in the years starting from 2001-2010 before abolition of the MoT in June 2011. There has been a noticeable upward trajectory in tourists as well as income from tourism each year except 2007 and 2008 until 2010. The receipt percentage in 0.46 has gone up to 2.77 in 2010 with a significant change in tourist arrival to the country.

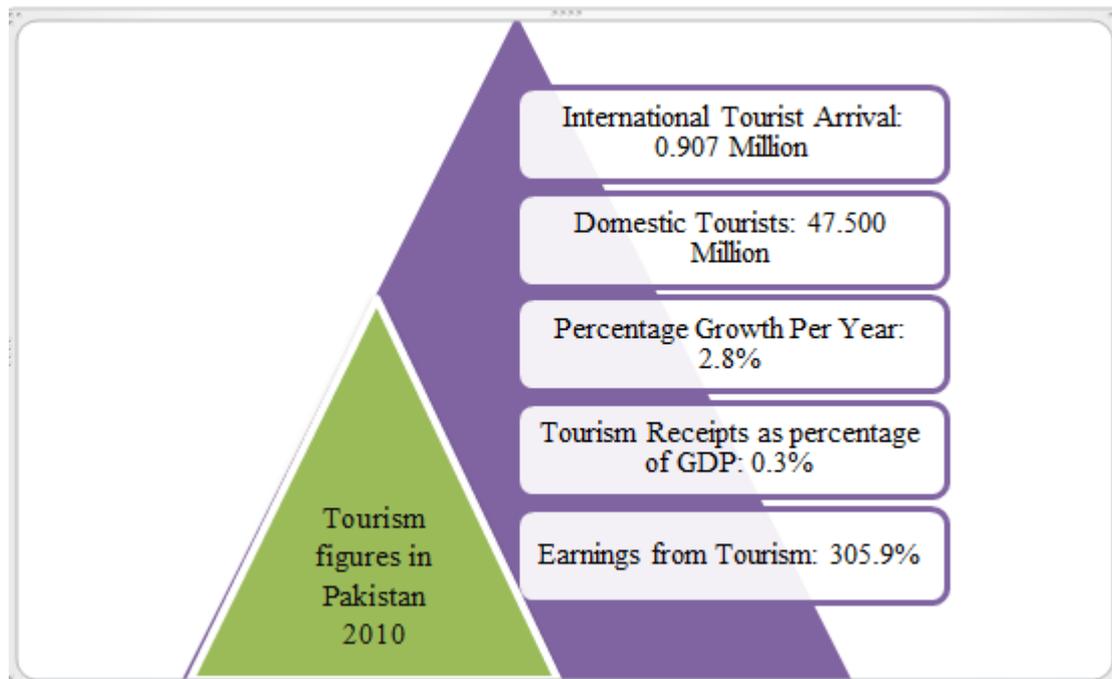


Figure 2.2 Tourism Data of Pakistan 2010 (Adapted from Ministry of Tourism [MoT], Government of Pakistan)

Figure 2.2 gives an overview of tourism in the year of 2010. According to the MoT of Pakistan in the year of 2010 the tourism industry started to revitalise. There was an increase in international tourist arrivals to 0.907 million as compared to 0.845 million in 2009 [Table 2.2] however domestic tourists statistics show the number of 47,500 in 2010. Similarly the percentage of growth has increased to 2.8%, tourism receipts showed an increase of 0.3% and earnings from tourism activities has shown a dramatic increase of 305.9% in the year 2010 as compared to 240.6% in the year 2009 figures shown in the Table 2.1.

Country	Arrivals (2010)	Percentage share
UK	288,238	31.8
U.S.A	120,369	13.3
Afghanistan	110,922	12.2
Canada	46,228	5.1
India	43,751	4.8
Iran	37,722	4.2
China	27,887	3.1
Germany	22,555	2.5
Philippines	15,871	1.8
Australia	13,931	1.5

Tourists Percentage

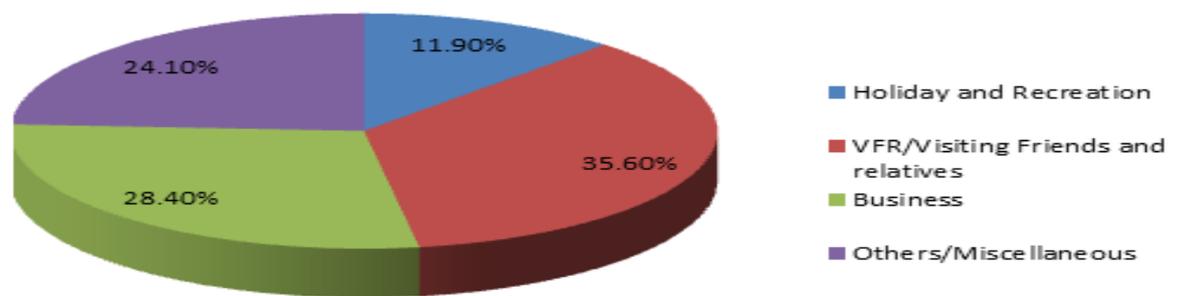


Figure 2.3 International tourist generating countries and purpose of tours in 2010
(Adapted from Ministry of Tourism, 2010 and 2011)

The data held by MoT of Pakistan in Figure 2.3 shows that the UK is the top tourist generating market to Pakistan followed by U.S.A and Afghanistan respectively. According to statistics held by MoT (2010), the total number of tourists mainly VFR from the UK and USA is 408,607, making 45.1% of the total number of tourist arrivals in 2010. From neighbouring countries i.e. Afghanistan, India, China and Iran the total [legal¹⁰] number of tourists was 220,282 making 24.3% of total tourist arrivals. The rest derived from Canada with 46,228 tourists, Germany with 22,555, Philippines with 15,871 and Australia with 13,931 tourists who share 10.9% of total tourists to the country. It is further stated that for holidays and recreation purposes only 11.90% of tourists visited Pakistan in 2010, whereas a significant percentage i.e. 35.60% were those who were Visiting Friends and Relatives [VFR]. Additionally 28.40% visited for business purposes and 24.10% were categorised as miscellaneous tourists including international

¹⁰ It was informed that tourists/visitors/businessmen from across the borders enter the country without the permission of the government illegally.

government officials, NGO representatives, international students and academic staff.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature of how various theories of development have progressed since the 1950s. It has been noted that development in early research was taken as economic development of a state or community, and that with the established financial background and infrastructure this brings with it, communities, institutions and states can grow (Todaro, 1982). In addition, it is assumed that economic stability is the answer to everything, and that that development brings about the economic uplift of agrarian economies to manufacturing economies (Balaam and Vaseth, 1996). The discussion in this chapter suggests that the capitalistic approach to development initially brought the gap of rich and poor in a society. It is therefore causes the Marxist approach to come forward in the development literature.

The academic literature reflects the view that tourism has potential to preserve and conserve natural and cultural assets and it brings foreign exchange to a region. It is also noted that tourism may be the reason for the destruction of fragile cultural and environmental assets, as was noticed, for example, during field research with visitors trying to break the big carved rock boulders to take back with them as a memento. Some have succeeded in breaking the carved rock and taking the pieces while some left their marks of destruction on the spot in the shape of broken carvings. In addition to these and other negative impacts, it is noted that tourism increases the employment rate in a region as due to jobs resulting from tourism development, for example tour guides, goods and services providers get opportunities to enter in employment and also develop their product in light of increased demand (De Kadt, 1979; Harrison, 2001 and 2006 also for detail see chapter 3).

On the other hand tourism can be a cause of unemployment as people who are wholly dependent on earnings from tourism are affected due to the seasonal business. People will look forward to the tourism seasons throughout the year, although in some areas this is made impossible by extreme and unpredictable weather conditions. Socially there will be discomfort if one earns more than others in this close knitted community. In such communities apart from close bonding of people there is extreme level of disagreement and disparity observed as well [chapter 7].

In addition to the economic costs of tourism development, in UCDs where tourism is not a developed and planned field, it has even worse effects on the community. Due to increase of artificial inflation (refer to Fredrick, 1993) caused by tourists from developed economies, the development of local communities and economies has a setback as it causes discrimination and degradation within tourist buyers and local buyers [chapter 7]. Therefore to address the social and psychological issues of a place and community, there is a need to do in-depth

Chapter 2

research in order to obtain insights into the ways tourism and development affects an UCD and UCC.

The next chapter is a continued literature review of the issues related to UCC and tourism development. To study an UCD with the prospect of tourism development, chapter 3 presents theoretical background regarding post-crises tourism development, followed by UCD and place image and development of an UCC.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Background

Post-Crises (NAC) Tourism, Communication Media, Under Crises Destination (UCD) Image and Under Crises Communities (UCC)-Women

3.1 Introduction

This chapter continues with the theoretical background to help understanding the broader context of this research. The data in this chapter presents tourism development and its link to natural and anthropogenic crises (NAC), communication media (com-media), UCD and community with special reference to women belonging to UC Less Developed Countries (UCLDC). In this chapter the theoretical background of these interrelated areas is reviewed to establish arguments and recommendations for the later parts of the thesis (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). The key link which will be explored here is that between tourism development, NAC and com-media on the development of an UCD and UCC.

The chapter is divided into three main parts. The first part is the review of the literature on tourism, NAC-post-crises tourism and com-media (section 3.2-3.3). The second part is the analytical review of tourism and a destination image (section 3.4) and the third part examines the existing literature on tourism and communities with special reference to women in development and in tourism (section 3.5-3.7), followed by a summary of the chapter in section 3.8. The following section presents the theoretical background regarding post-disaster tourism in order to establish an understanding as how that links to this case study.

3.2 Tourism and NAC

Tourism as an industry is determined by many factors, for instance, economic opportunities, natural and cultural attractions, climatic and political conditions (Ritchie, 2004; Denicolai *et al.*, 2010; Hamzah *et al.*, 2012). However, while Ritchie (2004) and Hall (2010) suggest that the tourism industry is vulnerable to the natural disasters, my research shows that the tourism industry of an LDC is more prone to anthropogenic crises and faces more disastrous losses in the aftermath of natural disasters in combination with anthropogenic ones.

For this thesis I have combined the word disaster and crises together as NAC. In terms of the research case study NAC have a huge impact on people and place. Therefore to follow only disaster or crises would not do justice to this thesis. A distinction has already been made between the terms “crises” and “disasters” by Faulkner (2001: 136). These terms are often used interchangeably in the media and indeed in some academic circles (Walters and Mair, 2012). According to the definitions given by Faulkner the term “disaster” refers to a “situation where an

enterprise or a destination is confronted with sudden unpredictable catastrophic change over which it has little control” (p: 136) – for example, natural disasters.

The term natural crises is described as extremely negative situations with the potential to create severe physical and emotional pain by Feinberg (1998:1¹). This can be further elaborated to highlight the ways in which these often occur unexpectedly with relatively little time to adjust and prepare and can have impacts on the educational, socio-economic environment. This research has demonstrated that a natural crisis may affect the mental health of sufferers at an individual and a collective level (Feinberg, 1998). Natural crises ‘often exceed the coping capability of the affected community or society [... and] results in serious disruption in the functioning of a society and widespread damages to life, property, infrastructure and environment” (Jha, 2010: 1&2). Natural crises refer to the earth’s natural disasters such as floods, fires, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, heat waves, epidemics and tsunamis (Medair, 2011²).

However, the term “crises” also refers to a “situation where the root cause of an event is, to some extent, self-inflicted through such problems as inept management structures and practices or a failure to adapt to change” (Faulkner, 2001 p: 136). Jha (2010) describes anthropogenic or man-made crises as those have occurred by human negligence, error or failure of man-made system such as crimes, civil disorder, terrorism, and war. Both NAC have doubled in frequency due to global warming and are therefore the cause of serious and long term damages to existing socio-economic and eco-environmental structures (Jha, 2010; Patel and Hastak, 2013). This research has shown that gender bias, unskilled and biased communication media can be considered as anthropogenic crisis. As the focus of this research is on both types of crises, they have, therefore, been conflated in the acronym “NAC”.

When major NAC occur they “often destroy hundreds of homes that leave victims homeless and leads to community displacement” (Patel and Hastak, 2013:95) and ultimately the situation affects the flow of tourists to that UCD. An UCD requires more time than normal for a development process to recover from the loss. Recovery is also dependant on various factors such as the response of the destination, local community to the incident, help and support from relevant institutions to help the destination to quickly recover (Jha, 2010). The term, “tourism crisis” is now used for destinations whose economy has “suffered from an immediate drop in visitor arrivals” (Glaesser, 2003: 6). Similarly, Sonmez, Bachmann and Allen *et al;* (1994: 2) define tourism crisis as:

any occurrence which can threaten the normal operations and conduct of tourism related businesses; damage a tourist destination’s overall reputation for safety, attractiveness, and comfort by negatively affecting visitors’ perceptions of that destination; and, in turn, cause downturn in the local travel and tourism economy,

¹ (Available on): http://www.nasponline.org/resources/crisis_safety/MidwestFloods.pdf

² (Available on): <http://www.medair.org/en/what-we-do/medair-serves-the-worlds-most-vulnerable-people/natural-disasters-and-other-crisis/>

and interrupt the continuity of business operations for the local travel and tourism industry, by the reduction in tourist arrivals and expenditures.

It is observed that most of the regions of the world are facing one or other kind of crises. To some it is anthropogenic crisis i.e. political instability in Libya, Sri Lanka, Palestine, Syria, Africa, Afghanistan and Pakistan, the ‘credit crunch’ in the United Kingdom and other European countries, UC com-media, gender discrimination and civil turmoil in Pakistan, India and Burma and natural crises i.e. floods, earthquakes, epidemics, shortage of food, water and power in Pakistan, Somalia, or the tsunami in Japan.

However, the impacts of NAC are diverse in different regions; by way of illustration, Jha (2010) provides an overview of effects of crises on rich vs. poor nations [see Table:3.1], showing that developing and low income nations are more vulnerable to crises; for instance, of the more than 2,200 disasters that occurred in the world during 1990-2001, 35% took place in Asia, 29% in Africa, 20% in America, 13% in Europe and 3% in Oceania (UNESCO Water Portal 2008 in Jha, 2010: 8).

Rich Countries	Poor Countries
Financially: tend to suffer from economic crisis but have adequate resources and effective plans to overcome the situation.	They are relatively less at financial risk but it can affect their socio-economic development.
Physically: have adequate resources, skills and committed plans to take advantage of advanced technology to reduce the risk of life and property risk.	They usually lack adequate resources, skills and advanced technology to reduce the effect of disaster.
Intangible: normally recover quickly from any trauma and physical disease with the help of expertise in technology and medical field. The recovery process is therefore faster of rich countries.	They usually remain under traumatic condition due to non-availability of appropriate technological and medical assistance. Therefore recovery process is slower as compared to that of rich countries.

Table 3.1 Disparities in disaster impact between rich and poor countries. (Modified and adapted from Jha, 2010³)

Table 3.1 demonstrates, along with the preceding discussion, that poor countries are more vulnerable to NAC and due to the lack of advanced technology, skills and expertise the recovery process tends to be very slow. It is noted that the remote mountainous destinations are more prone to delayed recovery after NAC

³ Available on:

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=fICXQSPJwx8C&pg=PA7&lpg=PA7&dq=what+are+the+anthropogenic+crisis/disasters&source=bl&ots=WOLx9WjGK_&sig=PqpsCzdF1_B5hpKIPEfxYZIzFGE&hl=en#v=onepage&q=what%20are%20the%20anthropogenic%20crisis%2Fdisasters&f=false

due to tardy emergency and rescue services and less developed infrastructure (Kotlyakov, 1991⁴). Tourism destinations are often regarded as developed in the sense of their infrastructures, therefore, tourism pre- or post-NAC could help an UC or PC destination recover from the crises quickly. Crises thus damage a tourism sector irrespective of whether they are natural or anthropogenic. It has been observed during the field research process that anthropogenic crises were more damaging to the tourism industry compared to natural crises. On the other hand, tourism and NAC have a reciprocal relationship as tourism is believed to function as a tool to help regions recover from NAC. For instance,

Organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and the European Union (EU), as well as national ministries, regional bodies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), view tourism as a tool for economic diversification and regeneration, poverty reduction, post-conflict stability, socio-economic recovery and multilateral integration and peace (Novelli *et al.* 2012: 1447).

Further in the discussion, Hitchcock and Putra (2009) note that it is difficult to isolate tourists completely from the effects of international instability. As discussed earlier, discomfort in one region might cause uncertainty in other destinations. Fieldwork revealed that the impact of political unrest in Afghanistan affected Pakistan and India initially⁵, followed by the wider world as a secondary impact⁶. Similarly Morakabati (2007: 30) states, “[...] *Tourists tend to associate a security incident not just with a specific location, but with an entire region [...] war in Afghanistan on tourism in Pakistan*”. Furthermore, Hitchcock and Putra (2009) give an example of political instability linked to the Gulf War in 1991, which resulted in a decline of the tourism and travel industry. This not only affected the Gulf region but also impacted on international tourism; the tourism industry in destinations as far away as Indonesia, for example, suffered the effects of the Gulf War (Hitchcock and Putra, 2009).

It is a commonly held view that tourism only flourishes when there is safety and security provided to a tourist therefore the development of tourism depends upon the level of peace in a destination (Pizam and Mansfield, 1996; MacLaurin, 2005; Hitchcock and Putra 2009; Honey and Gilpin, 2009⁷). Moreover, Mansfield and Pizam (2005) and Novelli *et al.*, (2012) concur with Hitchcock and Putra’s analysis that the guarantee of tourists’ safety needs establishing as part of the

⁴Available on: <http://www.eolss.net/Sample-Chapters/C01/E4-06-03.pdf>

⁵Neighbouring countries have initially felt the effect of war in Afghanistan place as terrorists escape from Afghanistan by crossing the border illegally and seeking refuge in Pakistan, and acts of terrorism have started in the shape of suicide bombings in Pakistan and attacks on embassies.

⁶ Second place means peoples’ attitudes have changed loss of potential tourists from other parts of the world.

⁷ Also available at:

http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CCEQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.usip.org%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2Ftourism_developing_world_sr233_0.pdf&ei=iaMWVJbiKMWM7QaVI4G4DQ&usg=AFQjCNGYTxBxdoc7-R-QvgGADTICynfPgw&bvm=bv.75097201,d.ZWU

initial processes of promoting a place as a tourism destination. Accordingly, it is argued that, “Political stability and prosperous tourism thus go hand in hand” (Richter and Waugh, 1986: 238 cited by Hitchcock and Putra 2009: 84). Regarding terrorism, De Sausmarez (2007:278) notes that “The upsurge in activity of al-Qaeda and other disaffected groups has made acts of terrorism more widespread” and the frequency of the fear to travel anywhere in the world is higher than before. Chapter 5 of this thesis further discusses the development strategies for the recovery of UCDs in the situation of NACs in terms of sustainable development as by Beirman (2002) and Novelli *et al.*, (2012).

3.2.1 Post Crises (Tourism) Recovery

De Sausmarez argues (2007:277) that due to the “globalisation of business” and “international communication” crises and disasters have gained increasing importance in the international world. Since the 1960s there has been a significant growth in the literature regarding crises management, albeit mainly focused on a particular destination or organisation (Irvine & Anderson, 2004; De Sausmarez, 2007). There have been a few studies (e.g. Sonmez *et al.*,1999) that have investigated responses towards terrorist incidents, while Cavlek (2002) studied the role of tour operators in the creation of a post-crises place image. The Asian financial crises received specific scholarly attention, for example by Muqbil (1998) and Prideaux (1999) and Hall (2000) and Hitchcock (2001) examined the social, financial and political crises in Indonesia.

Similarly, post-crises recovery for the purpose of tourist development in the Indonesian island of Bali following terrorists attacks are explored by Hitchcock and Putra (2005, 2006). They suggest that recovery after crises is more efficient if a destination is already going through a phase of development. Rittichainuwat (2013) explored natural disasters, such as tsunamis, and the perceptions of tourists and tourism suppliers towards tsunamis. Rittichainuwat further argues that the Asian region is more prone to natural disasters, noting that, “Understanding perceived important safety measures is helpful to ensure the confidence of tourists and local residents by increasing safety standards at tourist destinations and effectively allocating money for a safety budget”.

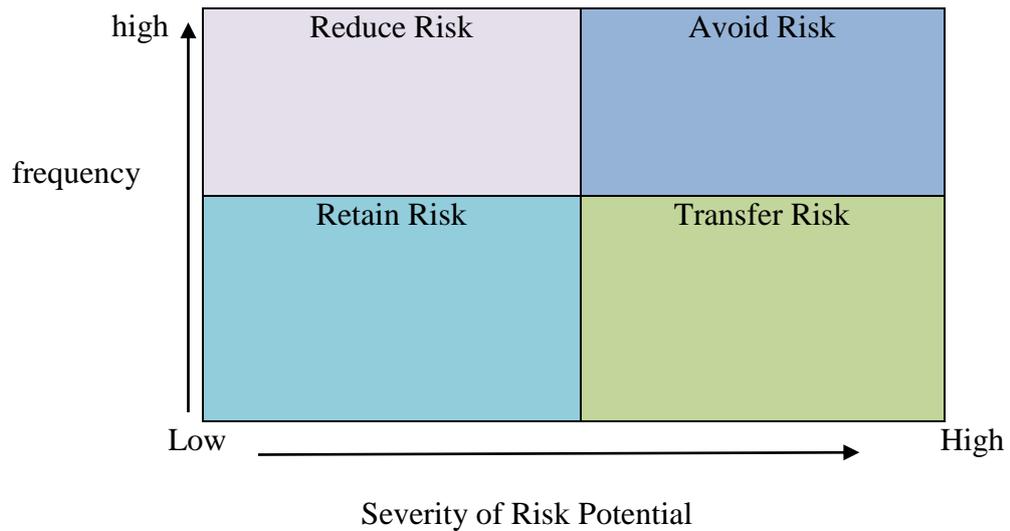


Figure 3.1 the risk of evaluation matrix (Adapted from Wilks and Davies, 2000: 595)

Wilks and Davies (2000) suggest a framework for crises management that includes retention of risk, transfer of risk, reduction and avoidance of risk. They suggest that in crises management [in the case of businesses] losses can be reduced if the frequency and severity of risk is low in businesses or in development process (see Figure 3.1). Likewise, if the frequency of risk is low but the severity is high, they suggest to transfer responsibilities to other organisations, as, for example, in businesses where operators transfer responsibilities to insurance companies. In a case where frequency of risk is high but severity is low it is advised to plan and implement rules and regulations to reduce the effects of risks and, in the end, where both frequency and severity are high, it is recommended to cancel further development and investments in order to secure control over existing resources and to avoid further losses (Wilks and Davies, 2000).

To take effective control over crises it is necessary to establish an efficient crises management cell in every UCD or areas prone to NAC. Crises management is a process to minimise the economic and social losses and is applied for the purposes of crises recovery by allocating means and resources to a project (Rosenthal & Pijnenburg, 1990). Accordingly, Mansfeld and Pizam (2006) note that to prevent disastrous effects of NAC some host governments tend to collaborate with all stakeholders to improve security measures and the tourism sector as a part of crises management processes. Likewise, warnings, alerts and safety measures are taken by governments and relevant stakeholders in order to ensure safety through crises management processes. For example, to circumvent the negative effects of the crises warnings issued to European nationals that they should not visit Asian countries because of the fear of terrorism attacks (Shane, 2010⁸; BBC, 2010⁹). Furthermore, travel agents were asked not to recommend potentially unsafe areas for tourists (Cavlek, 2002). Coxon (2006) highlights

⁸ Available in "The New York Times (2nd October, 2010:41)

http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/03/world/europe/03security.html?_r=0

⁹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11468227>

warnings and safety issues to prevent beach risks in Australia, Britain and Spain. Hamzah *et al.* (2012) agree that crises have a significant effect on both tourists and communities irrespective of the economic and political situation. However, as Richie observes (2004, 2008), disasters and crises have different scales of impact on different communities and tourists. For example, disasters cause stress, insecurity and anxiety to tourists resulting in them avoid visiting UCDs (Coombes and Jones, 2010). The post-crises recovery process takes a significant amount of time to restore social, physical and economical lives back to normal. As Arain notes, “the complex and multi-faceted processes of post-disaster recovery and reconstruction extend well beyond the immediate period of restoring basic services and life support infrastructure” (2011: 68).

That said, Hayashi (2012:193) claims that, “Disasters reveal the deeper layers of society’s structure and individual psychology, which are hidden beneath the surface of the social fabric in peaceful times”, demonstrates the way it is possible to understand a community’s structure after crises. It is seen, therefore, that at times of crises closely knit communities –*Gemeinschaft* specifically – play a vital role in rescuing the victims and recovery from NAC. *Gemeinschaft* was first described by Tönnies in 1887 and is often associated with close-knit communities. The individual in *Gemeinschaft* communities possess common behaviour and beliefs. This usually involves ascribed status - which means the status given by birth - and strong family bonds (Merriam-Webster, 2012).



Figure 3.2 Disaster Cycle and Development (adapted from Sharma *et al.*¹⁰)

Figure 3.2 shows the relationship between government, national and international NGOs and community in the response and recovery from crises. However the figure neglects to give importance to any kind of response from UCC in the shape

¹⁰ (Available online):

<http://gwbweb.wustl.edu/sites/DevPractice/Haiti%20Reports%20of%20Development%20Agencie/s/CBDM%20report-%20Sharma.pdf>

of feedback after development plans are or if presented, their participation in decision making, giving value and weight to the opinions of local communities regarding any plans involving the destination and community. Thus the network of organisations i.e. NGOs, national and international organisations, researchers and academics working around UCDs and UCCs need to encourage responses from UCC in order to achieve development goals in a sustainable manner; i.e. rehabilitation and reconstruction with the choice of local community to prevent constraints during from local community during NAC. Arain (2011) advocates the development of the economy and the general welfare of the common public (i.e. health and education) to mitigate the effects of disasters along with a political leadership and administration skilled in crises management. The introduction of an intellectual community is also advised; i.e. academics and local administration to undertake more research on pre- and post-disasters situations (Arain, 2011; Hayashi, 2012). De Sausmarez (2007: 281, 282) analyses four “aspects of post crises recovery [...]”: the restoration of confidence, the part played by the media, the role of the stakeholders, and the speed and appropriateness of the response”.

De Sausmarez (2007:281-282) suggests,

Regaining the confidence of both the international and domestic markets may be considered of primary importance to post-crisis recovery [...] The importance of the part played by the media during and after a crisis must not be underestimated [...] public’s perception of an incident is strongly influenced by how the media report it and exaggerated and inaccurate information may sensationalize or confuse the situation [...] The involvement of stakeholders from both the private and public sectors and full cooperation between them is essential for a complete and cost effective recovery [...] The speed of recovery depends not only on the extent of the damage caused by the disaster or crisis but also on how quickly the status quo can be re-established.

The level of confidence within an UCC towards media, government and tourism stakeholders is found to be unsatisfactory in Chilas. Therefore the lack of cooperation and dissatisfaction by the local community in respond to government intervention and implementation of regulations for development projects were notable features recorded during this research (as will be discussed in chapter 5&7).The issues of implementation of regulations has been discussed by De Sausmarez (2004), whereas Arain (2011: 68) highlights the fact that, “[...] post-disaster rehabilitation and recovery programs should be seen as the opportunities to work with communities and serve local needs”. Not involving the local community in planning and implementation can cause serious interruptions to development projects. Therefore it is important to concentrate on pre and post-NAC awareness within the com-media and communities and to involve them in projection, planning and implementations to help mitigate the NAC after-effects; especially in the Asian region since it is known as “Disaster-prone region” and has suffered 34% (percent) of global disasters since 1900-2010 (Hayashi, 2012:190).

3.3 Tourism, NAC and Communication Media (com-media), Destination Image

“We live in a media-saturated world and the media consume a lot of our time but what influence do they have on the way we feel, think, and act?” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007: 361).

Many tourists visit natural and non-commercialised places that have diverse cultural and ecological backgrounds (Britton, 1979; Cohen, 1993; Scheveyens, 2003); however, it is also the case that international tourists are reluctant to visit UCDs (Edgell, 1990; Morakabati, 2007) despite the diverse and unspoiled ecology of many such destinations. This can be attributed to how com-media projects the destination and its people. Fulcher and Scott (2008) refer back to Marxist theory that assumes, “the content of the media is shaped by those who own and control them”. Therefore, to understand the content of media, the one who generates the news needs to be studied. In case of Pakistani com-media it is noted from interviews that is “unskilled and prisoned” [male: 39: social worker in Pakistan] as discussed in chapter 5, whereas the com-media portraying Pakistan is “Biased”. To project a destination and community in order to improve tourism development, the com-media needs to be skilled.

The study of com-media represents one key strand of this thesis: the relationship between socio-cultural tourism development and media in UCD, a relationship which is closely interrelated:

Modern communication media have become a major focus for research for the simple reason that they are central to organising every aspect of contemporary life, from the broad patterning of social institutions and cultural systems, to intimate everyday encounters and people’s personal understandings of the world and their sense of themselves (Deacon *et al.* 2007:1).

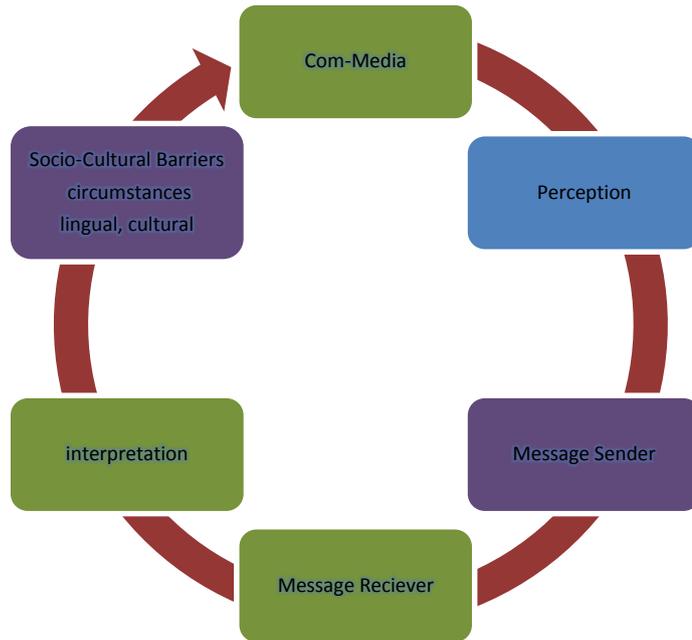


Figure 3.3 The Communication Process

Figure 3.3 represents five basic stages in communicating a message by using any mode of com-media. Where messages are sent by senders but are subject to several influencing factors, i.e. situation and circumstances around sender, perception to send message, mode and skills of using com-media. Similarly with the receiver's point of view there are several barriers for instance current situation and circumstances around receiver, expectation from message and from the sender, socio-cultural barriers. This all factors are interrelated in order to interpret the message. It is possible that the messages will be perceived according to the receiver's understanding and could be perceived differently. Foulger (2004), for example argues that the relationship between the creator of a message and the consumer/receiver is of a reflexive nature; i.e. messages are created by keeping attributes of consumers in view and consumers interpret them and provide feedback to creators to help them create messages in future. Thus it is clear from the figure 3.3 that media and audiences affect each other and both have a reciprocal connection where media has the power to affect the perception and way of thinking of an audience. Similarly an informant [Male: 37: political agent] expressed, "*media shows what it wants to show and what attract people more to get more publicity*". Moreover examples from Chilas have been quoted in chapter 5 and 7 regarding the misinterpretation of communications between inter and intra cultures.

Com-media does not just involve print and electronic forms; but as this thesis demonstrates human verbal communication should be considered as equally important. The importance of communication media is increasing daily as they are powerful tools which can have a considerable impact on peoples' perceptions (Paris, 2012). Advanced technology minimises the distances between societies and isolation can be overcome due to an increase in communication channels (Mascheroni, 2007). However, it is often the case that image and reality do not match each other: for example, the situation in a community or at a destination is

often portrayed differently from reality by communication media (Mansson, 2011).

Images of a place are not only constructed by human thought but are also the product of a combination of different social sources (Gao *et al.*, 2012). With advancement in technologies, social networking has made it easier to interact with other communities (Mansson, 2011). Paris (2012:18) asserts that, “the global visibility of previously remote destinations and small businesses is increasing as they engage with the online backpacker culture through social media”. Businesses and destinations are now in more control of their global visibility; previously they were largely dependent upon word-of-mouth or travel guides such as Lonely Planet to increase their popularity and businesses.

In the 21st century, therefore, media has become an essential part of people’s and destination’s lives. Perception of a place product and local people is highly influenced by the com-media projection (Fulcher and Scott, 2007: Holloway, 2007; Paris, 2012).

In a world of hyper-mobile capital, instantaneous communications and increasingly the extensive movement of people, global tourism is an ambivalent phenomenon that encapsulates the contradictory forces of mobility and freedom on the one hand, and, immobility and disenfranchisement, on the other (Bianchi, 2007: 64).

Moreover, tourists’ own experiences, i.e. as communicated by the experiences of friends and family, also influence perceptions and decisions to travel to a specific place. De Kadt (1979) and Mozer (2011) also observe that tourists’ decision-making abilities and future tourism plans also get influenced by their past experience of a place. In addition, Diamond, (1977, 1992) argues that the plans and perceptions of tourists about a place get influenced by both the personal experience with the local community and any information they get through any channel of communication. In this regard Wilkinson (1991) claims that interaction between people of different parts of the world that are the product of tourism can bring communities together. Interaction between people from different socio-cultural backgrounds can lead to understanding and sharing of interests and tolerance toward each other’s views and beliefs (Wilkinson, 1991). Furthermore, tourism can help minimise the atmosphere of global insecurity and prejudices by bringing people together hence it can also be used as an instrument to promote peace and democracy and as a source to occupy abandoned amenities and land (Paul, 2004).

As the preceding discussion suggests that for the development of tourism there must be peace moreover it is stated that high intensity of NAC could undermine any tourism industry (Pizam and Mansfield, 1996; Morakabati, 2007:29). De Sausmarez (2007: 278) argues, “the tourism sector is worthy of special consideration in post-crisis recovery as it has the potential to act as a vehicle for the recovery of the national economy”. With regards to the role of the media in the tourist development of an under catastrophe region, Hitchcock and Putra argue (2009:84):

In view of tourism's sensitivity to crisis, it is also widely held, particularly by tourism promotion boards, that the press has a particular role to play in helping alleviate the fears of travellers [...] media is seen as being a major force in the creation of images of safety and political stability in destination regions.

The work of scholars, such as Hitchcock and Putra, who have conducted research in LDC e.g. in Bali, therefore demonstrates that media, terrorism and tourism have a direct connection in terms of the development of a region. As they further note (2009:85):

[N]ot only are obvious threats to tourism such as the press coverage of terrorism seen as a cause for alarm, but so is negative reporting in general. For example, following the onset of the Asian monetary crisis in 1997, Thailand became so alarmed about the future of its tourism industry in the wake of the poor publicity that it sought to counter the flood of bad news by the positive promotion of the country as a cost-effective destination.

In addition, as De Sausmarez (2007:278) cites,

Since the mid-1990s, South East Asia has experienced a number of crises triggered by a variety of occurrences. In 1997, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand were affected to differing degrees by a severe outbreak of environmental haze, which received considerable negative media coverage internationally (ASEAN Secretariat, 2003a).

The preceding discussion has shown that, in times of crises, com-media plays a very important role in tourism development and for helping an UCD emerge from a disastrous situation by minimising the effects of crises on communities and the economy. Honey (2009) suggests that there are natural linkages between tourism and peace, citing the example of European organisations such as the British Travel and Holidays Association, which in 1929 declared "Travel for peace" as a theme of its inaugural meeting. Honey provides further comparatively more recent examples: in 1967, the slogan adopted by the UN's International Tourism Year, "Tourism: Passport to Peace"; the International Institute for Peace through Tourism (IITP), founded in 1986, organized its first global conference two years later which was entitled "Tourism: A Vital Force for Peace"; and, at the 2008 Travellers Philanthropy Conference in Tanzania, the Nobel Laureate and founder of the Green Belt Movement in Kenya, Wangari Maathai, declared in her keynote address, "Tourism can be a great vehicle for peace promotion" (Honey, 2009:1).

To earn peace and stability, Honey and Gilpin (2009:2) suggest that "the tourism industry can help promote peace and stability in developing countries by providing jobs, generating income, diversifying the economy, protecting the environment, and promoting cross-cultural awareness". By adopting such strategies it is possible to increase interaction amongst people and, as Wilkinson (1991) and Cascante (2010) argue, interaction has the power to eliminate or minimize differences and it is an opportunity to bring people closer together to share their views and ideas at a personal level. What governmental and non-governmental organisations need is the ability to take action and control to reverse the misuse of communication media, and thus to help prevent the tourism

industry being damaged by negative propaganda and to ensure safety and security of tourists after offering them easy entrance to a region.

Therefore with proper tourism and destination planning it would be easier to keep the conditions suitable for tourism activities. Hence to utilise tourism industries as a tool to bring peace to a region and community, “periodic awareness programs to instruct local residents of the benefits of tourism” need to be introduced (Gartner, 1996: 269). My fieldwork has shown that to promote tourism as a development tool in an UCD, the capacity of com-media to promote an UCD to the potential tourist market needs paying close attention to. Similarly, Floyd *et al.* (2003: 33) state,

To decrease perceptions of risk might only exist for two of these predictors: Safety concerns and Social risk. One strategy to mitigate safety concerns and perceived social risk is through persuasive advertising techniques. Persuasive advertising is advertising which increases consumers’ willingness to travel.

With the preceding discussion, it has been observed that to minimise discomfort amongst people of different regions and backgrounds, com-media plays a very vital role. It is told by an informant [male, 42y: Local Government Representative] that due to no interaction opportunities misunderstandings and misinterpretation of statements are taking place within the local community and others people (discussed in chapter 5).

It is also noticed during this research that, to a great extent, people’s thoughts are highly influenced by communication media, especially in terms of what they watch or hear from other people. Almost all foreigners met during the course of this research in Chilas had received recommendations from family or friends who have visited Pakistan before or who live in Pakistan. Otherwise,

“[...] *by following only TV or internet [...] no one would be seen here [visiting]*” [male: 32: Malaysian Tourist: business owner].

The relationship of tourism with media is crucial, as media or information through any source directly affects the decision making power and that is ultimately reflected in tourists’ attitudes towards destinations (Lee and Joh, 2010). Smallman and Moore (2010:399) believe that, “Many choices are based on contextual ‘facts’. Many more are based on perceptions or evaluative judgements of relatively high-risk decisions, that is, no-one knows how ‘good’ their holiday is going to be until they are experiencing it”. Therefore, perceptions and judgements are based on what and how the media project the image of a destination. With an easy access to media tourism promotional strategies and relevant promotion techniques are the basis for developing motivations amongst tourists. The behaviour of tourists, as a result, just reflects what their motivations were to travel to a specific destination. In this scenario negative press and media coverage can be an obvious threat to the tourism industry of a country (Hitchcock and Putra, 2009).

The difference between an image of a place at national and international levels has been researched by Bandyopadhyay and Morais (2005). Moreover, a destination image is made up of objective knowledge, impressions, assumptions, imagination and individual or collective emotions of people at specific

destinations. All these traits are important to study as they influence tourists' decision making abilities and affect the level of satisfaction with the experience. Therefore, media is an essential element in the representation of a destination: "representations of destinations typically rely on essentialized descriptions that are appealing to, and easily understood by potential tourists" (Bandyopadhyay and Morais, 2005:1007).

Third world destinations have been at the centre of attention of much extant tourism research (Chon, 1992). In previous studies, destinations of the third world have been described as consisting of fragile ecologies which is in its natural condition and presented as an unspoilt paradise (Britton, 1979; Cohen, 1993). On the other hand, Anson (1999) and Novelli *et al.*, (2012) agree that NAC have negatively impacted on less developed destinations and the entire tourism industry. Similarly, after the incident of 9/11, there has been an apparent change observed in the perceptions and views of the potential tourists. Moreover many of the destinations which were imagined as 'paradise on earth' are no longer considered safe and secure for tourists.

Pakistan has been a victim of such negative press as Goldberg and Ambinder (2011¹¹), writing in *The Atlantic*, a UK based magazine, under the heading of 'The Ally from Hell', argue, "*Pakistan is an unstable and violent country located at the epicentre of global jihadism*". The same concepts about Pakistan propagated by unskilled and biased com-media have affected the image of the region and socio-economic lives of the people. Fulcher and Scott (2008: 361) argue, "who determines what we read in the newspapers, or see on the television news" is it not the editor's, journalists' or corporation's attempts to "give us what we want in order to maximize [the] audience [...]" Therefore, tourism and development in any place in LDCs highly depend upon what is portrayed to the potential audience. That portrayed image of a place affect tourists (Smith and Santos, 2006) as well as the lives and thoughts of local people.

Following the incident of 9/11, media depictions and images of a place have become a major field of tourism-related research (Mansson, 2011). An image of a place depends upon how the com-media projects that image. It influences peoples' views and perceptions (Foulger, 2004) as it provides a constant flow of images and information about destinations and communities. More often com-media plays a basic role in making up tourists' minds to travel to certain destinations (Lee and Joh, 2010). The first thing the tourist is confronted with is the question of what to do or where to go, for which they consult media¹², in the form of the internet, maps, transport guides, etc., but unfortunately very little attention was given toward these basic tourist issues (Brown, 2007).

The little attention to com-media in Chilas contributed to the decline of tourism as in the words of an informant "[...] *the destination and people have not been projected by skilled or probably unbiased media* [female: 76: foreigner]. In some regions which are facing political, economic and social unrest i.e. in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, media seems to be playing a vital role in increasing concerns and gaining attention at an international level. One fieldwork informant noted that

¹¹ <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/12/the-ally-from-hell/8730/>

electronic media is not only used for spreading a good cause but it also a source of spreading tensions amongst the nations. This informant [male: 19: unemployed] commented [explored further in chapter 5],

“[...] *our relatives, friends who work or study in other parts of Pakistan tell us [that][...]the political unrest, terrorism in our country has been initiated by Americans [...] now a days everything is[available] on TV and computer [internet][...] don't you see what foreign army is doing in Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine?[...]*”.

On the other hand, misuse of electronic media has yet another disastrous effect. For example, as Theohary and Rollins¹³ (2011:1&2) remark, “The internet is used by international insurgents, Jihadists and terrorist organisations as a tool for radicalization and recruitment, a method of propaganda distribution, a means of communication [...] Terrorists make use of the internet in a variety of ways [...] social networking tools as propaganda machines [...] for training grounds, and for significant fund – raising through cybercrime”. It is observed that the power of media is widely acknowledged and everyone who wants fame is involved in using media in one way or another, as, indeed, terrorists are doing in order to get control of specific regions by spreading disruption and insecurity throughout the world (Theohary and Rollins, 2011). These kinds of events cause fear in the tourism industry and make tourists hesitate to visit an affected region. As Yoon *et al.* (2000: 364) argue, “Tourists tend to be reluctant to visit places where they feel unwelcome”. Similarly it has been forecasted that for the years from 2000 to 2020,

Tourism will not flourish in destinations suffering civil turmoil or war, or where tourists' health or security is perceived to be under threat. Tourist kidnappings are on the increase with incidents worldwide doubling in the last five years. Terrorist groups are becoming more aware that killing or holding tourists to ransom makes good ‘*media coverage*’ for their cause by gaining international attention(WTO, 2000: 18).

Similarly Morakabati (2007: 29) states, “People travel for many different reasons. Regardless of their purpose of travel, their decision to travel is based on several psychological traits [...] none of those desires have the capacity to over-rule one of the most basic human desires – that of safety”. The safety concern is mainly created by com-media as my research suggests. According to the Press Freedom Index (2005), Pakistan has less press freedom; therefore the biggest threat to the tourism industry in relation to the current world situation is media, as a comment posted on TR News (2009¹⁴), an online magazine, remarked:

[...] terrorism does affect the tourism badly-but at the same [time] the wrong information by the media is even worse. For example the northern part of Pakistan is a huge area-it is as big as Austria and Switzerland put together and this is the most peaceful and the most beautiful part of Pakistan. The trouble area

¹³Available on:

http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Oqj50TAhhyoC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summ ary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

¹⁴Available online: TRNews (2009), (23.01.2009),Tourism Review News, *Terrorism affecting tourism*,<http://www.tourism-review.com/terrorism-affecting-tourism-news1337>

is North West[of Pakistan].But when the media gives information, it does not specify the particular area and only mention ‘North’, it does not realise that this misinformation causes damage to the country.

Gao *et al.* (2012:198) add, “Imaginations of a place reflect the individual’s psychological needs in terms of future hopes or memories of the past, but personal imagination is heavily influenced by the values of particular cultures”. However, such personal imagination is built with communication channels and it therefore follows that if they do not work to promote positive aspects of a place there could be nothing positive to shape the imaginations of followers of those communication media. It is further noted that individuals’ perceptions are greatly influenced by their social set up and the cultural values of destinations. For instance, in Pakistan and Afghanistan only a few places are affected due to security issues but the image portrayed is that the entire country is experiencing trouble. The image and the tourism industry of these countries have been affected by the media.

This research has shown that the general thinking about the area was very negative amongst foreigners and often not satisfactory amongst domestic tourists. The perception of foreigners is that NAP is not a safe place to travel to and that people are rigid and unwelcoming towards foreigners. A Japanese tourist [male: 47] commented [further explored in chapter5],

My friends presume that Pakistani people are very stringent, they don’t encourage foreigners on their land and don’t take them as friends [...] but I found the situation totally opposite and the same was already told by a relative who used to visit Pakistan each year [...] Local people are very warm and welcoming. We enjoyed their company, their local dance and food [...] and free of cost guidance [...].

The situation around the globe has become very tense due to NAC, especially in the Asia region; hence tourism can be used as a tool to help alleviate misconceptions and allow people visiting the areas to have interactions with local communities/affected regions [details in chapter 5]. Therefore, there is a need to pay attention to media and marketing departments for the growth of tourism and building up of a more positive place image. Although scholars have studied tourism and terrorism [NAC], and tourism and the communication media, analyses of all these factors combined has not received attention to date in social science literature, or how and why the level of comfort and trust is affected due to national or international lack of communications.

Contrary to the statement by Morakabati (2007) that the effects and post-NAC recovery of UCDs depend upon the strength and stage of development in the destination the field research for this thesis suggests that the impacts of NAC and post-NAC recovery is mainly dependent upon the efficiency and adequacy of skilled and fair com-media (chapter 5). It is suggested by Ritcher and Waugh, (1986: 231) that tourism planners need to prioritise what they term “political serenity” over “scenic or cultural attractions”. Chacko and Marcell (2008) suggest

strategies to utilise mass communication for the publicity of an UCD for the post-disaster recovery. The authors recommend, “the creation of a location for members of the media to receive updates from local officials so that the perpetuation of disaster “myths” can be mitigated is of vital importance” (ibid: 233).

Tourism research studies are mostly focused on disadvantages of NAC and there is no study that clearly states that a crisis itself can turn an unattractive destination into a tourist destination with the intervention of national and international development organisations [details in chapter 5]. It is possible to identify at least three reasons for this: first is that the UCD attracts attention from researchers and adventurers for the purpose of exploration post disaster; second, that a UCD gets more commercialised and modernised after the reconstruction of buildings, schools and infrastructure. Third, with the additional attention from national and international development organisations and more skilled com-media bodies the development process will be faster than compared to the pre-crisis situation.

It is, therefore, not easy to determine the actual relation of both tourism and NAC as this requires considerable amounts of additional research. Is it tourism that affects NAC or are NAC influencing tourism? Which one is a stronger influence on the other in positive or negative ways? During my fieldwork it was observed that both are strong and can affect communities but the attraction of NAC is stronger than that of tourism itself. Therefore, it is possible that NAC could be the next tourism product [Chapter 5]. Crises and disasters have always impacted tourist destinations (Beirman, 2006; Huang, *et al.*, 2008), however the emergence of crises and disasters in the tourism studies research is fairly new (Ritchie, 2004, 2008; Causevic, 2010; Novelli *et al.*, 2012). In addition, the role of “tourism in post-conflict societies” remains under-explored in the tourism literature (Novelli *et al.*, 2012:1446).

Apart from political unrest, the South Asian region still has huge potential and experience as compared to other parts of the world in terms of its undeveloped natural environment. It still needs to minimise the various effects of unrest in the region, but in the context of keeping a place stable, many studies have shown that tourism has a very strong capacity for recovery (WTO, 2000). Therefore, as noted from my field research, the introduction of skilled and unbiased com-media to develop tourism and to develop a constructive relationship amongst communities will minimise misunderstandings and help UCC grow. It is observed and learnt from the fieldwork and preceding discussion that if a specific part of a destination affected by NAC, com-media has been found to apply this to the entire region or territory. For example the negative publicity arising from the anthropogenic crises in the Swat and North Waziristan border areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan has been applied to the whole of Pakistan through negative and unskilled com-media practices.

In addition to the skilled and unbiased update by the com-media about the UCD or Post Crises Destinations (PCD), Chacko and Marcell (2008) insist that lead figures (professionals and politicians) need to provide a more realistic and balanced representation of the PCD in order to try to counteract the losses

resulting from the negative publicity. Therefore, to address the gap in development studies, tourism's role and impacts on a UCD/PCD and UCC with special reference to com-media in Pakistan will be discussed and analysed in chapter 5.

The preceding discussion therefore demonstrates that the impediments in the way of better-quality images of a destination and community have a direct relationship to the security issue. To overcome these issues, Asad (2011) and the Ecotourism Society of Pakistan [ESP] (2011) highlight the fact that countries which have faced anthropogenic disasters such as political instability and law and order situations had increased their budget on tourism promotion and publicity and eventually recovered from downward trends. Pakistan is unfortunately going through the phase where it is an essential element to allocate resources to control security matters over those of public welfare. In this regard an informant [Male: 46: political agent] stated [will be discussed in chapter 6],

“Government is also helpless, what else can we do other than to allocate most of our budget to security matters at this crucial stage [...] most of our budget; which is supposed to establish universities in far flung areas of KPK, hospitals, parks, dams and welfare of general public; goes to feed our army which is fighting against terrorism not only for Pakistan but other countries such as America and Afghanistan also [...]”.

This diverse geographic and cultural region was supposed to be the biggest asset to drive an economic revolution in the country. However, an instable political situation since 1994 has affected tourism in the region. The period between 1990 and 2010 is particularly critical in terms of tourism due to the war in Afghanistan and Pakistan and internal instability and a weak economy which were some of the main causes of the decline in tourism. Tourists mainly from Europe have developed a fear of visiting Pakistan due to security reasons (Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation, nd; Pakistan Heritage, 2007; Aqeel, 2008). Pakistan used to receive more than half a million tourists annually, but this number has changed to a near zero figure since 2008 due to instability in the country, and many countries have declared Pakistan an unsafe and a dangerous place to visit (Sikandar, 2012). In addition to this, one informant [Male: 34: Army: Eastern part of Pakistan] remarked [referring chapter 5 for details],

“[...]even though we are fighting against terrorism on front line which is affecting our families [...]despite of all these efforts we are after all [called as], “terrorist and most dangerous nation on the globe [criticized an article published in an international magazine],[...] this is yet another disaster we are facing that image of a peaceful nation is connecting with terror[...].”

It can be inferred from this quote that it is com-media that is playing a key role in producing an image of a certain place. If it is ill-informed or biased, it has the ability to destroy the image of a place, product and people.

Therefore there is still need to promote such destinations through comparison and competition. The same ideas of developing special destinations with the prospect

of place promotion were put forward by Kotler *et al.* (1993); Sharpley and Sharpley (1997); Crompton and McKay (1997); For example, Sri Lanka and Lebanon are examples of countries undergoing uncertain political crises but which nevertheless do attract tourists with their planning and management policies and by allocating more budget provision to the tourism sector. Hence, in an UCD, com-media need to be prioritised alongside rehabilitation, emergency aid services, provision of food and shelter [detail in chapter 5].

3.4 Tourism for Destination Image Development

Studying tourism as a tool for the development of the image of an UCD is another objective of this thesis. Scholars have emphasised the importance of successful marketing and advertising campaigns to create a positive image of a destination to attract visitors and tourists (Pearce, 1989; Heath and Wall, 1992; Ryan, 1993; You *et al.* 2000, 2001; Novelli, 2004; Selby, 2004). Appropriate marketing and communication aimed at enhancing place image is essential for developing the tourism industry (Pearce, 1989; Kotler *et al.* 1993; Page, 1995; Page & Hall, 2003; Ali *et al.* 2004; Selby, 2004). Selby (2004: 16) argues, “Fundamental to place marketing is the construction and projection of an attractive image of the locality.” An example of image marketing in Europe is the city of Liverpool with the most recent phase of a long process of place marketing being the city’s designation as European Capital of Culture 2008 (BBC News Channel, 2008; Liverpool City of Culture, 2008).

Authors such as Gold and Ward (1994),Page (1995),Weaver and Oppermann, (2000),Page & Hall, (2003), Novelli, (2004), Selby, (2004), share the view that place promotion is the conscious use of publicity and marketing to communicate selective images of specific geographical localities or areas to a target audience. Selby (2004:15) states, “the last decade and a half has seen a transformation of place marketing from an essentially amateur activity to a vast and professionalised form of urban governance”. This means that place promotion is dependant mostly on techniques adopted for targeting a particular locality or region. Place marketing plays a basic and important role in the promotion of a tourism industry (Pearce, 1989; Kotler *et al.*, 1993; You *et al.*, 2000, 2001; Ali *et al.*, 2004; Tum *et al.*, 2006). However, to promote a destination with the intention to bring development through tourism, requires strategies which take into account an individual destination’s socio-cultural, political, and environmental background.

Although place marketing is playing a basic and important role in the promotion of the tourism industry (Pearce, 1989; Kotler *et al.* 1993;You *et al.* 2000, 2001; Ali *et al.* 2004; Tum *et al.* 2006). Therefore, to aid an effective marketing strategy most tourism marketing researchers have emphasised the need for an effective tourism infrastructure. For instance, Marshall (1988) provides a critical review of the links between transport and tourism by identifying the gap between transportation and tourism studies. Similarly Buhalis (2001) and Wood (2004) argue for the use of the latest technology, i.e. com-media for the purpose of tourism development. In this era of information technology there is a need for

highlighting the importance of the internet for tourism development. People can get instantaneous destination information and knowledge about specific attractions of the places making of decision-making easier and quicker than before (Novelli, 2004). As the preceding discussion suggests the most influential channel of communication are human resources whether it is a tourist receiving information or a member of local community providing information.

According to Ashworth and Voogd (1990), place marketing is a process where local activities are related to the demands of targeted customers. The intention is to maximize the efficient social and economic functioning of the area concerned in accordance with whatever wider goals have been established. This idea provides that, for effective marketing, supply of the product should be equal to the demand of targeted customers. To get the maximum output from a particular locality, research and effective strategies are needed to develop a clear marketing plan (Ashworth and Voogd 1990a and 1990b; Kotler *et al.* 1993; Weaver and Oppermann, 2000; Tum *et al.* 2006). In addition, proper attention should be paid to remove obstacles and deficiencies in order to utilise the available resources in an effective manner (De Kadt, 1979; Ryan, 1993; Harrison, 1995 and 2008).

There are many factors that inform the uniqueness of a place, such as someone's affiliation with a certain place, for example, a place of religious importance or place of birth. Uniqueness may be related to a particular cuisine, or a unique culture. Knowledge about the uniqueness of a locality obviously needs to be communicated to potential consumers, and targeted to specific target market segments (Dani 1983; Marshall 1988; Heath and Wall 1992; Ritchie *et al.* 1994; Godde *et al.* 2000; Monz, 2000; Pfister 2000; Ghimire. 2001; Scott *et al.*, 2001). The marketing of a place should not merely attract customers but have wider objectives. Ideally, there should be benefits and positive impacts from such developments, to both the general public, and the government. Ashworth and Voogd (1990a, 1990b), Godde *et al.* (2000), Scott *et al.* (2001), Wagen and Carlos (2005); Kotler *et al.* (1993, 2006), argue that places are peculiar products and these peculiarities have important consequences for their marketing. They can be defined in the terms of the facilities and activities they accommodate or more broadly as an entity. Thus, the place is both a container and stage for activity-based products as well as being a product in itself. Place promotion may be the selling of a selected package of facilities or the selling of a place as a whole through images composed of various attributes associated with it (Ritchie *et al.* 1994; WTO, 1994a, b; Sharpley 1996; Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997; Buckley *et al.* 2000, Weaver and Oppermann, 2000; Ghimire. 2001; Ritchie. 2003).

The range of techniques and instruments available for intervention in place marketing initiatives includes well-established methods of promotion that have been developed and refined over this century for selling commercial goods and services. Almost all these techniques have been employed in the selling of places at one time or another. But due to the particular nature of places some cautionary points should be made, most notably that advertising is only one method of promotion (Lea. 1988; Inskip, 1991; Holloway and Robinson, 1995; Seaton and Bennett, 1996; 2000; Williams, 2001; Kotler *et al.* 1993 & 2006) among many

possible sets of marketing measures. Places are particularly amenable to spatial and functional measures, such as use of physical design.

Miossec's lifecycle model (1976) highlights the physical changes of a destination which lead to tourism infrastructure, facilities and promotion. This "market-led" model (Paul, 2004: 48) was based on an assumption of an equal supply of tourism product and services to the demand of tourists. Butler (1980, 2006) developed Miossec and that by Noronha's (1976) models to link all factors that impact on the processes of development. To this end Butler adds the stages of involvement, consolidation, stagnation, and decline.

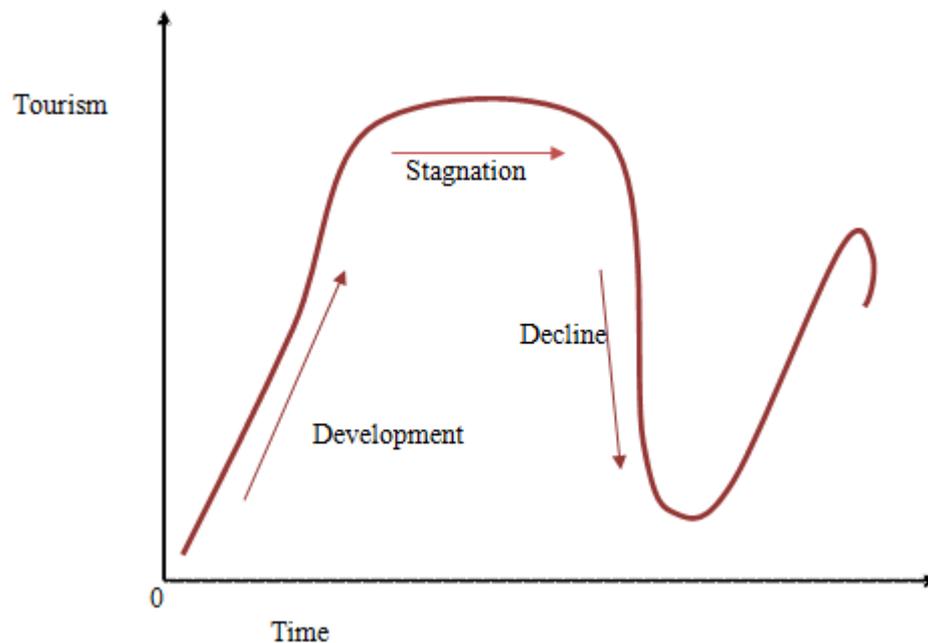


Figure 3.4 A hypothetical model of tourism development (Adapted from Butler, 2006¹⁵ based on a business theory-product development).

Figure 3.4 illustrates Butler's (1980, 2006) hypothetical development of a tourist area which suggests that a small number of tourist arrivals is evident at the initial stages of tourism development. As tourist arrivals increase, the tourism industry expands during the involvement/development/exploration stage (Butler, 2006), while tourism infrastructure takes place at the development stage. As the destination continues to develop in the consolidation phase and attract more tourists the initial 'trail blazer' visitors may start to seek alternative, less developed destinations. At the stagnation stage there is no growth in tourist arrivals and the destination eventually becomes unpopular leading to decline if plans to revitalise are not established. Noronha's (1976) and Miossec's (1976) models were principally market-led while the addition of four more stages makes Butler's model both market and place-led. This approach mostly aims at addressing issues of place and product, although the reasons behind this

¹⁵ Also available online at: <http://www.destinationrecovery.com/destinationlifecycle.html>

associated with human resources are not addressed. For instance, tourists' behaviour and perception and impacts on the local community, and its response towards destination the life cycle, are missing. Butler's model cannot, therefore, be called as human-led destination model.

In a similar way, Laws (1995) and Gartner (1996) argue for the addition of human resources to Butler's model. Gartner (1996) believes that as the process of 'exploration' spreads, tourist flows to the area increase and host societies respond to the new economic activity, usually by beginning to construct facilities and offering services in demand by tourists. If tourism continues to expand it enters the last stage of development whereby it is fully institutionalised it becomes a formal business activity complete with attractions, services facilities and organizations dedicated to supporting and promoting tourism to the area.

3.4.1 Place Image and Tourism

Along with the economic benefits of tourism, there are several changes that tourism can bring in terms of tangible and intangible benefits; i.e. the physical and psychological development of a place and community. Tourism plays a major role in producing economic, social and environmental change (Smallman and Moore, 2010). The evolution in theory in chapter two suggests that meanings attached the word 'development' are expanding and every change could be associated with or due to development. Paul (2004:47) states, "Most of the tourism models aim at deriving a life cycle that can be applied for tourism planning and management. These models attempt to address issues that include a lifecycle's common pattern and stages, the tactics for elongating lifecycles and a lifecycle's planning implications". For example, Noronha (1976) examined three stages of tourism development: those beginning with the discovery; the development stage; and, finally, the rejuvenation of the tourism industry. This model has its weaknesses, notably that it is a "market-led" model "while government and business entities assume a responsive/reactive role" (Paul, 2004:48).

Tourism research done by Colclough (1996) and Aronsson (2000) and highlighted the fact that previous studies have shown that tourism brings changes to a destination physically. Laws (1995) criticises the market-led aspect of these models and points out their side effects. He considers socio-cultural and environmental degradation of a destination as a result of the minor responsiveness towards these issues in a market-led model. Furthermore, Laws (1995), examining the interaction between the host community and the tourist, highlights the relationship of change in the characteristics and nature of destination's social, moral, personal relationships, traditional styles of eating, dress codes, working and social patterns with tourism activities.

The fastest growing destinations are in third world countries, and that [in 2003]30% of all international tourist arrivals were recorded in the third world region and the number has increased over the last two decades (Echtner and Prasad, 2003). Most LDCs offer untouched and undisturbed tourist destinations that can be developed and promoted with relatively small investment. Unskilled labour can be employed

in the tourism industry as most of LDC's human resources work for low wages in the tourism sector (Paul, 2004). Vast stretches of land in LDCs is a source of possibly providing investment opportunities to potential investors from developed world in order to gain businesses for local communities (Wahab and Pigram, 1997; Dieke, 2000; Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Paul, 2004).

Apart from the commonly-held view that modern tourism is closely linked to development, and tourism has become a key driver for socio-economic and environmental progress (UNWTO, 2010)¹⁶, there is still the risk of the rapid acceleration of socio-cultural and environmental change at the early stage of tourism development (Gartner, 1996). This brings with it a concern for the conservation and preservation of natural and cultural assets, restoration of buildings (Colclough, 1996) and the use of land resources resulting from processes of tourism development (Aronsson, 2000).

In places where there is no implementation of tourism codes of conduct illegal tourism activities can take place such as smuggling, hoarding, corruption and bribery [see chapter 7]. It has been observed as part of the research conducted for this thesis that identical tourism activities can be a source of income for one place while the cause of stress at another, with differences in socio-cultural background causing tension amongst local communities [an example relating to wine/alcohol, clubs/night life is discussed in chapter 7]. Impacts of tourism on social and cultural life as compared to the impact on an economy is difficult to reliably assess (Dieke, 2001; Paul, 2004).

As there are more socio-cultural, environmental, infrastructural, economic and political changes associated with the development of the tourism sector, it can sometimes be difficult to persuade local communities to accept them (Paul, 2004). Environmentalists oppose tourism development, arguing that tourism activities transform a natural environment into an industrial environment. There are some negative impacts of tourism that are hard to be rectified (Cobb, 1997).

¹⁶ (UNWTO, 2010), Why Tourism- Tourism – an economic and social phenomenon (available online) <http://unwto.org/en/content/why-tourism>, (accessed 21 march ,2012)¹⁶

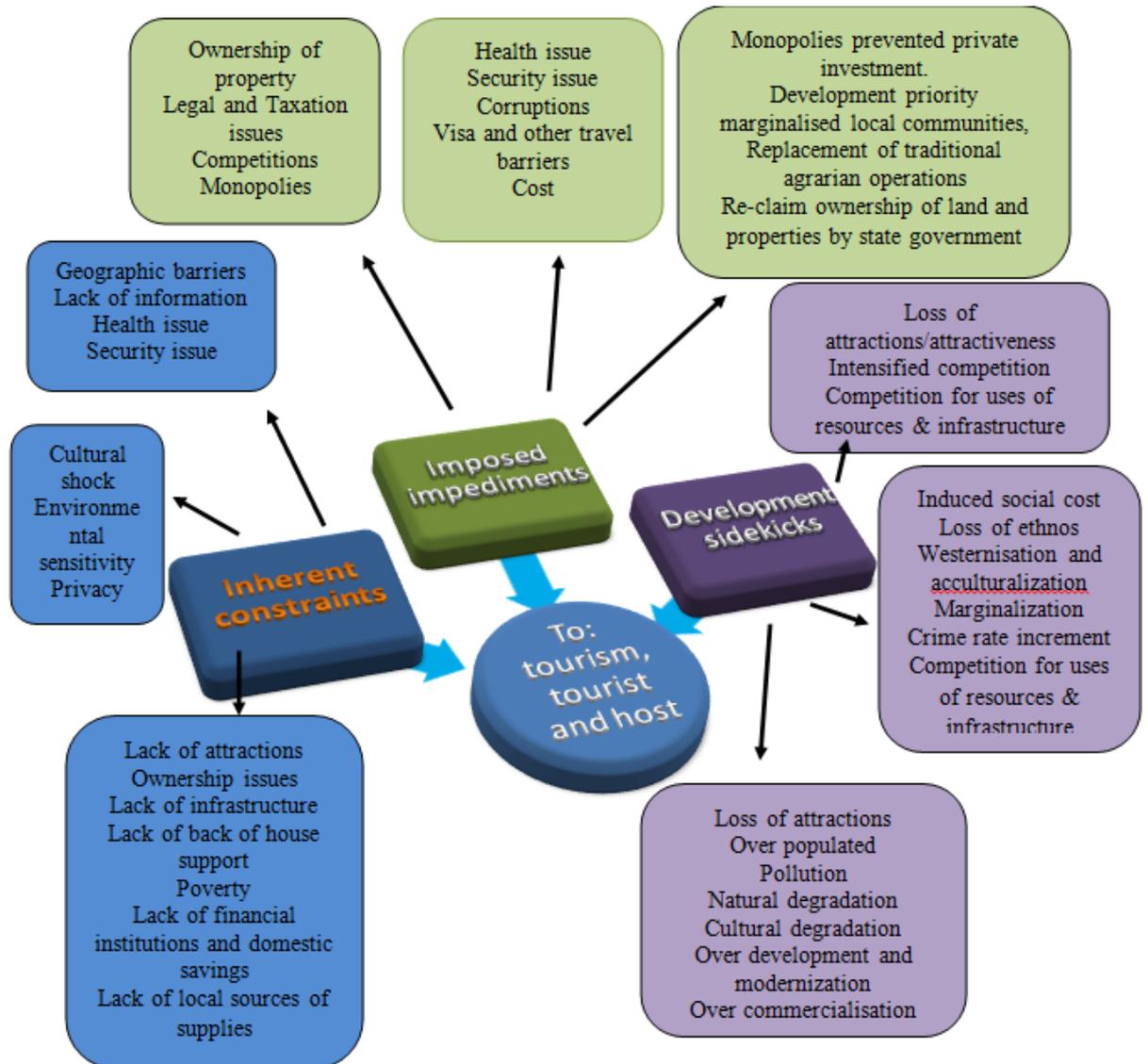


Figure 3.5 Tourism Development Barriers (adapted from Paul, 2004: 54)

In terms of the impacts on LDCs, as illustrated in Figure 3.5, the tourism sector, tourists and host communities get disproportionately affected due to tourism development constraints. For instance, at the initial stages, due to extreme weather conditions, poor health and hygiene standards, or political instability, the task of building up the tourist industry brings with it many challenges (Paul, 2004). In the case of LDCs, the lack of resources to equal supply according to the demand of tourists is also a hurdle in the tourism development process. Tourists' activities become a burden in themselves regardless of how beneficial they are for the economy and the socio-cultural environment (Paul, 2004). Similarly, Cascante (2010) argues that tourism does not always bring constructive changes. Most of the time it causes damage to existing natural and cultural resources (Alavalapati and Adamowicz, 2000) that may lead to discomfort within a host community. Along with the great deal of tourism development, it has impacts which are often unacceptable by the local community. Cole (2007:943) states, "if a remote

destination develops, it modernizes, and becomes more like the tourist's society, less different and distinct and no longer "primitive", it loses its appeal".

Moreover due to reconstructions, i.e. changing the shape of the natural environment to meet tourist standards and the refinement of cultural and natural assets, a place could lose potential eco-tourists as well. Therefore, increased tourism activities may lead to destruction of an area and potential tourism. Beeton (2006:2) argues,

Unfortunately, as tourism has grown organically in most places with limited planning, some people have been burnt and they now reject tourism as a viable community asset. On the other hand, many believe that tourism is the answer to 'everything' and the only means for developing their community.

Therefore to achieve sustainability in tourism growth, there is a need to carry out tourism activities in more social, cultural and environmentally friendly ways (Wilkinson, 1992; Clarke, 1997). Otherwise, tourism development may be the cause of problems with costs out-weighing benefits (De Kadt, 1979; Brohman, 1996b). Mowforth and Munt (2003) consider the applicability and implantation of visitor management techniques, assessment of a place's carrying capacity, use of expertise and codes of conduct as methods towards achieving sustainability in tourism. In addition, responsible travel to natural and cultural areas, in respect of conservation of the environment and respect of the local community, are key drivers for the development of tourism for the development of a destination and community. These responsible tourism activities in natural and cultural regions – i.e. conservation of environment and respect of the local community – should be the key drivers for the development of tourism particularly in LDC (TIES, 2010¹⁷).

Scheyvens' (2003) argues that economic growth is only a part of a multi-dimensional development processes at a destination. The same argument is advanced in De Kadt, (1979) and Harrison's (1988) work, which states that tourism development is a composition of social, economic, environmental, political and cultural change. Relatively new studies by Aronsson (2000) and Scheveyens (2003) and have highlighted the factor of human resources in tourism development, studying tourism as a tool for development of human and physical resources of rural and urban regions. As a mechanism to achieve the goals for the development of place, people and product, tourism appears to be a good option. Tribe (1997: 641) specifically targets host communities in the tourism development context and states, "Tourism is a wider activity with important impacts on host communities".

The following section 3.5 examines more closely the relationship between tourism and the host community and how development brings changes in respect of the community's image and interactive characteristics.

3.5 Tourism and Community- UCC- women

¹⁷ (Available online)

<http://geic.hq.unu.edu/env/files/Ecotourism%20and%20community%20development.pdf>

Different cultures have different rules in interaction, [so] the expectations and meanings of rules also differ across cultures. The rules that are socially accepted in one culture may have quite different meanings in another. Thus, members of different cultures may misunderstand and misinterpret the rules of others cultures that cause difficulty interacting with those from different cultures, lead to confusion, generate tension, and even conflict (Reisinger and Turner, 2003: 139).

To understand the world we are living in, the place we belong to in order to understand ourselves and to earn freedom for ourselves, it has been suggested by, for example, Fulcher and Scott (2007) that the understanding of social problems to start with plays a vital role. To apprehend the concept of what social problems they suggest it is necessary to study the term society. Fulcher and Scott (2007: 17-18) refer to society as, a complex of interdependent institutions [...] organised at different levels from a small group [...] to the global level [...] consisting of people beliefs and their symbolic representation in actions and objects”. In earlier studies since the human element came into discussion i.e. the shift from Capitalistic development approach to Marxism, from modernisation theories of development to modern form of sociology i.e. gender and development (GAD) as discussed in the chapter 2, and narrowing down to feminism as the proceeding discussion suggests, sociology played a vital role. From basic level of a social problem i.e. identifying what is society or community to advanced level of investigating interconnected issues and understanding the problem, all comes under the social issues (Fulcher and Scott, 2007). Therefore the study of sociology also helped with this thesis in order to address the social aspect of research relevant to social problems facing by the Chilassi community especially women due to NAC and unskilled com-media.

The word community is interpreted differently by researchers, for example, the definition of local community by Pathania and Kumar (2008:128) “...refers to a heterogeneous group of people who share residence in a same geographic area and access a set of local natural resources”. While Kendall (2008:4) views community as “a large social grouping that shares the same geographical territory and is subject to the same political authority and dominant cultural expectations”. In addition to recognition of community in terms of demographics, it is also understood as a process, for example, Cascante (2010:1143), views community as “a process where community is not a given but is developed, created and recreated through social interaction allowing its adaptability to change”. These definitions have the following traits in common:

- Group of heterogeneous people,
- Residents of a common area who are sharing same natural [and cultural] resources [and values],
- Influenced by homogeneous political affects and can be changed with the [continuous] interaction with outsiders.

In addition to existing traits attributed to communities, there are some more unique characteristics that relate to the focus of this research:

- Closely knit people,
- Strong socio-cultural system that leave minimum space for tourists from different cultural background to enter and interfere,
- Patriarchy and polygamy system.

Taken together, these traits to describe community are being used in thesis as it is observed during the research that UCC want something more alongside economic benefits in terms of empowerment, opportunities for networking with people from outside their area, getting more knowledge and awareness, education and training and so on.

Taken together, these traits to describe community are being used in this thesis as it is observed during the research that UCC want something more - alongside economic benefits - in terms of empowerment, opportunities for networking with people from outside their area, getting more knowledge and awareness, education and training and so on.

A community's characteristics and attitudes towards tourism are different in multifarious areas. There is therefore a need to pay attention to a community's attitudes in different socio-cultural contexts. Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011) have considered Social Exchange Theory (SET) as an important tool to examine a community's attitudes. Tourism development depends upon the basic factors of SET that are perception of cost and benefits, and trust with regard to institutions and power (Nunkoo and Ramkissoon, 2011). Briassoulis and Straaten, (2000) and Paul (2004) agree that local communities take the destination as their home and any change in environment causes concern amongst host communities. Subsequently for tourism development to be used as a development tool, the four factors of the SET theory need to be considered.

To maximise the level of benefits leads to trust with regard to tourism institutions. For community benefits, Buckley (2000) notes that tourism has the potential to increase the quality of life and create employment opportunities; here the point is that quality of life can be improved with tourism development. Aronsson (2000:17) adds that "local economies can be made more sustainable in connection with the development of tourism and leisure facilities by increasing the level of local procurement and the use of local labour". Tourism is at a same time a service industry which provides services in the form of tour guides, tour operators and a consumer industry as the tourist product local people made generate money and consumes mostly at local level. It is acknowledged in this thesis that local communities have a direct connection with tourism for instance progress in tourism development procedure leads to progress in community development and vice versa. In addition to development, the more tourism takes place in a destination the more community is affected.

Paul (2004:41) states that "Tourism [...] is a socio-economic phenomenon, involving individuals, government organizations, the public sector, and business

institutions, and affects the long term development of the host community”. This means that tourism impacts on local communities are high and the local communities get more benefits from the tourism sector than other relevant tourism stakeholders. Cole and Eriksson (2010), Cole (2007a, 2007b, and 2006) and Scheyvens (2003) present their views about tourism for the development of a region where the basic justification for tourism development is to bring economic changes to a region. Development opens up potential markets for local communities and provides opportunities to earn income for small scale and informal sector workers.

Tourism development in an area adds to the values of its cultural and natural assets. It also contributes towards the human rights of communities such as freeing them from poverty, providing them with employment resources and well-being in addition to bringing opportunities to enhance the cultural heritage through empowerment. Fletcher (2009: 2) supports the view of Cole and Scheyvens and notes, “Many ‘developing’ countries still have ‘undeveloped’ areas [...] Yet the people who live in the vicinity of these ‘undeveloped’ areas are often living in poverty”.

To help local communities, it is assumed that tourism provides “income-generating activities that do not degrade or destroy the environment on which it depends [...] (and) sufficient returns for communities to improve local livelihoods reduce resource dependencies [...]” (Fletcher, 2009: 2). Research conducted by Cole (2007:462) concludes, “The *raison d’être* of tourism development is the macro economic benefits it purports to bring a nation: bringing foreign exchange earnings, creating employment and leading to economic diversification”. While De Kadt (1979), in the context of LDCs, views tourism as a means of bringing significant contributions to economic development. It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that tourism can be a tool to alleviate poverty found in LDCs. In addition tourism could be used to highlight unique features of a place, product and people in order to distinguish it in terms of competition with other tourist destinations (De Kadt, 1979).

The preceding discussion mainly suggests that tourism directly or indirectly revolves around money and brings economic benefits as compared to the social, psychological, environmental and cultural costs and benefits. For instance, Schellhorn (2007:19) agrees, noting that “Governments of ‘developing countries’, on the other hand, support tourism as a development tool because it provides employment, improves balance of payments, boosts foreign exchange earnings and is assumed to support regional development”. In addition, tourism is an economic sector of 11 of the 12 countries that contain 80 per cent of the poor (Scheyvens, 2003).

On the other hand Scheyvens (2003) also highlights developing human resources with the help of tourism in a country where there is a fast rate of population growth and a surplus of human resources due to high unemployment. It is a fact that the population of LDCs is more than of the population of many developed countries and engaged with low-skilled manual work instead of operating advanced technology. Therefore because tourism is a labour intensive industry it

is a suitable option for LEDCs¹⁸ where unemployment is a major problem (Cole, 2007). Moreover, Scheyvens (2003) claims that tourism development leads to financial independence for lower levels of society by empowering them and releasing them from traditional forms of social control. TIES (2010¹⁹) suggests employing local people whenever possible and that paying fair wages prevents depopulation, exploitation and benefits the local economy by preventing leakages of the revenue acquired through tourism.

Another issue that employing local people could help to address is that of depopulation, as Fernandes (2009:19) states, “the development of tourism could stem or even reverse this depopulation pattern by serving as a revitalisation process that could contribute to the survival of the communities thereby improving the quality of life of the residents”. Additionally, Jurowski (2007, 2008), Fleischer and Tchetchik (2005) and Bianchi (2002) note that tourism development in an area may result in people migrating from other parts of the region back to their place of origin and as a result traditional, cultural and agricultural lives can be preserved and restored. Income from tourism activities in rural destinations can be sufficient for local communities to survive.

Therefore, drawing from the preceding discussion, it is argued that the pattern of depopulation could be reversed with minimal effort as Cole (2007: 462 and 463) notes,

Opportunities for entrepreneurship can lead to financial independence for marginalized groups enabling social empowerment and release from traditional forms of social control. This is considered to be particularly important for women and other disadvantaged groups who do not have the skills to enter into other forms of employment. As tourism can stimulate entrepreneurial opportunities for young people, the drive to migrate to urban areas is reduced, leaving a more balanced population in remote rural areas.

In the case of Chilas and the entire Gilgit-Baltistan territory it is believed that most of young people who possess relevant skills will be staying within their local environment and utilising their skills for the development of their own community, in so far, that is, as they are empowered to take part in decision making for their area and have equal access to opportunities and resources. It was also noted during field work that the younger generation is more loyal to their areas and birth places even if they reside out of the region for the purposes of work or education. Moreover, as one informant pointed out, “*we don't get that regard in other places even if we work hard to provide benefit to that area [...] there is no comparison to the respect we earn from Chilassi community [...] our identity is from Chilas [...] it's an amazing feeling when you see old, young and children running towards you to greet you when you step out of your car*” [male: 48: tourism official from Chilas but migrated to Islamabad]. It is derived from the interview that their efficiency and input could be doubled in their own areas if they are

¹⁸ LEDC is used where ‘Economic’ characteristic of LDC is emphasised by author.

¹⁹ (TIES; The International Ecotourism Society, 2010) Available from: http://www.ecotourism.org/site/c.orLQKXPCLmF/b.4835303/k.BEB9/What_is_Ecotourism_The_International_Ecotourism_Society.htm), “

given opportunities to access equal resources for development due to the respect and support they get from the local community.

For the purposes of introducing efficiency and raising the level of self-esteem in a local community there is a need to empower UCCs to take part in tourism development and decision-making processes. Especially as the local community knows best about their traditions, culture and environment and have more fidelity than outsiders to the area. Not only can tourism help the dominant part of communities, it also brings changes to the lives of women and marginalised groups especially that of LDCs. Cole's work advocates the view that the tourism industry involves unskilled jobs which are helpful for women and other marginalised groups of LDCs who may not possess any kind of formal skill or education but could do some kind of employment (Cole, 2007).

One of the main themes of development studies involves the study of marginalised groups and women as separate entities (Cole (2007) and Gentry (2007). However, in the case study discussed in this thesis it is the women who are marginalised. There is a need to understand what exactly the word 'marginalised' means and how it is understood across academic disciplines. The word marginalised is emphasised by Cole (2006) and Scheyvens but in the specific context of minorities. Rich (1977: 285) maintains that in a patriarchal system— such as that found in Chilas - women are treated as “marginal”, and as already noted Kabeer (1994) categorised women as a marginal group as discussed in the preceding section.

However each case needs to be studied separately within its own socio-cultural, political, and ecological context. Every community has its own unique characteristics and ways to perceive development are different. For example, in an UCLDC country such as Pakistan, development and empowerment of women is not considered as development but taken as a cause of discomfiture in most rural communities such as in Chilas (as will be discussed in Chapter 7 in relation to field data).

Yoon *et al.*(2000) note that understanding a local community's perception towards tourism is very helpful in the process of tourism development, “Because tourism relies heavily upon the goodwill of the local residents, their support is necessary for the development, successful operation, and sustainability of tourism” (Yoon *et al.* 2000: 364). It is observed that impacts of tourism on communities can be classified as economic, physical, cultural, environmental and psychological. UCC demand something more in addition to economic benefits of tourism. They look for tourism to facilitate recognition at national and international level, empowerment, networking with outsiders, awareness/education, training, anything that can widen their self-esteem and confidence with moral support. Focus on economic benefits alone does not stand up to scrutiny, as was revealed in an interview conducted during field research: “[...] *we do not expect earnings from tourists but recognition [...]*” [male: 34: works abroad]. This argument will receive more detail in chapter 7.

Therefore, apart from extrinsic advantages, tourism acts as a tool that provides psychological advantages. Cole (2007) points out with reference to the intrinsic benefits of tourism that it brings pride in the local community in terms of natural and cultural heritage. Contrary to the preceding discussion about the economic and physical benefits of tourism, it is noted during field work that tourism brings social (interaction with other people, networking, women empowerment and awareness of rights amongst them in UCLDC), and psychological (image about a place, product or people) changes rapidly rather than changes in the local economy. Social expectations and impacts of tourism are higher in UCD and UCC than economic expectations.

From the existing tourism and communities studies that have been discussed in preceding sections, it is clear that the quality of life within the local community, the impact of tourism on the economy, environment, society and culture has received attention. Perceptions and views of local communities and their attitudes towards tourism and tourists' behaviour has also been observed by social science researchers such as Beeton (2006), Cascante (2010), Cole (2007a,b,c), Fleischer and Tchetchik (2005), Harrison (1992, 2001), Jurowski (2007, 2008), Scheyvens (2003) and Shani and Uriely (2012). However, in terms of a socio-cultural approach there is still a need to investigate the attitudes and reaction of UCCs towards tourism and development processes.

3.5.1 Power Factor- Empowerment

Tourism often requires the use of a local population with the industry relying on the inhabitants to act as hosts and guides (Beeton 2006:1). One of tourism's greatest contributions to conservation is the degree to which it can shift community activities from responding to threats towards embracing opportunities. Attitudes of a local community towards tourism development are heterogeneous at different places and for decision makers it is important to determine loss and gains associated with tourism for a specific community (Lindberg *et al*, 2001). Yoon *et al.* (2000:364) state,

If residents have a positive perception of tourism, they will render support for additional tourism development and, therefore, they will be willing to participate in an exchange with visitors. However, if they believe that tourism development would have more costs than benefits they are likely to oppose tourism development.

It was noted in an earlier discussion that communities will react according to the specific situation, for instance, if they get more benefit as a result of tourism development (refer to SET theory in section 3.5) they will embrace changes easily due to the development process and vice versa.

Therefore, tourism planners and relevant organisations need to take considerations of community on board while planning for the destination and involve communities in the decision making process. While addressing a community's economic, cultural and social issues, the psychological issues of

UCCs are paid less attention to in existing tourism and development literature; for instance, considerations of how an UCC addresses injustice in a tourism and development context and who suffers more due to unplanned tourism, powerlessness or the negative image of the place with UCC.

“Empowerment is a widely used but complex and contentious concept” (Datta and Kornberg date: 1). The word empowerment has several meanings for instance social, financial, psychological/individual empowerment. Datta and Kornberg (2000) examine empowerment, how it is constituted and for whom in their studies of LDCs. Datta and Kornberg state (2000: 2), “Empowerment addresses the policies and strategies of decades of development in the third world that effected women” by providing feminists, women activists and NGOs with an understanding of gender equality and its impacts on social and economic processes. Moreover empowerment as a process is described as a distribution of power between different entities whether this is between “nations, class, castes, races, genders, or individuals” (Datta and Kornberg, 2000:2). There are several concepts to elaborate empowerment as discussed earlier in this chapter e.g. social, financial, psychological empowerment.

The psychological aspect of empowerment is highlighted by Beeton (2006: 12) who notes, that community empowerment has become the buzzword of the twenty-first century and that the concept of the empowerment of communities is at the same time “*a process and an outcome*”. She further states that community empowerment is as important as the actual final outcome, and ‘often more important’ (Beeton, 2006: 12). Scheyvens (2003) is amongst those researchers who support the view of a need to empower communities. He sets out four dimensions of empowerment: 1. economic, 2. psychological, 3. social, and 4. political. Similarly, Cole (2007a: 943) s tourism with different kinds of empowerment and states, “tourism is sowing the seeds of social, psychological and political empowerment”.

Cole (2007a:946) further argues, “Empowerment leads to a shift in balance between the powerful and powerless, between the dominant and dependant”. This means that tourism can bring empowerment at all levels whether are at the grass roots of a community or at government level (Datta and Kornberg, 2002; Sarsar, 2002). Conversely, powerlessness often takes place due to a lack of knowledge and awareness about rights of access to information and participation in decision making, planning and implementation processes amongst members of a local community. Most of the time, and in many LDCs, this hinders tourism development. Similarly Cole (2007b:467) notes, “A lack of knowledge is also a constraining factor” to tourism growth and there is a direct relationship of a community’s growth with power-related factors.

As the previous discussion suggests tourism represents a resource that can help local communities grow socially and psychologically. However due to the biased distribution of opportunities and resources, chances of tourism development decrease in [UC] communities that have less power (Cole, 2007a, 2007b and 2006; Cole and Eriksson, 2010); in such circumstances tourism could become a curse rather than a blessing [discussed in chapter 7]. In addition to the discussion of

social and cultural tourism barriers and drivers in developing communities, Cole (2007b:467) refers to three dimensions of Hofstede's (1992) theory – 1: high power distance, 2: uncertainty avoidance and, 3: collectivism in societies that cause encumbrance to tourism enterprises in order to take advantage of development through tourism processes.

Therefore, in order to get maximum output from tourism, communities should be respected in terms of their assets, traditions and culture. There is also a need to be aware of ecological assets a community possesses and utilize them in environmental and socially acceptable manner. To take an active part in the conservation of assets and in the promotion of an area, community participation in area matters is essential. Therefore, to achieve proper development in terms of tourism, it is important for a local community to take part in decision making, management and planning (Pathania and Kumar, 2008; Ali-Knight and Robertson, 2004).

This research finding contradicts the view of tourism as a tool to community growth. Although tourism raises the living standards of a rural local community this is a secondary issue in the case of the local community of Chilas. Greater importance is given to privacy of local people especially women of the region, while the second important point is to regard the cultural and ethnic values of the area. Therefore this research will demonstrate that tourism does not always lead to community growth as the research in Chilas valley, NAP-GB, shows that women and older people of the region are affected in ways that are more negative than positive. An older resident of Chilas in his late 60s said,

“[...] the impoliteness amongst our young generation is due to the exposure to modern people²⁰[...] they²¹ do not know how to behave with elderly people while they are drunk; [and] dress code of girls²² makes us feel embarrassed²³[...]”.

Development is a multidimensional process it therefore revolves around a number of inter-related factors: e.g. economic, physical, and socio-cultural, components of a destination. Therefore, “the development pace and path(s), and the ultimate developmental outcome should be jointly determined by the government and its people” (Paul, 2004: 32). Field data demonstrates that empowerment revolves around the people involved i.e., government, tourists and members of the local community. Similarly, it is argued that without government's will and support, communities remain ‘empowered’ in name only, yet with it “runs the risk of being misappropriated by the more powerful government interests that may not be in the locals’ best interest” (Beeton, 2006: 13). The field data revealed that not only governments and local communities are held accountable for the

²⁰ By ‘modern people’, he means foreigners and visitors from Southern and Eastern part of Pakistan.

²¹ ‘They’ refers to foreigner tourists

²² Foreigners

²³ Muslim women need to wear full dress, therefore elderly people and men of the region expect female tourists to follow regional dress code.

empowerment factor but tourists also play a crucial role in UCDs as illustrated by the example of Chilas (refer to the chapter 7). It is noted during fieldwork that communities' powerlessness may lead to their being restricted to home and thus restrict tourists' movements to the area. For instance, female informants reported that inappropriate behaviour by tourists leads to local women facing many challenges in their daily lives including their home restriction [explored in chapter 7].

Similarly, Beeton (2006) argues that impacts of tourism cannot be said to be positive or negative as the change and effects may vary in different situations with different communities. But it may be difficult sometimes to correct negative impacts especially when they affect local community attitudes and beliefs. "This hidden and irreversible nature of some of the negative effects is the greatest danger of any blind acceptance of tourism as a sole development tool" (Beeton, 2009: p19). There can be a range of negative impacts of tourism on a local community (Cascante, 2010) if tourism planning and codes of conduct are not implemented and followed in an appropriate way (Cole: 2007b, c). Due to no codes of conduct for tourists in an UCD along with no decision making power in the hands of local community tourists will face certain problems that are explored in chapter 7 with a correlation to causing many socio-cultural problems of increasing the differences between rich and poor, loss of local traditions.

This thesis will demonstrate the many disadvantages of the powerlessness of a community by examining (in chapters 7 and 8):

- Loss of local traditions,
- Commercialization of local culture,
- Undermining of family structures,
- Loss of interest in stewardship of the land (among the young),
- Increased fighting on sharing of earnings,
- Increased crime rate, and
- Development of underground economies to support nefarious activities e.g. gambling, and drug dealing.

There can be some remedial approaches to overcome these issues, for example: local participation; emphasis on women in LDC; understanding a community's key priorities, ideas, expectations and concerns towards the development; provision of cash and employment incentives; identifying community leaders for gender representation; monitoring and evaluation progress i.e. involvement of community in monitoring; and active involvement of government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The same has been suggested by Cole (2007b; 2007c) and Cole and Eriksson (2010) who argue that involvement of local communities in development processes helps minimise any negative impacts

of tourism on local communities. On the other hand there are disadvantages to empowering local UCC i.e. Chilas.

This will be discussed in chapters 5 and 7 but it is worth noting here that in some communities where conservative attitudes still hold sway such attitudes could become more entrenched as a form of resistance against moves to empower weaker groups which in turn can lead to:

- Women belong to UCDs will be more stressed [chapter 7].
- Education and equality of women will be minimised and women will be home restricted. It is noted from an interviewee that, “*If government leave us in the way we are now then the day is not very far when you will find women tied up along with livestock [...]*” [Female: 29: housewife] [chapter 7].
- Laws that give no freedom of choice to women will be enforced. In this regard this was the common view within women community “*that there is no tradition to ask of choice of girl when and whom to get married [...]* *what to do to make lives better [...], what to study even when to sleep, when to eat*” [Females: ages 17- 42] “*even we cook food of men’s choice at home [...]*” [Female: 36: housewife] [chapter 7].
- Region will run by powerful, rigid and mostly illiterate male members of the community [chapters 5, 7].
- Ultimately the area will be a “no go” area for any outsider [chapters 5, 7].

Therefore, there is a need to emphasise the empowerment of women for a sustainable growth of community and to get maximum benefits of tourism activities (Baltiwala, 1994, Datta and Kornberg, 2002; Sarsar, 2002). In other words, empowering communities and building up their trust on governments and relevant institutes may encourage communities to allow tourism development. If communities are not satisfied with the tourism activities and the intervention of government institutes, or if they find tourism causing destruction to their natural and cultural assets, and existing socio-cultural environment, community dissatisfaction can become a prime obstruction in the way of tourism development.

3.5.2 HFR [Hosting Friends and Relatives] vs. VALFR [Visitors’ Attitudes towards Local Friends and Relatives]

Beeton (2006:14) argues, “tourists themselves form a temporary community within that host community, particularly when they are on a tour or in any other group configuration. Simply put, tourism exists in communities, not outside them”. Community and tourism both need to be studied at the same time as any change in one will affect the other (Beeton, 2006). Tourism is believed as the most important tool for community development, especially in marginal and remote areas (Beeton, 2006, Cole, 2007a, b). Social interaction with outsiders occasionally leaves positive and negative impacts on communities. Some researchers have highlighted and envisage positive impacts of engagement of

local communities with tourists and tourism activities, and benefits to marginalised groups (Aronsson, 2000; Cole, 1997, 2006, 2007a, b & 2010; Equations, 2007 & 2008).

However, only a very small amount of literature exists that discusses the interactional impacts on UCCs with national and international tourists and the attitudes of the host community who host friends and relatives (Shani and Uriely, 2012). Although Seaton (1994) and Seaton and Tagg (1995) have established a link between local communities and tourists in the shaping of VFR tourism, there is, as discussed earlier, still a need to do more research regarding different types of visitors in different types of communities. It is noticeable from the literature that the host perspective is being discussed as residents of a tourist destination often look after their friends and relatives. HFR is high in attractive destinations (Pearce and Moscardo, 2006, 2008; Shani and Uriely, 2012).

However, the perceptions and attitudes of tourists (visitors) towards friends or relatives living in attractive destinations are missing especially with reference to UCLEDCs. Studies on visits of family and friends with regards to the economic impacts of tourism have shown that there is less expenditure in VFR tourism (Seaton, 1994; Seaton and Tagg, 1995). It is also researched that if the frequency of HFR is higher in a region occupied with closely-knit communities and expenditure or cost is higher for local communities than the gain from tourism, the result will be an unfavourable reaction from local communities to tourism development (Cole, 2006, 2007). However the study of VR/HR in an UCD is missing from the literature. This thesis has explored the connection between the attitudes of an UCC towards VR/HR and tourism development for example it is known as more of a burden on UC closely-knit communities e.g. Chilas For example families facing long term boycotts, overburdened host families, loss of hospitality trait [chapter 7]. Consequently, to get better results with the development of tourism in an area there is a need to get the local community involved in planning and decision-making for destinations. As Yoon *et al.* (2000: 364) note,

The success of any tourism development project is threatened to the extent that the development is planned and constructed without the knowledge and support of the local residents. Anger, apathy, or mistrust will ultimately be conveyed to the tourists.

It is noticed from field research that there is a need to compensate local communities in the case of HFR tourism and community responses and suggestions should be investigated further to overcome the expectations of their relative visitors.

In terms of local people's engagement with tourism development the focus in the academic literature has been on the local community and its participation in tourism planning and decision making (Cole, 1997, 2007a,b, 2010; Aronsson, 2000), community development (Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Scheveyens, 2003; Harrison, 1992), Visiting Friends and Relatives VFR (Seaton, 1994; Seaton and Tagg, 1995), and marginalised groups and gender issues (Equations, 2007, 2008;

Cole, 2006, 2007, 2010). These researchers have raised a set of questions for further research on the expectations of people in terms of what they expect others to do while visiting a place; how they need to behave in a specific situation or location and how they actually behave. What are their expectations from tourism development and what is the actual situation of tourism development at fragile eco-destinations of developing countries? Therefore, there is a need to revisit the studies by Fowles (1978), Mitford (1959) and Mings (1978) who agreed on the idea that tourism has more negative impacts as compared to its benefits. In the case of Chilas this statement has proved accurate with regard to the prospects of women's development – as will be demonstrated in chapter 7.

The next section discusses the relationship between women and development and what are the major constraints affecting women's development in UCDs.

3.6 A Feminist Analysis

As highlighted in the preceding discussion Chilas shares the same traits as a *Gemeinschaft*-like community including male dominance through patriarchy and the system of polygamy. This research therefore analyses the feminist approach in order to attain an understanding of Under Crises Women (UCW) in relation to both individual and socio-cultural development more broadly. There is an extensive amount of literature that covers issues relating to gender in tourism development (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000; Pritchard *et al.* 2007; Wilkes, 2008; Harrison, 2009), however Harrison (2009) suggested that studies of gender and women are not necessarily the same as gender studies which mainly debate the masculine side of gender whereas studies of women by feminists and anthropologists have particularly addressed the women with respect to age, class, gender, ethnicity, cultural and historical background. Specifically the feminist literature has received a great deal of attention during World War II (Wilkes, 2008; Zia, 2009) due to the prominent visibility of women in employment due to their need in the development sector (Goldin, 1989).

However the literature regarding feminism was mainly based on the experiences of Western women (Coward, 1984; Lorde, 2003) whereas feminism in the context of black women especially those belonging to third world countries was scant (Harrison, 1991; Mohanty *et al.*, 1991). Harrison (2009: 104-105) notes that “gender is a relational concept [...] to be useful for elucidating the dynamics of socio-cultural systems that invest meanings, role expectations, and positionalities in female and male [...] concepts of gender and gendered analytical frames are important accomplishments for anthropologists, many of them feminist, who have investigated this often basic and central dimension of human difference and social life” An intersectional approach analyses the social structure of the way gender intersects in terms of age, class, ethnicity, race and caste (Harrison, 2006 & 2009; Baum, 2013; Cravinand Davis, 2013). In the developing destinations this is mainly the power difference between men and women due to certain pre-existent

characteristics of a community including the aforementioned patriarchy and polygamy system in Chilas which makes a considerable contribution to the power imbalance and inequality between genders.

For the purpose of this thesis, there is a need to undertake an analytical review of the conceptual background of feminist research because the core content of feminist research i.e. male dominance/patriarchy/polygamy is also counted as a big hurdle to be overcome for women's development in UCCs, specifically in Chilas. In early gender studies the patriarchal influence on women's lives in terms of "women's place is in the home" (Ehrlich, 1971: 421 cited in Ollenburger and Moore, 1992: 1) was explored. Later on researcher, for example by Coward (1984), has highlighted the impacts of patriarchy on women's studies in order to study women as an independent entity. The word patriarchy is defined by Rowland and Klein (1996:11) as, "the oppressing structure of male domination". Moreover in "patriarchal societies and cultures, it is either men or institutions created by men that wield the power to determine what is considered 'natural' (Voskuil, 1998). In addition to patriarchy, another term used in feminist literature is polygamy which is a "cultural practice [...] that allows a man to marry more than one wife" (Sesay, 2010:9). Over time, these constructed sets of expectations begin to seem 'natural' because they are so prevalent and because they go unquestioned" (Voskuil, 1998:5). This is where the root of inequality exists and often leads to underdevelopment of communities such as in the case of Chilas.

Similarly Enloe (1989:18) believes that, "notions about femininity and masculinity create and sustain global inequalities and oppressions [...] [and] patriarchal ideas and practices link all of these sectors to each other". Women studies have a great deal of research regarding women and their lives at their work place and in homes (Bhasin, 1993). For instance, Bhasin and Khan (1988:2) say, "an awareness of women's oppression and exploitation in society, at work and within the family, and conscious action by women and men to change this situation" is known as feminism. Whereas Sen and Grown (1987: 79) state, "Feminism has as its unshakable core a commitment to breaking down the structures of gender subordination and a vision for women as full and equal participants with men at all levels of societal life". Another study by Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) shows that the main theme of feminist research was "female subordination" (p286) although the relationship of power between men and women is different at different places.

Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995: 287) say, "the objective of feminism not only includes equity, but also liberation of women and men from systems of injustice". At the initial stages, a great part of the research was about economic development, impacts on women or women's roles in generating income. For instance a report by the World Bank (2002) suggested an increase in poverty where gender discrimination exists. On the other hand women's participation in the labour

market was seen as a key step towards attaining gender equality (World Bank, 2002). Moreover women's education and health issues are compromised as well as their economic development where gender inequality exists (World Bank, 2002). With regard to empowering women Datta and Kornberg (2002:2) state, "the goals of women's empowerment are to challenge patriarchal ideology [...] to transform the structures and institutions that reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and social inequality [...] and enable poor women to gain access to, and control of, both material and informational resources". Similarly in Chilas women are less empowered in result of mainly patriarchal system that has led to the restriction on women's education and their ability to take part in any decision making at the community level need to be addressed with the main concept to empower them at government level (detail in chapter 7 and 8).

In favouring women's psychosomatic development it is thought that working women get less distressed compared to those who are restricted to the home (Donovan, 1985; Sen & Grown, 1987). Advocates of women's contentment with work say that women who are dependent on men are more depressed and have a lesser sense of self-worth compared to those women who experience more independence (Andersen, 2003; Lindsey, 1997).

On the other hand, Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995: 286-287) say that work, "places a double or even triple burden of work on women as they deal with house work, childcare, and food production, in addition to paid employment. [...] women deal with this declining status, heavier work burdens, and growing impoverishment is crucial to the success of development in developing countries". In the case of Chilas and tourism development and specifically VFR tourism, this work load has increased on Chilassi women (argued in chapter 7). Therefore it is necessary that women specifically who are living under a patriarchal system, should be given opportunities to gain education, and seek skills that would allow them to earn money for themselves. Importantly, there must be the political will to support such initiatives. Moreover, to start with initial development, working hours need to be flexible for UCW in order to maintain a balance between paid work and unpaid domestic duties which would act as preparation to work full time in the future.

3.6.1 Feminism in Pakistan

Mohanty *et al.* (1991) and Elango *et al.* (2008) highlighted the fact that women's studies and feminism have recorded variations in impacts of class, race, caste, gender domination on women across the globe. Similarly Peterson and Runyan (1993: 5, 17, 19) state,

The extent of inequality between men and women [...] vary dramatically over time and across cultures [...] races, classes, and even age groups [...] by the practices, processes, and structures of gender hierarchy (the power system that privileges maleness over femaleness)

It is the culture that plays an important part in women's dependence and visibility. Where there have been movements in favour of women's dependence and gender equality this has brought noticeable changes to women's lives.

The Patriarchy system in Pakistan has been a drawback to women's development initially restricting them to access education since not many women were seen in debating feminism in Pakistan. The image of women in third world countries specifically in Pakistan is stereotypically portrayed by com-media and "Under Western Eyes" (Mohanty *et al*, 1991: 5) as "veiled, submissive, and oppressed" (Critelli, 2010: 236) is mainly due to "*invisible women*" or "*women in background*". It is however not the case that this is homogeneous for the whole country because of the diversity in traditional and cultural backgrounds across the country (ibid). Initially the status of women in Pakistan has mainly been analysed in terms of religion by, "ignoring the intricate role of state institutions and historical, social, political, and regional factors" (Critelli, 2010: 236) which have shaped women's lives to a certain degree (Shaheed, 2004). "There is considerable diversity in the status of women across classes, regions, and the rural-urban divide because of uneven socioeconomic development and the impact of tribal, feudal, and capitalist social formations on women's lives" (Critelli, 2010: 239) in Pakistan. Awareness regarding feminism is however limited to the upper echelons in society.

During the 1950s following independence in 1947, the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) stressed the need for women's education and demanded a ban on polygamy (Critelli, 2010). The APWA were successful in altering some sections of family law in 1961 resulting in polygamy being discouraged by applying conditions to it, and safeguarding women's rights in marriages by regulating verbal divorce (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987; Ali, 2000a, b). Later during the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto – known as the liberal period – women were encouraged to take part in politics and steps to ensure equality between men and women were taken (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987; Critelli, 2010). During this period of time Pakistan has also embraced many international commitments to protect basic human rights regarding women and children including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) (Critelli, 2010).

A major step backward occurred when the military dictator General Zia ul Haq took power [...] and instituted an "islamization" process in the country with a spate of antiwomen laws that were based on a conservative interpretation of religious teachings that were out of step with many of the advances that had been made by women (Critelli, 2010: 239).

One example of these anti-women laws is the Hudood Ordinance that "disallowed a woman's testimony to prove rape or adultery but instead required the evidence of four Muslim men" (Critelli, 2010: 239) resulting in large number of women in prison (Amnesty International, 1999). These constraints on women's rights attracted more women to take part in feminist debates during the 1980s and 1990s in Pakistan (Zia, 2009). Initially the main debate by feminists in Pakistan revolved around military dictatorship, religion and status of women in Pakistan (Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1991). Moreover the academic literature during this period debated the so-called four Ms i.e., "men, money, mullahs [self-appointed male preachers of Islam] and the military [...]"

[because] the only tool for analysing women in Pakistan is faith-based politics and a woman's acceptance or resistance to expressions of this politics [...]" The status of women was ambiguous by the authoritative stance by four Ms, which led towards awareness and formation of "a new brand of feminism" in Pakistan (Zia, 2009: 30). The debate against these four Ms was vocal within a movement called the Women's Action Forum (WAF) that is a women's rights organisation founded in 1981 and working in several cities of Pakistan (Zia, 2009) which now mainly deals with issues of violence against women.

The strategy of WAF where women used their interpretations of Islam to counter the patriarchal system in Pakistan (Zia, 2009) with the motive to avoid the confrontation with the government on "various strands of religion, customs and culture" (Shaheed, 2002: 381), became "partially successful" (Zia, 2009: 35). The WAF gained influence in policy making during the leadership of a woman Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto between 1988-1990 and 1993-1996. However, when Nawaz Sharif took charge as Prime Minister (1997-98), the WAF started losing its political ground. During Sharif's leadership women were forced to wear the hijab (head covering), along with the compulsory observation of other Islamic dress codes. In addition, there was a ban on dance performances. Since these pronouncements, it became difficult for "women activists to target their response" (Zia, 2009: 36) and honour killing saw an increase in numbers. NGOs especially those dealing with women's issues had to face criticism and were accused of spreading, "vulgarity, immorality and obscenity in the name of human rights" (Zia, 2009: 36 quotes Rashid, 2006: 150). Pervaiz Musharraf took control of power as a Military Dictator from 1999 - 2008 and stressed, "the need for the political empowerment of women, in an unprecedented move, increased women's political participation through the reservation of seats in parliament (33 percent)" (Zia, 2009: 37). Moreover women's public activities i.e. participation in sports, politics, serving in the Pakistan Army were encouraged by the dictator.

Additionally a Women's Protection Act (WPA) was legalised where Hudood Ordinance²⁴ was reformed in favour of women under WPA (2007) (Zia, 2009). Therefore, women in certain places where the rate of gender discrimination is higher than others, need government support, without this to achieve gender equality at a grassroots is impossible specifically in countries such as Pakistan. It is observed from a feminist study in Pakistan that, "women can't achieve their goals alone. In many countries, governments must pass and enforce legislation requiring equal-opportunity and female friendly workplaces. Quotas or special allocations might sometimes be required to ensure that qualified women get the opportunities they deserve" (Malik, 2014:15).

Socio-cultural issues of women's lives under the patriarchy system have received attention specifically from the researchers belonging to the South Asian region (see, for example Elango *et al.*, 2008). In India women are supposed to stay at home as they are assumed as sacred and pious entities i.e. "Holy Mother" (Elango *et al.*, 2008: vii) that should maintain their dignity by not working outside of their

²⁴where adultery was declared as a crime and the criminal had to face the death penalty

houses. The case is similar for Chilassi women who are dependent on their male family members in order to get respect and dignity in the community. In other words, women are bound to obey their male family members in order to get an education and earn money. Elango *at al.* (2008: 1) further state here that in India a woman is seen as a “worshipful and spiritual Goddess”. This is why they are protected by men, the same situation applies to Pakistani culture where the same attitudes that “women’s place is in the home” (cited in (Ollenburger and Moore, 1992: 1) apply.

Respecting women like goddesses and holy mothers and “an ornament that needs to be protected/wrapped” [Pakistani version] is however an excuse to restrict women to the home and maintain male domination by controlling women as was advised by two women informants aged 23 and 31 an archaeology student and a NGO employee respectively. This point has been made elsewhere in the thesis in the preceding discussion and in chapter 7. They are not given the freedom to make their own choices hence they are bound to obey men of the family which also extends to arranged marriages. This structure of power is however changing slightly with the arrival of outsiders and their direct interactions with the local community. Also depopulation plays an important part in women's empowerment where returning male members proved to be more liberal in attitude and advocates of women's education and their right to earn money [see chapter 7].

3.7 Women and Development– A Feminist Analysis

As discussed earlier in chapter 2 and this chapter that issues relating to gender became particularly prominent during the 1970s as the result of the emergence of an increased number of women’s organisations

It was explicitly used to frame and facilitate the struggle for social justice and women’s equality through a transformation of economic, social and political structures at the national and international levels. In addition, it recognized the importance of women’s agency and self-transformation (Bisnath, 2001:11).

Women’s status in the economy has been highlighted by raising the issue of gender discrimination, and the oppression of women (Gilligan, 1982; Hartmann *et al.* 1985). A number of issues relating to women, i.e. paid employment along with the extent of domestic duties have been discussed for the purpose of examining reasons for women’s oppression (Floro, 1994: 171; Gentry, 2007). Due to gender discrimination women suffer a “high level of stress and health problems” (Gentry, 2007: 485), whilst the invisibility of domestic structures and gender inequality causes impediments in women’s development (Elson, 1993, 1998). Conclusions drawn from research on women’s development demonstrate that “women, have remained in the bottom tier [...] of the global economy” (Bose and Belen, 1995:7). The focus of much of the early academic literature about women’s development addressed issues of economic development, impacts on women or women’s roles in generating income. This was because many of these early women’s studies

concentrated on women's work environment and its impacts on their social lives (Bose and Belen, 1995; Floro, 1994, 1995; Gentry, 2007).

Along with economic, socio-cultural and political aspects of women's lives, Kabeer (2003), addresses the relationship between development, gender equality and peace. Kabeer (2003:4) remarks, "The declaration of the International Decade for Women, with the official themes of Equality, Peace and Development, signified the new visibility of Women in Development (WID) in international forums". WID advocates shift attention from "welfare to equality for women in the development process" (Kabeer, 2003: 6). Thus social matters started attracting attention through WID. The main theme of WID is that development is dependent on peace and that peace is linked to gender equality. If there is no gender equality there can be no or slower development compared to situations where gender differences are less pronounced.

On the other hand, critics of the theme of WID is that there are only three dimensions mentioned for women's development and those revolve around equality and peace. Some important matters were neglected such as developing and implementing policies and plans for empowering women or protecting their rights. In this regard, Kabeer (1994:9) notes, "despite the apparent successes of WID advocacy, women continue to occupy a marginal place in development thought and policy". This refers not only to a marginal place in policies and thoughts but also that women possess a marginal [and unequal] place in societies especially in third world countries. The discussion about marginality of women, along with Cole's (2007) and Scheyvens' (2003) discussion on the empowerment of marginalised groups, has been already discussed in the preceding section.

Acknowledging the pressure of the patriarchal system on women, Ogundipe-Leslie (1994) accepts the fact that women react with fear under patriarchy and polygamy systems. An awareness of being always dependant on their male family members make them feel inferior to men: "[...] women are shackled by their own negative self-image, by interiorization of ideologies of patriarchy, and gender hierarchy" (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994: 36). This kind of fear and inferiority compounds the attitude of inequality against women (Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994).

To minimise the negative impacts of the patriarchy system on women, Kendall (2008:20) suggests, "Women's subordination can end only after the patriarchal system becomes obsolete". Equations (2007:2) suggests more strategies to overcome the gender discrimination issue, noting that "Gender audits and gender budgeting are tools that could be employed meaningfully - particularly at community levels. These in turn will impact women's political participation and decision making on the forms, impacts, models and pace of tourism in their communities" (Equations, 2007:2).

Equations (2007:2) goes on to suggest, “Policies and budgets have the potential both to perpetuate gender bias and blindness, and to transform them. Gender disaggregated data, gender-sensitive policies and indicators are essential to building up a picture of the nature and extent of gender inequality. We need to understand the way institutions with their gendered rules work and we need to develop the political will, processes and tools to challenge and change them”.

Work done by Saad (2011) regarding women’s perceptions of and experiences in tourism; Ann (1999) on the economic sector of tourism and women; Erin (2011) on women in sex tourism; Jean (2011) on women and sports, Buzinde *et al.* (2006) on the image of place through ethnicity, and Ishii’s (2012) economic impacts of ethnic tourism on a destination all contribute to the understanding of women’s roles in different income generating sectors. Nonetheless this thesis is not only an understanding of what women experience as a part of economic settings of the development process but also a study of the socio-cultural impacts and experiences in UCLDC’ women’s lives. Equations (2007:3) asserts, “apart from their overall presence in the industry [...] women do not seem to benefit and be empowered particularly from tourism”. The report further draws attention to some of the attitudes towards working women found in LDCs. These are:

- Lower levels and occupations are dominated by women while key posts and managerial positions are dominated by men
- Women face high risk of sexual harassment and exploitation
- Women are discouraged to form women’s associations or unions for collective strength and support
- Women’s wages are lower than men’s and they are mostly engaged in part-time or casual employment and live with high levels of job insecurity
- Women encounter difficulties not only at the work place but also inside their homes where they face a high level of distrust from male family members and from the community they belong to
- Women undertake all kinds of informal and manual work, i.e. providing home stay services, cooking for tourists, cleaning and washing jobs, engaging with crafts and handicrafts, or working the handloom, but still attract minimum recognition.

Socio-cultural impacts on women through development processes has received very little attention whereas those relating to women of UCLDCs require investigating through in-depth ethnographic research. In the case of LDCs and particularly in Pakistan, working women and those who are going out for education face more problems than women who choose to stay at home. This results in women either leaving to study or work outside or to continue to suffer discrimination at work and at home (further discussed in chapter 7). During research an informant remarked:

“I am a 1st division²⁵ holder throughout my academic career but when I expressed my wish to study in a university, my brothers went against me[...]they are not literate themselves so don’t want any female family member to go for education. They forced me to marry [...] my husband can’t even write his own name and not treating me well [...]” [Female: 21: housewife].

The condition of a working woman at a lower level of employment is even worse [housemaid: 42]

“[...] this is man dominating society so everyone accuses a woman [for stepping out of house for work] only to protect their men’s label”.

For women-friendly planning and implementation, Datta (2002: 87) suggests that, “To make such efforts more meaningful at the national level, the government has to take the lead, providing the resources for the transformation to happen. There are fundamental aspects such as education, in which the government’s efforts can lead to an ‘enabling’ process, which would then generate empowerment”. This is derived from the advocates and critics to WID which suggest that development goals can be achieved with sustainability if each gender is given equal opportunities. In response to WID, there are no hard and fast rules regarding the implementation and accountability of measures designed to protect women’s rights, work and education opportunities in Chilas.

Common Wealth Secretariat Report on women’s situation in the third world (1989: 5) says, “Women have been at the epicentre of the crisis and have borne the brunt of the adjustment efforts” (Kabeer, 1994:9). Rubin (1975: 160) believes, “There is no theory which accounts for the oppression of women in its endless variety and monotonous similarity, cross-culturally and throughout history with anything like the explanatory power of the Marxist theory of class oppression” (Kabeer, 1994: 40). While Banyard (2010: 2) argues that “The equality that so many people see existing between women and men is an illusion”, she further observes that in the world’s developed countries – for example, in the UK – women are still “paid 22.6 percent less per hour than men” they do “two-thirds of the world’s work, yet receive 10 percent of the world’s income and own 1 percent of the means of production ...only 18.3 percent of the world’s members of parliament are women” (2010: 2).

Despite their inequality and invisibility in terms of contributions made towards development, women still are the key part of the development process. Bose and Belen (1995: 7) note, women’s “position is double-edged. Women have less control of resources and lower incomes than men in their countries, but it is

²⁵ ‘A’ grade

labour – either through direct employment ... or indirectly through subcontracting or homework – that has been key to the growth of transnational corporations”.

Therefore, in seeking to address the need to involve women in the development process as equally as men, Suneja (2002:31) refers to The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), passed by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1979, which “addresses in comprehensive form the root causes of all forms of gender discrimination ... Women have to strive for equality or parity with men and must also seek redress for past discrimination. States are required to show special sensitivity in situations where women are likely to face greater threats to their rights”. Further, in order to empower women for the delivery of a fast development process, particularly in LDC, Datta and Kornberg (2002), Datta (2002) and Sarsar (2002) argue that there is a need to address women’s equality at a grass root level irrespective of gender, race, ethnicity, class, in every economic, political and social field.

There has been a gap in academic research regarding women and development with a specific socio-cultural background in an UC area. The study of an UC area is emphasised as although all women come under gender based studies, women of UC areas are more exposed to the effects. Miller (2002:129) observes, “Although all women have to deal with socially mandated gender roles in societies historically dominated by men, poor women are particularly vulnerable”.

Therefore, in women’s studies, there is a need to highlight what, apart from economic and social discrimination, women experience in the developed and underdeveloped worlds where women’s decisions and choices are highly dominated by men. The extent of impacts of social discrimination on the development of women is linked to a rigid cultural set up and patriarchal system in UCLDCs. Therefore there is a need to establish a link between patriarchy/polygamy and women’s underdevelopment in UCLDCs. Systems of patriarchy, poverty, and illiteracy are taken as types of anthropogenic crisis that constitute LDC as UCLDC.

Boserup (1970: 220 in Kabeer, 2003: 11) remarks,

“As long as girls remain under the twofold handicap of a family education which suppresses their self-confidence and of training facilities in schools and elsewhere which are inferior to those given to boys, they are bound to be inferior workers”.

Studies by De Kadt (1979), Britton (1989), and Harrison (2001, 2008) have shown that development is unequal in developing countries due to the gaps between rich and poor, society and environment, and, as Miller (2002) notes, the power factors identified within local communities. Research into tourism development has narrowed down towards local communities’ responses to

development (Ward and Berno, 2011), with gender issues becoming the centre of scholarly attention amongst researchers. Another reason for the absence of women in development is the difference between genders in employment sectors (Chant, 1997). However, most of the academic research that highlights women's vulnerability in gender issues pivots around three major aspects: women and economic development (Chant, 1997; Irving, 2008); women's discrimination in political matters (Charles, 2008); and women and their involvement in the media (Holliday *et al.*, 2008).

3.8 Women and Tourism Development – A Feminist Analysis

The absence of discussion of women in the tourism literature has been raised by Aitchison and Reeves (1998: 50), who remark, "An area of tourism and hospitality research which could be defined as feminist tourism studies do not exist in the way that feminist leisure studies has become established over the last decade". Pritchard and Morgan (2000: 887) made a similar point that, "There is a prevailing male bias in tourism research where no allowance is made for gender difference, subsuming female behaviour into that of the dominant male pattern". However, the 1990s did see the emergence of a greater focus on issues of gender in the tourism studies literature, as, for example the work of Wearing and Wearing (1996: 231) in which they state that "Gendered tourists, gendered hosts, gendered tourism marketing and gendered tourism objects each reveal power differences between women and men which privilege male views and which have significant impacts on tourism image and promotion".

Therefore to understand a society and tourism's role within it there is a need to identify each and every aspect of the social norms relevant to men and women. Kinnaird and Hall (1994: 27) suggest, "It is essential that we reformulate our focus to identify associated societal change and what it means for men and women".



Figure 3.6 Three categories in gender studies in tourism. Adapted from Kinnaird *et al.* (1994).

To discuss gender and tourism Kinnaird *et al.* (1994) highlight the gender difference formation in a detailed manner. They suggest that to understand gender differences within the context of tourism there is a need to understand three issues [see figure 3.6], that:

- Gender is a key part of tourism processes.
- Gender relations originated from cultural, environmental, political and social dimensions of societies engaged in tourism development.
- There is a connection between power, control and equality in gender, race and class in tourism studies

It is worth reiterating that although in the tourism studies literature gender issues have become prominent (Wilkinson and Pratiwi, 1995; Steady, 1981, 1987, 2002; Hartmann *et al.* 1985; Bianchi and Spain, 1986; Gilligan, 1982). It is researched that women have actively been involved “with tourism from the late 19th century, especially during economic hardship in the male-dominated fishing industry” (Ireland, 1993: 668).

Academic research about women in tourism was, therefore, initiated by women scholars, for example, Swain (1995:247) notes that, “The majority of scholars writing about gender issues continue to be women”. After initial discussion about the neglect of women in tourism research in the 1990s, researchers and anthropologists have turned their attention more towards women’s issues in

tourism (see for example Elson, 1991; Wilkinson, 1991; Harrison, 1992; Kinnaird *et al.* 1994; Swain, 1995; Harrison, 2006, 2009 & 2013).

Swain (1995:248) states, “Thinking is stimulated about tourism issues as gendered relationships between individuals, groups, social categories, types of tourism, and nations in First/Third Worlds”. After two decades of the initial research on women and tourism, it still remains an under-researched area, as Equations (2007) argue, although women play a significant role in tourism settings this is a notably less studied area: “International, national and state level policies on tourism do state a general commitment to women’s empowerment but rarely go beyond that to understand and evolve specific measures” (Equations, 2007: 2).

“Even the UNWTO’s Global Code of Ethics for Tourism [...] does not specifically address the gendered aspects of tourism” (Equations, 2007:3). Articles 2, 6 and 9 of the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism address equality between men and women in sexual exploitation, while in clause 6 media related to sex tourism is discussed, and in clause 9 rights of men and women employees and entrepreneurs in the tourism sector with specific emphasis on working conditions and the salaries of men and women workers are addressed. Rules to protect UCLDC women’s rights and assign equal opportunities at all levels in the tourism sector are amongst the more overlooked research areas.

Tourism is seen as a tool that can bring significant changes to the lives of women, marginalised groups and small scale entrepreneurs within a community (De Kadt, 1979; Cone, 1995; Scheyvens, 2003; Cole, 2006). It is argued that women acquire more opportunities to work due to the expansion of tourism. Gentry (2007: 483) notes, “while once limited to only house wives and mothers, female roles have recently expanded to a wide range of employment opportunities, at least partially as a result of the rapidly growing tourism industry” in Belize. Tourism is a sector where low-skilled people can find work to earn their incomes (De Kadt, 1979; Harrison, 2007 & 2008; Cole, 2007) and create opportunities for “women who otherwise had little or no employment choice” (Gentry, 2007: 491).

Equations (2007:4) criticises the existing system of women having no recognition in the tourism sector of developing countries and states, “The role of women in informal tourism settings ... is significant. But these roles and activities that women perform in tourism are treated as invisible or taken for granted”. The same expression has been noted in Catherine’s (1984:503) research on women of the Soviet countryside, that “lack of recognition of women’s contributions” leads to considerable strategic problems in women’s lives (Gentry, 2007).

Swain (1995:248) states, “Thinking is stimulated about tourism issues as gendered relationships between individuals, groups, social categories, types of tourism, and nations in First/Third Worlds”. The focus of tourism in the context of development is mainly on the economic side of women’s lives such as how to earn money, and how to get rid of issues such as poverty and sex tourism (Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995; Ann, 1999; Gentry, 2007; Fordyce, 2011; Saad, 2011). Swain (1995: 248) observes, “For social scientists engaged in tourism research, gender is thus a fundamental category useful in human resource studies, economic development projects, marketing strategies, site and infrastructure planning, and policy development”.

Moreover, in the context of gender inequality Steady (1981, 1987, 2002) and Treiman and Hartmann (1981) observe that discrimination against women is mainly caused by economic factors. Whereas Cone (1995) views tourism as a tool that can shift power from men to women specifically in the handicrafts sector. These can be held as true up to a certain extent, however, as the research data for this thesis shows, gender discrimination is caused mainly by socio-cultural factors in LDCs which cannot be exclusively eradicated with tourism.

Tourism mostly involves seasonal employment which has been criticised by Faulkenberry *et al.* (2000) and Gmelch (2004) as this makes women enter into temporary employment on low wages (Gentry, 2007, Equations, 2007 and 2012) with little opportunity for advancement (Chant, 1997). On the other hand no particular attention been given to the impacts of tourism on women of developing countries (Equations, 2007) and the women of UCLDCs especially attract less recognition. That said, this gap is partially fulfilled by Honey and Gilpin (2009), Cole, (2006 and 2007), and Harrison (2001a), who share the same view that tourism development has a strong relationship with human resource factors – i.e. marginalised groups – and has the ability to transform societies often for the better. Tourism development can thus be shown to have direct benefit to the local communities who provide goods and services direct to tourists.

However, in the provision of goods and services directly to the tourists it is known that mostly in LDCs cooking, crafts and handicrafts, handloom, and home-stay facilities for tourists are tasks undertaken by women and known as “feminine characteristics” (Chant, 1997:161). Equations (2007:4) adds that, “The informal sector is the most direct source of income for local communities in tourism in developing countries” and is mostly dominated by women in LDC. Tourism creates opportunities for women to enter in small scale businesses that lead to develop their self-esteem, skills and education (Equations, 2007, 2012).

Tourism affects the lives of men and women differently in different places and all depends on specific circumstances (Swain, 1990; Harrison, 2001a; Equations,

2007, 2012, 2014;). Therefore a socio-cultural understanding needs to be established in order to appreciate gender issues in a particular region. As Bolles (1997: 84) states, “Tourism becomes a vehicle for exploring the differences and commonalities among women”. Emphasis on socio-cultural understanding is specifically relevant in those places where gender inequality is a serious concern and women are categorised as marginalised and vulnerable.

The WTO (1999:5), suggest that, “Tourism activities should respect the equality of men and women; they should promote human rights and, more particularly, the individual rights of the most vulnerable groups, notably children, the elderly, the handicapped, ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples”. The word vulnerable group is understood here as a marginal group, i.e. women of LDCs. Gentry (2007:490) believes that tourism is held responsible for “gender-based segregation of labour where women are hired to perform duties thought of as ‘women’s work’ such as cooking, cleaning, washing clothes... one of the main concerns of gender-based segregation is that it legitimizes low wages for women”.

According to the UNWTO (2011) women typically earn “10% to 15% less than their male counterparts despite the fact that women’s visible and invisible contribution in tourism is 84%”. It is a fact that tourism is an income-generating tool for women particularly of LDCs (UNWTO, 2011), however there is a lot more to be done to ensure the gender gap in employment opportunities for men and women is closed (UNWTO Secretary-General, Taleb Rifai, 2011:26). In addition to women’s equality in employment, Equations (2007:5) recommends, “Community based tourism initiatives, particularly of local women’s groups and cooperatives can be an accessible and suitable entry point for women’s participation in tourism”.

As community is a set of homogeneous people with the same socio-cultural values so it would be less difficult to make and implement plans for gender participation in tourism development. Vulnerability of a particular group sometimes takes place due to improper planning and implementation of rules and regulations. To plan and promote tourism for the purpose of developing gender equality is of a major concern in UC areas where women are facing more problems in the form of NAC.

The preceding discussion suggests that there is a need for appropriate and compatible regional codes of conduct for rural areas of LDCs with special

²⁶ (available on) <http://www.unwomen.org/2011/03/tourism-a-vehicle-for-gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment/>

reference to those where the literacy rate is very low, the poverty rate is high and where a patriarchy system exists. “Engendering tourism policy and understanding tourism impacts on women will be key steps to combating the feminization and informalisation of the workforce in tourism, particularly in developing countries” (Equations, 2007:6). While, on the one hand, the UNWTO (2011) report interlinked tourism growth and gender equality as tourism plays a vital role in empowering women socially, politically and economically, on the other hand, the higher the levels of gender equality the higher the growth rate within the tourism industry.

Research in tourism development has identified for example, a feeling of pride and honour amongst local members of a community due to tourism activities (Cole 2006, 2007), and similar findings have also been observed during research for this thesis. As chapter 5 will elaborate, male members of the Chilassi community feel honoured when they meet foreigners, although there are some exception, notably in respect of issues related to women. They happily offer free food and services where possible. It was noted by one informant that [male: 57y: local retailer],

“[...] we are pleased to accommodate foreigners at our places and honoured to offer them free of cost whatever is cooked and available at our homes [...] it is a shame for us to charge them money for food as people from outside the region are our guests and our traditions do not allow us to charge money for what they eat at ours [...]”.

They feel shame when tourists find no motivation to visit Diamer. An interviewee remarked [male: 46y: retailer],

“[...] it is such a shame when they [tourists] only visit [neighbouring regions] Gilgit, Chitral and surrounding areas other than Diamer [...]”.

However, in contrast to Cole’s (2006, 2007) description of feelings of honour and pride amongst local communities which is also evident in the communities under discussion here this thesis also shows that when they are being visited by tourists, members of the local community of Gilgit-Baltistan can have the opposite reaction. Tourism promotion in an area depends mostly on the behaviour of tourists. If they do not acting according to the socio-cultural norms of an area this may lead to the rejection of tourism and -restriction of women to their homes. Indeed the UNWTO (2010) state that in some regions tourism empowers women, however, in some areas it affects them negatively and prolongs economic and gender inequalities. There was a common view expressed by women of Gilgit-Baltistan that the perceived bad behaviour of tourists affects their lives to a greater extent. An informant [Female: 31: NGO employee] remarked,

“[...] majority of our men give lame excuses to home restrict us²⁷[...] they easily get chances to exploit our ways to development when they find any outsider calling us by names, or stare at us in the streets or taking our photographs [...].”

It is mainly men who oppose visitors from different cultural backgrounds due to their anti-social activities, as one informant noted [male: 32: farmer]:

“They sing loudly and behave badly with our women when they get drunk. Outsiders do not bother entering ‘no go²⁸’ areas [...].”

It is a common view within the LDC that women are expected to stay at home and look after children and attend to the household chores along with responsibilities of the joint family system. They experience discouragement from every quarter when going out to work so it is hard to claim equality at any level. The Hindu: National newspaper of India (2007²⁹) quotes the Chief justice of Karnataka High Court, Cyriac Joseph, who remarks in a conference themed ‘Women’s Rights are Human Rights’,

“In the name of empowering women we should not create a situation where they lose their womanhood. There is a difference between males and females [...] there was no point in women trying to be men and do all that a man is expected to do”.

There is still a need to investigate community responses to tourism (Ward and Berno, 2011) as the link between tourism, pride and gender equality may not hold true for every situation. Therefore, this research shows that poor tourism planning and no implementation and accountability affects the feeling of pride and honour of women instead of developing it. This implies that the entire local community does not always feel the same; i.e. individuals either oppose tourism development or actively embrace changes. It is noted that different responses can be observed for identical incidents in different communities.

Westwood *et al.* (2000: 361) argue that “gender-blind” planning does not always enhance women’s interests in development. Charles (2008) suggests that it will take a long struggle to get equal access to power in public and private settings in women’s lives. However, in order to achieve women’s interests and encourage active participation in tourism for socio-economic benefits, “there is a need to focus on building confidence and empowerment of the women” (Kwaramba *et al.* 2012: 885). It is argued that only a few governments and tourism authorities concentrate on issues relevant to gender activities in tourism in LDCs (Atelijevic, 2009). Similarly, as has been noted in the tourism sector of Pakistan, there is no women representation from Chilas in the tourism industry. Moreover there is no woman tour guide in the entire NAP-GB region (refer to chapter 7). As Mohanty

²⁷ Us refer to women in this interview

²⁸ There are some ‘only female’ areas. No men are allowed to enter or pass by.

²⁹ Available on: <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-karnataka/women-must-not-try-to-be-men-cyriac-joseph/article1916218.ece>

et al. (1991) argued over 20 years ago not much research has been conducted that questions feminism in third world countries, a situation that remains the same in the case of Pakistan at the time of writing this thesis. Feminism generally assumes that women in first and third world countries are [mostly] identically impacted by class, race, caste and gender differences; but this is not , true in the case of women in the Chilassi community. The impacts of the aforementioned factors are recorded to have impacted women differently in the two neighbouring cities of Gilgit and Chilas as discussed in chapter 7. Although there have been several studies undertaken about feminism in Pakistan these lack a consideration of the social and individual issues relating to rural women or “women in background”. Therefore, attention is needed to be paid towards the psychological development of community and women for especially belongs to UCLDCs who are forced to work in the background instead of participating actively in tourism and development settings.

3.8.1 Codes of Conduct

It is noted from the preceding discussion that tourism can make a huge difference to communities if the com-media and tourism promotional strategies are able to work in a constructive manner. It is noted from research in the Chilas valley that the local community is willing to engage in social interaction with outsiders and they can be observed gathering around tourists to offer their services for free. The local community offers free food to them and sometimes free accommodation, free childcare to tourists if needed [see chapter 7 for details]. As the preceding discussion demonstrates, due to the lack of codes of conduct in the tourism industry it is sometimes the case that tourists behave in a way that offends the local population. The result is resistance to tourism development which in turn affects local sentiments regarding hospitality. This is particular so of the Diامر region and will be explored further in chapter 6.

A community’s way of thinking and perception of development varies in different circumstances (Harrison, 2001a). For that reason Crick (1989: 338) states

we need to know the local perceptions and understandings of tourism, we need to know the local perceptions of change and continuity, and we need to recognise that any culture is likely to have contradictory things to say about both.

Therefore, to plan and implement codes of conduct ‘on’ and ‘for’ the sake of a community, there is a need to understand the local socio-cultural, political and environmental conditions. It is noted that the same tourism development techniques and strategies do not always work in a similar manner in different localities. Lindberg *et al.* (2001: 1011) supports the view that at national level a specific development might be justified on the “grounds that it is positive for society as a whole”, even if on average it is not positive for a local community.

The empowerment and freedom of a local community is somehow related to the implementation of rules and regulations on tourism stakeholders including governments (Sarsar, 2002). Proper observance of codes of conduct by the dominant class of LDCs brings significant changes to a locality. Cleverdon and Kalisch (2000: 171) suggest that “Tourism as an industry is increasing rapidly in

developing countries” but little attention has been paid to the ethical marketing of the tourism product (Lea, 1993; Fleckenstein and Huebsch, 1999:137). Recent research by Frieling (2011: iii) states, “In tourism [...] codes of conduct are less developed than other industries and far from widespread”. To balance the relationship between environment and tourism, codes of conduct play a very vital role. Frieling (2011: 5) argues that “Codes of conduct are a tool to educate and influence the behaviour of tourists at their destination or employees within an organization”.

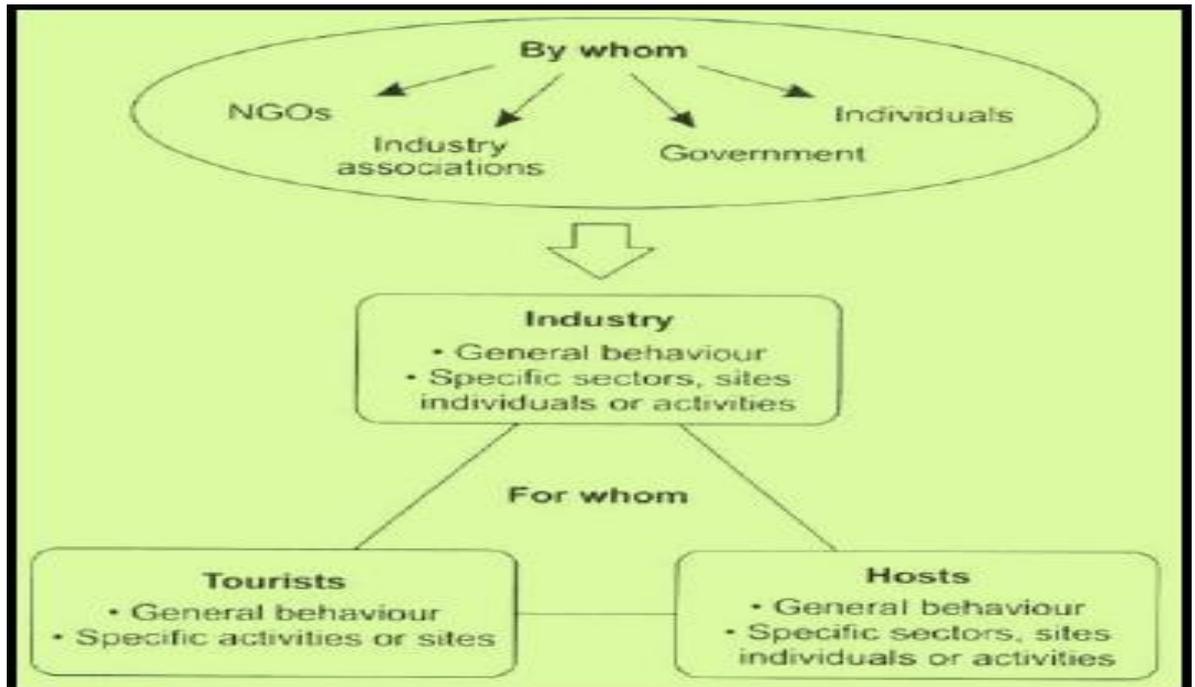


Figure 3.7 Code of Ethics: By whom and for whom. Fennell and Malloy (2007:44)

Figure 3.7 demonstrates a hierarchy of who mainly draws-up codes of conduct and whom they are for. The figure represents a top-down approach in that codes are developed by those in power and aimed at tourists, hosts and the industry. However, the diagram does not show how codes can be enforced or, if broken, how anyone will be held accountable for infringements. Further by allocating code-making powers to those who already hold power means that the grass-roots or lower echelons of society are excluded from the code making process.

Codes of conduct can according to Reisinger and Turner (2003:145) be seen as rules for social interaction with their main function being to “maintain harmonious interactions” between acting parties at both ends. Whereas Fennell and Malloy (1998) believe that in the tourism sector, the purpose of codes of conduct is to raise awareness amongst hosts and tourists. It was observed during the field research that codes of conduct for one area not necessarily compatible with the customs and traditions of another area even within the same country. Pakistan will serve as a case study in this regard; for instance, the arrival of young tourists both in Northern and Southern parts of Pakistan is taken differently. Development projects such as the construction of tourist resorts, theme parks, and

beaches are different in nature in Southern and Northern parts. The field data reveals that there is no concept of nightlife for tourists in NAP while there is no objection in providing the essentials to improve the night life of tourists in the Southern part of Pakistan.

The codes of conduct for the southern region mostly contradict the cultural values of NAP and conflict also arises between areas of Gilgit-Baltistan territory in that rules and regulations implemented in the Kailash valley and Gilgit are not compatible with those of Chilas (detail in chapter 5). Reisinger and Turner (2003: 139) state

Different cultures have different rules of interaction, [so] the expectations and meanings of rules also differ across cultures. The rules that are socially accepted in one culture may have quite different meanings in another. Thus, members of different cultures may misunderstand and misinterpret the rules of others cultures that cause difficulty interacting with those from different cultures, lead to confusion, generate tension, and even conflict.

Payne and Dimanche (1996: 997) argue that

Too often, tourism development is planned without consideration of the local environments or community's needs and characteristics. An ethical treatment of the environment and community should involve consideration and participation in the planning and decision-making process, as well as implementing effective guidelines to assure fairness in employing both traditional and non-traditional employees [...].

In addition to this, they also state that there are two ways to resolve the problems relating to the interaction of different cultures; i.e. "The first is the formulation of and adherence to a corporate code of conduct. The second is the use of models of morality to aid in solving ethical dilemmas" (ibid p: 1004). To consider the first way to minimise inter and intra-cultural conflicts there is an attempt to develop a regional codes of conduct for UC fragile socio-cultural region of Diamer.

According to the WTO Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (1999: 4),

The understanding and promotion of the ethical values common to humanity, with an attitude of tolerance and respect for the diversity of religious, philosophical and moral beliefs, are both the foundation and the consequence of responsible tourism; stakeholders in tourism development and tourists themselves should observe the social and cultural traditions and practices of all peoples, including those of minorities and indigenous peoples and to recognize their worth.

Apart from socio-cultural views, codes of conduct can be interlinked with safety and security of tourism stakeholders; WTO (1999b) and Mansfield and Pizam (2005) argue that on ethical grounds it is the responsibility of local authorities to provide safety and security to tourists and in return tourists and visitors need to behave in an environmentally friendly manner.

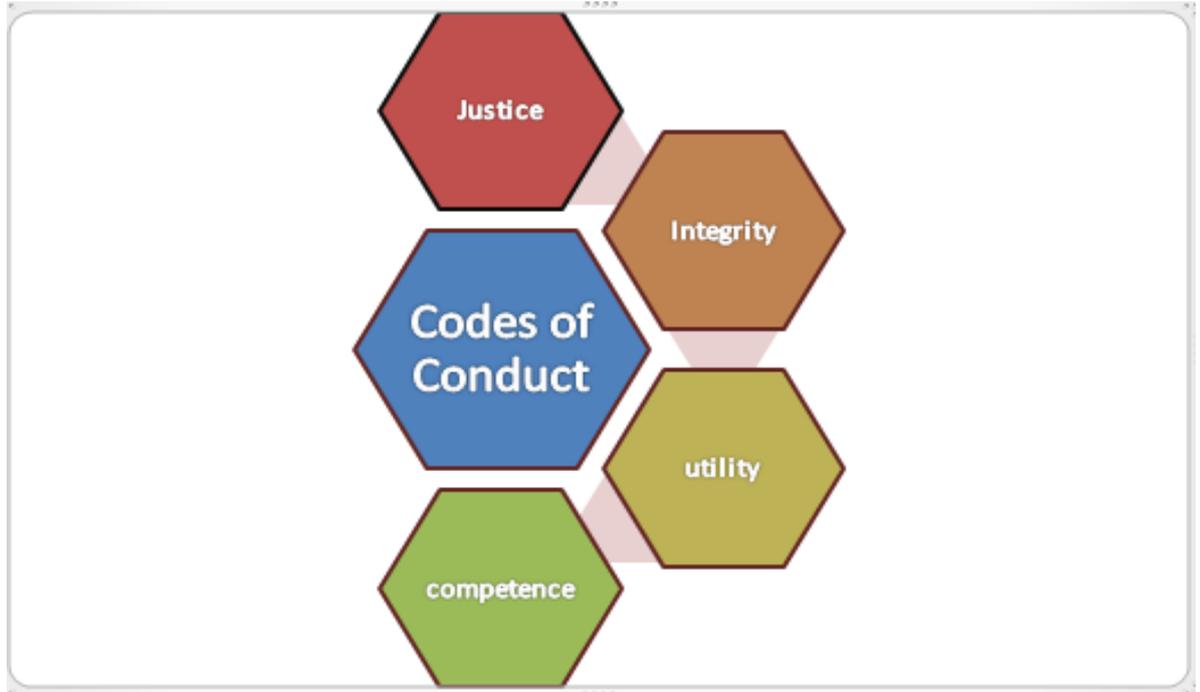


Figure 3.8 Components for codes of conduct (adapted from Payne and Dimanche, 1996; Fleckenstein and Huebsch; 1999)

As shown in figure 3.8, Payne and Dimanche (1996) and Fleckenstein and Huebsch (1999) have identified four basic components which should be considered while developing codes of conduct. These are: 1) Justice, 2) Integrity, 3) Competence and 4) Utility. Here Justice and Integrity belong to equality, honesty and fairness in dealings, self-respect and respect for others, while Competence is based on capability, reliability, qualifications and utility is based on efficiency, practical in terms of implementation and following of codes of conduct. Frielling (2011: 18) states, “codes of conduct are more likely to be successful when they make sense to the users, they are clearly formulated and in a positive and direct style”. Chapter 8 will explore the ways that the attributes of codes of conduct should be considered for the Diarmer Region.

So far it is noted that tourism can be used as a tool for bringing justice/equality in a community with the proper implementation of appropriate and culture-friendly codes of conduct (Equations, 2007). Therefore, there is a significant need for separate codes of conduct for culturally different regions as every area is different and follows different cultural and traditional values and customs. Sarsar (2002:158), writing in the context of empowering codes of conduct, states “It should involve legitimate ways by which individuals, social movements, and political parties express themselves, interact with each other, influence others, negotiate power, and act”.

To implement tourism codes of conduct there is a need to have a proper tourism set up such as a detailed ethnographic study of community, media representation, tourist information centres and the availability of brochures within the destination. Above all accountability at all levels is also an important issue which later on leads to development for all members of the community. Along with planning and

the implementation of codes of conduct for a region there is a need to establish a link between communication media and local people. The image that tourists have of a place and its people greatly influences their behaviour. An appropriate image of people and place can only be achieved if the communication media work alongside local people.

3.9 Summary

This chapter outlines the literature relating to the connection between NAC and com-media for the development of an UCD and UCC through tourism development processes. Regarding NAC the literature shows that these NAC have different effect on diverse destinations and communities. For instance, the effects of NAC are more likely to affect developed countries and can be recovered in a shorter period of time as compared to those occurring in developing countries or UCDs [discussed in section 3.2]. There are many ways to mitigate the effects of NAC, for instance in developed destinations the recovery from NAC is easier, however, in UCDs it is a more complicated task. It is further suggested to seek the involvement of government, all stakeholders and communities to help an UCD to recover from losses by adopting effective and efficient crises management strategies (Wilks and Davies, 2000; Mansfeld and Pizam, 2006; Miller, 2002; De Sausmarez, 2007; Novelli *et al.*, 2012).

This chapter further explores the literature regarding com-media and its effects on tourism, UCDs and UCCs. The literature explores the relationship between com-media and the development of an UCD. It is noted that com-media has reportedly impacted some countries – e.g. Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia – negatively during times of crises (De Sausmarez, 2007). Hitchcock and Putra (2009) also highlighted the importance of com-media during the period of NAC. Floyd *et al.* (2003) associate the perception of risk to the development process in the tourism sector. It is suggested that for the development of the tourism process the role of com-media is unprecedented as the perception of risk depends upon how com-media has projected an UCD and UCC [section 3.3].

Discussion on effective promotional strategies of a place to build an image to attract tourists is carried out by Pearce (1989), You *et al.*, (2000, 2001) Heath and Wall, (1992); Ryan, (1993); Selby, (2004) and Novelli, (2004). In addition to the effective marketing needed to promote a place as a tourist destination, Paul (2004) and Smallman and Moore (2010) state that tourism itself plays a vital role in creating a certain image and brings a social and environmental change in a destination [section 3.4]. Regarding the social change, the importance of a community and marginalised groups is highlighted by Cole (2006, 2007); Beeton, (2009); Cole and Eriksson (2010); Cascante, (2010).

In the discussion the concept of marginalised has been expanded in the light of the field research for this thesis, and women belonging to UCCs are considered as a marginalised group. This idea has been applied to the case of Chilas as an UCD. These women have no rights to participate directly in tourism and development activities and so they are not empowered by the development of tourism activities. Moreover it is noted that there is a pattern of depopulation in Chilas which accords with observations explored by Fleischer and Tchetchik (2005); Jurowski (2007, 2008) and Fernandes (2009) concerning outward migration from underdeveloped communities for better life opportunities.

The type of visitors to Chilas has also been considered in relation to the literature on HFR and VFR forms of tourism (Seaton, 1994; Seaton and Tagg 1995; Shani and Uriely, 2012). Of particular concern is the impact on women and their apparent powerlessness in the face of the additional domestic demands placed on them for this type of tourism; an issue that has been underexplored in the tourism literature.

Other issues specifically related to women explored in this chapter include: 1. discussions about women with regard to tourism and associated developments in their social lives (Floro, 1994 and 1995; Bisnath, 2001 and Gentry, 2007); 2 Women and gender related issues in tourism and development (Steady, 1981, 1987, 2002; Hartmann *et al.* 1985; Bianchi and Spain, 1986; Gilligan, 1982, Swain, 1995; Wilkinson and Pratiwi, 1995; Wearing and Wearing, 1996; Pritchard and Morgan, 2000; Pritchard *et al.* 2007). The literature mainly revolves around the economic aspects of women's presence in tourism and development, whereas this thesis demonstrates that women's participation in these processes has a significant impact on their social lives as well. However, the lack of codes of conduct - Tourists, especially teenagers, were found to be involved in anti-social activities, e.g. taking photographs of women and children without their permission, entering restricted areas, spoiling natural environments by disturbing plants and trees and wasting fruits, staring and commenting on women passers-by has meant that for some women the opposite has occurred in that they have become increasingly disempowered as will be discussed in chapter 7.

Given the fragile nature of the socio-cultural and natural environment of Chilas codes of conduct have also been explored with the view to suggesting their implementation as the result of the findings for this research and will be explored in more detail in chapter 8.

The next chapter focuses on aspects of methodology, where it is demonstrated when, how and what techniques have been adopted for the collection of data to explore the UCC responses towards NAC, com-media, and destination image in terms of tourism development in order to achieve sustainable development goals.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Having explored literature relevant to the research for this thesis in the previous chapter this chapter will outline the methodological approach and methods used to collect data. For the intention of this thesis explicit research questions have been identified with reference to existing literature. To explore them in a specific socio-cultural milieu in the context of Under Crises Less Developed Countries [UCLDCs] it was necessary to formulate an appropriate methodology. This chapter discusses the methodology and methods adopted for this research and which was used during data collection in Chilas. The main objective of this research is to examine the current and potential tourism situation in the area and explore the problems and issues relating to hindrances in processes of tourism development of an UCD and community. The main focus of this research is on: 1) investigation of the tourism issues and impacts and the role of com-media and anthropogenic crises on Under Crises Destinations and Communities [NAC on UCC and UCD] in a development context; 2) tourism and development in terms of the image of an UCD and its impacts on UCC, especially with regard to women.

Section 4.2 of this chapter includes the characteristics of the area where the research study has taken place. Section 4.3 provides a rationale for the adoption of the qualitative research methods used to collect field data and detail about the methods used. Section 4.4 focuses on the constraints experienced during fieldwork. Section 4.5 provides an outline of the research questions which were asked during this study, followed by a summary of the chapter.

4.2A brief review of the research problem

The popularity of attractions such as the Silk Road, Gilgit, Babusar valley, Fairy Meadows, Nanga Parbat known as the Killer Mountain, Chilas Fort, waterfalls, Darrel and Tangeer valleys, Shatial and Thalpan rock art, Tatta Pani has make Chilas an important gateway to these areas (see chapter 1). Chilas is considered as an UCD due to the fact that social, economic, traditional and environmental conditions are far behind in terms of development. Illegal trade, such as smuggling of rare species of animals, wood, handicrafts and edible items (dried fruits, wheat and beans) is taking place due to the non-availability of opportunities for producers to sell their product directly to tourists or traders [see chapter7].

To explore the reasons and impacts on local community behaviour with respect to this illegal activity i.e. smuggling of local product this research was carried out by adopting laddering and probing techniques during interviews (proceeding discussion). Chilas is considered in terms of its *Gemeinschaft* attributes where members of the local community have shared beliefs, traditions and cultural views. This is compounded by the large family sizes found in Chilas which is greater than many other cities in Pakistan. The reason for this is that men are the sole earners in the family unit and therefore in order to alleviate financial hardship living arrangements include members of the extended family group. The role of women as predetermined is further entrenched due to the expectations placed on them by men and the elder women to conform to traditional practices of domestic duties and child care. Coupled with this is the lack of educational opportunities for women. As such, the perceptions, behaviour and reaction to the disempowerment of women in the context of development needed to be explored for this thesis.

4.3 Research Methodology and Methods

Research is conducted within a system of knowledge and that research should be probing or testing that system with the aim of increasing knowledge. The increase in knowledge may be something entirely new and original or, more commonly; it may consist of checking, testing, expanding and refining ideas, which are still provisional (Preece, 1994: 18).

Research is mainly a process that investigates answers to queries in order to establish an understanding between problems and solutions. Qualitative research is usually designed to obtain data with relatively small number of cases. There are several ways and tools to conduct social research by employing qualitative methods.



Figure 4.1 Four social research models (Adapted from Silverman and Marvasti, 2008: 19)

Gubrium and Holstein (1997); Silverman and Marvasti (2008) and Silverman (2011) analyse (Figure 4.1) Naturalism; Emotionalism; Ethnomethodology; and Postmodernist approaches to conduct social research. The main aim of each model is to explore reality, however with different approaches. For instance Naturalism focuses on the real characteristics of a case study. In this model an ethnographer enters the “natural setting”-where things are happening in their usual settings of the research object, records observations by establishing rapport with informants and conducting interviews at their convenience to conclude findings. On the other hand the naturalism model overlooks as how people interpret and create several meanings in their lives. The “interpretive practice” (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997) is however irrelevant in naturalism.

Moreover while explaining Emotionalism, Gubrium and Holstein say that emotionalism, “virtually takes naturalism to heart” (1997: 59). The difference between Naturalism and Emotionalism is that where naturalism gathers the evidence in the natural settings of a case study as emotionalism explores the reality in the emotions of respondents and researcher. The drawback of emotionalism technique is, “by peering so intently into subject’s interior lives and inner realms, emotionalists can blind themselves to the ways that subjects shape these spheres by way of their own interpretive actions” (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997: 108).

The Ethnomethodology model suggests research on the methods of constructing reality in social life. Unlike Naturalism and Emotionalism, this model focuses on how the meanings and interpretation change in daily interactions. It is more towards the respondent’s interpretation about an object. Gubrium and Holstein (1997: 107) state, “As the substantively meaningful aspects of local culture are

shunted aside in order to concentrate on constitutive interactional activity, the content of lived experience becomes almost incidental”.

With regard to Postmodernism, this refers to the vast body of literature where the researcher analyses that how a certain fact has generated and explores evidences to support it. In postmodernism, a researcher constructs the reality with backing up cultural, political forces which shape the reality into a true and acceptable form. Gubrium and Holstein (1997: 109) criticise,

Postmodernism in the guise of qualitative inquiry is very risky business. Rhetorical ubiquity notwithstanding, at the lived border, reality is always on the verge of collapsing into representation, taking with it the substantively distinct parameters of experience whose “qualities” are qualitative method’s unique subject matter. Trying to capture that which is not there, or to describe the inexpressible, using mere rhetoric that begs its own deconstruction, is hazardous indeed. Qualitative inquiry is surely in peril as it gambles with empirical nihilism (1997: 109).

Silverman (2008¹: 18) states, “If, according to some postmodernists, we cannot and should not separate fact from fiction or truth from falsehood, then there is no point in spending precious resources to empirically study and analyze social reality”. Hence postmodernism is taken as a composition of facts and myths/fiction, due to limited interpretation in postmodernism, this model still needs more research on analysing the interpretation of myths/fiction and original research question. Denzin and Lincoln (2005& 2010: 6²) state,

Qualitative researchers use semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival, and phonemic analysis—even statistics, tables, graphs, and numbers. They also draw on and use the approaches, methods, and techniques of ethnomethodology, phenomenology, hermeneutics, feminism, rhizomatics, deconstructionism, ethnographies, interviews, psychoanalysis, cultural studies, survey research, and participant observation, among others.

Nelson *et al.*, (1992: 2) state that all practices “can provide important insights and knowledge” and Denzin and Lincoln, (2010: 6) argue that, “No specific method or practice can be privileged over another”. Nelson *et al* (1992: 4)attest, “Qualitative research embraces two tensions at the same time. On the one hand, it is drawn to a broad, interpretive, postexperimental, postmodern, feminist, and critical sensibility. On the other hand, it is drawn to more narrowly defined positivist, postpositivist, humanistic, and naturalistic conceptions of human experience and its analysis [...]”.

The research methods adopted for this research were qualitative rather than quantitative as quantitative research methods are generally used primarily to generate hypotheses then it seeks to prove or disprove the problem (Poynter, 1993; Clark *et al.* 1998; Wisker, 2001; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; Dawson, 2007).As this study is exploratory in nature, a qualitative methodology is found most suitable, largely focusing on ethnography, a method which is often seen as

¹(Available online): http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/26395_14_19.pdf

² http://www.uk.sagepub.com/upm-data/40425_Chapter1.pdf

fieldwork that provides a clear picture of human societies, and which enables the ethnographer to view from inside the human perception through interviews and observations (Denzin, 1970; Gilbert, 1993, 2001; Brunt, 1997; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Decrop, 2004, Tribe, 2004). As Kendall (2010: 37) notes of the key tool in ethnographic practice that of participant observation it generates more 'inside' information than simply asking questions or observing from the outside.

Some cultural anthropologists consider ethnography the essence of the discipline and the most reliable way to collect data related to social behaviour (see for instance, Denzin, 1970; Poynter, 1993; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Wisker, 2001; Phillimore and Goodson 2004; Dawson 2007). It is acknowledged that ethnography is meant to explore "the native's point of view" (Malinowski, 1922:25) and to "discover the cultural knowledge people are using to organize their behaviour and interpret their experience" (Spradley, 1980: 31). In social research, therefore, ethnography is a detailed study of life and the activities of people in natural settings. Kendall (2010:37) says:

Field research is the study of social life in its natural setting: observing and interviewing people where they live, work and play. Some kinds of behaviour can be best studied by "being there"; a fuller understanding can be developed through observations, face-to-face discussions, and participation in events.

Ethnography enables us to understand events observed within a wider social context, emphasizing the interrelationship between a series of events, despite focusing on a particular situation or context (Ryan, 1993; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; Dawson 2007). In the words of Geertz (1973), ethnography offers a 'thick description' of social events. This method of research also benefits from a generally unstructured research design as the observer must be open to observing, evaluating and interpreting quite unexpected behaviour and events and thus should not or cannot have preconceived frames of reference (Poynter, 1993; Clark *et al.* 1998; Wisker, 2001; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; Dawson, 2007). As Blumer points out, "the task of scientific study is to lift the veils that cover the area of group life that one proposes to study"(1978: 39).

Spradley (1980) suggests studying micro and macro forms of ethnography. 'Macroethnography' refers to a longer duration of time by numerous ethnographers and covers a broad aspect of social situations (Brown, 2004), whereas 'microethnographic' approaches involves studies of shorter duration by a single researcher of a societal situation (Brown, 2004³) and mainly revolves around how people communicate in social, cultural and political contextual situations (Whitehead, 2004; Bloome *et al.* 2005; Pane and Rocco, 2009). Spradley (1980: 47) contends that a microethnographic study is "no less sophisticated, but only more limited in scope" as compared to macroethnographic research. Macro and microethnographic research methods share the common aim

³ <http://thehangedman.com/teaching-files/ccc/ethnography.pdf>

of “discover[ing] the cultural knowledge people are using to organize their behaviour and interpret their experience” (Spradley, 1980: 31).

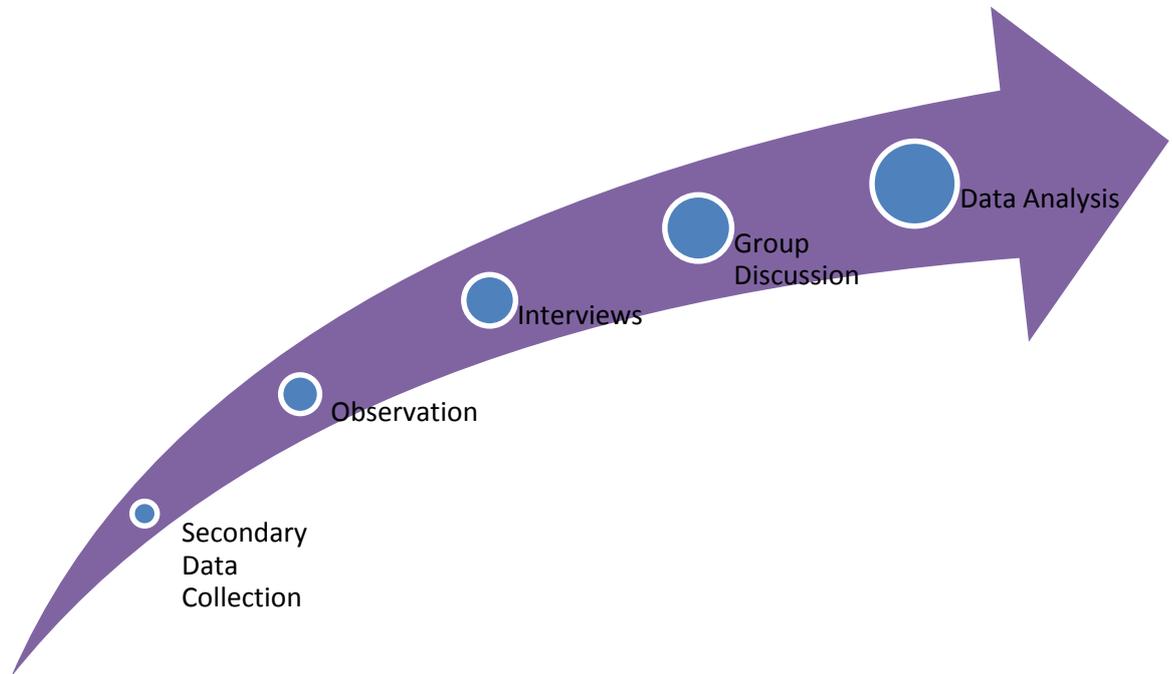


Figure 4.2 Fieldwork – Ethnographic Route for this thesis

Given the micro nature of the social research project in Chilas, and after analysing the literature regarding social research methods, I decided to adopt ethnographic tools to obtain my research data. Before commencing the ethnographic field research, the first phases was to review the secondary data (see Figure 4.2). Whitehead (2005: 3) suggests that ethnographic research “usually begins with [...] the range of information that already exists on the topic or people being studied”. The second phase was to conduct ethnographic fieldwork and to collect primary data. Wolcott (1995) defines fieldwork as a process of investigation carried out personally by a researcher/ethnographer at a place of activity of an individual or a group. Whitehead (2005: 4) states, “ethnography [...] is about more than simply methods, but is also grounded [in] certain ontological and epistemological perspectives [...] ontological and epistemological orientations of ethnography provide the foundations for the various attributes of ethnography, including fieldwork [...]”. He further describes ethnography as “A holistic approach to the study of cultural systems” [where Whitehead further describes “culture as a holistic flexible and non - constant system with continuities between its interrelated components (2005:5)].

4.3.1 Feminist Ethnography and Ethnographic Tools

Feminist academics have been a “major source of critique, theoretical intervention, and analytical insight for disciplinary and transdisciplinary knowledges” (Harrison, 2013: ix). The context of social movement, discussion regarding gendered meanings, stakes and scope have emerged into existing gender research and cleared “the grounds for questioning whether the feminist ethnography can exist” (Harrison, 2013: x). Carrying on with gender studies later on in between 1980 and 1990 women researchers and anthropologists have investigated the interconnection of feminism and ethnography in terms of social change (Harrison, 2009; Anglin, 2013; Cravin and Davis, 2013). Several debates about feminist in context of white and black women (Harrison, 1991; Mohanty *et al.*, 1991), feminist as an insider, production of literature in terms of cultural dimensions around women’s lives took place (Anglin, 2013; Cravin and Davis, 2013). The critical thinking and creative abilities of women academics to combine, “elements of methodology that can effectively address the questions, sensibilities, and goals that inspire the hard work that serious social inquiry entails” (Harrison, 2013: ix) leads to reliable insider’s points of view when researching women. As a result feminist ethnographic work produced a theory that explores, “multiple forms of oppression and intersectionality, and held promise for the radical change of structural inequalities” (Cravin and Davis, 2013: 5). In support of feminist ethnography, Cravin and Davis (2013: 5) say,

It is clear that gendered experiences are crucial to understanding all things social, [...], gender is in some way refracted in how we interpret our ethnographic data. It is also clear that among the many strands of feminism, there is support for linking feminist ethnography to a commitment to engaging in research that is socially and politically relevant to those we study.

Similarly, “Ethnographic enquiry shares a great deal in common with the research priorities of many feminist and women’s studies scholars” (Harrison, 2008: 24), moreover it, “privileges particularity and the importance of individual experience, situated within uneven systems of power” (Cravin and Davis, 2013: 6). Since this research investigates the stance of UCW’s on issues relating to tourism development, NAC and com-media in a UCD, as a female ethnographer myself it was comparatively easy for me to access local women allowing them to “feel free to share with me as a female researcher” their stories where they so wanted. That is why I was able to obtain data which allows them to express themselves in their own words something that, male researchers would not be able to achieve because they would not be able to get the necessary access to the women. With regard to the rich ethnographic data through life stories, Harrison (2008) states that it is a more, “suitable approach” because it allows a researcher to add “anecdotes” and “stories” (pp24-25) gathered during the research through a more understanding

way i.e. “the intimacy” with women informants (Cravin and Davis, 2013:13). As the familiarity with female ethnographers suggests new understandings and concerns hence raises new questions about women ethics in ethnographic fieldwork (Cravin and Davis, 2013). Similarly,

The experience-near⁴ stories and counter-stories that feminist ethnographers collect, however, can be powerful compliments to aggregate data, illuminating their implications and filling in some of their silences in ways that conventional tables and graphs cannot (Harrison, 2013: x).

Due to a particular characteristic of ethnographic research i.e. “face-to-face, hands-on, reciprocal relations” (Harrison, 2008: 24) it allows both parties to understand the context in which things are asked and said. Therefore stories and anecdotes gathered during research - especially by conducting face to face interviews - can be “rich and invaluable sources of knowledge and theory” (ibid, pp25). This point is echoed by Kingsolver (2001: 4) who says, “the stories we tell ourselves to make sense of life and to determine where we are as we navigate social space” are a rich source of ethnographic data. Therefore to accumulate such anecdotes it is further advised as an outcome of this thesis to encourage female researchers to access UCW especially in Chilas-NAP.

Moreover, there are several tools to conduct fieldwork by an ethnographer; these include observation, interviews, or group discussion in order to investigate the “native's point of view” (Malinowski, 1922:25). Ethnographic observations are generally of two types: (1) participatory observations where the ethnographer participates in the community activities while carrying on his/her observation; this type of observation helps an ethnographer to “gain an *emic* or indigenous sense of the social setting being studied (Whitehead, 2005: 11); and (2) Non-participatory observation where the ethnographer observes community activities from a distance rather than getting involved in events (Whitehead, 2005). Hymes (1962) and Suter (2000) both agree that participant observation is the backbone of ethnography.

Observations derived from ethnographic research generally transform into structured or unstructured conversational and descriptive interviews (Whitehead, 2004, 2005; Whitehead and McNiff, 2006). Interviews are state that an “a form of collecting qualitative data” that gives an “insight” into “reality” and how people perceive things around them Clark *et al.* (1998: 132). Structured interviews focus on a clear plan and a set of investigative research questions. As Bernard (2002: 205) observes, in structured interviews “people are asked to respond to as nearly as identical a set of stimuli as possible”.

⁴ Based on experiences

Conversely, while conducting unstructured interviews an ethnographer tries to memorise and record conversations. Unstructured interviews “[can be] used in situations where the ethnographers has lots of time [...] and can interview people on many occasions” in the form of “pleasant chitchat” (Bernard, 2002: 205). In this type of interview the ethnographer usually adopts laddering and probing techniques to gain an understanding of the research problem. It is claimed that by following the laddering and probing technique maximum results for the interview can be gained (Fielding, 1993; Gilbert, 1993, 2001; Clark *et al.* 1998; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; Dawson, 2007). Laddering and probing is a technique of initiating a discussion or interview from more general matters towards more important and relevant issues during ethnographic research. As Fielding and Thomas (1993: 136) say, “the interviewer asks certain, major questions the same way each time, but is free to alter the sequence and to probe for more information”.

A third tool that was used to obtain primary data was group discussions with participants. Suter (2000: 1) criticises the lack of emphasis on focus groups/group discussions in ethnography by suggesting that ethnographers need to, “step outside their traditional methodological practices [...] and integrate the focus group method into their research protocols”. Focus group methods provide insights into participant behaviour that in some cases is difficult to observe. Merton and Kendall (1946) and Agar and MacDonald (1995) argue that focus group methods are used to investigate social understandings of the research topic under discussion. The common objective of focus groups is to “conduct a group discussion that resembles a lively conversation among friends or neighbours” (Morgan, 1988: 22). Agar and MacDonald (1995) argue that whether the discussion is “lively or not” the researcher will have data relevant to his/her research problem at the end of the discussion.

Moreover group discussions are the source of rich data generation in social research (Suter, 2000) as participants of focus groups discuss issue themselves and with the researcher, and many opinions and responses on one issue are therefore recorded (Agar and MacDonald, 1995). During my research there emerged certain issues relating to community development, participation in decision making, planning and implementation, safety and security in the region that needed to be cross- checked with both local community and tourism and development officials. In view of the fact that face-to-face interviews represent a long and time-consuming method for cross-checking purposes, I decided that conducting group discussions would be a more appropriate strategy.

As such, by keeping the social nature of my research in view, ethnography was found to be the most applicable method for conducting the Chilass research as it entails the study of behaviour in natural settings with the ethnographic researcher involved in the scene of the action. Quantitative methods such as questionnaires could not be adopted as the Chilass community is mainly uneducated and would encounter difficulties in reading and understanding them. Moreover data gathered

through quantitative research would have restricted attempts to obtain the in-depth understandings necessary for analysing social behaviour as part of the core research aims.

There has been no research study conducted regarding investigating community views about tourism and development at the micro level in a community. Moreover, the research revealed that the Chilassi community has hitherto never been asked to participate in planning and the implementation of plans in the Diامر region, or been involved in any social research. As such, it was anticipated that community members may not want to get involved in a quantitatively-focused research project. Therefore, for the purposes of conducting the research for this thesis it was decided that it would be more appropriate to conduct group discussions followed by face to face in-depth interviews and observations after establishing an appropriate rapport with the participants.

Additionally, I assumed from recommendations by informants based in other cities and rumours spread by com-media about the Chilassi community that, “*it wouldn't be easy for you to contact women [informants in Chilas] [...] you won't be able to mobilise to conduct interviews due to rigidity within Chilassi men [...]*” [male: tourism official based in Islamabad] is information that needed to be cross checked. Given that ethnographic researchers aim to view the social world of its participants through their own eyes, it is therefore incumbent on researchers to gain insights into understandings of the facts on the ground. This research method is deemed the most effective for this study because it involves very detailed description in order to analyse what is happening in a particular situation and to advocate possible reasons by way of research findings.

4.4 Grounded Theory Method [GTM] and Rapid Situation Analysis [RSA]

As ethnographic research methods were used during this research, it is worth exploring the ways that ethnography, as a qualitative method, is related to ‘grounded theory’ (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990 and 1998; Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Charmaz, 2006, 2008).

If someone wanted to know whether one drug is more effective than another, then a double blind clinical trial would be more appropriate than grounded theory study. However, if someone wanted to know what it was like to be a participant in a drug study [...], then he or she might sensibly engage in a grounded theory project or some other type of qualitative study (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:40).

GTM provides useful tools to learn about individuals' perceptions and feelings regarding a particular subject area (Gorra⁵, nd; Charmaz, 2006, 2008). Marshall and Rossman (1999) state that GTM at the initial stage relies on words from informants while taking their everyday life experiences and perceptions into account. It is a qualitative research method that seeks to develop theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed (Urquhart *et al.* 2010: 357). Gibbs (2011) notes that grounded theory is an inductive form of qualitative research, and is described by Glaser and Strauss (1967: 2) as the “discovery of data systematically obtained from social research” where data collection and analysis are conducted together. Creswell (2003: 14) explains that grounded theory refers to the process whereby “the researcher attempts to drive a general, abstract theory of process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants in a study”. Regarding the importance of grounded theory in the study of human behaviour, Glaser (1992: 13) ascribes it to “researchers and practitioners in fields that concern themselves with issues relating to human behaviour in organisations, groups, and other social configurations”.

Grounded theory is described as a resilient procedure of data analysis with the help of rich findings that are closely tied to data (Orlikowski, 1993). According to Hoflund (2013: 473), “Two key characteristics define grounded theory: a de-emphasis on the verification of theory and emphasis on the generation of theory”. Glaser and Strauss (1967) further argue that grounded theory strengthens qualitative research by “closing the embarrassing gap between theory and empirical research” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: vii).

To explain a research process Miles and Huberman (1984) state that a researcher starts a research project with ideas (or hunches) for the exploration of certain facts and figures. These ideas initially come from different informational resources “other than data” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 6) that help a researcher in selecting an area of enquiry: “the area of enquiry is called the ‘substantive area’ in grounded theory enquiry” (Urquhart *et al.* 2010: 362). After data collection, putting the first slices of data into conceptual categories take place (*ibid.*). Caudle (1994: 89) notes that “the combining of methods, data sources, and other factors in examining what is under study” is called ‘triangulation’. Grounded theory represents the entire process of putting additional data (i.e. researchers own data from primary resources) together with the existing research to explore the relationships between the two (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Urquhart *et al.*, 2010). Grounded theory, therefore, is an approach that develops theory from the data collected rather than applying a theory to the data. Constant comparison and theoretical sampling are used to support the systematic discovery of theory from the data.

The other relevant approach is Rapid Situation Analysis (RSA) which is a “hybrid, participatory, bottom-up research approach” (Koutra, 2010:1016) which notices

(Available on)

http://www.leedsmet.ac.uk/inn/alic/agorra/3_Chapter3_Methodology_AndreaGorra.pdf⁵

“understanding to be derived from indigenous knowledge [...] especially those at the grassroots level” (Koutra, 2010: 1016). Hence to explore and analyse field data a combination of RSA and grounded theory methods have been taken into consideration for this research. The RSA research consisted of five stages: 1. identification of research problem, 2. samples selection, 3. field observation, 4. interviewing, and 5. group discussions and cross-check.

The use of RSA and Grounded theory to interpret and code data includes the identification of the research problem where I initially conducted an analysis of relevant secondary data resources i.e. books, research papers, articles, internet, followed by a 6 weeks pilot study of the field site. The second stage was the sample selection by choosing participants using snowball sampling technique in which I identified the key respondents. This fieldwork lasted for 12 weeks with participant and non-participant observation, interviews and group discussions. At the end of the fieldwork, I started analysing my data and the analysis progressed as the research proceeded in line with further explorations of the literature and during the writing-up process. As Okely argues "during the fieldwork and after, themes gradually emerge" (1994: 20) and

The anthropologist-writer draws also on the totality of the experience, parts of which may not, cannot, be cerebrally written down at the time. It is recorded in memory, body and all the senses. Ideas and themes have worked through the whole being throughout fieldwork. They have gestated in dreams and the subconscious in both sleep and in waking hours, away from the field, at the anthropologist's desk, in libraries and in dialogue with the people. (ibid: 21)

As discussed in this chapter that ethnography allows a researcher to quote valuable rich stories where they are required. Therefore, I have quoted interviews throughout this thesis to support my argument by keeping the actual identity of informants confidential.

4.4.1 Research Settings

As mentioned in the preceding discussion, the fieldwork was conducted in three different phases at different times: one visit was for two weeks in 2008 before the start of formal research; the second phase, in 2010, lasted for four weeks. The final phase of research, in 2011, lasted for 12 weeks. The purpose of the first visit in 2008 was to select the field site in NAP. The Diامر region was selected as the most suitable for tourism research as the region has major tourist attractions (see chapter 1). Studies conducted by Khan and Beg (2006) and Felmy (2006) on the development of mountainous region were taken into account where they highlighted the importance of education and skill development programmes for local communities in order to take active part in the development of the region. Also considered while conducting this preliminary study were factors to be re-evaluated in the process of reconstructing the place image of an area from a marketing perspective (Selby and Morgan, 1996).

As outlined in the preceding discussion, this study revolves around the investigation of people's perception, their behaviour and reaction to image issues in the context of development and tourism. The ethnographic research methods as discussed in the preceding discussion – i.e. observation, interviews, group discussion – were determined as being the most appropriate for the purposes of this research. I chose to do participant and non-participant observation, structured and semi structured interviews and group discussion with key stakeholders in five major groups/categories:

1. Local Community
2. Tourism, Media and Law Enforcing officials
3. Tourists (on spot and who have already been to NAP)
4. Educationists (teachers, students especially from Department of Tourism and Hospitality, Archaeology and Arts and Design) and members of NGOs
5. Tour Operators/Guides (both government and free-lance)

Categories of Respondents	No. of Respondents
Interviewers from local community (Informal and semi-structured):	
Men	12
Women	16
Formal and Structured Interviews	
Tourism Officials	5
Tourism Educators/Archaeologists	4
Semi-structured Interviews	
Tourists/visitors: National/Foreigners	8/6
Tourism Facilitators/others (security and law enforcement sector, media, hospitality sector, NGO members)	5
Mountaineers	2
Total interviews	58
Irrelevant/discarded interviews	8
Group Discussion	
1. PTDC staff	4
2. Members of local community (male, age group between 18-70)	6
3. Members of local community (female, age group between 18-70)	

Table 4.1 Fieldwork, 2011

Origin	Gender	Age	Purpose of Visit	Number of Visit
Malaysia	Male [with friends]	40s	Hospitality, Tourism	Returned tourist
USA	1 Male [with a friend]/1 Female [with colleagues]	50s/60s	Hospitality, Tourism/Educationist	Returned tourist
Japan	Male [with friends]	40s	Tourism	First time Tourist
China	Male	40s	Tourism/Business	Returned Tourist
India	Male [with friends]	40s	Tourism/Business	Returned Tourist
Pakistan	7 Male/ One Female	17-30	Polo Match/ Camping at Fairy Meadows/ VFR	All Returned Tourists

Table 4.1a Profile of Tourists in Chilas – Babusar Valley (March-June 2011)

Table 4.1 provides an outline of the participants involved in this research. The total number of interviews was 58, and comprised of 12 men and 16 women community members, 9 tourism officials and relevant educationists, 14 national and international tourists/visitors (see Table 4.1a), and 7 from miscellaneous sectors including mountaineers, law enforcement agencies, media and the hospitality sector and members of NGOs. Pilot interviews were initially designed with local women but at the beginning of the research it was the case that most women were too reluctant to talk in a formal setting. Trying to build a friendly rapport with them is a part of the ethnographic research process, and as I was able to achieve this the interviews subsequently took place in the final phase of research. As Spradley (1979: 78) suggests, familiarity with informants brings:

[...] a harmonious relationship between ethnographer and informant. It means that a basic sense of trust has developed that allows for the free flow of information. Both the ethnographer and the informant have positive feelings about the interviews, perhaps even enjoy them.

Similarly Tewksbury & Gagne (1997: 128) state,

The importance of a strong, positive rapport is intensified when the research endeavour involves a sensitive topic or a stigmatised population [...] among those of discredited character, body, or tribe [...] there commonly exists a trepidation concerning the approach of outsiders [...] the key to successful research with stigmatized groups is their

willingness to "embark on a risky course of action" [...] This decision is based on trust and the rapport that precedes it. If and when the stigmatized feels accepted and respected and perceive some degree of similarity with their explorers, a relationship can proceed, and the qualitative researcher can pursue investigation of inhabitants' identities, identity components, and experiences.

In the case of the research conducted with women in Chilas, familiarity with the people, place and cultural and traditional set up was a big advantage in understanding, from a more detailed ethnographic perspective, their gestures, language and behaviour. Interviews for this research were conducted to get an insider's perspective. These interviews were semi-structured in nature as this allows me and participants to ask and explore different questions by adopting laddering and probing technique as previously discussed.

In the final stage of research two sets of discussions were arranged: one was with tourism and law enforcement officials based in Islamabad, the other with local informants in two further sessions for men and women respondents in order to cross-check the data obtained from the respondents based in Islamabad. As some discrepancies have arisen amongst tourism officials and the local community in relation to factors such as tourism development plans and implementation, community participation and benefits to community members, and the security situation for tourists and general visitors in Chilas, the decision was taken to cross check the information received from both ends.

4.5 Limitations lead to future research

In the early stage of the research it was evident that there were some limitations regarding access to local informants. Non-familiarity with the local community, and traditional societal conventions present challenges, on account of the fact that Chilassi women are inhibited from interacting with outsiders without the consent of a male family member at local level. Access to female members of the local community was therefore not easy as they were not allowed to go out for prolonged periods of time making the interview process difficult and time consuming, and restricting the interviews to those that could be conducted by visiting women in their homes. For this reason the research was restricted to mainly men community members.

Furthermore, as there was limited time available to conduct the pilot study it was not possible to reach as many stakeholders as would otherwise have been desirable. Often tourism and media officials could not be contacted due to their non-availability and time restraints. Further limitations were encountered in that some government officials were not available for interviews despite reminders and phone calls. However, some structured interviews (later cross checked) with government officials were conducted by phone. As safety and security was an emerging topic in the current research, it was necessary for me to access a small sample from law enforcement organisations and political personnel. However this group declined to be interviewed without the organisation of prior appointments.

As there were no appointments available within the time limitation for the pilot study, and as such no access to law enforcement authorities, the media sector and tourism officials, I was restricted to community and hospitality sectors' responses to tourism, which thus represented only one of the objectives for conducting this study.

In terms of the economic and social impact of development on local community members, the views of women specifically could not be explored in detail due limited access to the key respondents from the local community. No official statistics regarding tourist arrivals were documented in Chilas and the Diamer region as tourism information was only available from selected hotels. In addition, local fieldwork limitations were encountered due to the fact that the Pakistan tourism industry was on the verge of centralisation, meaning that decisions were the responsibility of the central government as opposed to local or regional authorities.

As chapters 5 and 6 will demonstrate that it is argued that the relevant government authorities are not doing enough for tourism promotion and development [told by a male informant]. As staff at MoT were not interested in providing information or to agree to discuss the topic, this issue has detracted from the information available for this research in terms of getting the official statistics regarding tourism in Diamer.

These challenges notwithstanding, as weather conditions were favourable to visit Gilgit-Baltistan during February/March to August/September, it transpired that the destination, tourists and visitors were easy to access during all three visits. However, the connection between a destination image that is under natural and anthropogenic crises [NAC] and communication media [com-media] became an emerging topic during the course of the pilot study. Therefore to achieve the main aim of this research it was necessary for me to equip myself with the relevant documentary proof, such as letters from my doctoral supervisor and sponsor indicating my sole intention that the purpose of this study is to investigate the potential of tourism and development in an UCD, and by confirming that all the information will be dealt with confidentiality. Along with the letter there was an information sheet and consent forms attached that were handed to stakeholders prior to their participation in the study. I had to access key references to access officials working in MoT, and the media and law enforcement sectors. As a female researcher I had to face traditional barriers – apart from advantages to access women informants easily as compared to a male researcher - in the process of my conducting interviews alone in Chilas, necessitating, for example, support from a male participant who accompanied me when interviewing tourism officials.

4.5.1 Research Questions

Research questions were developed from the literature review, and the pilot study in respect of exploring the potential of tourism for the development of an UCD and UCC. As mentioned in the preceding discussion, as the interviews were conducted amongst general stakeholders – i.e. local community, tourists, tour operators, officials and NGOs – it was necessary to conduct the research at their own convenience in order to ensure that informants could give responses in context and speak as freely as possible .

Fieldwork was carried out in different settings as mentioned in the preceding section. First I had to investigate official perspectives on what and how they think and feel about place image and its impact on the fragile environment. This was then carried on with local people, tourists and former tourists as well as tour operators and guides. The following core questions worked as a guide towards conducting the interviews:

1. What are the main developing agendas that can influence (and are influencing) tourism and development at a local level?
2. How do different stake holders i.e. government officials, tour operators, guides, travel agents, hotel staff, local *men and women*, local official members and tourists perceive the meaning of tourism development?
3. What is the nature of the tourism product in the area? Niche markets: i.e. trekking, climbing, cycling, wood and handicrafts market, dry fruits, livestock.
4. What tourists have found attractive in the area and whether they want to come again or not? What are the views by archaeologists and historians, anthropologists, artists?
5. What are tourists' pre and post area visit views and what is the impact of media on their perceptions (and if media projection is so negative then what made them want to visit the area still? What do tourists like and dislike during their stay and visit to the area and what should be promoted/highlighted?
6. What are local peoples' attitudes towards tourists / strangers and whether people are encouraging them to visit or not? If Yes, how and if No why not?
7. Regarding accommodation and transport and other tourism infrastructure, what are tourists' views? What does the local community think of tourism infrastructure development?
8. What are the limitations for tourism development in the area from the perspective of women and families)?
9. How do tourism development organisations (PTDC, government, educationists, NGO's, com-media) address these limitations?

10. What are the major and minor social issues which are hindering tourism growth in the area and are there any plans to promote the area with tourism in mind? How are NAC affecting the region and local population?
11. How tourism development is perceived by the local community, local officials and relevant government organisations? How it affects their lives, environment, and businesses?
12. How do the various stakeholders view the issues regarding allocation of tourism resources to the area. What is the usage of existing tourism travel and recreation resources?
13. What part com-media plays during NAC and how it impacted the lives of local population? How risks can be minimised in order to gain benefit from tourism development?

4.6 Summary

This chapter covers the research methodology and methods used during the research for this thesis. The main aim of this thesis is the investigation of community responses towards tourism as a development tool in the situation of NAC in an UCD. For this I had to choose samples from different interrelated stakeholders, e.g. officials from MoT, media and law enforcing sectors, tourists and visitors, educationists, members of NGOs and local tour operators/ guides. Following a critical analysis of relevant literature, I concluded that ethnographic research methods rather than quantitative approaches are the most methods to apply in the study site.

The reason to opt for ethnographic research methods was determined by the nature of research and the requirement to interview members of the local community in Chilas and hear their views in a naturalistic way as possible. I was informed that this was difficult to achieve as women community members are difficult to access and interview formally. However, as a female researcher and having contacts in the area, I had no difficulty in accessing women participants. I adopted three stages in pursuing this investigation: 1. Observation, 2. Interviews and 3. Group discussions. At the initial stage of investigation I only used observation and semi-structured interviews but at the final stage of research I had to cross check some contradictory statements provided by few informants from tourism and development sector officials and the community members. Therefore, I arranged three sets of group discussions, one with tourism officers and two with community members for each gender [it was not acceptable for a mixed-group discussion due to “Parda”- women’s avoidance of contact with men - issues so, I had to separate men and women community members] to be conducted in natural and socially acceptable settings.

After a critical analysis of the existing literature on research methodology and methods, the purpose of the third stage, Sampling and field research, was to analyse the data. For this I adopted a combination of two methods, grounded theory and RSA to be implemented for the purposes of analysis of the ethnographic research. I took field notes and noted important points while recoding responses from participants. The process of analysis was ongoing throughout the thesis as I had to review the field notes and interview recordings repeatedly while analysing the data about a particular topic. Ethnography allows the researcher to quote original responses from participants where necessary, and quotes from interviews have therefore been reproduced at relevant points throughout the thesis.

The next chapter is a review of research conducted in respect of NAC and com-media and their relationship to tourism and development in Chilas as an UCD. Chapter 5 also provides a detailed review of how NAC and com-media impact on the image of an UCD and highlights the steps that need to be taken to prevent negative place image affecting tourism and development in Chilas. This chapter covers the research methods and methodology used during the research for this thesis. The main aim of this thesis revolves around investigating community responses towards tourism as a development tool in the situation of NAC in an UCD. For this I had to choose samples from different interrelated stakeholders, e.g. officials from MoT, media and law enforcing sectors, tourists and visitors, educationists, members of NGOs and local tour operators/ guides. After doing a critical analysis for the purpose of commencing the research, I concluded that ethnographic research methods rather than more quantitative approaches are the most appropriate approach to apply in the study site.

Chapter 5

Tourism, NAC and Communication Media

5.1 Introduction

There have been two major factors that have bearing on tourism development in LDCs: i.e. NAC and com-media disproportionately influencing the UCD and UCC of Chilas-Pakistan. As discussed in preceding chapters, Pakistan is undergoing a phase of exploration and external involvement after facing the decline phase in the tourism life cycle. The background of tourism development in Pakistan discussed in chapters 1 shows that the tourism industry of Pakistan experienced a decline between 2001 and 2006 followed by rejuvenation to 2010. In 2011, again due to internal instability, tourism went into decline and now at the time of writing the tourism industry is once more revitalising, hence the author's description of this period as the 'exploration/involvement stage'.

When major incidents occur, whether natural (for instance, hurricanes, fire, earthquake, floods, tsunamis and epidemics) or anthropogenic (for example, war and terrorism), both can affect the flow of tourists to a particular area. Following such incidents a destination requires time to recover from the losses resulting from NAC. Recovery is also dependant on various factors, including the response of the destination, government and non-government development agencies, crises management units, com-media sector, tourism authorities and local communities to the incident. Co-ordination between all these sectors in order to overcome the situation has proved to minimise the effects of NAC on destination and local community in long terms.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the occurrence of NAC and their relationship with com-media and the magnitude and direct impacts of both factors on the development of UCC. NAC occurrence in Lebanon (terrorism, political instability), Libya, Afghanistan (terrorism, political instability, civil war), USA (terrorism), New Zealand (tsunami) will be taken as examples to frame the discussion of NAC and com-media in Pakistan. The destinations for the reference of the victims of NAC were selected on account of their destination promotion strategies for the purpose of tourism and development. The data in countries other than Pakistan is obtained from secondary data resources such as articles, newspapers, internet, media channels, reports and books.

5.2 Natural Crises and Pakistan

The term ‘tourism crisis’ is used with increasing frequency by destinations suffering from an immediate drop in visitor arrivals (Glaesser, 2003: 6). Sonmezet *al.* (1994: 2) define tourism crises as,

any occurrence which can threaten the normal operations and conduct of tourism related businesses; damage a tourist destination’s overall reputation for safety, attractiveness, and comfort by negatively affecting visitors’ perceptions of that destination; and, in turn, cause downturn in the local travel and tourism economy, and interrupt the continuity of business operations for the local travel and tourism industry, by the reduction in tourist arrivals and expenditures.

Allen *et al.* (1994) categorise crises as situations of uncertainty, defining ‘uncertainty’ as that which:

- threatens the normal operations
- damages the reputation of a tourist destination
- affects the attractiveness of a place or
- negatively attracts the tourists
- negatively impacts visitors' perceptions
- causes downturn of local businesses and economies
- causes reduction of tourist arrivals.

As discussed in chapter 3 of this thesis, Fienberg (1998), Jha (2010) and Medair (2011) maintain that natural crises add to extremely negative impacts, both physical and emotional, on communities. Consequently, due to the incapability of coping with the losses caused by natural crises there is “serious disruption in the functioning of a society and widespread damages to life, property, infrastructure and environment” (Jha, 2010:2). Jha (2010) further states that anthropogenic crises occur due to human negligence, error, failure of man-made systems, crime, corruption, civil disorder, terrorism and war.

However, these also impact negatively on the cultures, traditions and environment of a society. Similarly Jha (2010) argues that effects of NAC have different impacts on rich and poor nations, arguing, for instance, that richer nations overcome financial, physical and intangible losses quicker than poorer nations (refer to table 3.1 in chapter 3). It is argued that nations with low incomes are more vulnerable to NAC. The reason for this vulnerability is the low capacity, i.e. lack of advance technology, skills and expertise in order to achieve development objectives swiftly. By combining existing definitions of NAC and notes from the

ethnographic research, in this thesis NAC addresses natural disasters combined with anthropogenic crises in terms of their impacts on Chilas-Pakistan financially, physically and intangibly, i.e. perceptions of and about community and the image of the destination.

As Pakistan is a LDC the negative impacts of NAC compared to those of developed countries are higher. Furthermore, the National Disaster Management Authority of Pakistan (NDMAP) (2006) predicted with the help of an analysis of the hazards, vulnerability and frequency that in coming years (i.e. after 2006) the hazards may increase leading to “greater social, economic and environmental losses” (NDMAP, 2006:7). According to UNESCO Water Portal (2008) during the period 1990-2001 more than 2,200 NAC took place, of which 35% occurred in Asia compared to 29% in Africa, 20% in America, 13% in Europe and only 3% in Oceania. Pakistan’s exposure to natural hazards and disasters is ranked between moderate to severe for the country is vulnerable to disaster risks from a range of natural hazards including earthquakes, droughts, floods, landslides, avalanches, cyclones and storms, tsunami, glacial lake outbursts, river erosion, epidemics and pest attacks as per analysis by the NDMAP (2006:9,7).

Historically, not only have people from UCDs suffered, but also visitors and tourists in major UC tourist destinations. For example, Khan (2011) and ESP (2011¹) state that the Pakistan tourism sector, specifically tourist destinations in NAP, have had to face serious crises that have made 22 million people homeless and around 101 hotels and tourist resorts subject to flood damage. In the floods of 2010 many tourists and local people lost their lives in NAP. There were more than 30,000 visitors trapped in NAP due to a series of floods resulting in the closure of all activities and factories for a prolonged period. It was a serious blow to fragile tourism in NAP (Khan, 2011).

Due to the high frequency of NAC tourist arrivals across almost every country declined in 2008, despite the efforts of the Pakistan government, such as campaigns to promote tourism at national and international levels, and the declaration of “Visit Pakistan” year in 2007 (Asad, 2011). The road and railway link to neighbouring countries also failed to give a boost to tourism in Pakistan due to a series of NAC that have occurred since 2001. The destructive impacts of NAC on the tourism and development sector as discussed in the preceding section have particularly impacted Chilas.

¹ <http://www.theregionaltourism.org/floods2010.pdf>

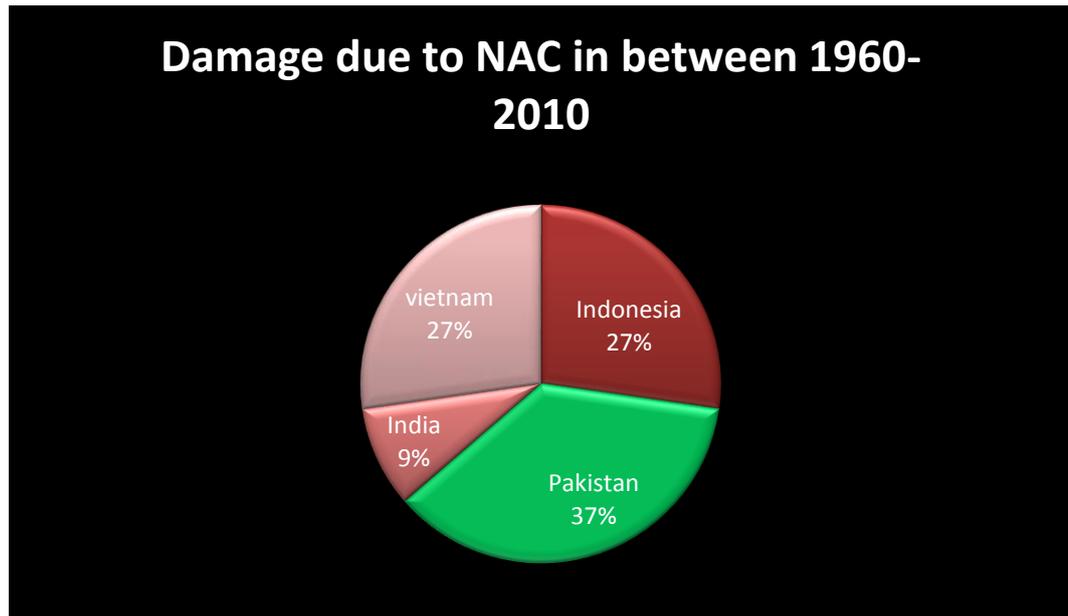


Figure 5.1 Deaths and Economic damage in selected countries due to NAC in between 1960-2010 (Adapted from the statistics given by The Global Growth Generator, 2012²)

Figure 5.1 demonstrates the damage due to NAC in ten selected countries by for the period 1960 to 2010. The figure shows that death rate in India and Indonesia is high but the damage is still lower than Pakistan. These statistics show a higher ratio of damages in Pakistan that led to the inefficiency and unavailability of post-disaster management resources resulting in slow process of development in Pakistan. With regard to anthropogenic crises, Pakistan has faced a number of crises in the shape of “transport, industrial and nuclear accidents, oil spills, urban fires. Civil conflicts and internal displacements of communities due to multiple factors” (NDMAP: 2006: 7). The displacement of communities has mainly been due to two major earthquakes, in 1976 and 2005, and a number of floods caused by heavy rainfall in 2010, 2011 and 2012, following on from the major anthropogenic crises that hit the country as a result of the 9/11 incident in the USA in 2001.

Due to the weak travel and tourism infrastructure, low branding and marketing of tourist destinations, and above all the low priority given to the tourism sector, the 2008 World Economic forum’s Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report (TTCR) ranked Pakistan 103 out of 124 countries to visit. The lack of facilities and benefits to tourists and local communities within Pakistan means that it is unable to compete with international standards. In addition, the weak

² Global Growth Generator (available at): <http://www.dis.uniroma1.it/~fsr/GEV2011.pdf>

infrastructure, the serious security situation and unfavourable economic conditions such as rising inflation are all major causes of reduced tourist movement to Pakistan, especially NAP (ESP, 2011).

I was informed that the government has diverted its attention and flow of budget towards maintaining political and civil stability in the country. An informant told me that “*Government pretends that major portion of fund goes to the budget for war against terrorism [...] nothing [negligible] is left to develop other sectors [...] does this mean that there is no importance of rehabilitations and education of the sufferers? [...]*” [Male: 34: teaching staff]. Attention to social needs, such as psychological support in the shape of opportunities for post-NAC counselling, and education, skills, and job opportunities for UCC, is still in the background of policy concerns. Greater emphasis was placed on the allocation of financial resources and the provision of physical resources, i.e. rehabilitation to a certain extent was high at the time of research. The matter of non-accountability on allocated financial and physical resources and its impacts on UCC is discussed in chapter 7.

5.3 Anthropogenic Crises and Destination Image due to com-media

As discussed in chapter 3 "Social media which has an important role in fast and active share of information is also one of the most important factors which influence today's touristic movements and holiday decisions of tourists" (Aymankuy *et al.*, 2013: 376). In the case of Pakistan the information regarding terrorism since since 2001 is one of the greatest anthropogenic crises that have affected Pakistan's image in the international world. The country is facing terrorism in the form of suicide attacks in busy places, blasts in major cities and on international embassies in Pakistan. The country is perceived as a hotbed of terrorism which is having a negative effect on the growth of the tourism industry. This image has caused a misconception about Pakistan as a tourist destination at the international level and has restricted tourist arrivals to a minimum. To a certain extent this has isolated the country and Pakistanis from the rest of the world. The major concern is security for those travelling to the area. Furthermore Pakistan's image is that of a country where a war is on-going and a place which is not safe for travellers. Compared to other Asian countries such as Nepal, China, and the Maldives, which are providing very attractive tourist options, Pakistan seems to be losing its tourist attractions due to its on-going NAC and com-media (The Epoch Times, 2009³ and World Travel Market, 2011).

³ <http://www.theepochtimes.com/n2/tag/militants-1396/feed/>

For the reason of the non-availability of social needs and support to UCC, the victims of NAC are still going through the phase of insecurity, with opposition to government and aid bodies reported. In Chilas, resistance towards development authorities and plans has come up during the course of undertaking this research between 2009 and 2013. Resistance towards encouraging outsiders to the region and resistance towards development in Chilas by the Chilassi community have accused one respondent to describe Chilas as a “backward area [...] rigid people [still] living in dark ages” [male: 47: tourism official].

The research has also shown that the communication level between government institutions, NGOs and local communities is very negligible, contributing to clashes that have caused UCC to suffer more. One informant [male: 44: retailer] observed, “*it is seen that all institutes [NGOs and government] pay attention to the obvious sufferers of crises or who have power to influence them to get appropriate compensation [...] rest are left with nothing or packets of biscuits and juices*”. There is a lack of coordination between development departments, government and UCC and hence inadequate planning to help them overcome the physical and psychological effects of crises. The slower development process caused by the negligence of government and relevant authorities and resistance from UCC after NAC has left the tourism sector of Pakistan in a vulnerable condition, with the case of Chilas being no exception.

It is a common view by the members of UCC that biased and unskilled com-media is to be blamed for not spreading news that could bring peace between nations. Regarding the procedure of spreading information, Foulger (2004) highlights links between senders of a message and receivers (refer to fig 3.4 chapter 3). Where messages are first created with the perception of the sender and by using any means of com-media, they are transferred to the receiver who perceives them according to how com-media has presented them. The receiver uses the information according to his own interpretation and passes it on to another receiver by using the same or another channel of com-media.

This is a circle that switches information from one channel of com-media to another. Fougler argues that both com-media and audience have a direct relationship and both have the ability to transform how one should send and how one perceives the information. There are many channels of communication: i.e. television, human being [face to face, telephone] and internet based [Skype conversations, networking sites, emails, search engines], smart phone applications, radio and paper media affecting a great number of audiences' perceptions.

The information about Pakistan spread by com-media provided com-media foreign informant with a negative image of Pakistan. That informant [female: 31: law student in Spain-interview held in UK] commented that, “*for what I have*

heard in news is fair enough to know [establish and understanding that] Pakistan as an unsafe country for international tourists [...] though I know Pakistan is a heavenly place to be visited but no one would want to go for holidays on his or her life's cost isn't it? [...]". Another informant [female: 30s: travel agent in UK] added, *"I personally won't go to Pakistan for holidays [...] they [travel agents belong to Pakistan, com-media] do not sell Pakistan as a tourist destination [...] No one ever enquired about Pakistani tourist destinations either"*. These interviews depict perceptions that have been highly influenced by electronic com-media that have the ability to shape a certain image of a place or community in the target market. The data shows that visiting a place is not merely a decision made by potential tourists but depends upon what com-media says about that particular destination. Another informant [male: 38: social worker in Pakistan] argued,

Whatever the reason is for terrorism in our country, media has not played its appropriate role to deliver the actual situation, even we [Pakistanis] do not know what is going on in the other city, what has caused a young boy to go for suicide attack in bazaar, what Taliban actually are and what they actually aim for? [...].

The informant [quoted above] highlighted the need to pay attention to the use of com-media in order to get to the root cause of anthropogenic crises. The informant further argued over the accuracy of news spread by com-media as, to attract publicity, sometimes unskilled com-media spread news to attract a greater audience share like I discussed in chapter 3 with Fulcher and Scott's (2007: 361) reference that the authentication of news cannot be determined as it could be an attempt by [unskilled or biased] com-media to increase the audience or be in competition. The audience or targeted customers by com-media are specifically those who rely on electronic channels of com-media without confirming whether the information is accurate or distorted. It is further noted from the fieldwork that people belong to same territory and cultural background usually believe in same facts. For instance word of mouth [using human channel of com-media] spreads so quickly in *Gemeinschaft*-type communities and it is easy to find out the reality in the same territory. However the probability of believing to be true on unskilled and biased com-media by people from diverse cultural background is higher as there is a lack of direct communication.

As discussed in chapter 3, Deacon *et al.* (2007: 1) argue that com-media is an important aspect of modern-day life and *"people's personal understandings of the world"*. Skilled com-media however, in a broad sense sends messages that maintain both sender's and receiver's understandings of a particular subject, whereas, as evidenced from the Chilas research, com-media *"flows information"* by overlooking the ethics of com-media that is most of the time causing *"destruction to the image of Chilassis [community]"* [male: 28: tour guide]. It is further noted that in Pakistani culture, *"arms and ammunition are considered as*

ornaments of men [...] [and taken as] a sign of bravery but if you tell the same story to a foreigner tourist he will try to run a mile from you [s/he might get scared]” [male: 28: tour guide]. It is necessary therefore to consider the use of language, and the ways that communication can effectively portray a positive image by maintaining the receiver’s state of mind and cultural background.

Although language and cultural differences exist between local communities and outsiders, the Chilassi community is said to have “*no concern of what colour, race, caste or nationality a person is unless s/he is not harmful by any mean for Chilassis*” [male: 22: student]. Furthermore local community members showed their interest in interacting with people from different cultural backgrounds. A representative of government from the local community [Male: 46y: local government representative] commented,

[...] if there is no social interaction [human as a channel of communication/communication at personal level] with rest of the world then no one would ever know about the actual facts and figures about some particular situations [in terrorism context] because most of the time [it is seen/assumed] media creates misunderstandings[...] media channels act like two wives of a man where one complains about other [...] suppose one is quiet in nature while the other is expressive, tell me whom you will pay attention to? [...] you will make your mind up according to the one who is telling loudly whether she is right or wrong [...].

In the quote above the respondent wanted to make it clear that com-media and particularly direct communication, i.e. human channels of communication/word of mouth, is found to be more effective provided it is used dexterously to send a positive message or to communicate information to aid post crises development. With the preceding discussion it appears that unskilled and biased com-media is seen to be a source of difference and tension between nations and community members belonging to diverse cultures. On the other hand, Mascheroni (2007) suggests that advanced technology minimises the distances of societies and isolation can be overcome due to increases in communication channels.

It is therefore argued that during crises human channels of communication need to be paid attention to in order to create a positive image of an UCD and UCC. Regarding an UC tourist destination it is necessary to let outsiders/ tourists penetrate the destination and communicate with the local community with the help of appropriate tourism promotion and planning strategies. This way the local communities will get involved, rather than leaving behind as historically was the case with the Chilassi community, with constructive tourism activities. A traditional formal meeting like the Biyaak [discussed in chapter 1] needs to be introduced at a local level, including men and women of the area, local government, elders and tourists to share their interests, views and observations

about general and particular matters in order to get them resolved from both insiders' and outsiders' point of views.

With regard to an UCD, though, as discussed in chapter 3, Britton, (1979); Cohen, (1993); Scheveyens, (2003) argue that tourists mostly tend to visit untouched, natural and culturally diverse destinations. However Edgel (1990) and Morakabati (2007) argue that despite these traits, international tourists hesitate to visit destinations if they perceive these to not be safe. In the situation of NAC, safety and security become an issue for national and international tourists. My research demonstrates that the sense of safety and security is mainly developed with the pattern of flow of information by using any channel of com-media. With reference to Hitchcock and Putra (2009: 84) quoted in chapter 3, it is necessary to emphasise the need for [skilled] media to “alleviate fears of travellers”. On the other hand, it is noted that cultural difference and communication barriers in an UCD (i.e. in case of Chilas) have faced a negative image even at national level due to unskilled and incompetent media. Similarly, at an international level unskilled and biased com-media is one the reasons cited for the creation of an image of Pakistan as “the ally from hell” (Goldberg and Ambinder, 2011) (see to chapter 3).

In the words of an informant [male: 47: teaching staff], “[...] world detestation towards Pakistanis is the perception that Pakistanis are terrorists”. At the same interview session I was told, “It is assumed by mostly developed countries that terrorism has been generated by Pakistan [...] whereas if we see Pakistanis with unbiased eyes, we are fighting upfront to control the act of terrorism [...] we are actually the one who are suffering the most [...]”.

The information circulated by the global com-media warning tourists against travelling to Pakistan is one of the reasons for the downfall of Pakistan's tourism industry. It was expressed by an informant [male: 55: archaeologist] that there are “*risks everywhere wherever you go [...] but does any destination has stopped marketing? [...] those [UCD] need more attention towards marketing to give chance to the researchers, scientists, archaeologists to come and explore the causes and impacts of crises [...]*”.

Countries which have gone through anthropogenic crises such as social and political instability had increased their budget for tourism promotion and publicity and eventually recovered from downward trends (Asad, 2011). However, in the case of Pakistan due to political instability and war against militancy, there is no functional tourism ministry left and a greater share of the budget goes to defence (as discussed in preceding section). It is further stated that Pakistan used to receive more than five million tourists annually (Hassan, 2011), however now the image of Pakistan has become as a most dangerous and unsafe place to visit as discussed in the preceding discussion. Unfortunately, apart from many social,

economic, environmental reasons of less development and declining tourism trends in Pakistan, the restriction and non-accountability with regards to how information is produced and how it flows [a psychological affect i.e. creates perceptions] is one of them. It is also noted from a local retailer [male: 54] that,

[...] we have never had any established [well organised] media department here [in Chilas] so how come they [national com-media] say that the area is not safe to travel, how come one can assume that local community is very hard to interact with or very tough people live here? These are all misconceptions and misunderstandings about the area and us [local community].

It is therefore argued that, com-media where it is not well organised and lacks accountability, com-media may cause harm to UCD and UCC, as evidenced by Chilas informants from the local community, who reported that tourist arrivals – especially with women and children – have reduced in recent years. The local community accustomed to earning some tourist-related income has also have affected. They blame com-media for this negative image of the area and local community.

One interviewee [Male: 34: Army] commented that:

[...] even though we are fighting against terrorism on front line which is affecting our families [...] we have no social life [...] its we who are suffering the most [...] We are losing our loved ones [in this fight against terrorism] and armies on borders in Swat and North Waziristan [Part of North Pakistan], despite these efforts we are portrayed as terrorist and most dangerous nation on the globe [criticizing international com-media], [...] this is yet another disaster we are facing that that image of a nation that believes peace as a part of their religion is connecting with terror. Yes, there are reasons and those are not associated with nation but elite and external forces that are keeping their seats [crowns] safe and running the country's politics by distracting nation to issues such as poverty, non-availability of basic needs [...].

The same information is echoed by another informant [Male: 44: requested not to disclose occupation], who emphasized that,

I would blame Pakistani media and [the] liberty [that is given by Pakistani authorities] to penetrate in Pakistan's matters to international media communication [...] in 2005 the war was at its initial stages and Afghanistan was the target then the militants and common citizens crossed Pak-Afghan border to take refuge in Pakistan [...] after 2001 it seemed normal to me that people crossed borders mainly for the sake of their lives and migration attempt took 3-4 years [...] then international media diverted their attention towards refugees and call them terrorist; who left country and that Pakistan is helping them by granting them refuge [and it was assumed that] facilitating them to armed against international world, and our media has responded nothing [...] In my point of view Pakistan has got the bad name as a terrorist country mainly due irresponsible media and crooked government authorities.

Here in both quotes the informants wanted to communicate to the investigator that 1) they are the ones who are suffering the most; it is they who are under oppression not the ones who are tyrannizing; even then 2) they failed to get their voices across due to both the national and internationally controlled com-media; and 3) corruption at political level. The preceding discussion has shown what media has produced against the backdrop of the NAC situation in Pakistan and what the prevailing state is. At the time of research [2008-2011] there was only one newspaper published at a local level, now [in 2013] there are two: Daily K2 and Daily Badeshimal, whereas those newspapers mostly consist of “[...] *only killings, road accidents, local political party agendas and their advertisements*” [Male: 34: shopkeeper]. The staff that work at the media department of Chilas are mostly untrained, “*that are causing restrictions to incoming or potential travellers rather than encouraging them [...] they are actually spreading harassment and even terrifying women of other parts of Pakistan from visiting Chilas*” [male: 34: shopkeeper].

Ali (2012) states that the fact that the choice and analysis of content in Pakistani electronic media is of poor quality is mostly due to untrained journalists. Pakistani com-media is very poor in terms of following up major events, such as the attack on Malala Yousafzai⁴, and overlook other important events that occur in the country (Khattak, 2012⁵). In addition to the current non supportive politics, there are other issues that hinder the media development, such as delayed payment of media staff salaries, and less opportunities for staff training (Rizwan, 2012⁶; Ali, 2012), and negligible representation of women in media sector.

Regarding the absence of women in the Pak-com-media, Mehdi Hassan⁷, quoted by Khattak (2012) notes, “[...] Pakistan needed more women [...] in media as gatekeepers” to stabilise the com-media in the country. It is a common thought within women informants belong to NAP that their contribution towards development and their role in tourism has never been projected by the com-media which has minimised their representation at national and international tourism and development level. It is therefore argued that if women are encouraged to take part in development activities this will help balance the UC situation [see chapter 7]. In the case of the terrorism-related anthropogenic crises in Pakistan, the Pakistani “*imprisoned media*” [male: 39: social worker in Pakistan] where com-

⁴ A young girl from Swat-NAP was [portrayed by com-media] attacked by Taliban in 2012 for being in favour of women education, and then supported by international media and foreign government.

⁵ http://area148.com/cms/index.php/media_check/media-fails-to-follow-up-on-events

⁶ (available on)

<http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta3/tft/article.php?issue=20121228&page=9>

⁷ Working as a dean of mass communication in a university in Pakistan

media has no powers and overpowering international media have played their roles in “*making up stories to sell their communication channels*” [male: 44: solicitor: TI Dec 2012]. In terms of law and order in the country, terrorism and extremism, and political instability, “the media has behaved with the general lack of social responsibility”, in this regard its role has been more negative than positive. It has tended to sensationalise issues creating more disenchantment among the masses. The tendency to broadcast breaking news whether or not this is warranted has, according to Yasmeen Aftab Ali had the effect of turning “tragedies into a media circus [...] media is discrediting itself on many fronts, we need to pull back” (Rizwan, 2012⁸, in *The Friday Times*, weekly independent newspaper).

Regarding the emerging trend of social networking sites in social electronic media the opportunities for news spreading are at their highest. Due to the low level of education and awareness, and cultural barriers – specifically in NAP and GB territory – the misuse of com-media has risen considerably. An informant [male: 44: solicitor: TI] emphasized, “[...] *the more you put limitations on your children in the name of religion or culture or whatever the more they will be attracted to that, they are like elastic bands, the more you stretch them the harder they will hit* [contradict][...] *it is human nature to find out the realities by themselves [...] you shouldn't blame them if they find their own ways to find or spread information [...]*”. Rizwan (2012⁹) quotes Yasmeen Aftab, who remarks, “Unfortunately, anyone, including some bloggers, with or without fake IDs, can spread venom, disinformation and arguments based on pure disinformation without fear of any consequences whatsoever in social media”. Whereas com-media belonging to Pakistan specifically NAP and GB territory needs to be more skilled and accountable due to further challenges to recover from NAC. Accountability with regards to com-media is a sensitive issue that restricts mismanagement in information and corruption with informational resources.

Even aid from donor countries such as the UK is associated with the ending corruption in the country. During natural crises the country used to get sufficient amount of aid from national and international organisations but since the increase in the level of corruption and the acts of terrorism since 2001, the financial aid has become negligible and conditional. The UK has planned to increase its aid to Pakistan “from £267m in 2012-13 to £446m in 2014-15, making it the largest recipient of UK aid” (BBC News, 2013¹⁰). However the chairman of the

⁸ (Available on)

<http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta3/tft/article.php?issue=20121228&page=9>

⁹ (Available on)

<http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta3/tft/article.php?issue=20121228&page=9>

¹⁰ (Available online): <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-22017091>

International Development Committee (IDC) Sir Malcolm Bruce intended to make it conditional by saying, “It is vital for Pakistan, and its relations with external aid donors, that the new government provides clear evidence that it will own and implement an effective anti-corruption strategy” (BBC News, 2013¹¹) in order to make sure that the aid will be utilized on development projects as promised (IDC report¹², 2013¹³).

The issue of corruption has left its mark on every sector in Pakistan, not least in the case of com-media. It is noted from an interviewee [male: 39: social worker: TI Oct 2012], “[...] *men have more chances to go for wrong means to earn their livelihood in media sector, therefore they avail [...] whereas most women who are working in this field are oppressed [...] under the influence of powerful authorities [...] not encouraged to join or carry on [media sector] like a profession [...] you know Seemab [a female] journalist [in a crime magazine] committed suicide due to non-payment of her salary? She had to support her family and father with probably cancer or heart disease [...] it is told that there were some other reasons too [...] for example being unaccepted by some influential authorities, God knows what the truth is*”.

It is suggested by one interviewee [Male: 34: teaching staff], “*If media channels do their work in constructive way rather than propagating to take control over other competitors [other media channels than them] [...] disasters could be [utilised as] the source of generating more income and tourism to the country [...]*”. In the similar vein another informant [Male: 33: Army] added,

“If our media departments do their jobs honestly [and skilfully] then, I am pretty sure, we can be in the list of developing countries, if not amongst fully developed countries; in 5-10 years’ time frame [...] they are just earning money by exaggerating the real situation [...]”.

The same expression has been found by examining the research done by Noy and Vu, (2009) where they say,

“Several recent studies have found a positive correlation between the frequency of natural disasters and long run economic growth and have interpreted that as evidence that disasters provide opportunities for reconstructing the capital stock to make it more productive”.

The information circulated by the global com-media warning tourists against travelling to Pakistan is one of the reasons for the downfall of Pakistan’s tourism industry. It was expressed by an informant [male: 55: archaeologist] that there are

¹¹ (Available online): <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-22017091>

¹² <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmintdev/725/725.pdf>

¹³<http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/international-development-committee/news/substantive-pakistan/>

“risks everywhere wherever you go [...] but does any destination has stopped marketing? [...] those [UCD] need more attention towards marketing to give chance to the researchers, scientists, archaeologists to come and explore the causes and impacts of crises [...]”. For example, as discussed in chapter 3 that there are several examples of countries for example Sri Lanka and Lebanon are undergoing uncertain political crises but tend to allocate more budget provision to the tourism sector.

Aqeel (2008¹⁴) in the same context argues that, as Lebanon and Sri Lanka have not abandoned attempts to attract tourists, why should Pakistan? It can be argued that no country is free of terrorism, so efforts to increase tourism should be maintained. Aqeel (2008), moreover, argues that it is the fear of terrorism that is keeping tourists at home and not because of any perceived lack in the country’s natural and cultural attractions. Therefore authors for example Kotler *et al.* (1993); Sharpley and Sharpley (1997) and Crompton and McKay (1997) suggested place promotion strategies for developing destinations through comparison and competition (referring chapter 3).

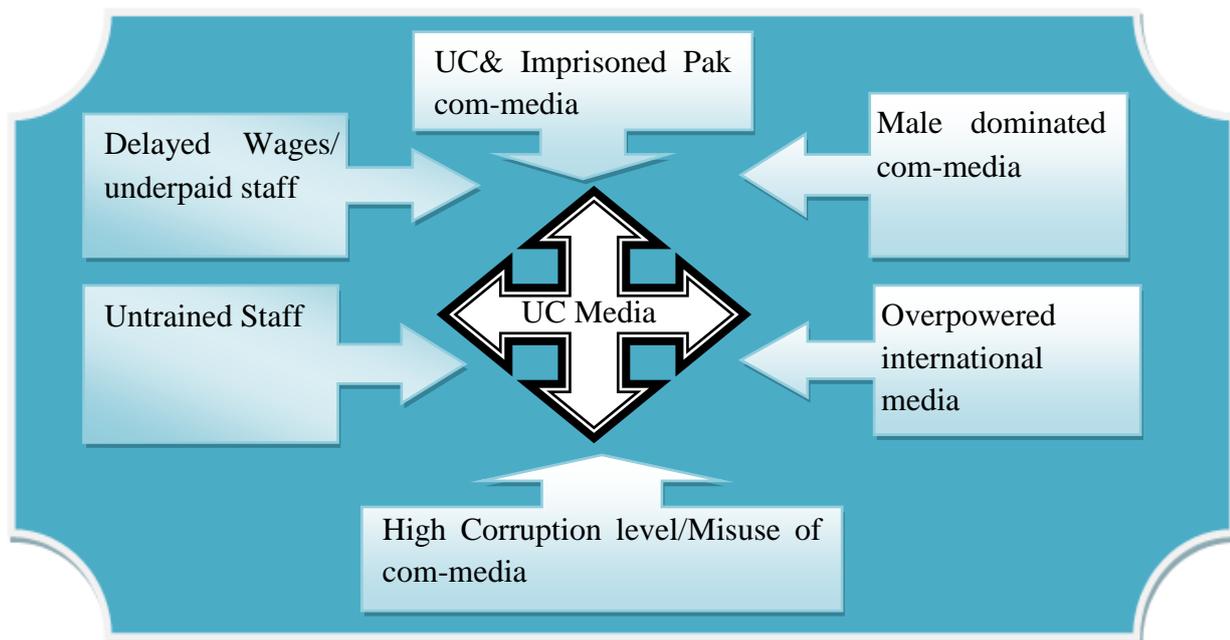


Figure 5.2 Under Crises com-media of Pakistan

¹⁴ (Avaialble On)

http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C01%5C14%5Cstory_14-1-2008_pg7_30

Figure 5.2 highlights six major issues the com-media is facing in Pakistan: 1) lack of freedom; 2) overpowered international media; 3) male dominated industry; 4) high corruption levels and misuse of information; 5) delayed wages and underpaid staff; and 6) untrained, unskilled and biased staff. The veteran journalist Khawar Naeem Hashmi commented on media ethics by saying, “It is strange to hear academics and veteran journalists say the media is independent, or partially independent. In this country, the media owners, the publishers and the advertisers are independent, but not the journalists working for them [...] journalists were underpaid [...] most of them had to find other ways to make money”. He said many of them only cared more about drawing their salaries than doing good work. Therefore where there is more corruption at all levels with no or negligible accountability, no skilled workers, “how can one expect fairness or adherence to media codes of ethics [...]” (Khattak, 2012¹⁵).

As demonstrated in the foregoing discussion, crises, whether natural or anthropogenic, may change the entire situation of a country’s social, economic, environmental and physical life. Thus, in the context of rapid global change there is need to investigate further the effects of NAC on both developed and underdeveloped countries and UCC. There are not only negative impacts that NAC bring but also positive development opportunities for an UCD if implemented by corruption free authorities. For instance it is seen in Pakistan that in some areas NAC have brought attention of the national and international charity and development organisations to the UCD and that attention has minimised the gap in communication between UCD and development authorities which could result in development of place and community. However it was reported by one research informant that “*If government [of Pakistan] would have allocated resources [...] there was a lot of development could be seen [...] authorities are getting aid from donors in the name of development [of existing physical and social infrastructure] but it hardly been utilised where it needed [...]*”.

The same has been noted in case of Balakot after the devastating earthquake in 2005 by a Pakistani-led newspaper Dawn (7.4.2012¹⁶). The Prime Minister’s special advisor Qasim Shah, quoted by The Dawn (2012), commented “The government secured \$6.5 billion from the international community by showing pictures of corpses and flattened infrastructure in Balakot but it is pity that Balakot earthquake survivors have been leading a miserable life in small shelters for the last seven years and so”. Resulting in delayed response from KPK

¹⁵ http://area148.com/cms/index.php/media_check/media-fails-to-follow-up-on-events

¹⁶ <http://www.dawn.com/news/708680/post-balakot-earthquake-situation-govt-errata-criticised-for-ignoring-survivors-misery>

government and Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority (ERRA) some of donor countries, i.e. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya, withdrew their offers (Khalil, 2012¹⁷). As discussed earlier, this lack of interest and communication with development authorities has caused resistance towards future interventions from government authorities in UCC.

As discussed in chapter 3, Ritcher and Waugh (1986) suggest tourism planners should prioritise political serenity over scenic or cultural attractions for development purposes. In addition, there is a need to organise com-media to promote a UCD post-disaster recovery (Chacko and Marcell, 2008).

Likewise, after the earthquake of October 2005, *The Guardian* [a UK based daily newspaper] highlighted the top five tourist sites in Pakistan, these included Taxila and Lahore in Punjab Province, Karakoram Highway (Silk Route), Karim Abad and Lake Saif-ul-Mulook in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa North of Pakistan. That revealed that the unique and fragile ecology in Pakistan was still worth visiting even after the devastation caused by the earthquake. Later on, in 2007, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Shaukat Aziz, launched a tourism promotion campaign called 'Visit Pakistan' to highlight aspects of the country's cultural heritage (Balali, 2007). This campaign involved several tourism related activities including fairs, religious festivals, and sports events at a regional level, arts and crafts shows, foil festivals and openings of many museums in different cities of Pakistan, including NAP. Attracting religious tourists, e.g. Sikhs from all over the world, Buddhists tourists from China, South Korea and Japan; and the Horse and Cattle show, which attracted farmers from neighbouring countries, were the key themes of the visit Pakistan year (Aqeel, 2008¹⁸).

Subsequently, in 2009, The World Economic Forum's Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report ranked Pakistan as one of the top 25% tourist destinations for its World Heritage sites, which are mostly located in the south and north of Pakistan (Devi, 2009; Schwab and Brende, 2012). Kreutzmann (1991, 1993, and 1994) has drawn examples from the European Alps as a model for high mountain research, and compared the Alps with the Karakoram region, with particular references to cultural-geographical studies, road network, regional variations, migration, and accessibility that introduced economic changes in the region. Resulting from this, the research focus of this thesis has developed in response to the view that the NAP has diversity of cultural and natural heritage that needs to be paid attention to for purposes of economic development. Similarly, Sabir, (2007), Balali (2007) and Richter (1999:41) argue that Pakistan boasts major cultural attractions, beaches, mountains, ethnicity, and religious variety that are assets to capitalize on for tourist development, but the country

¹⁷<http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-19251-ERRA-surrenders-New-Balakot-City-project-Says-the-project-cannot-be-completed>

¹⁸ http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C01%5C14%5Cstory_14-1-2008_pg7_30

needs proper planning and political stability as well to develop the rich potential for tourism to attract visitors from all over the world.

The Government of KPK has concentrated on further development of the whole province. There are some salient features which are being addressed by the Government of KPK in a meeting on 14-15th of November, 2010 with the members of the World Bank in Pakistan. According to the Government of KPK to get control over NAC peace building initiatives are about to commence such as Post-Conflict Needs Assessment (PCNA) with the support from the World Bank and UNDG United Nations Development Group. The Government is trying to address the development lag (The World Bank Group, 2010; UNDG¹⁹, nd; Pakistan Development Forum, 2010; Daily Times, 2010).

However, although “PCNA [...] acknowledges the necessity of political, legal and administrative reforms [...] to end alienation, poverty and lawlessness and as a prerequisite for durable peace and development [...] Pakistan’s humanitarian crises need urgent domestic and international attention” (Crises Group Asia Report²⁰: 2012: pp:16&i). It is noted by the report that following the democratic transition in 2008, there has been a little progress, and, as such, there is still a need to enhance the process of strategic planning regarding pre and post disaster response and recovery. It will therefore be examined later in chapter 6 how com-media and NAC have affected tourism development and how skilled and unbiased com-media is believed to be a tool for the promotion of peace and stability in an UCD for the purpose of place and community development.

It is, therefore, important to emphasize in this investigation that crises leave a destination and community more vulnerable to many physical, economic, environmental, social and psychological risks. Where those economic, physical and environmental damages can be restored with the help of appropriate financial strategies and planning, social development, i.e. by penetrating the existing cultural and traditional structure of a destination, can be difficult without the psychological development of an UCC and is a long-term process. To gain trust of UCC, many factors are involved, such as government intervention, direct communication at the grassroots level of community members, the role of com-media to project a positive image by highlighting positive characteristics of UCC and UCD. Furthermore, as this research has demonstrated, psychological development of an UCC is no less important than the provision of financial assistance.

¹⁹ United Nations Development Group

²⁰ [http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-asia/pakistan/237-pakistan-no-end-to-humanitarian-crisis.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/asia/south-asia/pakistan/237-pakistan-no-end-to-humanitarian-crisis.pdf)



Figure 5.3 Aid from international charity organisations after the earthquake in 2005 [picture adapted from ESP, available on <http://www.ecotourism.org.pk/>]

During NAC, for instance the major earthquake in 2005, floods and epidemics in 2010 and 2011, it can be observed in the affected areas of Pakistan that the development institutes, NGOs, UNO and many national and international charity organisations have become active in providing rehabilitation to the sufferers (see figure 5.3). Many of the international organisations, NGOs have initiated measures to provide financial and social support to the sufferers by providing trainings for teachers, hospital and nursing staff. At some urban UCD, such as Islamabad after the earthquake in 2005, the post-crisis infrastructure has been improved but there is still need to establish accountability with regards to development authorities in rural destinations.

There is a significant amount of the budget allocated to facilitate tourism in the Diamer region by Annual Development Programme (ADP, 2012-2013²¹) of the Gilgit Baltistan (GB) government. There have been initiatives taken by the government of GB to brand GB as the jewel of Pakistan with the aim of promoting the region at national and international level with the help of exhibitions, seminars, and conferences to encourage tourists to visit and explore the region (ADP, 2012-2013). However, in the case of Chilas, due to overpowering anthropogenic crises the area is still going through a phase of negative place image despite the efforts made by Planning and Development department of GB (PDD).

Thus in terms of social science perspectives on the UC or underdeveloped countries such as Pakistan, there is a need to consider both NAC and their social impact as part of ethnographic research methods. This investigation concludes that anthropogenic crises affect the region and communities in the long run as compared to natural crises. The effects of anthropogenic crises are mainly associated with social breakdown of communities that could restrict the physical development of an UCD.

5.4 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to establish a link between NAC with the com-media for the prospect of development of an UCD and UCC. This research shows that there is a direct link between NAC, com-media and development of a place and community. As discussed in preceding sections, due to global crises, whether natural or anthropogenic, LDC are suffering the most, and this is no less the case in respect of Pakistan. As a rural part of an UCLDC Chilas has suffered due to mainly anthropogenic crises: i.e. political instability in the region; no accountability with respect to government institutes and developments; corruption; smuggling; and fear of terrorism. Hence the Chilassi community has developed a negative image en par with the region at a national level.

Despite NAC and the negative image of Pakistan, the country is still a site of attraction for those who previously visited the country. Unfortunately the com-media has restricted new tourist arrivals to the country but still there are thousands of tourists who visit Pakistan each year. The more effective way of communication as proved in the case of Pakistan in general and Chilas in particular, is the human channel of com-media. As discussed in chapter 3,

²¹ http://www.visitgilgitbaltistan.gov.pk/images/budget/ADP_2012-13.pdf

contrary to the statement by Morakabati (2007) that effects and post-NAC recovery of UCD depends upon the strength and stage of development in the destination whereas, it has been demonstrated during the field research that the impacts of NAC and post- NAC recovery is mainly dependent upon the efficiency and adequacy of skilled and fair com-media.

Where there is direct interaction between tourists and local communities, there have been positive responses found during this investigation. To support the direct interaction with both local communities and outsiders an informant [male tourist, 40s: Malaysia] said, “*who says Pakistani people are rigid and strict? [...] I have never seen kind and hospitable people like them [pointing towards a crowd of people surrounding him] who themselves might be hungry but offer you the best they could without any charge [...]*”. Similar response have come from another informant [male tourist: 50s: USA], who said “*Pakistani people are unparalleled [...] I have found a unique characteristic that the poorer amongst community are comparatively more hospitable and welcoming [...]*”. Another informant [male tourist: Japan: 47] said,

My friends presume that Pakistani people are very stringent, they don't encourage foreigners on their land and don't take them as friends [...] but I found the situation totally opposite and the same was already told by a relative who used to visit Pakistan each year [...] Local people are very warm and welcoming. We enjoyed their company, their local dance and food [...] and free of cost guidance [...] No one of us felt that they are not encouraging foreigners in their place or don't like foreigners. There is no way to not like these innocent people [...] I simply don't believe all the myths media is telling about Pakistani people.

As mentioned in chapter 4 I was advised not to carry on my research in Chilas as it was not perceived to be safe for single woman. However, as I was previously known to the area and community, I carried on my research and experienced no problems throughout the research period. I was warmly welcomed and provided with offers to stay in people's homes, which I accepted in order not to offend them. I was served with free food, babysitting, and conveyance facilities to carry on my research. The concept of com-media-human channel of com-media and impacts of direct interaction between local community and the visitors on tourism development has submerged from here with my existing research topic. Despite the area and community having a negative image, and although, due to traditional barriers, the place environment was not encouraging for single woman to come

out for any purpose especially after sunset, I found the community “extraordinarily”²² hospitable discussed in detail in proceeding chapters.

Regarding the main theme of this chapter i.e. NAC and com-media, both have proved to be a major source that has diverted national and international bodies to UCC and UCD. This chapter shows that where there have been crises, NGOs, international organisations have come forward to help in development projects. However, lack of communication at grassroots level of community and the corruption factor have caused resistance from UCC to development organisations due to a loss of trust in them. For instance, in 1992-1993 with the help the World Bank the government of Pakistan initiated a Social Action Plan [SAP] to budget social deficit. SAP was basically to support four basic sectors: education, health, population welfare and rural water supply and sanitation in all four provinces. However “The SAP proved to be a major disappointment. The gains, if any, were marginal” and therefore closed with the minimal progress (Birdsall *et al*, 2005: 18).

Despite the disappointing results of the project there was an increase in women’s literacy rates (World Bank, 2002a, b & c and 2005a & b). The World Bank (2005b) states that teacher’ recruitment initiatives at school level rather than district level has reduced the absence of teachers from their schools and increased the literacy rate in NWFP-KPK. Moreover, Ghuman and Lloyds (2007: 5) argue that the poor “condition[s] in girls’ schools have improved since mid-1990s as a result of government investment in basic amenities as part of its Social Action Program”. Furthermore the percentage of girls’ education and attendance at schools has significantly changed due to the exposure to the international organisation: i.e. the WB-SAP program movement.

Ghuman and Lloyds (2007: 5) add, “In our 1997 data, for example, the percentage of government schools that had electricity, toilets, and desks was 0 for girls’ schools and 4.5 for boys’ schools. By 2004, the percentage with all these amenities was 26 for girls’ schools and 21 for boys’ schools, indicating substantial changes particularly for girls’ schools”. The change might not be what the World Bank has expected from SAP, but for a region where women are UC an increase in the literacy rate is not negligible phenomenon. Therefore the impacts of direct communication and interaction with development authorities need to be considered as a part of development process.

²² As they feel rejected if one doesn’t take their offer

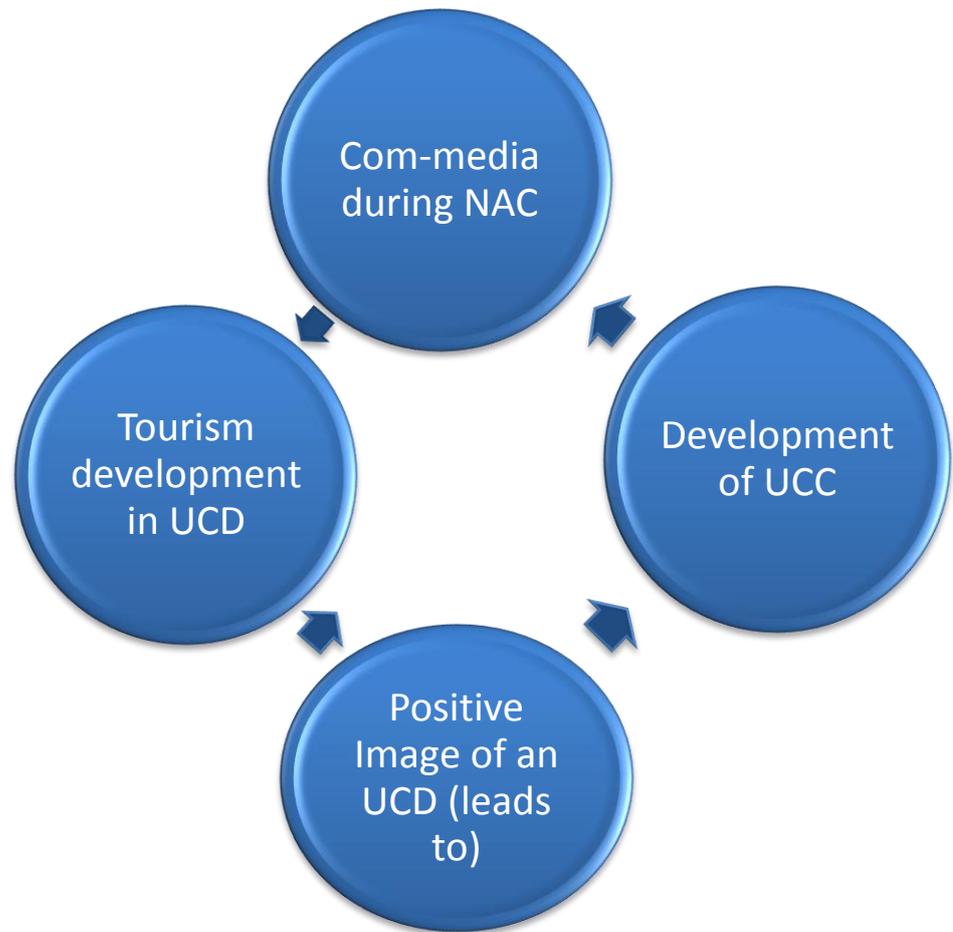


Figure 5.4 Dependant developments of UCDs on Direct com-media

From the facts and figures discussed in the former sections figure 5.4 illustrates that for the development of an UCD there are a few social factors that have the ability to have an impact on development process specifically in UCD. These factors i.e. direct and skilled mode of communication during NAC, accountability on development and media sectors will lead to tourism development in an UCD [chapter 6] and will raise the standard of an UCC [chapter 7]. To aid the creation of a positive image for the purpose of development, gendered-based accountability should be introduced at all levels. This drawback in the fields studied for this research (i.e. tourism sector, transport sector, hotel sector) has caused dissuasion and exploitation of half of the talent (i.e. of women) in those sectors. There has been not a single woman transporter or even a driver found in the entire Diamer region; no woman hotel manageress or owner or worker in hotels and resorts was found in Chilas; and no woman tour guide was found in the entire region. However, a Gilgit based woman worker was found within the tourism sector in Islamabad.

This fact that the only women worker in tourism sector does not reside in NAP but Punjab highlights the non-suitable environment and opportunities for working women in GB- NAP. Another factor that emerged while doing social research is the effects of NAC on the area is comparatively higher than the neighbouring regions. Due to the disregard of half of the talent of the region, rigidity amongst elders about the traditions and customs of the area NAC affects are long lasting. For those there is a need to establish direct communication between development authorities and UCC. There is a need to initiate skills development and opportunities recognition programs by increasing the inflow of outsiders [in the form of trainers, teachers, doctors, and tourism stakeholders] to the area. This inflow of outsiders in Chilas will hopefully encourage local men and women to interact with them for the exchange of knowledge, norms, interests and to build a positive rapport between Chilassi people and outsiders.

As stated earlier, socialisation with the outsiders brings positive changes to the perceptions of the majority [78%] of Chilassi community members and [93%] of tourists. Due to the Chilassi community's direct communication with government organisations and interaction with tourists, there has been noted a level of trust and acceptance to development which has encourage many tourists to visit the region again. Therefore, with the appropriate improvement of com-media i.e. specifically human as media channel of communication in UC countries such as Pakistan, positive changes can be brought to the existing UC situation. Powerful com-media has the ability to implement accountability at top level and equality at grass root level for the sustainable development of UCC and regions.

The next chapter will focus on the way NAC and com-media has affected the UCD image and examine the impacts of those changes on the development and tourism sector.

Chapter 6
Potential for Tourism Development along the Silk Road: a Case Study
of Chilas: District-Diamer

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the role of tourism as a tool for development in an UCD. The actual perception of tourism development in Chilas as an UCD is presented in this chapter by analysing the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats [SWOT] of Chilas as an UC tourist destination. To assess the current role and perception of tourism development with regard to the image of an UCD and an UCC, I have taken Chilas as a case study and highlighted several tourism factors that are playing a vital part in shaping the image of the region. It is previously discussed in chapter 2 that tourism and development, initially, were viewed as agents to promote and expand economies (Colclough, 1996; Balaam and Vaseth, 1996). Following the introduction of Marxist perspectives on development, the meanings of development and tourism have expanded to encompass issues of social development.

Todaro (1982) and Waters (1995) have highlighted the issues of social imbalance due to the social scientific approach of development; for example, the gap and inequalities between rich and poor have increased (see chapter 2 for details). As the definitions evolved and expanded, Aronsson (2000) considered development as a positive change in the circumstances of a place, product or people. Discussions shifted towards social as well as economic development through tourism in LDC. Becken and Hay (2007), and Harrison (1988, 2006) took human values and intangible benefits of tourism and development into consideration and especially various concerns about the third world. Moreover, WTO (1998) states that tourism is an economic sector in 11 of the 12 countries that contain 80 per cent of poor people (discussed in chapter 2).

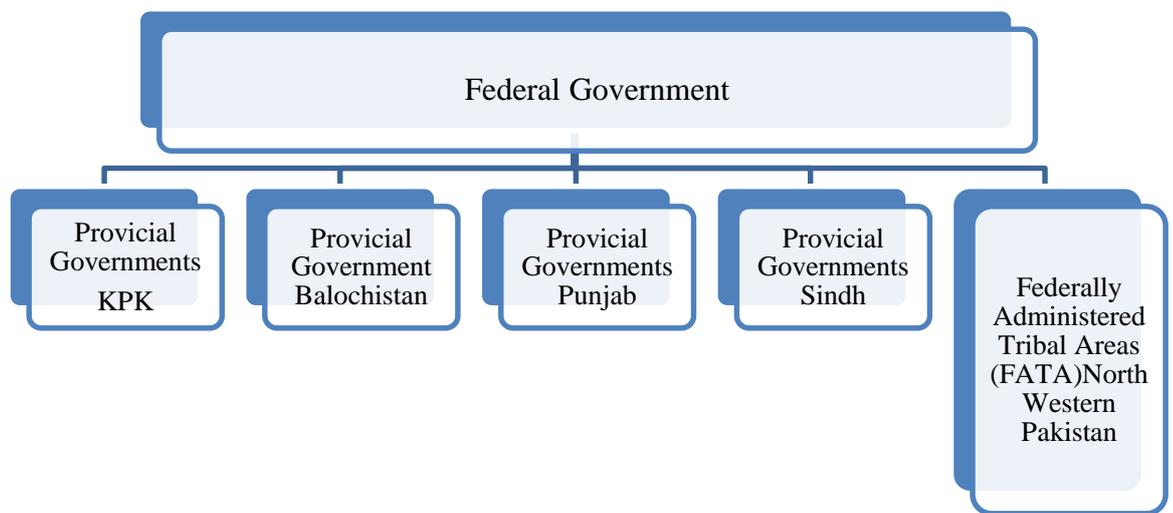
As discussed in chapter 2, scholars such as Echtner and Prasad (2003: 660), and state that the “30% of all international tourist arrivals” are flowing towards the third world destinations, and that, “Tourism has become the hope for many developing countries”(Becken and Hay (2007: 90). Third world regions, not least Pakistan, are, therefore, likely to be emphasizing the need of attracting a sufficient number of tourists to boost their economy and develop their social infrastructure. It is previously claimed in chapter 3 and 5 of this thesis that the tourism industry of Pakistan has collapsed as a result of a series of NAC since 2001 until 2009. However, in 2010 the tourism sector has shown a remarkable boost in international tourist arrivals.

The next section gives a brief review of the tourism industry of Pakistan since 1947. This section will examine the attitude of the national government towards tourism and the reason behind the decline of the sector, using SWOT analysis [Place Image] of the tourism infrastructure in Chilas as a case study. The evidence is provided with the help of data gathered during the fieldwork process. The data

further highlights the current political, environmental, infrastructural and social situation of, and around, the Silk Road [KKH] that has impacted on tourism in Chilas, followed by the summary of the chapter.

6.2 The Tourism Industry of Pakistan

It has been established during the fieldwork that the government is held responsible for the negligence towards the growth of the tourism sector in Pakistan. It is therefore important to understand which level of the government is responsible for this. As such, outlined below is a brief review of the hierarchy of government of Pakistan.



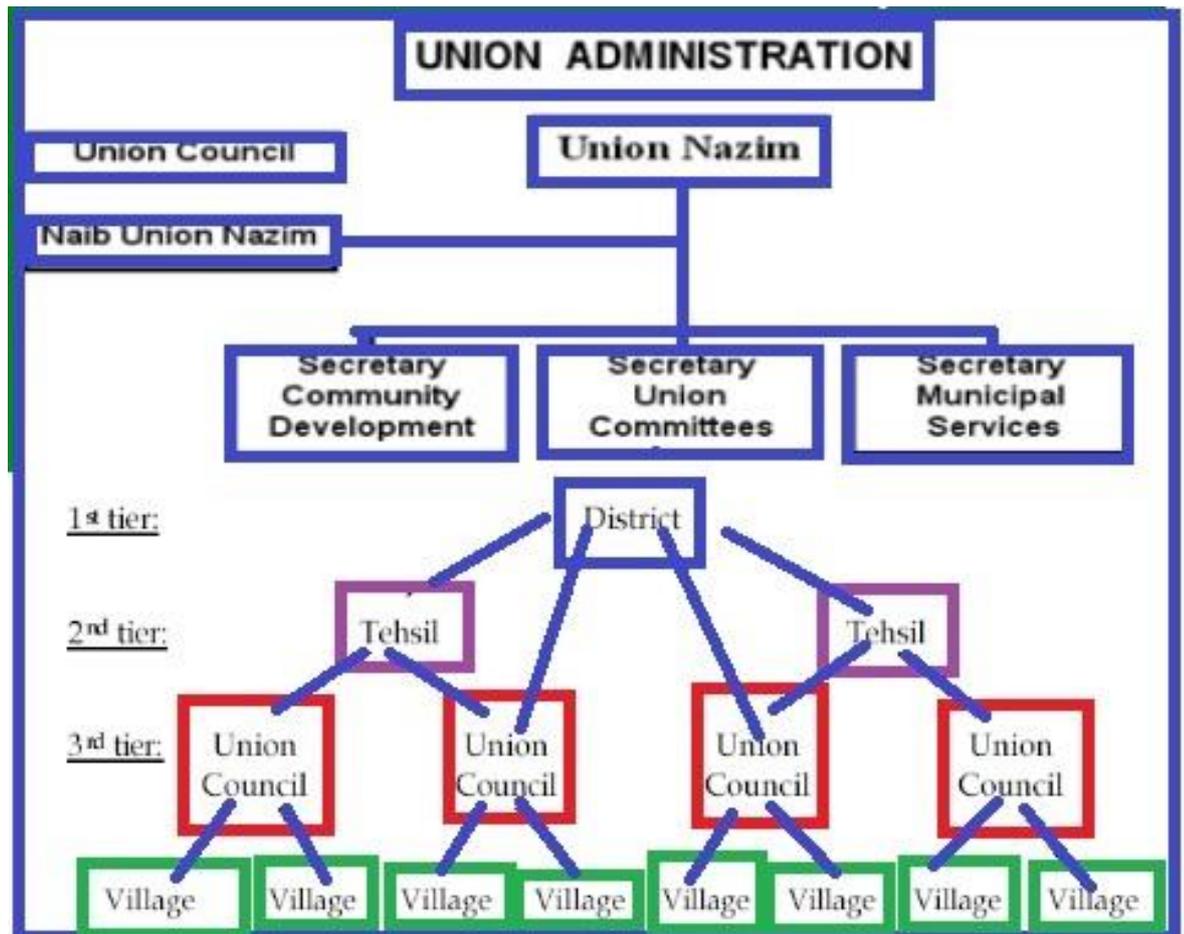


Figure 6.1 Hierarchy of the government of Pakistan (Adapted from <http://www.docstoc.com/docs/66370870/organization-and-structure-of-government-in-pakistan>)

Pakistan has four provinces, each of which has a governor, a chief minister, sub ministers, and a provincial assembly with reserved seats for minorities. Provincial government is responsible for providing health, education, agriculture, and infrastructural development services¹. There is a sub division of responsibilities at district, tehsil [sub-district] and village levels. Each level has its own head called Nazim (secretary) and Naib Nazim (assistant secretary/joint secretary), as shown in figure 6.1. The responsibility of tourism is mainly with the federal government at the higher level, whereas it was decentralised partially to provincial governments in 2011. The tourism sector has never been a stand-alone entity in Pakistan, having always been merged with other sectors. This is one of the main reasons for the non-growth of tourism in Pakistan.

To understand the underdevelopment of the tourism system in Chilas, there is a need to provide a brief review of the tourism sector in Pakistan. In 1949 after two years of independence, Pakistan became a member of the International Union of Tourism Organisation (IUTO), now known as the World Tourism Organisation (WTO). The tourism sector was considered as a part of the Ministry of Railways from 1949 to 1955 (Baksh, 2007). Later on, in 1960, the Tourism Bureau was

¹ <http://countrystudies.us/pakistan/65.htm>

created and incorporated within the system of the Ministry of Commerce. Four years later, in 1964, the Tourism Bureau transferred to the office of Chief Administrator Civil Aviation, known as Chief Administrator Civil Aviation and Tourism [CACAT].

Until 1970 the Tourism Bureau was under the CACAT, following which it was downgraded and most of its functions transferred to the newly formed Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation (PTDC) (Baksh, 2007). However, in 1972 the Ministry of Minority and Religious Affairs and Tourism [MoMRAT] was created and for the national government “tourism in Pakistan was taken seriously for the first time at the policy making level [...]” (Baksh, 2007: 103). In 1976 the Ministry of Minority and Religious Affairs dispersed and a Tourism Division merged with the Ministry of Commerce again. One year later, in 1977, the Ministry of Culture, Sports, Tourism and Archaeology (MoCSTA) was created and the Tourism sector became part of that until 1996.



Figure 6.2 Ministry of Culture, Sports, Tourism and Youth Affairs Pakistan- 2005 (adapted from Baksh, 2007: 104)

In 1996 the MoCSTA became the Ministry of Culture, Sports, Tourism and Youth Affairs (MoCSTY), the department of Archaeology having been replaced with the youth affairs wing (figure 6.2). This instability in departments associated with tourism has rendered the tourism industry a less important part of the system of governance. Despite the fact that a national tourism policy was introduced in 1990, the tourism sector is still accorded a very low priority. The responsibilities related to tourism were attached to ministries with sectors requiring more attention and priority (Baksh, 2007).

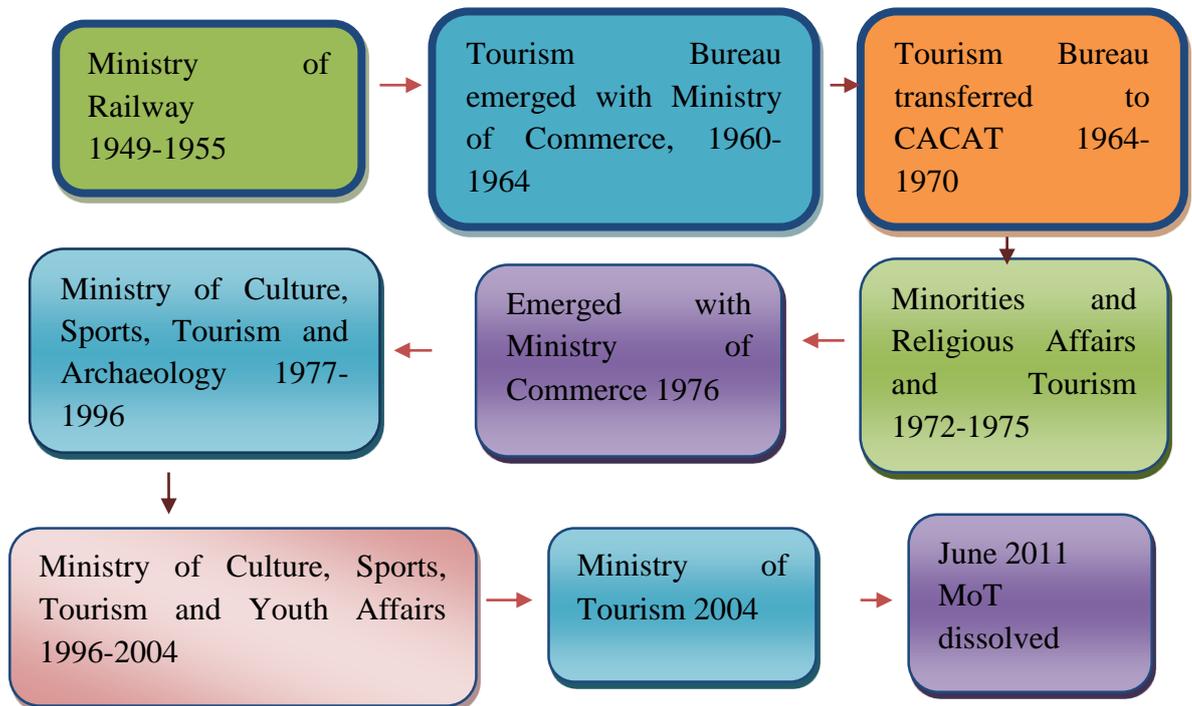


Figure 6.3 Evolution in the tourism sector in Pakistan since 1949-2011

In March 2004 there was a further split between ministries and tourism was given the status as a separate Ministry of Tourism (MoT) (Figure 6.3). The responsibilities given to the Ministry of Tourism were policy formulation, national and international tourism development, and marketing and promotional strategies (Baksh, 2007). With regard to the functionality and efficiency of the new MoT, Baksh (2007: 104) says, “The newly created Ministry of Tourism till now² doesn’t seem to be a paradigm shift in Pakistan’s tourism affairs as it has the same old Tourism Wing which is managing tourism affairs as it used to be”.

At the time of fieldwork for this thesis (in April and May 2011) there was a fear by the employees related to the tourism sector, regarding the dissolution of the MoT. An informant [male: 47y: Consultant in Ministry of Tourism] told me that,

“I don’t know what would be the future of tourism in Pakistan. Government is clearly not doing anything to strengthen the tourism sector. Even I don’t know where we all will be going [for] there are rumours [going on] about the dissolution of the Ministry of Tourism in the secretariat [...] This threat is making all employees feel insecure and uncertain about their jobs [...] no one is working [concentrating] [now a days] just waiting for the bad news to come” [interview taken in April 2011].

² In 2007

Later on the news came that the ministry had been abolished on June 30th 2011, and the duties of the ministry transferred to provincial governments. This measure indicated that the federal government was not showing sufficient interest in promoting Pakistan as a global tourist destination (Asad, 2011³; ESP, 2011). To protest against this decision,

A number of appeals were sent to the President and the Prime Minister of Pakistan and several parliament members, appealing for the government to overturn the decision to abolish the Ministry of Tourism. These appeals have been supported by a number of leading tourism organizations including: the Senate and National Assembly Standing Committees on Tourism, the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce & Industry (FPCCI), Pakistan Association of Tour Operators (PATO), Pakistan Hotels Association, and Ecotourism Society Pakistan, and The Region Initiative. However, government did not respond to these appeals (Asad, 2011⁴).

After many unsuccessful appeals to the government of Pakistan the Eco Tourism Society of Pakistan (ESP) and the Region Initiative (RI) launched a petition to UNWTO in opposition to this change, and to look into the affairs of the tourism sector and help with the formation of a Tourism Division (Asad, 2011; ESP, 2011). After the appeal against this decision regarding the MoT, in August 2011,

the Secretary General of the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) Taleb Rafai has written letters to the President of Pakistan Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, and Prime Minister of Pakistan Yousuf Raza Gillani to ask them to stop the process of abolishing the Ministry of Tourism in Pakistan [...] After this action, the government of Pakistan has halted the process of disbanding the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation (PTDC) for the time being (Asad, 2011⁵)

Having considered aspects of the history of the tourism industry and MoT in Pakistan, it can therefore be asserted that negligible importance has been given to the tourism sector and that tourism has not been considered as a separate industry in Pakistan until 2004 and the formation of the MoT. During the collecting of field data I was informed that “[...] government does not seem interested in the development of the tourism industry in Pakistan” [male: 47: tourism official]. It is considered as the most inferior part of the industry which is why there are still downfalls in the planning of a separate and independent tourism ministry in Pakistan.

Despite the fact that the Government of Pakistan has not given prior authority to the tourism sector, there remain communication barriers between Pakistan and the rest of the world, and challenges in terms of place image due to occurrences of NAC (chapter 5), Pakistan is still receiving a reasonable number of tourists from all over the world. Although at the time of fieldwork activity the tourism industry of Pakistan was still under great threat, private tourism stakeholders were still engaged in tourism activities and were trying to keep tourism stable in the

³<http://www.eturbonews.com/23433/disaster-after-disaster-equals-no-tourism-ministry-pakistan>

⁴<http://www.travelvideo.tv/news/pakistan/08-08-2011/unwto-takes-action-to-save-tourism-industry-in-pakistan>

⁵The petition- save tourism in Pakistan to UNWTO (Available at) <http://www.ecotourism.org.pk/save-ptdc>

country. It is noted that due to the uncertain situation of the MoT, private tourism stakeholders – e.g. tour operating companies and tour guides – became more efficient and dynamic by engaging national and international tourists in development strategies for tourism.

6.3 Place Image of Chilas (SWOT Analysis)

6.3.1 Strengths

As mentioned in the chapter 5 that with the direct interaction with outsiders i.e. [well behaved] tourists, visitors, it is noted that Chilas has not got attention from tourists due to its physical, cultural or traditional appearance but the hospitable people. The entire GB-NAP is known for its hospitality trait where the local communities consider guests as “*blessings from God*” [male: 28: tour guide], and offer the best they have in order to make their stay comfortable. According to a survey in 2009, the biggest attraction for tourists to Pakistan is the hospitality trait of the Pakistani people.

What Attracted Foreign Tourists to Pakistan- 2009		
Tourists' Attractions	Tourists (000)	Percentage Share
People	171.0	20.0
Shopping	110.3	12.9
Local Food	86.3	10.1
Ecology/ Scenic Beauty	80.4	9.4
Climate	78.6	9.2
Old Bazaars	68.4	8.0
Culture	60.7	7.1
Handicrafts	49.6	5.8
Archaeological Sites/ Historical Places	40.2	4.7
Mountains	35.1	4.1
Sports	19.7	2.3
Wild Life	16.2	1.9
Entertainments	14.5	1.7
Deserts	13.7	1.6
Others	10.2	1.2
Total	854.9	100.0

Table 6.1 Tourists' attraction in Pakistan [Adapted from Ministry of Tourism (2009)]

Table 6.1 is the data from The Ministry of Tourism (2009) which shows that the highest percentage - i.e. 20% - of tourists visit Pakistan to experience the hospitality of the people. Pakistan being as a cost effective destination to visit and well-known for its diverse food and handicrafts, shopping, diverse cultural and natural scenery are all seen as less important than the hospitality visitors

experience. This fact proved to be a dominant theme as all informants for this research mentioned their experience of the hospitality which had so impressed them and it was given as a reason to make a repeat visit as an informant said, “[...] *I have never seen kind and hospitable people like them*” [male tourist: 50s: USA] Similarly another informant advised, “*Local people are very warm and welcoming [...]*” [male tourist: Japan: 47] (quotes in chapter 5). I also witnessed several examples of hospitality, where I was offered free food, accommodation, conveyance and child care facilities for my child at the time of my fieldwork. This is further explored in chapter 8 and see also figure 8.1.

Moreover, Chilas was chosen as a case study for the research conducted for this thesis due to its unique and fragile ecological characteristics after the hospitality trait. Becken and Hay (2007) describe an ecological tourism destination as a natural place as far as geographical existence is concerned. Similarly, Chilas itself is a very important destination both geographically and historically. This is in part because of its central point on the Silk Road connecting Pakistan to China. In addition the area's, climatic conditions are favourable to both flora and fauna, it has a topography with a combination of valleys and famous mountains, and a cultural and historic background which can be traced because of the presence of the unique rock carvings. Further , the traditional social set up, image of place and community broadcasted by com-media (chapter 1) all combine to make Chilas an attractive destination for tourists. This section consists of a brief SWOT analysis of the current tourism infrastructure in the region and an overview of the development.



Figure 6.4 a specimen of the Rock Art present in Diamer (two photographs combined together indicating main rock art sites in district Diamer)

The rock art is scattered throughout the Diamer region. It is said that there are more than 80,000 carved rocks made by mainly Buddhist travellers and traders in 5th century AD (Islam, 2010⁶). This is also attributed to the spread of Buddhist

⁶ (Available on): <http://www.demotix.com/news/403308/thalpan-rock-carvings-pakistan#media-403296>

followers to the region along the Silk Route, and therefore is of importance for the Buddhist religion.



Figure 6.5the hoarding Board narrates about the origin of the Rock Carvings in Shatial valley in Diamer Region (Photo taken April 2010), Rock Carving of Buddha in Shatial (photo taken April, 2011)

Figures 6.4 and 6.5 represent an example of the strengths in the region in terms of the types of rock art present in and around Chilas valley, and which have attracted many national and international archaeologists to the valley as discussed previously in chapter 1. Darel valley – an adjacent valley in the south-west of Chilas –still holds the remains of the building from an art school dating back to the British colonial. Phuguch village in Darel Valley is also famous for its ancient Buddhist University remains (Kalhor, 2011).



Figure 6.6 Souvenirs: woodcraft and handicrafts [carved wooden show cases and handmade rugs]

Figure 6.6 shows two major pieces of art work produced by the local community, for instance wood carvings and handmade rugs can be found in every house. Handicrafts are amongst other sources of income for locals. The majority of informants stated that they make their own household items including rugs, duvet, raillies [a kind of multi-coloured blanket either made of wool or clothe patches], curtains, bed sets, and knit wear; whereas only 2% said, on some occasions, they had bought items from markets in addition to making their own. This is a great skill which the women and children – rugs made by children are preferred due to the fine finishing with little fingers- in the of the area possess but it is barely recognised at a national level. This has the potential to be a source of income for women of NAP if they are empowered to sell their products directly and to get appropriate training to finish their products to national and international standards.

Although Chilassi people create unique and fine handicrafts and woodwork, they are unable to sell these products direct to tourists. The reason is the restrictions and corruption from local government officials and police [law enforcement department], who would not allow the Chilassi people to sell their products directly to tourists and business wholesalers, but through those officials or their agents so that they can secure a share of the profit [detailed discussion is in the next chapter 7]. One informant reported [male: 34y: graduate], *“That is in fact [called as] their ‘share’, one may have many hurdles doing business without sharing with them”*



Figure 6.7Fruit collection by a local woman

The specialities of this region include many varieties of fruits [in fresh and dried form] and handicrafts. In Figure 6.7 a lady is collecting fruits for drying for the purpose of selling them to wholesalers or tourists. NAP is known as a hub for varieties of seasonal fruits. *“There are fruit trees in 90% houses of Chilas”*⁷ an informant [male: 48: security guard] explained [but] *“[...] only 20% get a chance to sell them to tourists or wholesalers from different parts of Pakistan”*. The rest of the fruit is either wasted or dried to consume in the next season or sent as gifts to family and friends in other regions [female group discussion].

Moreover, as mentioned in chapter 1, the area is a source of gold and throughout the Indus River valley gold washers [Maruts] searching for gold from the river can easily be noticed during the summer season. Traditionally, there are some unique customs e.g. Zeeto Kalak, Nasaalo followed by local people regarding the community’s daily domestic matters and local rules and regulations.

Close proximity to major cities and its central Silk Road location are strengths of the destination. It was mentioned by a member from local community that a significant number of tourist movements have seen in GB territory since the earthquake in 2005.

The comparatively high security level for tourists in the territory and the short route known as the Babusar Pass that connects Islamabad to Chilas valley and cuts journey times to NAP down compared to the longer journey via the Silk Route through the Hazara and Kohistan valleys (pers. comm.. from by two

⁷ Majority of Chilassi community has big houses and they plant fruit trees inside their houses.

informants [Male, 26y and 28y: tour operator and guide] are among the strengths of the region. Moreover, although Chilas and Babusar are only 37km apart, the weather conditions at Babusar in summer are more favourable compared to Chilas (detail in chapter1). This is the reason that the women members of the Chilassi community migrate⁸ to Babusar from February to August with their livestock to take advantage of the better grazing conditions⁹. It was observed that only those people who possess herds of livestock typically migrate, whereas farmers and other working people remain in Chilas. The household is divided amongst older and young women, older women with children mainly migrate to Babusar while young women who are responsible for the housework– i.e. cooking, cleaning, and ironing – usually stay in Chilas during the summer season along with the male community members. An informant [women: 38: housewife] noted, “*I look after my animals here during the summer while Safina, my daughter [14] stays with her father and uncles in Chilas to cook, clean and iron for them*”.



Figure 6.8 Babusar summer houses: Chilas (Picture taken in June 2011)

Whilst in Babusar the local community stays in their own wooden, mud and stone houses/huts as shown in the figure 6.8.

In Babusar there are hotels and resorts (although these are unaffordable for the Chilassi community members) which are full of tourists from mid-February to the end of August and “[...] *in some months there is a kind of crowd of tourists here*”

⁸ Mainly day trips (they go to Babusar at sun rising time and back to Chilas when the sun sets like nomads)

⁹ One reason of this migration is that during summer there is more greenery and grass for livestock in Babusar as compared to that in Chilas.

[female: 42: farmer/housewife]. *“It is Spring all over the year in Babusar that attracts many tourists from different parts of Pakistan [...] and Chilas is the closest city[...] tourist movement can be seen during the season”* [Male: 34y: graduate]. During the summer Babusar is amongst one of the most visited areas in NAP so it is another great opportunity for Chilassi women to make tourist products during winter and sell them at Babusar during their summer residence. During their stay at Babusar valley, women are seen guiding, interacting, inviting and cooking food freely to tourists with no expectation of any money or benefits from them in return.

The social interaction between law-abiding tourists and the local community has proved to have had a favourable and beneficial impact, especially almost UC women. As mentioned in chapter 3, male members of the community who have formed social networks with outsiders, national or internationally, have shown an interest in women’s empowerment and education. They realise the importance of women for the development of an area and the young generation. It is told by an informant [Male: 34y: graduate: works in the Middle East]

“[...] I hate the culture where women are so dependant and distressed [...]. I have learnt from my experiences during working with foreigners that we need to be broad minded for our ladies too [...] if we really want to be developed [...] I won’t differentiate between girl and boy[...] both will be provided equal rights and opportunities of education, work and marriage [...]”.

At another point the same informant added,

“I was amongst ordinary Chilassi people who become very rigid when it comes to the freedom of life style, education and marriage of their women[family members] [...], Even I am sorry for being callous to my sister who always wanted to go to college but it was me who opposed her wish [...] I regret now [for what I have done to my sister] and I would be the same [for my daughter/wife] if I had no exposure to the educated communities[points out his work colleagues][...]”.

6.3.2 Weaknesses

Despite the more positive experiences of women, it is nevertheless the case that women are mostly inhibited from face-to-face interactions with tourists visiting the Chilas valley, especially male tourists. Moreover, going out of their houses on their own is discouraged due to traditional social conventions. A female tourist [54y: educationist: USA] reported, *“I hardly saw any woman outside in Chilas even during the day time [...]”*. The reason for their absence from the scene was noted by one informant [female: 32: housewife], *“due to constricted thoughts of some people we are not allowed to interact with tourists [...] though it is fun to see and greet different faces from different cultures”*. It is therefore concluded that gender discrimination is one of the main reasons that hinders development in Chilas.

Apart from what Cole (2007a) has argued regarding Hofstede's work regarding cross-culture dimensions (1991, 2001), the Chilassi community as an UCC and Chilas as an UCD are suffering from gender biased development opportunities. The local women are more likely to remain underdeveloped and oppressed due to the lack of opportunities for the local women to get education and work opportunities in line with local men.

Moreover a tourist destination becomes popular to tourists and visitors if it exhibits more gender equality; for instance Gilgit, Chitral and Kailash are more women-friendly areas as compared to Chilas and are popular tourist destinations further to the north. In contrast to these destinations, apart from rich natural and cultural heritage in Chilas, gender discrimination weakens its popularity amongst national and international tourists. For instance, from the outsiders' point of view the lack of development is due to the non-welcoming atmosphere in Chilas, and the non-encouraging attitude towards women tourists/visitors to the valley, resulting in the tourists arrival figure that are less than neighbouring regions. In this regard an informant [male, 42, social worker] commented,

"I can't even think of taking my family with me to Chilas as my wife will feel uncomfortable to go out for shopping if she notices no women in the market, she will refuse to get out of the car for food in a hotel for being an only woman in restaurant [...] So there will be no outdoor activities to entertain females and children. Our children mostly stick with their mothers and if they [mothers] are unhappy and tired of their experience, children will ultimately get bored. It seems only a tiring journey for tourists with families [women and children] and nothing else".

When, at the start of my fieldwork, I approached key tourism stakeholders based in different cities of Pakistan, I was advised by majority of informants [non-Chilassi] to change the research area and focus instead on Chitral, Gilgit, Abbottabad or Mansehra due to their women friendly environment. The consensus view was that Chilas is not a women friendly area and that, as a consequence, I may not feel comfortable conducting my research there. An informant [male: 50s, Mountaineer based in Islamabad originally from Hunza in further North] said,

"I wouldn't suggest you to visit Chilas as you might be sticking to one place and will not [be able to] see any woman and you will feel awkward moving around alone [in Chilas][...]it is better to change your research area and do the same in neighbouring regions [...] this is not that Chilas doesn't have potential for tourism [...] let someone else [male researcher] explore that".

It is noted that tourists normally plan their holidays and visits with the help of com-media (Aymankuy *et al.* 2013) [see for details in chapter 3&5], but as the preceding discussion shows that the com-media itself actively discouraged tourists from visiting Chilas, I was restricted at the official level from pursuing my fieldwork in Chilas. Another example of the discouraging com-media is the

spread of terror and its association with a specific national and geographic region. It is, for instance, forecast for the period between 2000 and 2020 that,

Tourism will not flourish in destinations suffering civil turmoil or war, or where tourists' health or security is perceived to be under threat. Tourist kidnappings are on the increase with incidents worldwide doubling in the last five years. Terrorist groups are becoming more aware that killing or holding tourists to ransom makes good media coverage for their cause by gaining international attention (WTO, 2000: 18).

That means tourists are not encouraged to visit UCD until 2020 until the situation gets better, and potential tourists who are surfing com-media will hesitate to visit those destinations until the time period suggested by com-media. Evidence gathered during the fieldwork indicates that the threat is minimal if com-media is skilled and provides un-biased and information generated and projected by skilled com-media professionals [detail in chapter 5]. However, in terms of information resources, Chilas itself is known as a less developed area. There is a lack of organised and modern com-media that could promote the valley as a tourist destination by projecting an attractive place image. Most parts of the region have no organised com-media facilities available, i.e. television, internet, and only a few mobile network providers have access to the area and two local newspapers. The local community is mainly unaware of the up to date information about what is happening around in the world. For tourists there are no international standard magazines, informational brochures or any sort of written literature available.

There are no functional tourist information offices but some local community members have initiated their own small scale firms to guide tourists but they are not properly trained or skilled guides. There are no services available in the region for interpretation and for this reason tourists need to book in advance with the (comparatively expensive) booking agencies situated in the capital Islamabad. There is no up-to-date information about driving and walking routes available. As such, tourists find it difficult to visit the region and access the main tourist attractions independently, but would find it easier to visit with the accompaniment of a guide.

As discussed in chapter 2 that a large number of tourists incline to visit natural areas as part of their leisure time (Buckley, 2000; Liu, 2006). Notwithstanding the fact that the environmental, economic and political situation in Chilas is unstable due to lack of education, awareness, and the depopulation of educated and young community members, tourists still visit Chilas for short periods of time. However, the number of visitors in the Diamer region is unknown; only out dated information is available only showing numbers of hotel visitors checking in and out for a certain period of time, although these records are not maintained properly. Moreover no information with any tourist information centre regarding tourists' movements in Chilas can be accessed.



Figure 6.9An example of an unhygienic hotel room in Chilas

Along with the lack of advanced informational resources, the valley still lacks an adequate physical tourism infrastructure; there is, for instance, a shortage of tourist standard accommodations. Figure 6.9 represents the condition of a privately owned hotel room which is not suitable to live in due to health reasons. Due to the lack of inspection the hygiene standards are too low to encourage tourists to stay in Chilas. Although there are a few tourist resorts, in the tourist season, however, they raise their charges in order to make more money. There is also a lack of public resources, for example, facilities for elderly and disabled tourists, the issue of load shedding (breakdown of power/electricity for long periods of time) particularly during the hot summer season in Chilas it is hard for visitors to stay inside without air conditioners or fans, as well as toilets, bins, purified water, parks, indoor and outdoor activity areas for children and so on.

Despite the importance of the Silk Route, as highlighted in chapter 1 – for instance, its central location on the approach to the main tourist destinations (i.e. towards the north Gilgit, Chitral, and towards the south are Kohistan, Swat, Battagram, Mansehra, and Abbottabad), and its importance as a trade route between Pakistan and China – there is a lack of an organised transport system, caused specifically by the deteriorating condition of the road when it passes through Chilas. There is also an absence of traffic signals and signs, mobile traffic police, negligible road safety measures, accident prevention measures, health and emergency services, education and work opportunities.

The maintenance of the Silk Route was in progress while conducting this research. However, apart from the benefits of tourism development, research has shown a significant number of drawbacks to tourism development, such as changes to the natural environment resulting from modification of the destination to meet tourists' demands. There are some changes that can be brought by tourism authorities, such as an increase in transport and transport infrastructure, which can

be harmful for the natural environment and fragile ecology. Increased transport leads to air pollution due to emissions of fumes and smoke. The construction of roads and tourist resorts causes damage to the fragile ecology.



Figure 6.10KKH [the Silk Route] Diامر: Land sliding (picture taken in May and June 2011) In (NATCO: Northern Areas Travel Corporation) is off the road due to the land slide.

Figure 6.10 illustrates the condition of the Silk Road as land sliding on the Silk Road and delayed removal of debris is a very common problem in Chilas. The landslide damage on the road causes disruption and creates unfavourable and uncomfortable travel conditions, resulting, as my own experience demonstrated, in journeys to the destination taking double the usual time. It was reported during the fieldwork that many visitors hesitate visiting Chilas via the Silk Road on account of the critical road conditions and lack of accident prevention measures in

the region. The reputation of the Silk Road has, therefore, become a weakness for the region instead of an attraction for tourists. The inability to cope with uncertainty as described by Hofstede (1991, 2001) Chilas is failed to attract many tourists. For instance the less attention from the development authorities to Chilas i.e. slower and none emergency services and the rough condition of the Silk Route (figure 6.9), shabby state of tourist accommodations (figure 6.8) and unhygienic food have caused restriction to tourist movement. In other tourist destinations such as Gilgit, Abbottabad and Mansehra the condition of the Silk Road and emergency rescue and medical services are satisfactory compared to that at Chilas-Diamer. This is one reason that tourists avoid staying for long in Chilas during their journey to NAP.

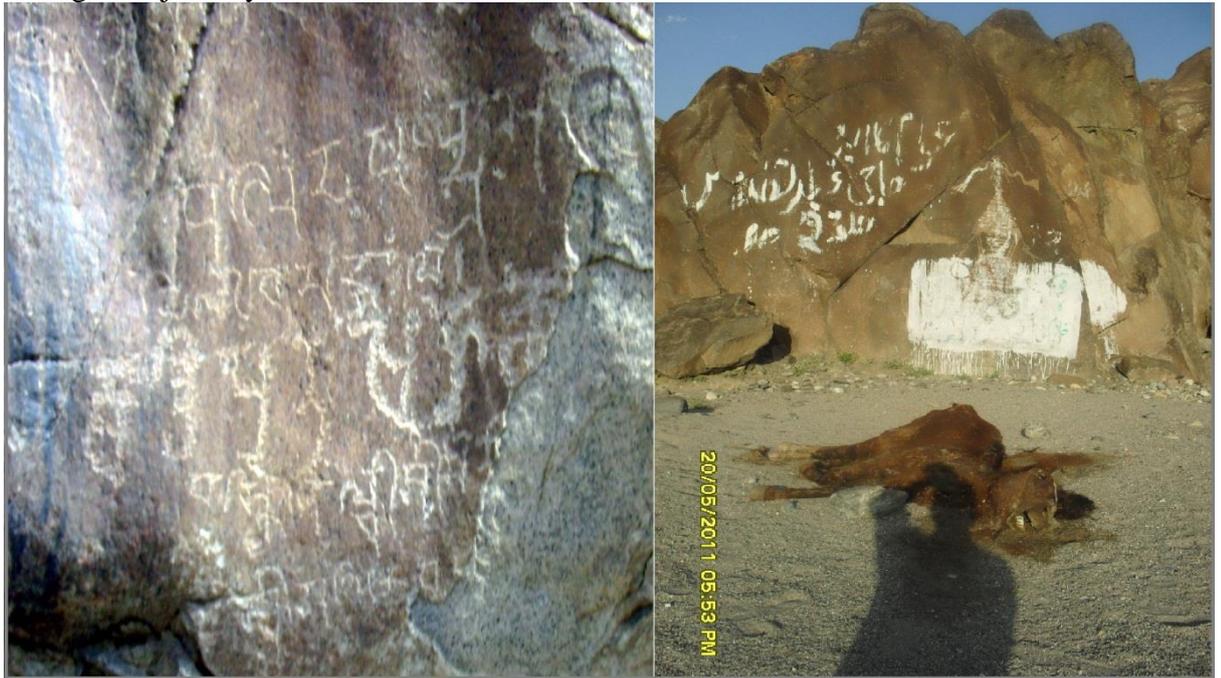


Figure 6.11An example of an anthropogenic damage in the area (Pictures taken in June 2011).

Figure 6.11 highlights the negligence of tourists, the local community and development authorities to the local environment. Most of them do not care about the presentation of the area for tourism promotion. Due to the lack of an appropriate waste disposal system in the region, no bins can be found anywhere on the road. Locals dispose of all waste, including bodies of dead animals, by dumping along the Silk Road in open areas. Not only is this unpleasant to look at it poses both an environmental and a health hazard to locals and tourists. This can result in serious health issues to locals as well as to tourists. The rock art is prone to anthropogenic damage as well as the natural damage as discussed previously. It was reported during the fieldwork that many visitors try to break off and take the pieces of the rock carvings as souvenirs of their visit. Unskilled tour operators sometimes help them in breaking the rocks, hence displaying a lack of considering of the linkages between the rocks and their archaeological and historical importance for the area.

As discussed in chapters 2 and 3, environmentalists such as Cobb (1997) oppose tourism activities, arguing that it results in destruction rather than development

especially on archaeological sites, and that tourism transforms a natural environment into an industrial environment bringing negative and un-repairable impacts to a destination.

6.3.3 Opportunities

There are few developments currently in progress that are predicted to lead to an increase in the economic, environmental and social development in the region. To encourage the local community to use more land for cultivation to increase their economic well-being the national government has also given tax subsidies on wheat, rice, beans. These subsidised foods have also attracted many traders and visitors as they buy the subsidised items from the local farmers while tourists get food at a very low cost. It is furthermore expected that the trade between GB territory and the rest of the country will increase with the maintenance of the Silk Road. The road maintenance was in progress at the time of the fieldwork. It was noted during the research that,

“Trade between Pakistan and China will be legalised and much cheaper [...] fresh vegetables and fruits will reach Karachi [the other corner of Pakistan] in one day due to fully maintained Silk Route [...] Chilas falls almost in the middle of the Silk Route therefore it will get more benefit; as compared to Gilgit and Chitral; from the trade, tourists movement and political attention” [Male: 55y: Archaeologist/educationist].

As Chilas is known as a mid-point on the Silk Route to reach tourist destinations further to the North, there are many other attractions that could retain tourists in the region if the road and living conditions in the area were improved. For instance, during the fieldwork in Chilas in May-June 2011 there were polo matches played between Chilas, Kohistan, and Gilgit players in the presence of hundreds of spectators from different regions in Chilas and Babusar. Most of them were regular visitors for polo in Shandoor [the world’s highest polo ground further to the North] and grabbed the opportunity to see the matches in Babusar and Chilas. One spectator [male: 24: student tourist] said,

“I am a polo fan. I visit Shandoor regularly for Polo [...] that is very big event and hundreds of international tourists visit for polo match. Sometimes it is hard to reach Shandoor via Abbottabad due to land sliding and worse condition of Silk Road. This would be great opportunity for polo lovers if Diامر Polo match is promoted and get fame as Shandoor”.

Another informant [male: 25: student tourist] added,

“It is a long drive to Shandoor on the other hand it is almost half of the journey to Chilas, Babusar if one comes for Polo match. Another opportunity of Chilas and Babusar is that spectators can stay here in hotels and every facility is available as compared to Shandoor [in Shandoor there are no hotels and people do camping which is sometimes difficult due to weather conditions]. This [Chilas] is much more

convenient [as compared to Shandoor] for visitors and spectators and have lot to offer to tourists other than Polo match”.

Coleman and Crang (2004:3) state, “In a global market, where tourists have a wide choice of similar destinations, it has become vital to make a distinctive pitch”, and people look out for natural and unspoiled places to visit (Britton, 1979; Scheyvens, 2003), as discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Moreover, WTO (2005 and 2009) predicted that the tourism industry is expected to grow in the Asian region until 2020 due to the attractiveness of its natural environment. Therefore, apart from its tourism credentials Chilas is still known as an untouched and undisturbed destination. Moreover, due to the absence of modern com-media access to the region, the community still follows old customs and practices to keep their traditions alive. The traditions and socio-cultural norms, community rules and regulations of Chilas are slightly different from the surrounding tourist destinations and very different from advanced cities in Pakistan. That makes Chilas and Chilassi community a unique place for tourism, boasting a variety of cultural and traditional characteristics that still determine their relationships with the outside world.



Figure 6.12 Site of Diamer Basha Dam in Chilas

As discussed in the chapter 1, a plan to build the world’s biggest dam named as Diamer Basha Dam is under process in Chilas (see figure 6.12 for Diamer Basha dam site and a picture outlined in red showing the height of the dam). The national government views the dam construction as a boost to economic, social

and environmental elevation in the region. Moreover, it is anticipated that the existence of the dam will improve the condition of the Silk Road and boost the tourism industry in Diامر. It is discussed in chapter 2 that water-based tourism activities have a good impact on the mind and body of tourists and that water-based areas have attracted tourists since ancient times (Tatar, 2011). Similarly Contour (2002) and Fleminger (2006) argue that water-based tourism is the most sought after type of tourism and provides tourists with an unlimited choice of adventure tourism activities.

Similarly, some of Pakistan's major tourist destinations are dam sites, for example, the Khanpur and Tarbela Dams in KPK which attract thousands of tourists every year. Several types of water sports and cultural festivals take place every year at dam sites. Spectators' camp and water based activities usually last for a week during the spring and summer seasons. The host community earns more from tourism activities in these areas during the peak seasons. Along with the building of the dam at Chilas, there is a proposal to construct an open air museum by preserving the rock art from being damaged by dam water, and, with the help of UNESCO, (Inayat, 2010) thereby preserving the ancient cultural history and heritage of the region.

6.4.4 Threats

Apart from the strengths and opportunities in Chilas there are also several threats to the natural and cultural ecology and the community. Due to planning and development issues, for instance, the building of Diامر Basha dam, the area is on the verge of losing its naturalness, with potential damage to the "[...] one of the world's largest and oldest collections of rock art"¹⁰ (An article, "Big Rivers, Big Dams" written by Canter (nd) cited by Inayat, 2010). Another example is the absence of community friendly development, which is arguably the biggest threat towards the projection of the community.

¹⁰<http://nailainayat.blogspot.co.uk/2010/07/art-on-rocks.html#!/2010/07/art-on-rocks.html>



Figure 6.13 Over-painted and damaged carved rock [June 2011]

Figure 6.13 shows evidence of the negligence of local government authorities and local people towards the rock art. At the time of conducting this study, there is no protection plan implemented for the protection from NAC for these ancient monuments. An informant [Male: 33y: local tour guide with secondary level education] commenting on the painted rock in figure 6.13, noted, “*It is painted by some [local] government agent to advertise their party logo [motto]*”. Advertisers have a tendency to use these rock boulders as blackboards illustrating the non-acknowledgement of local people towards the rock art. When asked an informant [male; 46: local government] about precautions to save these rock carvings and save the site from becoming polluted, it was told, “*[...] allocating budget towards saving these useless sites is just a waste of money [...] there are more important tasks to do other than saving these stones [...] not even government seems to be interested in tourism development in Pakistan [...].*The rock carvings are, therefore, under threat by the national government, local community and tourists alike.

Lack of knowledge, education and skills development programmes for the local community, as well as gender inequality, are impediments to tourism development; as Cole (2006b) notes, “a lack of knowledge is also a constraining factor”. Cole (2007a) goes on to point out that tourism brings new opportunities but the chances of tourism development decrease if the community is not empowered. Hence Cole’s argument focuses on the social and cultural tourism barriers and drivers in a developing destination, citing Hofstede’s work (1991, 2001) to explore the effects of cultural values on tourism enterprises. The analysis

of her work shows that three dimensions of Hofstede's theory – i.e. high power distance, uncertainty avoidance and collectivism vs. individualism¹¹ – are hindering tourism enterprises, particularly in LDCs. Uncertainty avoidance and other aspects of Hofstede's cross culture theory, such as masculinity versus femininity, have been discussed previously in chapter 3.

The high power imbalance, uneven distribution of opportunities and lack of accountability by those in authority, covers only an aspect of under development of the local community and the destination. Due to the nature of power imbalance, the local community is distrustful towards government strategies for the region and this is a reason that the development authorities face serious difficulties in the shape of protest against planning and developmental projects based in Diamer by the local community.

The reason, as advised by an informant [male: 34], “*Local people are not asked to participate in any decision making process [is probably because] government officials and people from outside the area assume that they [local community] are illiterate and ignorant and have no awareness whatsoever [...]*” He provides the example of Diamer Basha Dam, stating that the government just imposed the decision and when people found out that their properties are going to be submerged under water, they protested, prompting the government to offer them compensation. Some old people do not want to leave their ancestor's place due to emotional affiliation but they are forced to vacate their houses making the local community critical of government decisions taken without their consent.

Therefore, on the basis of past experience of negligence from government and development authorities, the local community has a lack of trust, making the development process slower. Moreover, with the absence of RCCUCC and negligence from the planning and development authorities, the Chilassi community has no trust in the government or the development authorities. The structure of power is another factor that has bearing on tourism development, because if there is no feeling of empowerment a community will not be encouraged to work in support of these processes. If government influence is too strong and if a community is not involved in the decision making process it will lead to lack of confidence among members of society, which could also be hindering tourism.

The third dimension of Hofstede's theory that can be applied to the situation in Chilas is the link between the lack of collectivism and underdevelopment. The threat to the hospitality trait of the local community due to increasing expectations from hosts in HFR tourism [see chapter 7] and a trend of individualism is a drawback to the destination and the community. This is despite the fact that the local people are known by their hospitality; for instance, it was stated [male: 28: tour guide], “[...] *The Northern Pakistan is known for its hospitality and people still offer free food, accommodation to tourists [open to any visitor], no matter for how long one stays[...]they slaughter their livestock for guests due to a common concept that guests are the blessings from God[...]*”.

¹¹ <http://geert-hofstede.com/dimensions.html>

However, elder community members fear this hospitality trait is on the verge of disappearing. It is a common view by the older community members that exposure to modern com-media, including increasing interaction with tourists, leads to the lack of collectivism and hospitality trait. According to an elderly informant [male: 77],

Faithfulness and sense of collectivism within local community is going to diminish due to increased tourism activities [...] if one man makes money by selling his product [embroidered clothes, hand-made rugs, dry fruit, and ornaments] to tourists. Others [community members] feel envy and family and friends start asking for loans [...]and in case of refusal they become angry and boycott him [...]fairness lessens within the local people[and]above all we are losing our unique hospitality trait [...] the young generation opposes us for offering free food and services to the guests[tourists]”.

Therefore the concept of free accommodation to outsiders is changing gradually in most of the areas with the young generation of Chilas. Unlike their ancestors, they are inclining towards making money out of offering food and accommodation. The older community members, therefore, hamper any type of com-media advancement in the region due to this reason.

Moreover, as mentioned by an elderly informant in the interview quoted earlier, due to the close-knit nature of the community, capital accumulation and reinvestment in development projects is not an easy task. I would argue that the absence of equal opportunities in small and close-knit communities is another obstacle in the way of tourism development. It is seen during the collection of fieldwork data that those earning less within the Chilassi community know what others are earning. It is thus expected that the high earner within the community lend money to the needy relatives or community members. Refusing to comply with these expectations may cause envy and boycotts within and between generations. Therefore this situation becomes hard for the earners' families to reinvest in some other profitable businesses rather than lending to borrowers.

To earn and save more the young male community members have a trend of migrating towards different parts of Pakistan and, in a few cases, abroad. Moreover, another reason of depopulation is the non-availability of opportunities for employment and education in the area. In an earlier older study, Lowenthal and Comitas (1962) highlighted the fact that depopulation generally occurs due to mechanisation in agriculture whereas industrialisation promotes the population in cities. The pattern of migration from rural areas to urban areas was formed in the 1960s and 1970s by young people forced by their parents to leave the village and find work in urban areas (Behar, 1996) mostly in Asian region. Similarly, it is noted during the research that the local community members mainly migrate towards cities in order to find good work opportunities and to get education to raise the social status in other societies.

The ratio of men in depopulation is more than women because, “*Boys do go out to the other cities for education or work [...] women don’t have liberty to take decision about their education or work [...]*” [female: 23: housewife]. On the other hand in NAP people used to migrate to big cities in order to get better employment and education opportunities but the really big cause of depopulation were the earthquake of October 2005 and the floods of July 2010 (UNHCR Pakistan, 2011; IOM, 2008). On the other hand, it was noted during interviews conducted with the Chilassi community that the increasing trend of education and awareness due to com-media is affecting the thoughts of people and that is cited as one reason why young families have an increasing trend of migration.

However, these are not the only reasons why members of the Chilassi community migrate. In contrast to the arguments put forward by Lowenthal and Comitas (1962), there is still a vast acreage of land but the women of the area are mostly responsible for agricultural activities apart from those involving machinery. Men appear to be more inclined towards business activities and increasing their social standing by moving out of the region. It was reported that, “[...] *migration is taken as a status symbol [...]*” [male: 34: works abroad] in Chilas. People who have migrated are treated as authoritative persons upon their return visits to the area.

The question of authority and empowerment in relation to local community members is a repeated outcome of this research. As argued in the preceding discussion, non-participation in decision making for the development of the region, non-awareness of development outcome through tourism activities has impeded the progress of the local community in encouraging any tourism activities. Community members do not encourage tourism activities and are not motivated to produce for tourists and tend to oppose tourism as a tool for development “especially when they are not receiving directly from the tourists or marketers” (Gartner, 1996: 269). Therefore, to obtain the maximum outcome of the region relevant tourism, planning and marketing departments need to engage the local community in decision making in order to achieve better and more demonstrable results.

In addition to the collective advantages of tourism development there are more powerful arguments as to why and how tourism can help in alleviating poverty and contribute to local level development. In a country like Pakistan where there are abundant human resources and the majority is unemployed, tourism development is a suitable option to engage labour to work in the industry. It also helps unskilled women to get income from tourism (Cole, 2007). Similarly, as noted during fieldwork, Chilassi women are blessed with handicrafts skills but they still lack recognition at a national and international level. Therefore, by ensuring the local community’s participation, regardless of gender differentiation, it is anticipated that people will work together towards the preservation and restoration of the fragile eco environment of the area. This will result in attracting attention from the tourism authorities for the promotion of the destination. Furthermore, community and tourism development specialists recommend periodic awareness programs to instruct local residents of the benefits of tourism.

Therefore, the perception of negative impacts of tourism on the Chilassi community is another reason for the under-development of the area. The Chilassi community blames RCCUCC for the negative impacts of tourism on the local community and the environment. Privacy of the local community is often disturbed because of young tourists wandering local streets and climbing on people's walls. At some strict rural places national and international tourists do not follow codes of conduct of the area. For instance, it is noted that female tourists wander outside their hotels during the night, consume alcohol openly in public areas, adding to noise pollution by playing loud music and partying with men, all of which are unacceptable in Chilassi culture.

As these activities are not very common in rural places like Chilas, the local community hesitates to encourage tourism development in the region. It is discussed previously that the local male community members do not encourage the interaction with male tourists amongst their female family members as the young tourists were found taking their photographs without seeking permission, staring, singing and calling them by names and so on. Such behaviour has made many male and female community members feel uncomfortable, resulting in their opposing the encouragement of tourists without strict rules and regulation of how to move out and about in the region, how to behave with local females, and how to be attentive to local ethical concerns by respecting local customs and traditions.

It is a common view that the young generation need to be brought up with the cultural values of the area but the negative activities from tourists could divert the local young community members which is seen as unacceptable for the local community. It is highlighted by Gartner (1996: 273) that "cooperation, communication and compromise" between communities and tourists are keys to development. Therefore, to encourage socio-culture friendly interaction between the local community of Chilas and tourists, there is a need to introduce a set of RCCUCC.

6.4 Conclusion of SWOT

Strengths	Hospitality, Rock Art, situated between the world's highest mountainous series i.e. Karakoram, Himalaya and Hindu Kush, The Killer Mountain, Babusar valley, Tata Pani, Fairy Meadows, the Silk Road, Darel and Tangeer valleys; opportunities for hunting, fishing; the handicraft creativity; local food, subsidised crops and fruits; diverse natural, cultural and historical background; climate.
Weaknesses	Lack of accountability on utilization of natural and cultural resources, gender biased decisions, illegal usage of natural and cultural resources, corruption. No organised and skilled com-media to promote the area and the community traits; underdeveloped civic, communication and tourism infrastructure; financial constraints; trust deficit between public and private tourism stakeholders; gap in direct communication between government, community and the tourism stakeholders; lack of social interaction opportunities with outsiders; lack of

	opportunities for higher education for men and women in the area.
Opportunities	Diemer Basha Dam is viewed as a great source of development especially for the local community in terms of provision of employment, household free or low cost power and water. Moreover Chilassi women's workload can be reduced as they will be able to use different kinds of machinery to do their household chores; will get them more time to work outside to maximise their income or go for education; increase of tourist arrivals due to the Dam may lead to women's empowerment; Polo Ground; growth of local handicrafts markets through the Silk Route; natural resources such as fruit and vegetables along with fragile cultural resources [if utilised and maintained in an appropriate way can help local people to raise their living standards].
Threats	Misuse of local hospitality trait, depopulation; absence of RCC may lead towards: 1) misuse and damage to natural and cultural resources; 2) oppression of women due to badly behaved tourists; 3) aggression the within local community. Diemer Basha Dam can be a threat to the existing natural and cultural resources if not planned in an environmentally friendly way. Gender biased and unskilled com-media, lack of direct communication and coordination between government, tourism stakeholders and local community could be a cause of increased aggression within the community members and could restrict any outsiders' travel to the region; security propaganda; negative country image.

Figure 6.14 Summary of the SWOT analysis of Chilas

Figure 6.14 represents the summary of the SWOT analysis of Chilas as a tourist destination as discussed in the preceding section. The valley is situated between the range of Karakorum, Himalaya, and Hindu Kush – the world's highest mountainous series. There are many other prominent features of the valley and the entire region that are the reasons to attract tourists, mountaineers and researchers, for instance, the Nanga Parbat (Killer Mountain); the base of the Killer mountain is Fairy Meadows, a scenic place consisting of tourist resorts and space for camping; the Rock Art sites; ancient Darel and Tangeer valleys; and Tatta Pani, where, due to excess sulphur, very hot water comes from the mountain and local people use to wash their clothes under the hot water falls.

The Valley is centrally located on the Silk Road towards NAP making it more important from the point of view of tourism. The local handicrafts demonstrate the creativity of the local community, their offerings of free food and accommodation to visitors demonstrates an impressive level of hospitality [Refer to fig 8.1 in chapter 8]. It is the local people who are the main reason for attracting tourists to the territory as discussed in the chapter 5. However, the powerlessness and negligible representation of the Chilassi community, especially women, in development processes weakens the overall strength of the region. The presentation of the valley and tourist resorts and hotels does not provide much in

the way of encouragement for passers-by to stay and explore the ecology in the region. Due to the lack of inspection and external audits, the hotels and tourist information centres do not function to the level required. The condition of the Silk Road passing Chilas valley is not good, as shown in the figure 6.10, whereas the rock art is prone to NAC, as shown in figure 6.11 and 6.13.

Despite these weaknesses the region is still undergoing a huge phase of development in the shape of the Diamer Basha Dam. This is predicted to be the world's highest dam, producing 10,000 kWh power leaving the region with free power and encouraging the local community to use advanced powered technology for households, businesses and agricultural purposes. It will attract tourists to the region, as demonstrated by the examples of the Tarbela and Khanpur dams which are the biggest tourist attractions and the water sports activities are the highlights of their annual calendar. Moreover, with the increased tourist movements the local community will have the opportunity to produce more handicrafts and be able to sell them directly to tourists to make money. In addition to this, with the development in the region it is expected that Chilas will be the next famous ground for polo lovers, as extracted from interviews discussed in preceding section.

To bring development at the grassroots level within the community many NGOs are working in the region, for example, to promote education and skills development programmes, and to eradicate gender discrimination. For instance the Agha Khan Foundation (AKF) works towards the regional development including tourism infrastructure, and the Agha Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) works for the development in villages of NAP, distribution of money to those in need, infrastructure development, agricultural guidance, foresting projects, loans, scholarships, and human development projects.

Small scale organisations, such as Village Organisations (VO) and Women's Organisations (WO) by Agha Khan, and well reputed NGOs in NAP-GB territory (AKRSP, 1988) are working for women's representation in education and the workplace. Moreover, NGOs aiming at high standards of education, such as the Agha Khan Education Service (AKES), Diamond Jubilee Schools (DJ) in NAP, concentrating on English teaching and teachers' development programmes (Ochiai, 2009:55) are also working in the territory. Therefore, women-friendly tourism planning, implementation and accountability along with skills development programmes can make a huge difference in the tourism industry of an UCD such as Chilas in Pakistan [chapter 7].

On the other hand, despite the region's strengths, weakness and opportunities to grow as a tourist destination, there are several threats to the destination and local community in the long run if not addressed in an appropriate way. For instance, notwithstanding the fact that dams are the sources of tourism in Pakistan and water-based tourism is becoming increasingly important [chapter 2 and discussed previously in this chapter], the natural and physical environment in Chilas will be affected with the building of the Diamer Basha Dam. Archaeologists and historians raised the concern of the damage to the rock art sites attributed to the dam, as most of the rock art locations will drown and the history will vanish

alongside that of the Silk Route. Moreover, construction of the Diamer Basha Dam is said to be a cause of discomfort within the local community and has impacted the relationship between the community and the Pakistani Government. The main reasons were reported as the Pakistani government and the development authorities not taking into account the views of the Chilassi community with regards to the proposal of the Diamer Basha Dam from the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA).

In addition, the Chilassi community do not wish to relocate due to their strong affiliation with the land and disagreement with the concept of handing over their properties to outsiders. Moreover, it was reported that the Chilassi community is not getting full compensation for surrendering their properties to the Diamer Basha Dam project. Some people explained the reason for their resistance to the project by the fact that they have been ordered to vacate their properties and move to other cities, while migrant workers entering Chilas in search of work opportunities linked to the construction of the dam are seen to be the main beneficiaries of the development, not the actual Chilassi community. This loss of power and participation has made local community resist development projects. As discussed previously, due to absence of RCCUCC, there are no implemented rules and regulations for tourists while visiting Chilas. Due to badly behaving tourists, the women of the region are getting oppressed and restricted to the domestic spaces of the home by male community members. This oppression is yet another threat to the image of the destination.

Furthermore due to the interaction with these kinds of tourists, elder members of the community are expressing opposition to tourism, blaming the tourists for the loss of local culture and traditions, i.e. hospitality. Another threat to the local community and the destination is the depopulation of the young and the displacement of the able community members to the other cities and countries in search of work and education - though depopulation is also a strength [see strength analysis in preceding discussion]. In the long run it seems that, provided the pattern of depopulation continues, Chilas will be left with an illiterate and dependant population, made up largely of women, children and older community members. It is seen in the case of Chilas that the young generation, especially men, are more likely to leave the region for the purpose of education and employment. As a result of tourism development, this young migrant population will be able to secure opportunities in the area and will be able to contribute to the development process in the destination. Later on chapter

My research shows that tourism development based on gender equality leads to financial independence for the groups of people who are less empowered and releases UCC from traditional forms of gender biased social and traditional control (chapter 7). Cole (2006, 2007) refers to the less empowered minorities as marginalised groups but these marginalised groups are, in the case of Chilas, mainly women. The issue of depopulation can be resolved with gender-based opportunities and provision of education and work in Chilas to form a balanced population in the region. Moreover, to minimise the issues of powerlessness and the community's negligible and gender biased participation and representation in the development processes this research provides a set of recommendations

regarding setting up a level of communication between the local community and development authorities (see chapter 8). Furthermore, recommendations regarding a separate and unique specimen of RCCUCC is given at the end of this thesis by addressing the concerns regarding gender related developments and the relationship between tourists, local community and destination.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed tourism development with the prospect to promote tourism in an UCD of Pakistan: Chilas-GB. There have been archaeologists and biologists conducting research on the rock carvings and the unique flora and fauna, however no research has been conducted to explore the potential of tourism by highlighting its connection with com-media and NAC on UCC. This is despite the fact that Chilas possesses a fragile eco- environment composed of natural and cultural heritage and a hospitable community. There have been several reasons as why the destination still lacks tourist attractions and why the community still resists tourism.

Since the introduction of the tourism sector in 1949 in Pakistan up until the time of conducting this research in 2011, the tourism sector has been a victim of negligence by the development and law enforcing authorities in Pakistan as the history of the MoT represents in the preceding discussion. It has always come under principal sectors, for instance under the Ministry of Railway (1949-1955), Ministry of Commerce (1960-1964), CACAT (1964-1970), MoMRAT (1972-1976), MoCSTA (1977-1996), after which the MoT was created for the very first time in 2004 until its dissolution in 2011. The negligence and insecurity within tourism employees is one of many issues that are a cause of less tourism in rural eco-fragile destinations.

This chapter also explores a SWOT analysis of the tourism industry in Chilas. The strategic importance of Chilas and rock carvings on the Silk Route, the natural attractions in the shape of the world's highest mountain series, the world's eighth highest mountain, Fairy Meadows, Babusar, Darel and Tangeer valleys, Tatta Pani, unique local traditions, souvenirs in the shape of local handicrafts, a variety of fruit, the security and safety in the region as compared to southern part of the KPK, these all add to the strengths of the area. Although there is no security and safety issue in the territory, the local community still is not comfortable with encouraging young tourists. The reason for the resistance towards tourism in Chilas was attributed to the absence of RCCUCC. It was advised that codes of conduct in the tourism sector do not apply in NAP specifically in Chilas due to few traditions and customs regarding "parda" [face veil] in the region [local male: 34].

Moreover the role of unskilled tour guides, tour operating companies and com-media regarding tourism in Chilas are all weaknesses for the region. I was advised not to go to Chilas as it was perceived as a non-friendly environment for women (as mentioned in chapter 5). Moreover the non-accountability of the staff engaged with tourism and hospitality and no regular inspection procedures for tourist accommodation adds to the weakness of the destination. Although there are a few

famous hotels and resorts available these are out of reach for many tourists due to their high costs. In addition to these weaknesses the condition of the Silk Road and poor transport and emergency system and services, non-availability of standard health, education and work facilities, inappropriate waste disposal systems, and the lack of attention from tourists and com-media, there are still opportunities in the region for tourism. For instance subsidised local food encourages local farmers to cultivate more and use for their own consumption, as well as for trade which could benefit the local community more if RCCUCC are constructed and implemented.

Moreover, the upcoming popularity of polo grounds in Babusar and Chilas are also seen as opportunities for sport lovers. The Shandoor polo ground is known as the world's highest polo ground but to reach Shandoor, which is located further north, is difficult due to the deteriorating condition of the road, therefore an easy route to polo grounds based more accessibly in Babusar and Chilas represents another opportunity for tourism development in the region. In addition to providing facilities for polo matches and other sports, the Diamer Basha dam is also seen as a big boost to tourism activities in Chilas and the entire district of Diamer. Apart from the dam as an opportunity to the tourism development in the area, it is also considered as a threat to the natural and cultural assets of Diamer. The rock carvings are on the verge of drowning as a result of the dam, and will be regarded as the great loss of a unique cultural asset, whereas as the other dam sites in KPK, i.e. Tarbela and Khanpur dam sites, are no more natural and became more or less commercial due to tourist movement throughout the year. The dam will likewise bring tourism development and several advantages associated to the tourism activities but at the cost of damage to the naturalness of the region and environment.

In addition, on account of gender and power biased representation of the local community in tourism and development projects, the local community have developed a sense of being left out by the government authorities. This is causing many threats to the tourism development, such as local community resistance to tourism and development projects in the region. Due to the absence of RCCUCC the major hospitality trait, for which the people are most widely known, is also being affected. As mentioned in the analysis of the area's strengths the hospitality is the biggest attraction so far recorded by MoT (2009), however, at the same time hospitality itself is a threat to the local values i.e. the "clean tourism" due to its exploitation mainly through HFR. This could lead to a disadvantage to misuse of local community's hospitality traits in terms of by taking undue advantage, by exploiting natural resources and hospitality, other forms of tourism i.e. sex tourism. It is further discussed in chapter 7 that VFR type of tourism is found exploiting the hospitality trait of local community by over staying and taking advantage in the name of dignity and honour to the host, however in terms of sex tourism there is no evidence found. It could be due to strict women and men segregation rules in the region where women only can interact and host women, whereas men have to deal with men tourists (it needs further research). This is one of the reasons that the local community resist towards entering outsiders in the region when there are no RCCUCC. The absence of RCCUCC is a threat to the existing hospitality trait where tourists and visitors in HFR take advantage of the

host families which, in turn, leads to disappointment at the local community level and long term family disputes [see chapter 7].

Due to few education and work opportunities, Chilas is facing a pattern of depopulation within the young local community leaving the area with only women, children and older members of the community. This results in a further lack of educational institutes, and restrictions on women as the education level is negligible within women community members.

Despite several opportunities for women that could engage them with the tourism economy directly, e.g. selling of handicrafts, fruits to tourists and traders, levels of corruption [e.g. authorities asking for bribes] and the lack of women-friendly policies, means that they are not encouraged to produce or get directly involved in businesses. This situation – e.g. no representation of women in the development and planning projects for Diamer – and oppression suffered by women at a social level has restricted the Chilassi women to house chores only. One informant [female: 62: housewife] advised, “*The duty of women is to look after children, homes [...] men’s duty is to go out to earn money and fulfil financial needs of their families [...] and handle dealings outside of houses*”. The next chapter explores the tourism development and its correlation with Chilassi UCC especially with regards to women.

Chapter7

An Under Crises Community- Women and Tourism Development

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the UCC and their association with tourism development. On the basis of the theoretical background, arguments put forward are based on recent ethnographic research conducted in an UCC of an UCLDC i.e. Chilas-Pakistan. Although researchers have highlighted the responses of communities (Ward and Berno, 2011; Cole, 2006, 2007; Cascante, 2010) and community empowerment (Cole, 2006, 2007), Scheveyens (2003) as a result of tourism, no research study has been found that has established arguments with regard to tourism and development issues of UCD and UCC, especially with the reference to UC women. In other words, the main tourism development studies could be said to adopt a more 'patriarchal' approach to explorations. By way of rationale therefore, in this chapter the connection between UCC and tourism development-UC women is discussed with reference to Chilas-Pakistan as an UCD.

Many researchers have made valuable contributions to discussions on local communities and development through tourism, for example, Scheveyens (2003), Cole (2006, 2007a, b), Beeton (2006), Cascante (2010), Ward and Berno (2011). However, ethnographic research on communities belonging to the third world, especially UC countries, have received less attention compared to that in the developed and the developing countries. Moreover, the literature on the women of the UCC belonging to UCLDC is missing from the tourism and development studies. This chapter therefore, establishes a connection between UCC and the vulnerability of women of an UCLDC in tourism and development studies.

7.2Community

As discussed in chapter3 the characteristics of community are perceived differently by academics from different backgrounds. For instance, Pathania and Kumar (2008) and Kendall (2008) argue that community is a heterogeneous group of people who share homogeneous geographical, cultural and natural resources, whereas, Cascante (2011) and proponents of interactional theory argue that communities are vulnerable to changes in economic, and social surroundings. Burkey (1993) recognises the complexity of the word 'community' and questions its homogeneous characteristics. Carballo-Sandoval (2001) points out religion is an important factor in communities as well. For their part, Warburton (1998) and Milne (1998) relate place and locality to the community, hence different meanings by different researchers have been interpreted.

From the literature as discussed in chapter 3 the following traits of community can be identified and adopted with addition to the self-explored characteristics during research in Chilas. These are:

- Group of heterogeneous people,
- Residents of the same geographical area who are sharing same natural, cultural resources and traditional and ethical values,
- Influenced by homogeneous political affects and can be changed by continuous interaction with outsiders.

In addition to the existing community's traits, there are some more characteristics of an UC community that have been identified from the field research. These are:

- Closely bonded people,
- Strong socio-cultural system that leaves minimum space for multicultural tourists to interfere or disrupt,
- Patriarchy and polygamy system,
- Gemeinschaft,
- Women under oppression,
- Lowest literacy rate (women's literacy rate lowers than men's)
- Changeable characteristics with the revision of existing rules and regulations (negative to hospitality trait while positive to women liberty in education and work)

Summing up the definitions it can be concluded that community is an ongoing multi-dimensional process which is dependent on surroundings and environmental changes affecting them. On the other hand, there are few extant studies found that examine men and women community members and the respective effects of surroundings in tourism and development studies.

These are certain characteristics that have informed the rationale for conducting further research in this area and to bring these to the attention of academics and policy makers. The reasons why the area is called an UCD is mainly due to the:

- Minimum access to development factors i.e. education, health and hygiene standards
- Non availability of basic life necessities: e.g. food, clothes and shelter,
- Poor development plans, implementation and accountability procedures (Refer to the definition of LDC by WTO (2013¹), Investopedia²)
- Non-recognition of women's direct or indirect work towards tourism and development,
- Lack of women-friendly tourism and development planning ,implementation and accountability
- Overpowering Patriarchal system (refer to below).

¹(Available on): http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/devel_e/d1who_e.htm

²(Available on): <http://www.investopedia.com/terms/l/lldc.asp>

For the purposes of this thesis the use of UC signifies a community and destination that accords with the characteristics detailed above.

7.2.1 Community and Tourism

While tourism and development studies address the economic, cultural and social concerns, often less attention is paid to psychological issues. There is a lack of theoretical work investigating community responses to tourism (Ward and Berno, 2011) despite the fact that, “tourism is sowing the seeds of social, psychological and political empowerment” (Cole, 2007a: 943). It can be demonstrated from the theoretical background (chapter 3) that developed communities are often economically, environmentally and socially stable. However, there is a need to add psychological characteristics to define development of communities; for instance, how a community member feels about development for and through tourism, how they perceive tourist and host liaison and how that connection works for the development.

Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011) have considered Social Exchange Theory (SET) as an important tool to explore a community’s attitudes towards tourism. The tourism development depends upon the basic factors of SET that are perception of costs and benefits, trust in institutions and power (ibid). Communities are vulnerable to changes in their surroundings and their attitudes can be transformed according to those vicissitudes (Cascante, 2011). Similarly the effects of cost, benefits from tourism activities and trust and power in and due to development authorities modify the community’s comportments. As Cascante (2010:1141) says, “Many communities around the world often seek tourism to improve their livelihood”. The SET theory explains if there are more costs to pay for the development process compared to the benefits, any community will oppose that sort of development. Moreover, a community will oppose tourism if it is not able to trust tourism development authorities, or fears that it will lose power in their own area. Nevertheless, along with the great deal of growth due to tourism it also has costs which are often unacceptable to the local community.

Cole (2007:943) is of the opinion that, “if a remote destination develops, it modernizes, and becomes more like the tourist’s society, less different and distinct and no longer “primitive”, it loses its appeal”, this is due to reconstructions, and changing the shape of the natural environment to meet tourists’ expectations. Beeton (2006:2) argues that increased tourism activities may lead to destruction, noting that “Unfortunately, as tourism has grown organically in most places with limited planning, some people have been burnt and they now reject tourism as a viable community asset”. Although tourism often brings socio-economic environmental and infrastructural changes it does not always lead to constructive development. For the most part, tourism can cause damage to existing natural and cultural resources and may lead to discomfort

within UCCs. On the other hand, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3, many believe that tourism is the answer to everything and it is the only means to develop communities (Cascante, 2010). However, by keeping the situation of tourism and community development, it is difficult to say that tourism always impacts in the same manner in developed and under developed communities.

7.2.2 Tourism and Under Crises Community

Tourism affects different local communities in different ways. Some of them get relatively positive impacts while others do not. Beeton (2006) has pointed out more positive impacts of tourism development as compared to the negatives summarised below in the table 7.1.

Tourism development	<p>Modifies the internal structure of the community.</p> <p>Divides the community into those who have/have not relationships with tourists.</p> <p>Has a colonialist characteristic.</p> <p>Employment in tourism offers more opportunities for women.</p> <p>Instigates social change.</p> <p>Improves quality of life through infrastructure development.</p> <p>Increased pressure on existing infrastructure.</p>
Tourist-Host interactions	<p>The nature of contacts influences attitudes /behaviour and values relating to tourism.</p> <p>Young locals are most susceptible to the demonstration effect.</p> <p>Cultural exchange/increased understanding and tolerance.</p> <p>Increased social interaction increases communication skills.</p> <p>Hosts adopt foreign languages through necessity.</p> <p>Host develop coping behaviour and avoid unnecessary contact.</p>
Cultural Impacts	<p>Arts, crafts and local culture revitalised.</p> <p>Acculturation process likely to occur.</p> <p>Assumed negative effects of commodification of culture.</p> <p>Meaning/authenticity not necessarily lost.</p>

Table 7.1 Positive Impacts of Tourism Development (Beeton, 2006: 18).

In table 7.1 Beeton (2006) states that impacts of tourism cannot be unequivocally stated as positive or negative as the change and effects may vary in different situations with different communities. The table shows that tourism development has more opportunities for women and it instigates social change. This can be true in some cases but social change due to tourism development is often unacceptable in UCC such as Chilas. Some social changes in UCDs bring more rigidity instead of opportunities for UC women [see section 5 of this chapter].

Regarding the second aspect of tourism i.e. tourist-host interactions, tourism and development depends upon the reception and malleability of local traditions and RCC [Regional Codes of Conduct] in a UCD. The more concern displayed

towards local cultural values, the more tourism will bring development through tourist-host relationships. Beeton (2006:18) notes, “young locals are most susceptible to the demonstration effect”. The same attitude has been observed during the research for this thesis inasmuch as the young generation – i.e. the teenagers [male] and women of any age– are most vulnerable to the impacts of exposure to the “non-behaving” visitors. Older people and male members of the community do not favour exposure of women and their teenagers to the modern tourists. The reason was discussed by many informants, for instance an elderly lady [70s: housewife] noted, (also quoted in chapter 6)

“As people are going toward modernism³, they are leaving their values and culture behind [...] they forget about everything and the only thing they remember is their selves”.

Similarly, another older resident of Chilas in his late 60s said,

“[...] the vulgarity⁴ amongst our young generation is due to the exposure to modern people⁵ [...] when they get drunk; they⁶ do not know how to behave with elderly people while dress codes of girls⁷ make us feel embarrassed⁸ [...] and more or less the same our young generation is doing now”.

In the same way another informant [male: 70s] added,

“[...] our young children fascinate so-called modernism, which is nothing except illusion of mind. If we try to forbid them from being disrespectful to their elders, they reply us back that ‘everyone has got his own right to do what he wants’. This is not what our culture tells us, [...] so, I think all the disorder is due to incoming modern tourists [...], they probably are not allowed to climb like monkeys on others’ walls at their own places that is why they come here to a no rule no regulation area⁹ to act like bulls without reins. I am very annoyed not only with what tourists especially teenager boys do here but also with what our teenagers are exposed to [...]”.

The lack of awareness of different cultural values; tourism and development concepts within visitors and local community; non-implementation and unaccountability of tourism codes of conduct; and tourism authorities are the main causes that trigger negative responses towards tourism development amongst local communities. In case of the UCC tourism is not the only tool to reverse many of the pessimistic attitudes and beliefs about tourism and

³ Modernism here refers to exposure to up to date knowledge of what is going on in the world and awareness amongst young generation who work or study out of a particular region.

⁴ Refers to change of dress codes and some thoughts contradictory to old traditions of Chilas i.e. use of television and other media, women’s decisions about their marriage, education, work and social interaction, women’s equality in their daily lives.

⁵ By ‘modern people’ he means foreigners and visitors from Southern and Eastern part of Pakistan.

⁶ They refer to foreigner tourists

⁷ Foreigners

⁸ Muslim women need to wear full dress, so elderly people and men of the region do not expect female tourists to not follow the dress code.

⁹ A taunt on government for not implementing codes of conduct for tourists.

development. For instance the non-empowerment and oppression between generations instils a cycle of beliefs against the empowered authorities: i.e. governments, development agencies and visitors. Once the UCC is empowered to make its own decisions, these decisions may go against the common interest. The oppressed community could express their power in an anti-social and anti-environment way, for example, an informant [Male:34y: teaching staff] predicted that, “[...] *if they [government, developing agencies] carry on overlooking the interests[and demands] of our area and community, people [local community] won't be able to cope for very long time[with this unjust] and [in reaction] they may unite to restrict any outsiders from entering [to the area, whether they are government or development agencies or visitors] [...]*”.

The tourism sector of Chilas is not developed as compared to the surrounding destinations mainly due to the underpowered and nonparticipant status of the local community regarding tourism-related decisions and matters. Moreover, non-implementation of codes of conduct, lack of tourism infrastructure, no predictable and permanent opportunities for employment, and education for locals are a few of the other reasons for non-development of tourism in the region. In this regard, the view of one informant [male: 46: local retailer] was that,

“We still earn our bread and butter without tourism [...] with tourism or from tourists, it [earnings/income] would be just seasonal [...], Government officers [local government and police] do not encourage us to produce for tourists. Our friends [local community] who are interested in making souvenirs for tourists [carved pottery, vases i.e. wood work decoration pieces, embroidered and woven clothes (crochets), rugs, traditional jewellery] and can earn good money out of them but even they are not sure about when would they be able to sell them and whether these products will be sold or not because of uncertainty in tourists' arrival[...] as in some seasons there are masses of tourists and some just passed without them [...]. Tourists do still visit NAP but sometimes due to blocked roads they may not be able to visit Chilas and go back from either Gilgit or Besham”.

A series of interconnected problems causing static community development in Chilas was revealed as part of the research process [justifying the use of the descriptor UCD].Corruption, along with non-encouragement of positive tourism growth, underpin many of these problems. It is noted that community members are discouraged to conduct business with tourists or traders directly. If they are caught earning money from selling their products to outsiders by the “ooperwalay log¹⁰” As one informant advised *“They [ooperwalay log] call that as there share, one cannot carry on any business activity without paying them “their Share”* [Male: 34y: graduate]

¹⁰Authorities who are supposed to stop any illegal activity in the area the community members meet with demands for bribes [directly or indirectly]in order for their activities to continue.

Moreover Local community especially women help in tourism development ranging from cooking, washing for local restaurants to picking and packaging dries fruits, painting pottery and making embroidered clothes on orders in bulk. Despite all efforts local women are not paid properly for their hard work due to no decision making power in their hands. Resulting in which tourists who prefer comparatively inexpensive tourists' destinations would face increases in taxes on products if communities are not empowered to participate in decision making for their product i.e. what, when, [to and by] whom, how to produce, packaged and sell, therefore tax implementation agencies exert freedom to implement taxes according to how they see fit.

Additionally tourists will not be able to purchase direct from local producers or manufacturers as the local community has no authority to sell products direct to customers, or may face more obstacles in selling directly to tourists; in the case of Chilas, the fear of having to give a bribe to the relevant authorities and law enforcing bodies. These issues lead to a lack of interest in local communities to produce for tourists or get involved in any kind of trade with them. As one interviewee [male: retailer: 40s] reported, *“we produce cash crops [...] several kinds of fresh and dried fruits but we are not supposed to sell them directly to the tourists; rather government or mediators purchase them from us on low prices from Southern part of Pakistan and later it arrives here again in North with changed packaging and very high prices[...]In this case we are left with very little profit [because of selling produce to intermediaries in wholesale and in unfinished packaging] and sometimes we face no profit no loss[no extra earning from the production due to expensive fertilizers but getting low prices from brokers] situation which is very discouraging to produce again”*.

This kind of discouragement affects the attitudes and behaviour of members of the local community. Another reason for this discouragement is attributed to the sense of individualism in the local community. Mowforth and Munt (2003:123) state, “The rate at which individualism is sought now has significant consequences and impacts for places, especially in the Third World”. This is borne out in the case of Chilas where it not only affects the local community but their attitudes towards outsiders as well. It was reported that the sense of collectivism is vanishing as the people of NAP used to be known for their hospitality and the strong bonds between their societies and families.

However, due to differences in class and caste, inequality and injustice amongst residents of rural and urban areas, the concept of collectivism is vanishing and cultural values are being affected. Older people, who expect their young generation to support them in their older age are not satisfied with inter cultural awareness and interactions. An informant [female: 70s: housewife] comments,

“As people are going toward modernism¹¹, they are leaving their values and culture behind [...] they forget about everything and the only thing they remember is their selves”.

Similarly another informant [male: 70s: member of a joint family] added,

“They will be pleading in front of their children like we are doing now [...] all [children’s insensitivity; misbehaviour] is due to [exposure to] modern culture and TV”.

Another reason for this kind of “*me thinking*” is discussed in the preceding paragraph due to class differences. In addition differences due to caste, rich versus poor and rural versus urban binarisms are other factors contributing to a sense of individualism. In rural regions community members known as upper class and rich people get the best employment and education opportunities while lower classes mostly have no access to quality education and well-paid jobs due to lack of references and money to bribe. During the collection of data in G-B it was noted that the lower classes lack self-respect, as manual jobs, such as cleaning, work as attendants, house maids, porters, drivers of public transport are considered employment associated with lower class people. It is a common opinion that the labour class or lower class in LDC such as Pakistan and Afghanistan are mistreated by the upper class. For instance an informant [male: 36, Afghan refugee in Pakistan: Attendant in an NGO], said,

“[...] I feel myself as a slave, who has no right to say ‘No’ [...] the same situation is with poor people in Afghanistan too [...]”.

A similar experience was found by a local informant [female: 40s: house maid] added,

“[...] they¹² don’t respect poor servants [...] I don’t care [for their children under supervision]if they haven’t eaten food [...] or playing outside [in streets] [...] because they do not care about me”.

These kinds of attitudes towards labour and poor class in a destination makes an UCD and UCC more vulnerable to inequality and loss of self-confidence, therefore leading to individualism and attendant characteristics of, for example, selfishness, no professional and work loyalty, lack of regard for family responsibilities, and development of illegal and culturally objectionable means to earn a living.

Along with the reasons mentioned in the preceding discussion, supported with data from interviews with members of the community, another reason for the community’s opposition to tourism is the incongruity of several tourism activities with the cultural and traditional values of the region. There can be as range of negative impacts of tourism on local communities (Cascante, 2010) if tourism

¹¹Modernism here refers to exposure of up to date knowledge of what is going on in the world and awareness amongst young generation who work or study out of a particular region.

¹² They refer to people for whom the informant works

planning and code of conduct are not implemented and followed in an appropriate way (Cole: 2007b; Cole, 2007c). I would categorise them under the heading of a lack of compatibility and accountability of the local law enforcing authorities and RCCUCD.

In the words of an informant [Male: 60y], “*they get drunk [...] [short] dress code of girls make us feel embarrassed*”, another informant [Male: 70y] added, “[...] *teenager boys [...] act like bulls without reins*”. [Female: 31: NGO employee] further said, “*Calling us by names, or stare at us in streets and taking our photographs without asking for our permission [...]*”. [Male: 32: farmer] “*They sing loudly and behave badly with our women [...] outsiders do not bother entering ‘restricted’¹³ areas*”. They act like “*monkeys*” and “*bulls without reins*” like “*there are no rules and regulations*” in the area [male informant: 70s].

By suggesting the gender friendly planning and implementation at community level with reference to chapter 3, Arzjani and Rahiminizhad (2011) state that there should be gender audits and gender budgeting tools to encourage women’s participation in every field especially in tourism. Similarly Mashomi (2010) points out that to let women participate confidently in development it is necessary to pay attention towards them in the field of tourism. However, first and foremost it is necessary to develop and implement a set of RCC and protect them with auditory tools. In the absence of RCC and audit, illegal and unaccepted activities can take place; for example, loss of local traditions, commercialization of local culture, undermining of family structure, loss of interest in stewardship of the land (especially within the young community members), disputes on one’s earnings, increased crime rate, development of underground economies to support nefarious activities, gambling, or the consumption of drugs.

Consequently, it may at times be difficult to spot adverse impressions especially when they affect an UCC’s traditional system and beliefs. Moreover it is agreed that, “This hidden and irreversible nature of some of the negative effects is the greatest danger of any blind acceptance of tourism as a sole development tool” (Beeton, 2009: 19).

However, involving the local community may decrease the negative impacts caused by tourism (Cole, 2007b; Cole and Eriksson, 2010; Cole, 2007c). An informant [male: member of PTDC¹⁴: 40s] remarked, “[...] *if people [of a certain destination] feel left out; the area [destination] will become a restricted place for outsiders*”. There are some remedial approaches to overcome the restricted behaviour from the local community; e.g. local participation in the project development cycle to understand the community’s perspective as what it sees as a key priority; what ideas and areas need to be developed; the community’s

¹³ There are some specific areas where only women can enter, i.e. further in north in Kalash valley.

¹⁴ Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation

expectations and concerns as to how tourism will help in the acceptable development of place and people. The next section is about the importance of RCC in UCD supported with bias-free implementation and audits. In Chilas and other parts of GB – such as Kalash – the local communities have emphasised the need of RCC for sustainable tourism development in a women-friendly way.

7.2.3 Regional Codes of Conduct for Under Crises Destination [RCCUCD]

It was discussed in chapter 3 that every community is different from each other and the perception of development varies amongst them in different circumstances (Harrison, 2001a). Therefore, codes of conduct for one region should not be implemented in all areas as is the case, for instance with the province of KPK which is culturally different from Punjab and Sindh, and therefore the same RCC could not have the same impact on both parts. The local community of GB favoured the idea to plan and implement RCC. Every zone has different cultural and traditional traits as compared to the others. In the words of an informant [Male: 34y: graduate], *“The rules and regulations about tourism, tourists, dress code in South [part of Pakistan] can’t be applied on us [GB-NAP community]”*.

Pakistan is a multicultural country. Every province and territory has a different set of cultures and traditions; for instance, in Kalash-GB, the consumption of alcohol and modern dress codes are not considered objectionable. Women have no restrictions on going out without covering their faces with veils. While in the same jurisdiction, in Gilgit and Chilas women wearing short dresses, going out alone without being accompanied by any male member and the consumption of alcohol in public places are strictly forbidden and when these prohibitions go unobserved it can cause annoyance within the community. The cultural difference is evident while visiting the place. As discussed in the chapter 3, Reisinger and Turner (2003: 139) state,

“Different cultures have different rules in interaction, [so] the expectations and meanings of rules also differ across cultures. The rules that are socially accepted in one culture may have quite different meanings in another. Thus, members of different cultures may misunderstand and misinterpret the rules of others cultures that cause difficulty interacting with those from different cultures, lead to confusion, generate tension, and even conflict”.

Lindberg *et al.* (2001) argue that a particular development policy or plan might be justifiable at certain level on the whole, but it is not necessary that it would have a positive affect at each community level. The same was told by an interviewee [male: 34y: graduate] that, *“The way Punjabi or Sindhi¹⁵ live, we simply don’t*.

¹⁵ People of other provinces of Pakistan i.e. Punjab and Sindh [known as modern amongst NAP community].

We have not forgotten our roots, traditions yet [...] their western type of dress codes, way of living does not match ours so how could the same rules be implemented on both parts in the same way [...] there should be some points cleared to the tourists, visitors should be given a set of rules to follow in NA regardless of what and how they do and act while they are in Punjab,[...] They should behave in environment and women friendly manner”.

Some foreigner tourists shared the same view that apparently it looks like Pakistan has one culture – i.e. Pakistani culture – but there are different and many traditions evident even in adjacent cities. Therefore, *“There is need to put information online about every city with its cultural and traditional background, especially the rules and policies for tourists [...]*” [Male: Japanese Tourist: 44]. As the cultural and traditional values are different, therefore the RCC need to be correspondingly case specific. With the local community’s participation there is a need to construct a set of codes of conduct to avoid future controversies between local community and other tourism stakeholders in order to achieve development goals through tourism.

During the field research attempts were made to find the codes of conduct for NAP but nothing was found. Codes of conduct seem to be not of any importance, as confirmed by a member of the Pakistan Tourism Department, who remarked, *“it would be hard to find codes of conduct [...] we are busy in doing more important tasks other than finding a useless booklet for you”.* In later research conducted via social media sites some members were contacted who helped establish some web links for codes of conduct. However, these were not the official codes of conduct of the Pakistan Tourism Ministry, but rather more general codes of ethics relating to global tourism.

As Frieling (2011: 5) says, *“Codes of conduct are a tool to educate and influence the behaviour of tourists at their destination or employees within an organization”.* Therefore the absence of codes of conduct at national and regional levels is considered a cause of opposition for tourism by members of the local community with regards to badly behaved tourists.

“Why would they oppose tourism if it brings traditions and environment friendly tourists [...] unfortunately there is no functional tourism ministry, no applicable codes of conduct and moreover no check and balance what the tourism officials, tourists are doing in sensitive areas [...] everything that is meant to be developed comes on black and white first [...] the current behaviour of Government, tourism officials is not meant to develop tourism industry of Pakistan despite of the situation how utterly we need to promote the image of our country”[Male:53y: own tour operating agency: mountaineer].

In the preceding discussion it was noted that tourists who behave in ways that do not respect local traditions, i.e. entering restricted areas in Kalash, talking to local women, taking their photographs, and anti-social behaviour such as the consumption of alcohol in public, are the big hurdles in UC communities especially with regards to women's development. For these reasons the local communities oppose tourism activities and use their power to keep the tourists away from their territory, fearful that tourism instils a contradictory atmosphere rather than "harmonious interaction" (Reisinger and Turner, 2003: 145). My field research revealed that the first step to be taken to promote tourism in NAP and to give local communities confidence is that there should be RCC to protect the unique traditions and culture of NAP and to lift the status of the UC community members. Thirdly, as discussed earlier in sub-sections 7.2.3 and 7.2.4 for the proper implementation of RCC there is a need to be initiated a gender audit and accountability procedures to protect the status of UC community members.

Moreover, for the promotion of a place as a tourist destination there is a need to communicate with potential tourists appropriately via, for example, organised online chat forums with skilled guides. To motivate potential visitors by providing them with details about the RCC and ecology by skilled com-media is an essential part of development through tourism. My field research revealed the fact that interaction with law abiding and well behaved visitors often results in positive inspiration to members of the Chilassi community, especially in the age group 18-40s.

The results of this research have shown that men who agreed to send their female family members to school and work were mostly working abroad or in Punjab and Sindh, while women working from home reported that they met working ladies from other cities and countries hence they are following them to be independent. Therefore for the purposes of development through tourism there is a need to initiate interactions between the local community and tourism stakeholders by providing case specific RCC and the positive use of skilled communication channels.

Therefore, to get control over anti-social, traditional and environmental activities, the local community needs to be empowered by implementing RCC with effective accountability by the relevant tourism and marketing authorities. Moreover, the creation of a hierarchy of power and responsibilities within the local community could minimise the negative impacts of tourism and development on the community's attitudes. It was noted during the research for this thesis that identifying community leaders and the involvement of men and women community members in monitoring and evaluation processes brings self-esteem and empowerment within a community. Furthermore, by following SET, investment in any development project encouraged through cash, employment incentives or in-kind resources such as lodges, services and linking benefits to

conservation, followed by distribution of benefits to individuals and the community alike, make huge differences to a local community attitudes.

7.2.4 Tourism and Empowerment of Under Crises Community

“Community empowerment has become the buzzword of the 21st century” (Beeton, 2006:12). Empowerment of communities is both “a process and an outcome” (Sofield, 2003: 8). The process is as important as the actual final outcome, and “often more important” (Beeton, 2003: 12). It is often understood that empowerment revolves around two components: one is government and the other is community. This means that if the governments are not interested in a community’s development through empowering it then that community will remain less developed due to powerlessness.

Additionally, “without government will and support, communities remain ‘empowered’ in name only, yet with it run the risk of being misappropriated by the more powerful government interests that may not be in the locals' best interest” (Beeton 2006: 13). A common term in the literature is economic development with the prospective of community empowerment (Cole, 2006). On the other hand, the field data shows that empowerment not only affects any UCC economically but socially and psychologically as well. For instance, as discussed previously, the community empowerment raises the self-esteem of an UCC and ultimately improves the attitudes of community members towards tourism and development.

Scheveyens (2003) supports the view to empower communities and sets four dimensions of empowerment: economic, psychological, social and political. Cole (2007a:946) agrees and says, “Empowerment leads to a shift in balance between the powerful and powerless, between the dominant and dependant [...]”. In less developed areas where communities are not empowered a vast range of negative impacts can be noticed: e.g. continuity of the oppression cycle within young generations that leads to depopulation and aggression against the empowered and political authorities (as indicated by data drawn from the field investigation).

To address the issue of depopulation resulting from non-empowerment of communities, Fernandes (2009:19) suggests, “The development of tourism could stem or even reverse this depopulation pattern by serving as a revitalisation process that could contribute to the survival of the communities thereby improving the quality of life of the residents”. In addition to the existing arguments related to tourism and the issue of halting depopulation, Jurowski (2007,2008) and Fleischer and Tchetchik (2005) presuppose that tourism development in an area may result in people migrating back to their destinations from other parts of the region, thereby restoring and preserving traditional, cultural and agricultural lives. And income from tourism activities in rural destinations can be sufficient for local communities to stay at the same places and keep their customs alive.

In Chilas it is noted that young community members [age group 20-40] migrate from the area to other parts of Pakistan or abroad to seek education and employment opportunities. Once they obtain their education, they tend to work either in the same or a different area but mostly they do not return to Chilas (no evidence was found of anyone coming back to work in Chilas, those that do come back are mostly of retirement age). When they grew older they come back and let their young children go out for work or education. This is the cycle of depopulation existing in Chilas. An informant [male: 27: work abroad] advised,

“[...] when my father came back from Saudi Arabia by that time my papers were ready to go there for work [...] Many people of this area have got the same history as ours because of no availability of standard education and work opportunities here”.

Against the findings of the studies by Jurowski, (2007, 2008) and Fleischer and Tchetchik, (2005) showing that tourism can be used as a tool to bring back immigrants to revitalise the local culture and traditions, the ethnography in Chilas suggests tourism is the reason for the loss of local cultural and heritage assets because of factors i.e. NAC and propaganda by unskilled com-media, no support and absence of RCCUCD by tourism and development authorities, no local representation at tourism official level (chapters 5 and 6).

As discussed earlier in the section 7.2, it is assumed by members of the elderly local community that the young generation who have links with outsiders and are exposed to modern media tend to disregard local traditions. They further are of the view that the community members who study or work in other cities or in foreign countries, are modernised as compared to the local older and female community members. The attitudes and responses of these modernised community members towards the modernisation and liberation of women are not acceptable by older community members. It is further acknowledged that the returning immigrants not only disregard their old traditions and customs but also they care less about environmental and natural resources. An informant [male:44y:retailer] notes, “ [...] *they[returning immigrants] tend to give a modernised look to the existing lands by constructing hotels, shops, rental accommodation to earn more income through commercialising the area [...]*”.

During the interviews from tourism stakeholders, it is reported that the local community has developed a feeling of being left out from participation in decision making processes for the area. The reason for this that was given was that, although the local community knows more about their area, traditions, and socio-environmental conditions, they do not have priority rights in terms of putting their point of view to the planning authorities. In this regard the example of the decision making process and planning of the construction of Diamer Basha Dam was given.

Therefore, if the community is given the right to take part in decision making processes, the local community will take more socio-culturally beneficial decisions. The rationale for such eco-friendly decisions is greater affiliation of the local community towards the area. On the other hand, the participation in decision making processes will be influenced by the “*male verdict*” only as women do not get the chance to be nominated in Chilas as area representatives [female:31:NGO employee]. Similarly women opposing the thought of only mentioning the word “local community” instead of “local men and women” where there is a discussion of giving participation and representation rights in tourism development to the Chilassi community. This is assumed by the word local community that power automatically handovers to local men where “*empowering men*” that “*means more depressed women*” [female: 31: NGO].

7.2.5: Hosting FriendsVisitors vs. Hosting RelativeVisitors and Visitors’ Attitudes toward Local Friends and Relatives (HFV vs. HRV and VALFR):

Many studies have examined issues relating to Hosting Friends and Relatives (HFR): e.g. Shani and Uriely (2012), Pearce and Moscardo (2006); along with Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR): Seaton (1994) and Seaton and Tagg (1995) among others. The trend of HFR and VFR is higher in third world tourist destinations as this is economical for tourists (Shani and Uriely, 2012; Pearce and Moscardo, 2006; Seaton, 1994; Seaton and Tagg, 1995). However, Yoon *et al.* (2000: 364) observe that “If residents have a positive perception of tourism, they will render support for additional tourism development and, therefore, they will be willing to participate in an exchange with visitors. However if they believe that tourism development would have more costs than benefits they are likely to oppose tourism development”. Similarly, this increasing trend of HFR and VFR mostly leaves negative impacts on the local community due to the burden of hospitality on host families and visitors’ expectations from the host families (as determined from field research).

Despite inadequate tourism facilities and infrastructure in Chilas, the frequency of HFR and VFR is increasing. The reason is mainly due to Chilas being the central point on the Silk Route and its proximity to nearby tourist destinations, i.e. Babusar Valley, Fairy Meadows, the killer mountain, the ancient Darel and Tangeer valley, and rock art sites (highlighted in chapter 1). The travellers, friends, relatives who intend to visit tourist destinations usually stay with their friends and relatives in Chilas. This can be regarded as a set back to the host community members as the relatives expect the extreme of hospitality from their hosts which sometimes lead to long term disputes in families.

Similarly, while doing ethnography in Chilas the gap between HFR and VFR studies has become evident, that is, although HFR and VFR tourism is assumed to be economical, at the same time HRV and HFV becomes a burden for the NAP

community. This type of tourism is a cause of many economic and social problems for the local community. It has been observed during the field research that the local community is known for its hospitality but to take advantage of this hospitality is at the same time socially and morally undermining this trait. For example, as noted from an interview [Female: 56y: housewife (a guest was interviewed during her stay in Chilas at a relatives' with her two sons, 5 grandchildren and 2 daughters in law)]:

“When our relatives are living here, they have their own houses; we are not supposed to stay in hotels to have unhealthy and expensive food? [...]”.

It is suggested by the interviewee's remarks that it could be the case that people who visit take advantage of their relatives as hosts paying little heed to the additional financial burden they are being placed under by accommodating them. The visitors' intention of staying with relatives is to avoid unhealthy and expensive food.

Additionally the hosts' perspective can be illustrated by the following quote [Female: 36: housewife],

“[...]our relatives visit us from Peshawar[Capital of KPK] during every spring[even] without prior information. We have to arrange for their accommodation and food all at sudden and even later on during their entire stay duration, we have to take them to different places which is sometimes disturbing our own family routine [...] what we earn and save for months, goes on looking after them during their visits[...] we can't refuse otherwise it is very easy to create big issues out of negligible matters[...] this often leads to big family disputes [that could]pass on to the next generations [...]”

Therefore in VR/HR there are more chances of family clashes due to high expectations from hosting family e.g. in this case hospitality is judged by other relatives and family members. Failing in this respect means that the host has to face a boycott. This kind of boycott most of the times can lead towards serious revenge from the family. Research in Chilas shows that in the case of HR tourism, the local host has to bear all the burden of expenses and provide accommodation to visitors. Due to the close bond between families and to avoid future disputes the male members of the host families are assumed and somewhat forced to spend a significant amount of their budget on relative visitors to ensure their stay is made comfortable. In most cases women felt themselves to be the victims of HR tourism as they are seen as being responsible for looking after their visitors, and doing the cooking, cleaning and ironing for them during their stay. Therefore, it was the women members of the community who were found to be most in opposition to this type of tourism.

Conversely, hosting friends' visitors (HFV) is taken to be less stressful in comparison to HRV. A reason for this was offered by one informant [Male: Tourist Guide & Retailer: 34: University Graduate]:

“It is easy to host a friend as compared to a relative [...] even if you do little to make a friend comfortable s/he will be obliged and remember your favour; whereas it is ‘impossible’ to make a relative happy of your services [...] they always found moaning in front of your acquaintances about how bad we were not spending much on them [...]”.

“[...] we are happy to be at their [friends' visitors] service [...] there is almost no burden as compare to hosting family members [or relatives] [...]” [female: 23: student/archaeologist].

From the discussion with the hosting community, it is evident that the costs of HRV are higher not only financially but in social terms as well. Therefore, this type of tourism becomes a burden on the hosts. As Yoon *et al.* (2000) note, communities oppose tourism activities if they are found to introduce more costs than benefits. On the other hand, the Chilas research has shown that this type of tourism can be advantageous if promoted in a community friendly way; for example, by firstly establishing the constitution of a committee of volunteers such as Zeeto/Kalak and Biyaak (see chapter 1) appointed to collect revenue by assessing expenses incurred when visitors stay with relatives rather than hotels and tourist resorts and then passing this on to the host families.

A system implemented in this way would enable the host family to be protected from asking directly for a contribution and, as such, there will be a minimum burden placed on them. This will engender a good rapport between families and lead to contentment within the local community. To appoint volunteers from a closely bonded community is a relatively easy task. Moreover, imposition of a small charge on hosts provided they make enough money by accommodating visitors in their homes, will help volunteers to raise a small amount of income as part of a progressive and beneficial policy regarding contributions from Visitors and relatives. Non-family and paying guests are another source of income and the local community thus broadly favours closer integration with visitors from different areas and cultures and encourages them to stay at their homes.

Social interaction with outsiders can have both positive and negative impacts on communities. Some researchers have highlighted the positive impacts of local communities engaging with tourists and tourism activities, and the benefits this can offer to marginalised groups (Aronsson, 2000; Cole, 1997, 2006, 2007a, b & 2010; Equation, 2007 & 2008). However, a small amount of literature has been found that discusses the interactional impacts on UCC with national and international tourists. Although Seaton (1994) and Seaton and Tagg (1995) have established a link between local communities and tourists in the shape of VFR

tourism, there is still a need to undertake more research regarding different types of visitors in different types of communities, as discussed in the preceding paragraphs.

As with HFV and HRV, national and international tourists similarly have a twofold contribution in terms of encouraging positive or negative attitudes of the Chilassi people as an UCC. It was noted during the research that the 18-35 aged community members are most susceptible to the impacts of visitors' interactions (discussed in section 7.2). The positive impact in terms of interactions with tourists was reported by one informant [Female: 30s: Farmer],

“I have got chance to learn a lot from visitors while grazing my livestock here [in Babusar valley], I have learned and can understand little bit of many languages [...], I came to know a little bit of what my rights are as a woman [...]the life style of foreigner women and our women from cities¹⁶[...] My friend[a visitor from Abbottabad once I met here]guided me what else I could do to earn my livelihood other than working on farms and grazing livestock, I am saving money now to open a shop inside my home for which I have allocated a room already [...] I am much confident after seeing Clark [a lady from Florida] as how they go alone for work, education [...] and you know she drives her own car as well [seemed surprised while telling the researcher about woman driver] [...]”.

The local residents like to participate in an exchange with tourists when they perceive that this exchange will bring benefits (either intrinsic or extrinsic – refer to the SET theory discussed in chapter 3). This exchange of benefits does not apply in HRV on the host community members of Chilas where it is regarded as unacceptable and an offence for hosts and visiting relatives to accept or offer money for services during the stay. Ultimately there is a shift of burden from the visitor to the hosts especially women of the region. For women this kind of tourism is considered as oppression due to the threat of financial loss as well as the loss of healthy relationships between the host and visitor relatives' families.

From the information in the preceding discussion it is argued that the interaction with law-abiding, well-behaved and educated communities is as important as the provision of education itself. Especially in Chilas this interaction has made significant changes in women's lives, whereas the increasing trend of VFR tourism is associated with women's oppression with a threat of long term unhealthy rapport between families in the region. Therefore results from the research lead towards the influential effect of touristic interaction on the UC women of Chilas.

7.3 Women in Development (WiD)

¹⁶Southern and Eastern parts of Pakistan.

“As long as girls remain under the twofold handicap of a family education which suppresses their self-confidence and of training facilities in schools and elsewhere which are inferior to those given to boys, they are bound to be inferior workers”(Boserup, 1970: 220).

Chapter 3 discusses the fact that gender differences can be seen in every field of life. Chant (1997a) argues that much discrimination against women is in the employment sector and that they will thus attain a more equal position if women get financially stronger. In addition to economic inequality Bisnath (2001) believes that with the transformation of social and political structures women’s equality issues can be addressed. In addition to the rise of women and economic development, Bisnath (2001) discusses the economic and domestic structure of developing countries by emphasising the disparities between men and women in the economic and development sector. For her, “there is no convincing evidence that openness¹⁷ systematically reduces poverty or improves the quality of life for the vast majority of women and men in developing countries” (Bisnath, 2001:5).

The term ‘women development and empowerment’ is linked to several meanings: “For example, within mainstream development discourse of the 1990s, it was often used by organizations focused on enlarging the choices and productivity levels of individual women [...] in the context of a withdrawal of state responsibility for broad-based economic and social support” (Bisnath, 2001:11). Linking gender discrimination with unequal development in poor countries due to the gap between rich and poor, and urban and rural societies has been discussed by Britton (1989), Harrison, (2001, 2006) and De Kadt (1979). According to these studies gender inequality in poor countries can be minimised by addressing the economic, social, political and environmental developmental issues

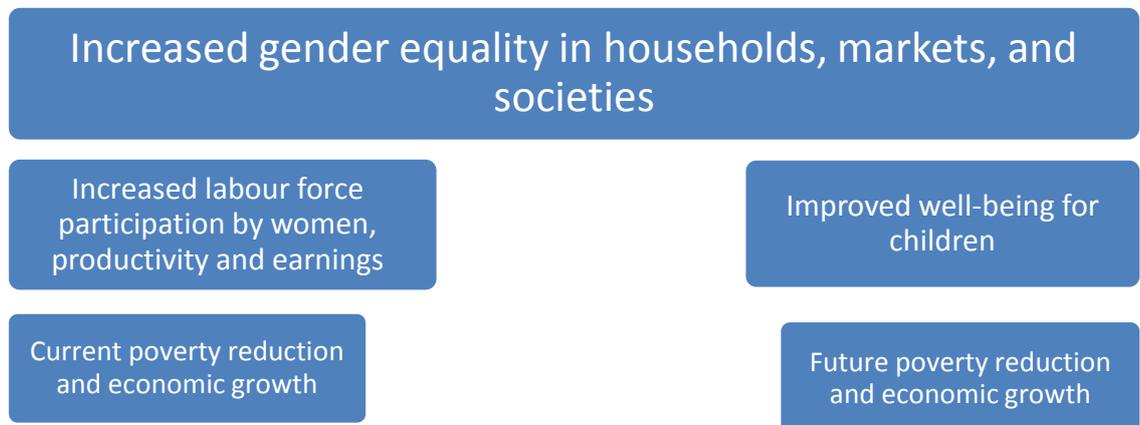


Figure 7.1: Gender Equality and Poverty [Adapted from UNWTO (2010:1)]

¹⁷ Openness refers to the liberalisation of the economy and becoming a part of the world economy.

In Figure 7.1 UNWTO indicates the relationship between gender inequality and poverty for instance equal access to financial resources for men and women will bring financial stability to a household in addition to reducing the dependency of women on men family member in closely-knit communities in LDCs. Gender equality in households, markets and societies will - hopefully - mean that women are more enabled to participate in development matters and to help bring about economic stability: “The UN Millennium Development Goals¹⁸ [MDG] have also brought gender equality to the forefront of the international development agenda. Five of the eight goals directly relate to the role of women in development” (UNWTO, 2010: 1).

Details of issues that are associated with women’s oppression has been highlighted by the UN Global Compact/UNIFEM Women’s Empowerment Principles [WEP] in 2010. These principles are as follows:

- Establish high-level corporate leadership for gender equality
- Treat all women and men fairly at their workplaces, respect and support human rights and non-discrimination
- Ensure the health, safety, and well-being of all women and men workers
- Promote education, training, and professional development for women
- Implement enterprise development, supply chain, and marketing practices that empower women
- Promote equality through community initiatives and advocacy
- Measure and publicly report on progress to achieve gender equality (UNWTO, 2010:2)

In these WEP the emphasis is apparently on women and improvement of their work environment, whereas it is noted from the research conducted in Chilas that the roots for gender inequality start from the family and community set-up, and expands in correspondence to women’s mobility beyond local and domestic environments. According to UNWTO (2010: VII), “less access to education [...and] greater household responsibilities” in developing countries are the main barriers to women’s participation in the development process. The patriarchy system, illiteracy and women’s household responsibilities are the basic components that exist in Pakistan. However women have been studied from a mainly economic perspective and as such these studies do not portray the whole picture of women’s social, cultural and political position in development processes in UCLDCs.

¹⁸ The UN Millennium Development Goals are a set of eight targets to achieve by 2015. These goals are eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, achievement of universal primary education and promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment. (Available online at www.un.org/millenniumgoals).

With regards to the study of communities in developing countries there are several other factors that need to be addressed, especially men's and women's attitudes towards development. For instance, changes to the existing social set up makes women more vulnerable in the field of development and the tourism sector in Chilas. Contrary to Bisnath's arguments, age, class, race are not the first things that establish an understanding of women's position in Chilas, but rather the cultural, social and family set up that has positioned women in a set place in the development process. For instance, it was noted during the research that a woman of any class, race and age in a closely knit community who chooses to go out to work, faces opposition from her male family members as well as her colleagues. This is the cultural set up which states,

“The duty of woman is to look after children, husband's family, to do house chores [...] she should not go out for work otherwise she won't get respect from the society” [Male: 42: shopkeeper].

In addition to the cultural and traditional barriers to women's development in UCLDC, it is observed that illiteracy amongst men has a direct relationship with women's progress in the development process. Regarding LDC women's studies these expressions need to be considered as major obstacles for women's progress and their role in development. An informant [Female, 36: housewife] reported that,

“I would be a doctor if I wasn't forced to get married in young age [...] We don't have rights on our own lives [...] at every stage of life we are supposed and forced to accept others' decisions [sometimes] against our own desires”.

Furthermore, it was observed from a discussion with a female group of informants that when the women are at their parents' houses they are expected to obey their fathers, uncles and brothers, sometimes the to do things against their own will.. Then, after marriage they are expected to obey their husbands and the male family members of the family the woman has married into. As one women informant noted: *“[...] we spend lives of caged birds [...]”* [female: 36: housewife]. Consequently, the majority of Chilassi women prefer not to take part in any outdoor development opportunity so as to keep peace in their family and domestic lives.

It is also noted from the field research that gender inequality is a very sensitive but neglected issue in Pakistan in general and in Gilgit-Baltistan in particular. Regarding this, UNDP (2011b) under the heading, “Gender Inequality Index (GII)”, states that in South Asian countries women are far behind men in education and labour force participation although, “In Pakistan women's parliamentary representation has improved with 21% of parliamentary seats held by women. The GII reflects gender-based inequalities in three dimensions – reproductive health, empowerment, and economic activity. Pakistan has a GII

value of 0.573, ranking it 115 out of 146 countries in the 2011 index”. However, the majority of women in parliament belong to other parts of Pakistan other than the Gilgit-Baltistan territory.

The existing literature and figures regarding women’s participation in development processes in LDCs is mostly dominated by the prominent case studies for example by Datta (2002) and Cole (2007 and 2010) . Research on issues related to communities’ interests and needs with special reference to women of a LDC’s remote areas remains overlooked in the academic literature. The proceeding discussion examines the relationship between women and tourism development in Chilas.

7.3.1 Women in Tourism [WiT]

A wide range of studies could be undertaken to find out what the current situation of WiT is and how to overcome the matters complicating the growth of WiT in UCLDC. It was discussed in chapter 3 that many research studies dominate by male perspective, women’s role in economic development and men and sex tourism (Pritchard and Morgan, 2000; Prichard *et al.* 2007; Bisnath, 2001). In addition to this, Equation (2007:3) states, “Even the UNWTO Code of Ethics for Tourism, for instance, does not specifically address the gendered aspects of tourism”. The articles 2, 6 and 9 of the Global Codes of Ethics for Tourism address equality between men and women in sexual behaviour, clause 6 discusses sex tourism, while clause 9 discuss men and women’s equality in the work environment. Steady (1981) and Treiman and Hartmann (1981) point out that existing discrimination against women is mainly due to economic factors.

To overcome women’s economic depression, many research studies – for example, Cole (2006), Scheyvens (2003), De Kadt (1979) and Cone (1995) – in different research areas have explored the implication of tourism on the lives of women, marginalised groups and small scale entrepreneurs within a community. Similarly, Gentry (2007) highlights the connection between economic independence with equality of women with a reference to the tourism industry. However, these studies share similar findings to those that revolve around WiT in relation to economic benefits as explored in the preceding discussion, whereas prospects to establish a hierarchy of equality in education, work and social and family life in a traditional patriarchal and polygamous system is an area that has potential for further research.

Pritchard and Morgan (2000:887) argue that “There is a prevailing male bias in tourism research where no allowance is made for gender difference, subsuming female behaviour into that of the dominant male pattern”. Therefore, the cause behind no, or very little recognition of WiT in UCLDC, is mainly the patriarchy system where women are treated and understood as minorities with minimum

rights. It has been discussed in chapter 2 that many researchers use the word ‘marginalised’ mainly for minorities – see, for example, Cole (2006) and Scheyvens (2003). However, I concur with the view expressed by Rich (1977: 285) that in a patriarchy system women are treated as “marginal”, and Kabeer (1994) similarly agrees to the use of the word ‘marginal’ for women in LDC. It is understood from the ethnographic research in an UCD that the reason for the set back of WiT in UCLDC can mainly be attributed to women’s marginalised status within the community.

UNWTO (2010) and Scheyvens (2003) and Equations (2012, 2014) share the view that in the developing countries women’s engagement with household duties and minimal chances of undertaking outdoor work related to tourism development force them to work from homes where Cole (2006) argues that working indirectly for tourism industry from home builds a sense of pride amongst women. On the other hand, a research study in India by the Equations (2007:4) concludes that in LDCs, “The role of women in informal tourism settings such as running home-stay facilities, restaurants and shacks, crafts and handicrafts, handloom, small shops and street vending is significant. But these roles and activities that women perform in tourism are treated as invisible or taken for granted”. Similarly, Chilassi women feel oppressed, as discussed in the preceding discussion, due to their being over burdened by house chores and working from home for tourism and development purposes, without any acknowledgement and monetary benefit. Any kind of work they do indoors is considered as part of their duties because as women they are understood to be naturally predisposed to this kind of work, i.e. regarded as “feminine characteristics” (Chant, 1997: 161).

The women of UCLDC are encouraged to do indirect and indoor jobs; e.g. making souvenirs, picking, preserving and packing local fruits, cooking, washing for tourists and looking after tourists and family and friends visitors. Conversely, this workload and lack of acknowledgement causes them to be overstrained and makes them reluctant to perform these duties on a regular basis. A woman [female: 38: housewife] from a group of informants said, “[...] we have to do these jobs other than our house chores in order to maintain harmony in our home environment [...]” similarly another [female: 36: housewife] added, “we try not to say no to anything [...] to keep peace in our family lives [...]”. A number of women who get income directly from what they produce or offer to tourists, (e.g. souvenirs and food and accommodation) were able to save money and managed to start their home businesses (see preceding discussion and quotes from informants).

In Chilas it is observed that more women than men are engaged with tourism activities. For example, some hotel staff takes washable clothes and bed sets to their homes to get them washed by their female family members. It is reported by a few female informants that they sometimes cook for hotel staff and customers in

addition to accommodating female visitors in their own houses in order to maintain a friendly environment between husband's work colleagues and to entice visitors to stay again in the same hotel. When this fact was cross-checked with male informants they did not answer or some reluctantly accepted their women's help with their businesses. This shows that male members of the community are not interested in acknowledging the role of women in the financial part of their lives. One of the informants [Female: 30: housewife] noted, "*they [men] known as hospitable people but what if we [women] don't cook and refuse to look after their guests [...] their hospitality will be nothing without the active contribution from women*". Therefore, the seasonal and part-time work in tourism, if applied in a women-friendly way (i.e. execution, appraisal and accountability of rules and regulations) will lead to greater empowerment for women in their lives (see section 7.2).

It is reported by UNWTO that "Despite the significant growth of tourism in developing regions, there is very little comparative information on the status of women in tourism in developing regions" (UNWTO, 2010: 4). Similarly it is observed that women play a decisive but mostly indirect role in tourism activities in LDC during the field research in Chilas. UNWTO (2010: VII&3) confirms that tourism contribution to employment is estimated to be "[...] 6% to 7% of the overall number of jobs worldwide (direct and indirect) [...] data on women in the tourism workforce are incomplete but most experts agree that women make up a large proportion of tourism workers, particularly in developing regions".

UNWTO (2010: VII) further argue that, "Not all women are benefitting equally from tourism development, however, in some cases, lack of education and resources may prevent the poorest women from benefitting from tourism development". It is noted that the non-availability of data regarding women in tourism and any outdoor work by women is negligible in UCLDC with specific reference to Pakistan. The reason behind this lack of acknowledgement is the patriarchy system and negligible interest of government institutes in women's affairs. Besides the fact that, "Tourism offers part-time and shift work that can be helpful to women with household responsibilities [...] despite the inevitable risks involved, the tourism industry has become a leading engine for women's empowerment" (UNWTO, 2010:2&3). As was discussed in chapter 3, a number of government and tourism organisations pay attention to issues related to gender activities in tourism in LDC (Atelijevic, 2009). However, there is still a need for governments to implement women-friendly planning so as to engage and empower women through direct and paid tourism work as part of tourism activities.

In the case of GB-NAP, wherever women are not benefitting from tourism development is, in most of the northern regions. This is not due to their own education level but depends on the education level of men of their respective

regions. With regards to women's education it is found that few teenage girls have been to school or left at a very early stage without completing their courses. There have been a few literate women who were not local but got married either to Chilassi men or transferred from other parts of NAP as school teachers in girls' schools. In the case of Chilas, local women are mostly illiterate and have no idea what tourism and development means and what part it plays in their lives. Some of them who had knowledge and interaction with tourism activities directly or indirectly were excited to discuss such matters. Below are some of the main questions put to the women about tourism along with their responses in order to show recent levels of knowledge about tourism amongst local women.

Interviewer: "how many tourists have stayed so far with you at your home and who cooked for them?"

Informant (housewife: 40s), " my mother in law, father in law, two sisters in law, one brother in law, my four children [...] and we ladies cook for all of us"

Interviewer: "has anybody ever stayed with you from outside your family [in Pakistani culture family includes all relatives]?"

Informant, "yes my husband and brothers-in-law's friends"

Interviewer: "other than your friends and relatives, has anyone else ever stayed at your place while visiting Diamer?"

Informant: "oh yes last year [in 2010] I had two families stayed in my home [...] one, four family members [from KPK] stayed for three days while other three family members stayed for two days [from Punjab] [...] I used to cook and iron for them [...] while departing Punjabi family gave me one thousand rupees [equal to £8] while we haven't accepted any money from the other [they used to bring grocery during their stay, which the host resisted but utilised]. It's a shame to accept anything from our guests isn't it? They are blessings and eat their own share from us that God has already sent to us for them to have".

Another **interviewee** [housewife: 38] asked, "Do women actually come out of their houses to visit unknown places?"

Another **interviewee** [housewife: 50s] said, "Do they really stay in hotels? [...] Well I don't believe that women can go to places other than their relatives [raises eyebrows] [...] and it is news for me that they go anywhere without accompanying male family members and stay in hotels all alone [...]".

A noticeable difference has been observed in Chilas in the family set-up and thoughts of educated and social men (those who have interaction with other communities) as compared to illiterate men. For example, an informant [local male: work in Middle East: 34y: Graduate], remarked

“[...] I hate this culture where women are so dependant and distressed [...]. I have learnt from my experience during working with foreigners [women colleagues] that we need to be broad minded for our ladies [...] if we really want to be developed [...] from my side there will be no difference in my children [...] both [girl and boy] will have equal rights of education, work or marriage[...] I am so sorry for being callous to my sister who always wanted to go to college but it was me who opposed her wish [...] Now I regret and this [regression] was not happened if I was not exposed to my advanced educated colleagues [...]”.

This informant further shared his future plans for his daughter to get education from a good school and his wish for her to become a doctor.

With regard to interaction with other communities, this has brought significant changes in women’s lives in the Gilgit-Baltistan territory. A series of interviews has shown that tourism – i.e. intra-communities interaction – has resulted in improvement in the lives of women where men are mostly literate: e.g. Gilgit, Chitral and Kalash in NAP. However, in the areas where the male population is mostly illiterate and where there is depopulation of literate male members (e.g. Chilas, Darel, Tangeer valleys and Kohistan territory), tourism has left a negative impact on the lives of women. As discussed in chapter 3, UNWTO (2010) states that tourism does not always leave positive impacts, but in some regions have more negative impacts, meaning that women are restricted to the home setting during the tourist season. An informant [female: 23: student/archaeologist] noted,

“[...] our men give excuses to home restrict us. Some tourists who behave badly during their visit and stay in the area are the main reason behind the narrow mindedness of our men [...] they easily get chances to exploit [...] when they find any outsider calling us by names, or stare at us in the streets or taking our photographs [...]”.

There have been organisations that have shown a significant amount of interest in women’s rights particularly in the field of tourism. For instance, an advance report on Women in Tourism by UNWTO (2010) set out five goals to protect women’s rights and to empower them through tourism. These are:

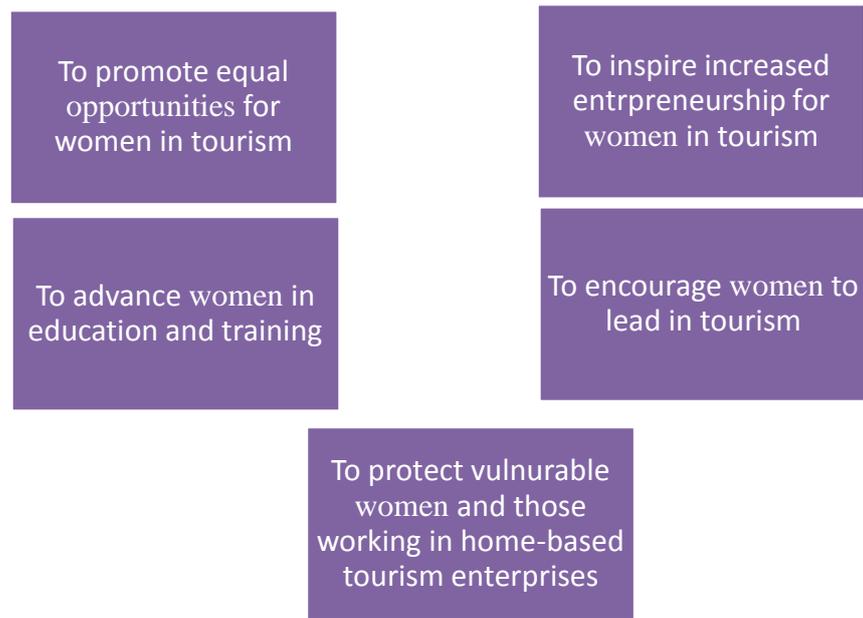


Figure 7.2 Five goals of the Global Report on Women in Tourism (adapted from UNWTO, 2010).

Figure 7.2 summarises the goals that UNWTO set out for the protection of women's rights specifically in tourism. It concludes women should have access to equal opportunities in tourism related areas by providing them with basic training and skills. Moreover, they should be provided opportunities to benefit from being involved in tourism as entrepreneurs and support should be provided to vulnerable women and those who are engaged with home based businesses. In the case of NAP, Gilgit-Baltistan, especially in Kohistan district, women are up to a certain extent supported in terms of work. For example local politicians set quotas for women to be given the opportunity to gain an education and then to work as teachers in local schools. However, due to the lack of accountability or influential audits, the majority of women are still home restricted and their work is not acknowledged. However, due to lack of accountability and influential audits, majority of women is still home restricted and their contribution to development of the destination by working from home is yet to acknowledge.

Women who work from home are less vulnerable than those who go out for work in Chilas-GB-NAP. As discussed in chapter 3, according to Gentry (2007) women who go out for work have to bear the double and triple household burden without any acknowledgement and direct monetary benefits. In Chilas most community members believe that a woman's duty is to manage the house (see preceding discussion). Therefore, even if a woman is working full- time externally, she is still expected to manage household chores on her own, making her overburdened with responsibilities. In societies where patriarchy and polygamy systems are more influential, planning, implementation and accountability need to be more

sensitively addressed. Moreover, the UNWTO report further suggests indicators that can monitor the role of women in tourism in the developing regions.

The basic indicators suggested by UNWTO (2010) that monitor women's role (and status) in tourism in developing regions include level of education, status of entrepreneurship, employment and leadership opportunities. Apart from these, more indicators are, "wage differentials between men and women employees; the involvement of women in the informal sector; the hierarchical status of women in the labour force; the need for skills, training, and education; the impact of gender discrimination" (UNWTO, 2010: 7). There are a few factors emphasised in the light of this research: e.g. the level of interest by governmental authorities in women's development, intensity of influential patriarchy and polygamy systems, literacy level in men, lack of awareness of women's rights by women, men friendly audits; these are all indicators that measure women's development in Chilas.

Unlike those in developed nations, Pakistani women's participation in tourism and role in development is scant and has garnered a similarly scant level of theoretical interest. Apostrolopoulos *et al.* (2001) confirmed that women, especially in developing regions, are likely to experience tourism differently from their positions in their respective socio-cultural and socio-economic environments. For instance, as indicated from quotes from interviewees in the preceding discussion, many Chilassi women have no idea that a woman can be a tourist and can visit tourist destinations on her own. Women informants' aged between 18-40 favoured women touring and securing time for reasons "other than just spending their lives in doing house chores and trying to make their men happy" [female informant: 38: housewife]. On the other hand, women aged late 40s-70s were reluctant to accept the fact that women should go anywhere other than to their relatives.

Cole's (2007) and Scheyvens' (2003) findings mostly revolve around ensuring women attain empowerment with financial stability similar to that enjoyed by men: i.e. employment and entrepreneurship opportunities. Therefore, the research in Chilas concludes that economic opportunity is dependent on the social and traditional status of women and cannot be achieved without improving the status of male community members. If men are well skilled, educated, and socially progressive, they will allow their wives to take a direct part in development (see preceding discussion). With the help of ethnographic research in Chilas, it is suggested that in order to get the true essence of development, empowerment and freedom in women's lives, it is male community members that need priority attention. They need to be encouraged to interact with other communities by providing them with the necessary skills, training and education with the aim of empowering women in the longer run.

Apart from all drawbacks in the current tourism system in Pakistan, there still are opportunities for women, especially as entrepreneurs in home based businesses in Chilas. As opportunities for women to achieve a more equal status in tourism and development are mostly associated with economic improvement, as discussed in chapter 3 in relation to UNWTO (2010), there is thus a parallel need to lift women's status socially and traditionally in Chilas and, as this research shows, this is in turn dependant on an improvement in men's education and brain storming opportunities this affords them. This research shows that economic and social opportunities are complex to attain in UCD if women are underpowered and oppressed by illiterate men under a patriarchy and polygamy system.

Apostrolopoulos *et al.* (2001) argue that women are exploited by patriarchal systems and are less confident in performing their roles in the field of development. Like other forms of employment, women in the tourism sector are subject to gender-biased representations in Pakistan. It is noted that in Chilas most women engage with tourism related activities, i.e. accommodating tourists at their homes, cooking, cleaning and ironing for them, or making handmade crafts for tourists. However they are under paid and less acknowledged compared with their male counterparts. At the official level no figure regarding women's participation in tourism in Chilas-NAP sector is available in Pakistan. Whereas it is noted that “[most] women of NAP indirectly involve in tourism industry by making handmade crafts, jewellery, item for home decor but due to overpowering men, they are still in the background” [member of PTDC: male: 37].

Transformation in gender equality can provide women with the enabling resources which will allow them to take greater control of their own lives, to determine what kinds of gender relations they want to live within, and to devise the strategies and alliances to help them achieve these goals (Kabeer, 1994, quoted by Bisnath, 2001:11). Chapter 3 discussed the idea that currently the tourism industry of the developing countries is showing an upward trend as compared to the developed world as forecast over the next eight years until 2020 (UNWTO, 2005). Moreover, UNWTO (2010: 3) states that “the ability of tourism to contribute to women's empowerment in developing regions is likely to grow in the future”.

The fact of the upward trend of the tourism industry has been established during a comparative study of Chilas, Gilgit and Kalash valley, showing the direct and indirect active participation and engagement of women with the industry. As argued in chapter 3 with reference to Mohanty *et al.* (1991) there are differences in impacts of class, race, and gender on women even when they belong to the same territory e.g. in GB- Chilassi women are oppressed and highly influenced by men while in the neighbouring cities of Gilgit and Hunza, the ratio of literate and

independent women is relatively high being the highest in the entire region. Women are seen as [informal] tour guides in the Hunza and Kailash valleys whereas Chilassi women are invisible. Moreover in the valleys of Kalash and Gilgit women are actively participating in tourism activities; i.e. the trend of tourist arrivals is highest in Kalash and women's participation in tourism and development (i.e. representation of the area at national; and international level, working as a tour guides as discussed earlier) is higher, whereas in Gilgit women's participation in accommodating tourists in their homes, and working women in the tourism related sector is similarly high, hence the tourist arrival figures are also high.

On the other hand, in Chilas women's participation is indirect and unacknowledged, no woman can be seen in Chilas bazaars as discussed earlier, and therefore the tourist arrivals are lower as compared to adjacent cities. There is a direct relationship between the lack of visibility of women and low female tourist arrivals for instance I was warned (discussed in chapters 5 and 6) not to go to Chilas as Chilassi people mind if they see any female "wandering" in the region seeing that they do not allow their women to be seen outside in market. I was also informed during the fieldwork that women tourists feel awkward going to Chilas as local people look at them as they are "*from another planet*" [female: 24: previous traveller]. A number of tourist informants have pointed out the insufficient availability of information about Chilas on com-media as compared to the surrounding destinations, prompting them to visit instead those rival destinations which are able to provide more information. However, in order to study UCC and UCD there is still a need to explore beyond the economic, political, and environmental aspects of tourism. There is a need to consider the promotional aspect of tourism for the development of UCC.

7.4 Summary

This chapter starts with an introduction to community and the relationship between community and tourism. It establishes an understanding as to how UCC are influenced by tourism activities. Further it states how the development of UCC can be measured in UC and under-developed tourist destinations. With reference to Chilas, the role of women in relation to VFR and HFR and tourism development has been explored. As discussed with the reference to the research by Cole (2010), it can be shown that tourism activities and working from home brings a sense of pride to women of rural areas; however this is only held true if they are paid and acknowledged for their services. In the case of Chilas, working from home has made women more oppressed as they are not duly acknowledged for their work other than for household chores and looking after the family.

This chapter further leads to the discussion of women's empowerment due to tourism development, which is argued to be influenced by: the absence of RCC; no accountability; no gender audits; the lack of equality in opportunities to access education and work, and living under a patriarchal and polygamous system all of which has mitigated against women becoming independent. This in turn has made women feel less confident and has discouraged them from taking appropriate steps for their development.

In this chapter the relationship of tourism with UCC has been highlighted. It is noted from the research that the most vulnerable sector of UCC are the women, especially those from rural areas of Pakistan and Chilassi women represent but one such example. As discussed in chapters 3 and 5 of this thesis, Pakistan has faced a series of NACs since 2001. There are some major consequences of NAC on local NAP communities that have been highlighted. These are:

1. Women's education has been affected the most. Literacy rate amongst women was already very low, but during 2001-2013 this has been affected more than anything else in the country. The Taliban have destroyed the majority of girls' schools in NAP to discourage women's education. The remainder of the schools in a few areas became empty due to fear.
2. Women were restricted to their houses and discouraged to go out for work or education.

Another factor that has remained a key part of the issues due to tourists is the absence of RCC and gender friendly planning, implementation and audits. The state of NAC has affected and oppressed the women of the region, which is why I call the area and the community UCD and UCC.

At the end, the role of UC women in tourism development has been explored to establish an understanding that women belong to UCLDC take tourism development differently and it impacts them in a different way in terms of a change in their socio-culture milieu.

The next chapter is the last chapter of this thesis and consists of recommendations in the light of this research and possibilities of future research related to tourism and development in UCD and for UCC.

Chapter 8

Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

This chapter sums up the core content of this thesis. In accordance with the findings from the ethnographic research conducted in Chilas-Pakistan, this chapter consists of recommendations for further research relevant to UCC and development through tourism in UCD. As highlighted in chapter 1, the area is chosen because of its unique physical and human factors, for instance its presence on the ancient Silk Road, its unique rock carvings, its proximity to the world's ninth highest mountain, the popular Nanga Parbat (also known as the Killer Mountain), Fairy Meadows – the base of the mountain, the popularity of the Babusar, Darel and Tangeer valleys, and the hospitality of the local community and impacts of com-media on the general perception of outsiders.

As the main purpose of this thesis is to investigate the potential and prospects of tourism development in Chilas and Chilassi community, chapters 3 therefore present a theoretical background relating to development, and factors involved in developing a tourist destination with special reference to an UCD belonging to an LDC. Pilot research in Chilas highlighted several interconnected factors that are responsible for hindering and/or boosting tourism development in the destination. The literature further explores factors such as NAC, com-media, place image and the role of both men and women members in tourism development (chapter 3).

Chapter 3 and 5 explain how NAC and com-media link together to form an image of a destination. The problems experienced by the tourism industry in UCD are discussed, e.g. low visitor arrivals, change of perception of place image (Sonmez *et al.*, 1994; Glaesser, 2003). The impacts of NAC on UCC were highlighted by Fienberg (1998), Jha (2010) and Medair (2011) in chapters 3 and 5. However, as discussed in chapter 5, Jha (2010) argues that NAC impact differently on different nations, for instance, compared to poor and less developed destinations, rich and developed nations overcome their losses after a relatively short period of time. The development process in an UCD belonging to a LDC takes a long time and involves comparatively more hindrances.

The occurrences of NAC (e.g. earthquakes, landslides, poor maintenance of the Silk Road, poor waste disposal systems, low literacy rates, negligible representation and participation of the local community in the tourism system and the development processes [see chapter 6]) is relatively high in Chilas-Diamer as compared to neighbouring destinations. However, in the case of Chilas, due to

low literacy rates amongst community members they have failed to express themselves adequately in modern com-media. This has resulted in the reputation of the destination and community not being favoured by any media channel thereby discouraging tourists and visitors from visiting the place. I myself was advised [chapter 6] not to go to Chilas due to its awkwardness regarding female to be seen outside and that the research is a “man job”. The destination image, therefore, revolves around, other than its regular ecological traits, the ratio of local community representation in the tourism industry at an official level, their role and power in com-media, their access to resources, and unbiased and gender friendly audits.

This chapter also presents some recommendations in the light of the background and status of the MoT in Pakistan. As the MoT has never been afforded individual importance employees engaged with the national tourism sector are not encouraged to actively take part in tourism activities. There have been job insecurities within the MoT employees in Pakistan due to the negligible importance afforded the tourism sector by the national government [refer back to chapter 6, section 6.2]. At the time of fieldwork in 2011 there was a clear unwillingness to entertain any tourist demands by the MoT. No one I contacted would spare me any time for an interview or to provide me with any documents that might help in my research for example an employee replied, “I am not going to find [tourism] codes of conduct now [...] the booklet might be under piles of files in store [...]”. In addition the current chapter will go on to explore recommendations in the light of the role of tourism development and the impacts of NAC and com-media [discussed in chapter 5] on an UCD [chapter 6] and on an UCC-women [chapter 7].

8.2 Tourism, NAC and Com-Media

In chapter 5 the relationship between tourism NAC and Com-Media was discussed in detail supported with the fieldwork undertaken in Chilas: an UCD. Pakistan has faced a wave of NAC since 2001. Impacts of NAC hit the Northern region the most as NAP is a mountainous region, therefore earthquakes and landslides have caused major natural disasters. This is in addition to prominent anthropogenic crises, for instance, the war in Afghanistan as a result of the terrorism incident of 9/11. As Pakistan and Afghanistan share same border, refugees escaping from Afghanistan have taken refuge in north-west of Pakistan [see chapter 5 for details].

With the passage of time refugees from war-torn Afghanistan have caught the attention of international forces and Com-Media towards Pakistan. As a result of which a common perception has built up about Pakistan as providing “*refuge to terrorists*” [male: social worker: 42]. As a result of the external pressure and “*allegations from international organisations*” Pakistani forces stood against

those refugees by initiating the “*war against terrorism*” [male: social worker: 42]. This initiative has angered many Pakistani Muslims and those in neighbouring countries, which in turn has mobilized resistance against the Pakistani government, armed forces and “English¹” government. Many from neighbouring regions have gathered to support those refugees and to fight against Pakistan’s forces, resulting in internal fighting and suicide attacks. Arguably this has been caused by unskilled com-media that has played major role in creating misconceptions between nations [see chapters 5 and 6].

With regard to the negative perception of the local community was what others have heard in the news, read in newspapers or were told by informants. The same misconceptions about the Chilassi community have been noted during the fieldwork. It was reported that Chilas lacks skilled human resources and advanced physical resources i.e. com-media to represent the community and the destination at national and international levels. Lack of access to com-media means that they are cut off from the rest of Pakistan [refer to chapters 5 and 6], which is a major factor in shaping perceptions of Chilas as a non-friendly destination.

8.2.1 Stay Away from Chilas – communication barriers

“For me, it [Chilas] has always been a creepy place where women are nowhere to be seen and bearded men carry guns and stare at you with hostility – I always avoid stopping there while going by road to Gilgit or Hunza from Islamabad on the KKH” (Khan, 2013²).

It has been established from the research that not only is the tourism sector not taking an interest in developing Chilas as a tourist destination but also that tourism officials actively discourage and advise tourists/visitors against visiting Chilas. The reason they give is the non-[women] friendly environment. Tourists with families tend to take the official advice and prefer instead to visit the Gilgit and Hunza valleys further to the north. Therefore the common negative perception of Chilas is reinforced by neighbouring tourist destinations that have representatives in the tourism industry. This is one of the reasons that Chilas is not known as a tourist destination and still lacks facilities to encourage tourism.

The discussion in chapter 6 showed that due to low levels of literacy in Chilas it is hard to find Chilassi representatives in tourism at an official level. A competition was noted during the research in which representatives from Gilgit and Hunza in the MoT tend to direct tourists, development and investment authorities to their own destinations. Another observation was that due to there being no representative from Chilas in high levels of the tourism ministry, the area is neglected and thus lacks the attention of the government.

¹Refers to government of USA, it is common concept in Pakistan that every English speaker is an English.

² (Available online at):<http://www.dawn.com/news/1022046/why-i-hate-chilas> (Accessed September 2014).

Although it is true to a certain extent that the women of Chilas can hardly be seen in bazaars for the purpose of shopping giving the impression that it is difficult for women tourists/visitors to access them. On the other hand, women tourists and researchers are welcomed into their homes by ordinary men to let them meet their women family members. I have experienced a warm welcome from the Chilassi community and it was insisted that I accept their offers to stay at their homes for the duration of my research free of charge. The host family offered free food and babysitting for the duration of my stay in Chilas.



Figure 8.1 An Example of Hospitality: A Chilassi elderly hostess in Babusar in her summer hut at the point of free tea: Picture taken (May 2011)

Later on during my stay at Chilas, the host family took me along with my two companions (I was not encouraged to go alone so I had to take a male companion with me to Chilas, as discussed in chapter 4) and their women family members to Babusar Valley for a day picnic where many women offered free tea and dinner. An elderly woman - shown in Figure 8.1 [picture added with her consent] - who lives in a hut nearby with her adopted 4 years old son [in picture] directed me, my son and my female companion towards her hut by holding my hand (it is a kind gesture of hospitality) to accept her offer of having a cup of tea in her home³ [figure 8.1]. I saw her opening a knot in her dupatta (shawl) and taking a 10 rupees note (equal to 6pence) out of the knot. She gave that Rs 10 note to her son and whispered something.

³ Chilassi people migrate to Babusar during summer. Where they make wooden huts to live during hot weather in Chilas [see figure 4.17 in the chapter four].

Meanwhile she, along with me and my companions, started walking towards her hut. Many women and children joined us on our way to the hut. By the time we reached her home we were in a caravan of 15-20 women and children. She took out a chittai (plastic mat) and spread it in her only room which had a mud floor and wooden ceiling. In the corner there was a stove and a few kitchen utensils. She started arranging cups and plates on two trays while we started chatting with the other ladies and children, suddenly I saw her run outside. A Few minutes later she entered the room hiding cups and sugar under her dupatta, that she had borrowed from a neighbour in order to give us tea. I started feeling embarrassed but on the other hand I knew how happy she seemed by feeding us, so I said nothing. The little boy entered the room short of breath and bare footed and gave a packet of whole milk [hardly a cup] and a few rusks to his mother, which she started arranging on plates and made tea for all the women in the room. In addition she took a tray outside for my male accompanying team members in order for them to have tea in the vehicle [As mentioned already the segregation of men and women is observed religiously in the region], there was no Hujra [men's drawing room] – where men could stay in order to have the tea. The woman lived with her young adopted son and so her home was unlike larger family homes where men have this room specifically for men guests.

I was speechless seeing this example of hospitality where there was only an elderly woman and a young child involved. She has no male family member whom she could be dependent on like other Chilassi women in order to support her financially. Her work is to cut the grass and sell that to local people for their livestock, or sometimes she gets a job to graze other's livestock and earns Rs.30 a week on average. She used to sew for others and make handicrafts but due to her weakening eyesight, she stopped doing that. The money she spent on us was her earnings from a day before and she did not find any work the same day she fed us. This is one of several examples of hospitality from the local community.

However the increased reliance on mainly electronic com-media and the absence of advanced, skilled com-media in Chilas is causing restrictions on visitors to visit Pakistan in general and Chilas in particular. Due to the lack of information resources in the region, Chilas is difficult to be projected as a tourist destination, as one informant reported, "*they [international com-media] ask questions and find answers within themselves [...] we are held up because of no reliable electric supply [in most parts of the region], no ways to be active on internet [com-media] to share our own view point*" [male: 22: student].

As a result the region is known for its myths and tales by outsiders. Due to the absence of the basic necessities of life and advanced com-media the entire Diامر region is currently not a favourable environment for the common tourist. Another element of com-media, i.e. mobile phones and connection of the internet still has

very little coverage in Chilas. Many tourists during their visit have mentioned issues with interrupted mobile signals, and lack of TV and radio transmissions making their stay difficult in the region as they lost their contacts with family and friends back home while they were in Diamer territory. The place image is therefore not sufficient to attract tourists due to the absence of advanced and efficient communication, physical and human resources which are thus hindering tourism development in the region. Therefore, strategies to advertise an UCD for the purpose of tourism need to be revised in Pakistan, as my research suggests.

8.3 Development through Tourism –place image

Tourism and (place and/or community) development have a reflexive interaction, as discussed in Chapters 2, 6 and 7. In the case of Chilas, an UCD, this correlation holds up, however there are several factors involved which can make tourism work for the development of a place, com-media is one of them especially if a destination is facing NAC. As explored in the preceding discussion, in the case of Chilas the underdevelopment is mainly caused by a lack of unbiased and skilled com-media, along with several other factors examined during this research: i.e. government negligence towards improving human, physical, information resources, biased power factors (less empowered community, dictatorial local government), low literacy rates, male dominance, and lack of accountability (see chapters 5, 6, 7].

Due to the restrictions imposed on tourists in the shape of discouraging advice provided by tourism stakeholders belong to neighbouring destinations (example given in preceding discussion), the concept of tourism is absent in the case of Chilas. The tourism stakeholders belonging to neighbouring destinations allocate a large part of the budgetary resources to their destinations by influencing the decisions of finance allocation authorities. Little or no representation from Chilas at higher levels of the tourism sector makes the situation worse for the development of the destination. The example of the Silk Road, as evident from the fieldwork, demonstrates the biased developmental resources allocation. The condition of the road as it passes through Chilas is such that it is not favourable for travel.

The condition of the damaged Silk Road has restricted tourists and travellers from travelling via Chilas. It is noted that the condition of the road in Gilgit further north and north-west destinations (i.e. Kohistan, Besham, and Battagram) is comparatively better than that of Chilas. A traveller [female: 21] stated, “*It was a terrible part of my travel experience in-between Dassu and Gilgit⁴[...] I fell sick and suffocated behind the closed windows of our bus [...] due to dusty road [...] it seemed like our bus was racing on big boulders of rock*”. It is also evident that tourists usually prefer visiting Gilgit due to the airport whereas for “some political

⁴ Chilas lies in between Dassu and Gilgit

reasons” [male: 42: social worker] Chilas’ airport is open to only government officials and not for routine visitors’ flights.

On the whole the tourism industry of Pakistan is facing a downturn in its fortunes due to NAC (see chapter 5). Ups and downs in the industry since 1949-2011 have kept tourism stakeholders insecure and unwilling to work for MoT (see chapter 6). Due to NAC and an unstable MoT Pakistani tourism stakeholders, particularly at government level, are not playing an active role in promoting the rich cultural and ecological destinations at a national or international level. The dependency of the tourism ministry on other sectors is clearly an example of the negligence shown by the Pakistani government towards the tourism industry. My research shows that the private tourism stakeholders are actively engaged in promoting tourism according to their affordability at national and international levels with minimal government support. However, the lack of communication and coordination between tourism stakeholders, local communities and the government is still considered to be one of the biggest threats to the industry.

There was a wave of disappointment found at all levels of staff working at the Ministry of Tourism (MoT) and those engaged with the tourism sector. Insufficient tourism budget and allocation of resources to the right places were main concerns told by informants (see chapter 3, 5 and 7). Similar concerns were observed by Zhang *et al.* (2000) with regard to planning and decisions made at centralised level leading to discomfort at a local and regional level. Being an UCD Chilas is more vulnerable to the negative impacts of tourism development. It still needs recognition at national and international levels as with neighbouring regions. The usage of natural and cultural resources of the area needs to be examined and held accountable by an external and independent auditors’ team; due to the lack of accountability (by an independent auditory team) of government institutes in Chilas and corruption, no information about a tourism budget and tourists’ movements in the valley was able to be accessed (see chapter 6). The development process in Chilas is very slow as far as place and community are concerned despite having unique human and physical potential (see chapter 1).

As discussed in chapter 3, many scholars agree that many destinations in the third world are mostly undisturbed and untouched (Paul, 2004) and that therefore there are superfluous chances of investment due to the low cost of living as compared to the developed world, and surplus human and physical resources, i.e. low wage labourers and vast areas of terrain, (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Dieke, 2000). Chilas is also one of the natural and undisturbed destinations in NAP and visitors reported that they prefer Chilas to Gilgit for its low cost of living (see chapter 7). It is noted, however, that due to the Diamer Basha Dam, the valley will be less natural however, but the vast lands and local human resources could be utilised for the development of the region. It is discussed in chapter 6 that

water resources have been a great source of tourism in Pakistan, therefore it is anticipated that the dam will bring tourism development to the region.

Moreover, the prospects of tourism are high in Chilas as a potential ground for Polo seeing that Shandoor- the world's highest polo ground in further to the north is not easily accessible due to landslides and poor condition of the Silk Road, therefore Chilas is comparatively easily accessible for Polo match lovers [discussed in chapter 6]. Chilas is therefore more accessible and closer to major tourist destinations. It is, moreover, a comparatively easy task to accommodate spectators at hotels and resorts in Chilas and Babusar and everyday items can be accessed in bazaars. The need to initiate com-media to highlight the ecology in the valley and its cultural importance by engaging local community members in marketing the valley at local and national levels is an urgent concern. Representation from the local community in government and the private tourism sector is needed as is the provision of the relevant skills to communicate. The local community needs to be given chances to interact at a national and international level for the purpose of development.

8.4 Tourism Development and Under Crises Communities- women

It is stated in chapter 7 that the Chilassi community exhibits the traits of a *Gemeinschaft* community where the members of community are closely bonded socially. Community members regard all Chilassi as a family. Patriarchy and polygamy are also key characteristics of the community, while literacy rates are very low as compared to neighbouring destinations (see chapter 7). The Chilassi community as an UCC is suffering mostly due to factors highlighted in the preceding discussion. In the case of Chilas the most controlled gender is women that has been significantly altered due to tourism development. All women respondents of Chilas agreed with the view that the main causes of their underdevelopment and oppression are:

- rigidity in thoughts of men of the area regarding women's education,
- the attitude of visitors towards local women,
- inadequate accountability on authorities responsible for development in the area
- negligible attention from government institutes towards local women's contribution
- scarce provision of adequate training and promotional programmes for women
- no acknowledgement of women's contribution towards the local economy (e.g. by taking responsibility for all household chores, farming, handicrafts)

- inadequate provision and accountability of education for women and women's educational institutes
- no provision of women-friendly projects for development in the area / unavailability of skills development programs
- no provision of security for local women
- deterrence towards women tourists, visitors or researchers visiting the area.

Therefore, it is argued that it is hard to reap the full benefit of development projects if half of the talent is restricted to household chores only. In Chilas at the time of the fieldwork there were no local women found to be participating actively in any development project for the area. However there were women who were working 'behind-the-scenes', to help their male family members to earn more finance by running their own small scale home-businesses, farming and making handicrafts for business purposes. A dominant number of women informants reported that they were actively engaged in making handicrafts and wholesalers from other parts of Pakistan were buying goods from them at very low cost. Sometimes goods are smuggled to neighbouring countries by international business people and local produce is illegally transported to other cities where government officials are involved (chapter 7).

In the case of Chilas, due to community non-empowerment and non-accountability of law enforcing authorities in the area the local community feels discouraged from producing goods and commodities for business purposes or tourists' consumption. An informant [male: retailer: 40s] remarked, "*we produce cash crops [...] but we are not supposed to sell them directly to tourists; rather government or mediators purchase them from us on low prices from Southern part and later the same stuff arrive here [in local market] with fancy packaging and high prices [...] we are left with very little profit and sometimes we face no profit no loss situation which is very discouraging to produce more*".

In addition to these illegal and unprofitable business activities the local community is suffering from another type of hindrance to their development through tourism activities. That is described as the "*stone age rule*" [male: graduate: 34] in the region that refers to no accountability on the part of the local authorities and law enforcing agencies. It was reported that to undertake business for profitable purposes one has to pay a bribe – "*[...] officers' share [otherwise] he will be facing obstacles [by them] to carry on business activity*" [male: graduate: 34]. It is derived from the fieldwork that there is a direct relationship between RCC, independent audit and community development. If there are region-friendly codes of conduct available and the local community, local government-law enforcing authorities and tourists are dealt in accordance with them and are accountable to an independent auditory team, community cohesion will be developed. There is a huge potential for development, but due to the

absence of audits and RCCs, it is hard to put the local physical and human resources to use.

8.5 Why Regional Codes of Conduct for Under Crises Communities [RCCUCC]?

During my fieldwork, I was told that interaction with the people from outside the region and with international tourists has brought positive changes to the Chilassi community, especially in women's lives. The findings from my research issues regarding the interaction between Chilassi community members and tourists showing that in Chilas the direct interaction of local community members with tourists has significantly changed the perceptions that each holds about the other.

Number of informants	Favoured Opportunities to interact directly	Against interactions/Unhappy
Local community 12Men/16women	22 informants	6informants
Tourists 8national, 6International	13tourists	1tourist

Table 8.1 Local Community Members' and Tourists' Responses [attitude towards the idea of increased direct interaction between UCC and outsiders].

It is discussed earlier, in chapters 5 and 7, that socialisation with the outsiders brings positive changes to the majority of the Chilassi community, especially to women and "young" members and tourists. As shown in the Table 8.1, the positive responses from local community members and tourists regarding increased provision of opportunities to increase interaction between bring local community members and tourists shows that this is favoured by both sets of informants.

This means that a majority of informants are in favour of restoring and prioritising tourism after and during NAC as with other development projects (with no exception of RCCUCC and safety and security measures). It is noted from the fieldwork that with the use of appropriate, direct, skilled and unbiased com-media and representation from the community this will be possible to eradicate the negative ideas that people have about each other. In contradictory to this, despite efforts and sacrifices made by Pakistanis, com-media are still not playing an important role which is also one of the main causes of terrorism (refer back to chapter 5, and an interview with a social worker). The main reason for the discouragement of tourists from members of the local community was their insensitive attitude towards local traditions regarding "parda⁵" and privacy. The local informants wanted to have a separate set of RCC by considering their local traditions and etiquettes of visiting the area.

⁵Privacy

As discussed in chapters 6 and 7 there are, “*no set rules and regulations for tourists*” [informant: female: 24: student] or “*if there are any, no one follows them*” [male: 34: worker in middle-east]. During this research I made several attempts to get hold of any set of Codes of Conduct regarding tourism in Pakistan or RCC. However every attempt failed and I was informed that there is no concept of RCC. It is, however, assumed that there are no codes of conduct available in the tourism industry specifically for NAP, or that, if there are, it is difficult to get hold of them (as stated in the preceding discussion) because of their “*under pile of files*” existence [male: 44: tourism ministry of Pakistan].

The research has also established that a small number of local informants felt that they were unhappy with the interaction of outsiders especially with their women community members. The main reason cited by informants is the absence and/or non-implementation of codes of conduct. Informants emphasised the fact that they have more *parda* and privacy policies as compared to the neighbouring destinations; therefore they do not allow outsiders to break or intervene in them by taking photographs of local women, by teasing local people on the streets, by singing, staring, calling of names, and by climbing walls and trees (see chapter 7). Moreover, (and also discussed in chapter 7) another concern expressed was about the young generation of the area, and fears of a loss of cultural traits and values due to “*so-called modernism*”.

An informant [male: late 60s] said, “[...] *the absurdity*⁶ *within our young generation is due to their exposure to modern people* [culture]⁷[...] *they*⁸[tourist] *get drunk; they do not know how to behave with elderly people. While dress code of girls* [tourists] *makes us feel embarrassed*⁹[...] *and*[by seeing them] *more or less our young generation is doing the same now*”.

It is noted that mostly the elder community members fear losing their cultural values (with regard to dress codes, loss of traditional occupations as they are rejected by the younger generation in favour of other forms of employment, women’s *parda* and local hospitality traits and so on). Therefore, older people are the ones who oppose the exposure of their young generation and women to “modern culture” (refer to chapter 7). The reasons they gave for their disappointment were as follows:

- The younger generation is exposed to modernism (what they call as a cause of offensiveness/absurdity) and attraction towards so-called advancements at the cost of losing their cultural and traditional values.

⁶ Refers to change of dress codes and some thoughts contradictory to old traditions of Chilas, i.e. use of television and other media channels, women’s decisions about their marriage, education, work and social interaction, gender equality

⁷ By ‘modern people’, he is referring to foreigners and visitors from Southern and Eastern part of Pakistan.

⁸ ‘They’ refers to foreigner tourists.

⁹ Muslim women need to wear full dress, so elderly people and men of the region do not expect female tourists to not follow the dress code.

- Women are becoming (negatively) inspired to take control of their own decision-making as opposed to following the will of their male family members.
- Tourists especially teenage boys do not respect local women and elderly people
- Teenage boys do not follow any rules and regulations(refer to **National Tourists (NT)/ Visitors (V)**)
- Tourists/visitors follow local women wherever they move (refer to **NT/V**)
- Tourists/visitors enter restricted areas (**NT/V**)
- Tourists/ visitors pick fruits and vegetables without permission of the owners (**NT/V**)
- Tourists/visitors take photographs without seeking permission
- Tourists/visitors get drunk (refer to **International tourists (IT)**)
- Women come out during the night (for a walk, or to experience the moonlight against the backdrop of the mountain environment) (refer to **(IT)**).

It is noted from the field work that the local community has more reservations towards the national tourists and visitors to the region. I was advised that national tourists behave badly during their stay by not respecting local traditions and customs, by taking pictures of local women, staring, and singing at them in order to get their attention. In addition they failed to respect private properties by climbing trees, the walls of the properties, and by entering areas restricted to women only occupancy. Such activities formed the basis of local hostility towards international tourists.

It is, therefore, noted that RCCUCC should be targeted at national tourists specifically as they are usually more “*out of hands*” [male: 60] as compared to international tourists. It is reported that international tourists are most likely to be found acknowledging traditional and cultural values of the area in instances where they are briefed before their arrival. Only a few things about international tourists were pointed out as problematic which would mean that they would not be encouraged by the local community, for instance women tourists presence in bazaars especially in the evenings without any accompanying men, and consumption of alcohol by women.

Culturally, traditionally, geographically and ecologically NAP is different from the southern and eastern parts of Pakistan. Therefore there is a need – in addition to several tourism and development factors – to construct a set of “regional” community and environment friendly codes of conduct as a basis for sustainable tourism development in an UCD such as Chilas. RCC should aim towards tourists, local communities and local authorities along with place and product. Moreover, implementation and adherence of RCCUCC and executing authorities is needed to be accountable strictly.

8.6 Recommendations

It has been demonstrated from this research that there are several factors that affect a destination and hinder its development as a tourist destination. One of them is the absence of a tourism audit system. As this research study shows, Chilas and the Chilassi community is facing imbalanced development due to the lack of accountability on the part of the relevant tourism and development stakeholders. The lack of tourism infrastructure and insignificant involvement of the Chilassi community in tourism development are examples of an inadequate tourism audit. Due to the absence of pressure as part of an external and independent audit, the local government and tourism stakeholders have done little for the development of Chilas. The lack, and implementation, of RCC and corruption amongst law enforcement authorities makes the situation worse for the development of the local community.

Apart from just the naturalness and richness in local ecology, as discussed in chapter 3, an established basic life standard at a destination makes it a tourist destination. In Chilas the absence of basic facilities (for instance, transportation infrastructure, hospital and emergency services, safety and security measures, limited choices in food and accommodation) is also a factor hindering the development of tourism. Moreover, apart from the physical development of a place, product and community (see chapter 3), psychological development is a key issue in UCD as Chilas and UCC (i.e. the Chilassi community). As my research suggests, interaction with outsiders – i.e. tourists and tourism and development officials – have boosted confidence levels within the community, especially amongst women. Many of them have been encouraged to be independent and have started their own home based businesses.

Moreover, a number of male informants reported that exposure to outsiders has made them realise the traditional shortcomings regarding women's empowerment in the social set up. They have learnt to favour equal rights of education, work and marriage for women (see chapter 7). On the other hand, the tourists' interaction in an unacceptable way (i.e. negligence towards traditional values and hospitality codes, entering and damaging private properties, attitudes towards local community, women *parda* matters) have caused community resistance towards tourism (see chapters 6 and 7). This study explored that the main cause of tourists' attitudes and their negative impacts on tourism development in an UCD and for UCC is the absence of RCC in addition to the absence of a tourism audit system in those vulnerable destinations as stated in the preceding discussion. It is therefore recommended to introduce local traditions and cultural values at a national and international level and to establish a set of environmentally-friendly RCC for the entire Diamer region.

As there is scant literature on the traditional and social set up of Chilas, it is however recommended to encourage researchers and historians to undertake research on the place and the community. The local community needs to be

provided with skills development courses and opportunities to enhance and benefit from their existing creative capabilities. With an established audit system, the local community then will be able to be involved in legal trade and will produce more without the fear of giving away their “share” due to law enforcing authorities. Here the importance of Zeeto Kalak and Biyak [[local informal police and local informal judiciary service by elderly community members respectively as discussed in detail in chapter 1] needs to be mentioned. It suggested that these kind of local informal settings should be formalised or need to be supported by local government and development authorities. Zeeto Kalak and Biyaak need to be given empowerment in order to deal with the local tax system where they are required to appoint volunteers from the local community to recover taxes from traders crossing Chilas, and a minimum amount of hospitality tax [per person] from tourists especially HFR tourist. This hospitality tax should be given to the family with whom these HFR tourists are staying. Chilas being a Gemeinschaft-like community – everyone knows where visitors are staying, therefore it would not be a problem to handover the money to the host family. This way money will not be given away by guests to the host directly in order to maintain the dignity of the host family and they also will not feel over burdened with visitors. By doing this the local producers will benefit and opportunities for illegal trade, i.e. smuggling, will reduce.



Figure 8.2 Small scale business mainly to entertain tourists [Photo taken: May 2011]

Small scale entrepreneurs will also benefit with the encouragement towards producing more. Figure 8.2 is a picture of a seasonal business along the Silk Road in Chilas. These seasonal entrepreneurs earn “good” [male: 24: seasonal entrepreneur/student] income during the season March-June/July from tourists as well as the local community. During the rest of the year they either sell groceries/household goods to the local community or work on farms and look after their livestock. However, from a health and hygiene point of view these road and riverside food (including [freshly caught] fish from Indus River and naan) businesses are not healthy and sometimes cause food poisoning to consumers due to the addition of road dust and the use of polluted water. Cole (2006, 2007) highlights that for the development of an LDC, the local communities need to have access to sufficient financial resources to enter into business. It is therefore recommended in the light of the literature that provision of adequate opportunities, for instance easy finance/loans along with permits to utilise the environment and people, a more women-friendly place, will lead to standard health and hygiene along with a boost in the local economy.

As discussed in chapter 7, women of the region were found to be more interested in starting and developing their own businesses. During the research it was observed that as local women of the region are not encouraged to go out in the market for shopping without an accompanying male family member, they have encouraged starting work from home by the Pakistani government and international aid organisations (for instance, Microfinance Scheme by the aid organisations based in United Kingdom helped Pakistani women to have access to loans to start businesses).In Pakistan,

UK aid has [...] backed 103,000 microfinance loans between spring 2010 and spring 2012, mostly to poor women [...] helped set up the first and largest branchless banking system in Pakistan, enabling many of the poorest to access financial services for the first time [...] [while in 2015] the UK will [...] help 1.23 million poor people (more than half women) access microfinance loans [...]support entrepreneurs across Pakistan by underwriting 4,000 loans to small and medium businesses[...] (DID¹⁰, 2013).

Moreover the First Women Bank Limited [FWBL] in Pakistan extends loans to women (FWBL, 2012¹¹) that have encouraged them to start/expand their businesses in order to maintain and achieve their privacy and independence (FWBL, 2012¹²).In addition to this many private organizations in Pakistan – for instance, Depilex, the largest brand in the field of beauty therapy, cosmetology and hair sciences; Singer, globally recognized electronics manufacturer; and Allama Iqbal Open University [AIU] have joined FWBL to empower women in

¹⁰ Department of International Development, UK available online at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/case-studies/helping-women-open-up-for-business-in-pakistan>

¹¹ Available online at: http://www.fwbl.com.pk/?page_id=90

¹² Available online at: <http://www.fwbl.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/masthead1.pdf>

Pakistan by extending loans and discounts to women workers and for the purchase of household items, and the establishment of libraries and computer laboratories to assist female students (FWBL, 2011¹³, 2013¹⁴).

It is a cultural set up that mostly Chilassi women informants admitted a preference for buying goods from women staff. Loans for women entrepreneurs will, therefore, be a good opportunity for more skilled and unskilled women to initiate and engage in “in-houses” or “women only” businesses to get paid for their work in a culture-friendly manner. In the case of Chilas the small entrepreneurs, particularly women and seasonal businessmen, will be encouraged to become involved in business activities and will be independent to make and utilise their money for development of the community and place.

In addition to the local handicrafts market, Diamer has several unrecognised and non-marketed tourist niche markets, for instance, opportunities for fishing the Indus River, trekking, and hiking/mountaineering along the Silk Road. Tourists can be invited to get engaged in mountaineering activities in the region as it is surrounded by some of the world’s highest mountain ranges, as highlighted in chapter 1. Adventure seekers can therefore be attracted to the region. It is noted that visitors and local community members enjoy fishing in the river but due to overfishing without check and balance the ecological balance is being disturbed. Therefore, the fishermen and the one who do fishing as hobby should be issued with passes/permits for fishing to protect the marine-environment but also to make the business profitable for the local economy.

Moreover, site seeing and exploring, moon watching and night time viewing of the mountains, and swimming in the water of the Indus River¹⁵ were also reported as attractions for tourists. Opportunities for investments in tourism related businesses, for instance investing in tourism infrastructure – i.e. standard hotel accommodations, resorts, indoor swimming pools and children’s play areas, women and children centres, skills and development programmes for local men and women to guide and operate tours – have great potential in the region. Existing NGOs that are very active in the Gilgit-Baltistan territory could expand their projects to Chilas for the development of place, product and people for tourism purposes. It is recommended that for a sustainable and long term development of UCD, product [NAC and com-media] and UCC there is a need for major change in policies.

As stated earlier in the chapter, UCD such as Chilas with rich ecological and cultural backgrounds and ties need easy and equal access to physical, human, financial and informational resources. For instance, the example of an airport as

¹³ <http://www.fwbl.com.pk/?p=4259> [and] <http://www.fwbl.com.pk/?p=4230>

¹⁴ <http://www.fwbl.com.pk/?p=5190>

¹⁵ The Indus River at some points in Chilas is not very deep to swim in.

part of the tourism and development infrastructure has been given in the preceding discussion. Other physical resources such as buildings, hospitals, schools, and public toilets, family-friendly areas such as resorts, hotels, and cafeterias need to be restored and developed. Moreover, an adequate supply of local and accountable human resources, specifically in hospitals, educational and law enforcing institutes need to be ensured. As derived from information gathered during the fieldwork, hassle-free and equal access to the resources and opportunities will develop a culture of collectivism within the local community. The sense of being “left out” by the government and development authorities will be minimised with the representation from the local community on official tourism and development projects.

Additionally, a participatory approach is needed to be followed for community development. Both Chilassi men and women need to be taken on board while working on any tourism or development plan. They need to be given authority to elect community members (men and women) to represent them in the decision-making and planning processes for the destination. Engaging the local community at the grassroots’ level of any project will ensure better outcomes in the shape of the utilization of local physical and information resources and community cooperation at an advanced level. Financial resources need to be initiated, whether intrinsic or extrinsic, such as easy loans, training, skills and development programs, subsidies and exemption on cash crops and taxes on the trade, and opportunities of investments by involving the local community with an emphasis on young community members and women.

Interviews with working women show that family pressure under the patriarchy system is used as a tool to discourage UCLDC women to step out of their houses for work and education. The other thing is if they overcome the fear of family disapproval, women still have to face more problems than men in their work environment. So there is a need to plan and implement development strategies for men and women separately. Moreover, an unbiased accountability procedure with an equal representation of men and women needs to be introduced.

Moreover, as discussed in the preceding section, culture and gender-friendly audit, opportunities and representation in development processes need to be ensured for balanced development, particularly the appearance and representation of women is most needed for tourism in Chilas and the development of the Chilassi community. Moreover in case of Chilas specifically, the government at both national and local level needs to take steps in order to engage the local community especially women in development on an equal basis as suggested by Datta (2002) and discussed in chapter 3. The point being, that governments of LDCs need to take an active part in encouraging UCW to play their role in development processes. Their participation in activities outside of the domestic sphere will lead them towards empowerment.

Moreover, marketing and development plans for the place, product and people need to be promoted at a local, national and international level. For this, community development, such as a standard education system for girls and boys,

training and skills development workshops and seminars have been suggested as part of the preceding discussion. In addition, planning, construction, development, implementation and accountability on a transparent set of RCC for UCD, UCC and tourists needs to be followed in order to minimise cross-cultural misunderstandings between tourists and locals.

8.7 Summary

This chapter consists of the findings and recommendations of this research. The findings suggest that tourism, development, NAC and com-media are interconnected themes for the development of an UCD and UCC. They play a vital role in the development of both UCD and UCC, for instance Chilas is taken as an example to prove that despite the fact the destination is composed of natural and cultural ecology as part of the world's eighth wonder i.e. The Silk Road it is still not popular as a tourist destination at either a national or international level, even though it is similar to comparatively more successful destinations – Gilgit and Chitral – located in the surrounding area. Chilas is reasonably accessible to surrounding tourist destinations e.g. Gilgit, Shandoor, Chitral, and the Hunza valley via the Silk Road. Chilas, therefore, on account of NAC and inadequate com-media, suffers from a lack of good publicity about its reputation as a tourist destination, which in turn impacts on its community. The main cause for this “left out” destination and community is the biased and unskilled com-media (see chapter 5).

It is stated in chapter 5 that all tourist informants have highlighted the fact that the Chilassi community is very welcoming and the majority of them have been offered free food and on some occasions accommodation during their stay in NAP. However, the welcoming characteristics of the local community still lacks projection by com-media apart from individual and direct sources of media, i.e. family and friends' recommendations. The inappropriate com-media – i.e. by presenters that belong to surrounding destinations that are at a more advance official level of tourism and development – is yet another cause for the negative image of Chilas. It was established during the fieldwork that informants who were from other parts of GB territory present their biased and politically influenced views to potential tourists. It was also mentioned by one informant [male: 34: works abroad] that “*they* [officials from competitive destinations] *drag budget* [...] *leaving Chilas with very little amount of resources* [...]”.

However inappropriate, com-media is one of several reasons that have left Chilas with little attention from development authorities. The condition of the Chilassi tourism infrastructure has been analysed with the help of SWOT in chapter 6. It begins with the status of the entire tourism sector in Pakistan as a whole and in Chilas in particular. It is highlighted that the tourism sector has been one of the less preferred sectors in Pakistan by governments in the period from 1949 to 2011.

It has impacted the entire tourism infrastructure in Pakistan and caused relatively more damage to UCD, of which Chilas is one. Not only has the Chilas acquired a negative image, it has also contributed towards the negative attitudes towards the Chilassi community.

As highlighted earlier in this chapter, failure in representing the destination and community at a national level has led to Chilas being represented as a “No Go” area to outsiders by the representatives of surrounding tourist destinations. Due to the minimal attention from tourism and development authorities, non-participation in planning and development processes, and negative com-media remarks about the destination, the local community was encouraged to resist establishment of any development plans, such as the Diamer Basha Dam. In 2008 the proposal of the Diamer Basha dam was approved by the government of Pakistan which was to be accomplished by 2014. However, due to no participation of the local community at the decision-making stage, and no appropriate compensation plans for the affected community members, at the time of writing (in 2014) the construction process of the dam remains blocked by the local community.

The negative impacts of NAC, biased and unskilled com-media affected the attitudes of the entire local community towards development and government intervention in the destination (see chapter 7). There have been studies to explore community attitudes towards tourism but the literature that has studied the UCC attitudes towards development of an UCD and impacts of negative place image (i.e. UC com-media specifically on women) is scant. Therefore, this thesis is an attempt to relate the negative attitudes of UCC towards tourism and development to com-media in addition to an UCD and negligible attention from tourism and development stakeholders. Chapters 3 and 7 explore and analyse the situation where community development is associated with tourism and development. The development is a process and in case of many less developed communities, if there is tourism, this process speeds up. However, in the case of Chilas, if there is tourism the development process slows down with some exceptions of direct tourists and community interactions.

In chapter 7 it is noted from the fieldwork that mostly Chilassi women seek direct interaction with female tourists as talking to them gives them pleasure as reported by most of the women informants. Additionally, many informants also reported that interaction with tourists made them more aware of their dependence on male family members, which in turn encouraged them to be more independent. This has resulted in many local women getting directly engaged with business activities in order to earn money from home. On the other hand, due to impacts of NAC and UC com-media, Chilas has failed to attract the attention of many developmental projects. Negligence from government and development authorities has made the destination vulnerable to negative impacts of tourism.

As highlighted earlier there are no RCC and the local community states that tourists feel no constraints when visiting Chilas. The locals blame the national government for the badly behaved tourists and for not setting cultural and destination-friendly rules for those visiting Chilas. The local community members for this reason have set strict rules for their women to remain in their homes and not to go out without an accompanying male family member. Moreover, they oppose tourism and development projects in the region because of the fear of losing their “parda” tradition along with political matters discussed earlier in the thesis. This chapter, however, highlights major issues that are causing serious damage to the development of the destination as well as the community and sets out recommendations in the light of the existing literature which will be helpful for the development process to be sustained in Chilas.

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1

Glossary

(ADP) Annual Development Programme

(AKF) Agha Khan Foundation

(AKRSP) Agha Khan Rural Support Programme

(AKVO) Agha Khan Village Organisations

(AKWO) Agha Khan Women Organisations

(AKES) Agha Khan Education Service

(APM) Anti-Pollution Movement

(Com-Media) Channels of Communication including human being as a key channel and soft (information through electronic sources, social networking sites, internet, TV, radio) and hard Media (paper, publication, books, reports, brochures)

(CEDAW) The Convention on the Elimination on all forms of Discrimination Against Women

(CACAT) Chief Administrator Civil Aviation and known as Chief Administrator Civil Aviation and Tourism

(DJS) Diamond Jubilee Schools

(ERRA) Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority

(ESP) Ecotourism Society of Pakistan

(EU) European Union

(FPCCI) Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce & Industry

(GII) Gender Inequality Index

(GB) Gilgit-Baltistan

(GTM) Grounded Theory Method

(GDP) Gross Domestic Product

(GNP) Gross National Product

(HFR) Hosting Friend and Relatives

(HF) Hosting Friends
(HR) Hosting Relatives
(IDC) International Development Committee
(ILO) International Labour Office
(IMF) International Monetary Fund
(IOM)
(IUTO) International Union of Tourism Organisation
(KPK) Khyber Pakhtun Khwa
(KKH) Karakoram Highway
(KSA) Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
(LDC) Less Developed Country
(MoMRAT) Ministry of Minority and Religious Affairs and Tourism
(MoCSTA) Ministry of Culture, Sports, Tourism and Archaeology
(MoCSTY) Ministry of Culture, Sports, Tourism and Youth Affairs
(MoT) Ministry of Tourism
(NGO) Non-Governmental Organisations
(NAC) Natural and Anthropogenic Crises
(NAP) Northern Areas of Pakistan
(NATCO) Northern Areas Transport Corporation
(NCHD) National Commission for Human Development
(NAWPD) Northern Areas Water and Power Development
(NTA) National Terrorism Advice
NDMAP National Disaster Management Authority of Pakistan
(PATO) Pakistan Association of Tour Operators
(PDD) Planning and Development Department

(PTDC) Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation
(PCNA) Post-Conflict Needs Assessment
(PTDC) Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation
(RCC) Regional Codes of Conduct
(RCCUCC) Regional Codes of Conduct for Under Crises Communities
(RCCUCD) Regional Codes of Conduct for Under Developed Destinations
(RI) Region Initiative
(RSA) Rapid Statement Analysis
(SET) Social Exchange Theory
(SWOT) Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
(TI) Telephonic Interview
(TIES) The International Ecotourism Society
(TTCR) Travel and Tourism Competitive Report
(UCLDC) Under Crises Less Developed Country
(UNWTO) United Nations World Tourism Organisation
(UNDP) United Nations Development Program
(UNO) United Nations Organisation
(UC) Under Crises
(UCC) Under Crises Community
(UCD) Under Crises Destination
(UNDG) United Nations Development Group
(UNHCR) United Nations Higher Commissioner of Refugees
(VFR) Visiting Friends and Relatives
(VALFR) Visitor's Attitudes towards Local Friends and Relatives
(VF) Visiting Friends

(WiD) Women in Development

(WiT) Women in Tourism

(WCED) World Commission on Environment and Development

(WAPDA) Water and Power Development Authority

(WTO) World Tourism Organisation

(WEP) Women's Empowerment Principles