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# Mountain Tourism Workforce's Resilience during COVID Pandemic

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## **Abstract**

Nepal is a home to different famous mountains including Mount Everest, the highest mountain of the planet. The geography of Nepal is both an opportunity and a threat to the country and the communities. More than 15 percent of land lies in mountainous regions where tourism is the major profession to rely on for the communities. However, the region encountered one of the greatest threats in the form of COVID-19 which restricted people's mobility. The livelihood of the mountain communities which are directly or indirectly dependent on tourism was severely affected by COVID-19. The prime trait that helped minimize the damage was the resilience of the mountain community. This qualitative study attempts to assess the resilience (community resilience) of mountain people with the cases from the Everest and Annapurna region and analyze it against the theory of resilience.

Keywords: mountain tourism, resilience, community resilience, COVID

#### Introduction

The earth has been witnessing unprecedented phenomena for the last few decades. These phenomena including global warming, melting of mountains, threats of Glacier lake outburst flood, and rise of ocean level have been severely affecting the global tourism (UNWTO, 2022). Amidst these uncertainties, the world experienced the pandemic of COVID in 2019 which posed the greatest threat to the global tourism industry as the restriction of mobility of people was a must to overcome the pandemic.

During the pandemic, the tourism industry witnessed almost a nil number of tourists and had to deal with the biggest plunge in revenue. The UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) projected a loss of approximately 910 billion USD in export from Tourism and claimed that more than 100 million jobs were threatened (UNWTO, 2022). A similar fate was being projected and experienced in Nepal where the tourism industry had a direct share of approximately seven per cent in the national GDP in 2018 (WTTC, 2022).

The highlands of Nepal above 3000 metres of sea level are famous for their beautiful landscapes and diverse communities and culture which ultimately have made the mountain of Nepal one of the best tourist destinations of the world. The highlands are home to majestic mountains where people trek and experience serene landscapes and culture. However, the region has minimal options for livelihood as the land is not fertile which restricts local

communities from practicing agriculture. Similarly, there are no other industries and job opportunities for the locals which makes Tourism the only profession of the local communities in the mountain. International Labour Organization (2022) states that tourism enterprises and livelihoods of the communities which were dependent on tourism were severely affected by the COVID-19. Therefore, it would be correct to say that the whole highland communities of Nepal whose primary source of income was tourism were brutally affected by the pandemic and it was the communal resilience of the tourism workforce of the mountain which helped them survive during the tough phase of tourism during 2020 and 2021.

## Literature review

The COVID-19 pandemic was an unprecedented viral pandemic which severely affected the lives and livelihoods of people and the global economy (Congressional Research Service, 2021). Scholars and scientists from all over the world are attempting to assess the impacts made by the pandemic. Since the study intends to explore community resilience, review of previous studies on similar areas was needed. To make a study scientific and stand on some established theories, one needs to review previous works and established theories relevant to the subject (Creswell, 2005). Therefore, reviews were done on different thematic topics and areas relevant to the subject.

## Resilience

The terminology 'resilience' is believed to be first suggested by C.S. Holling in the 1930s in the field of ecology as he suggested it as a capacity to absorb changes and return to the normal state (Holling, 1973). Resilience can be defined as an ability to encounter and survive adverse circumstances. To be more specific, resilience has been defined as "the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while changing so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity and feedback" (Walker et al, 2004 as cited in Cochrane, 2010). Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) defines resilience as, "The ability of a system and its component parts to anticipate, absorb, accommodate, or recover from the effects of a hazardous event in a timely and efficient manner, including through ensuring the preservation, restoration, or improvement of its essential basic structures and functions" (IPCC, 2012). Similarly, while referring community resilience, we need to consider the combination of adaptability and innovation which enhance a system's general capacities to absorb internal (e.g., social inequality, political turmoil) and external (e.g., global economic shifts, hurricanes) shocks (Hahn & Nykvist, 2017; Smit & Wandel, 2006, as cited in Holladay, 2018).

## Tourism resilience

"Resilience of a tourism business is the organizational capacity to withstand, adapt, and recover from disaster" (Prayag et al., (2014) as cited in Victoria University, 2021). The tourism destination and system do not function in vacuum as it is shaped by actions of multiple actors (Victoria University, 2021). In other words, Cochrane (2010) suggests the definition of resilience which could be linked well while referring to tourism resilience as a linkage of human and environmental processes and thus can be regarded as a framework for understanding world systems, as tourism is often a system which consists of the different micro, macro and mega environment. Cochrane (2010) further states the basic principles of the resilience concept as a cycle or loop, not a linear trend where each stage is not necessarily identical. Here stages mean event(s), and adaptive capacity which depends on the vulnerability

and sensitivity of the systems. Tourism resilience can be seen as an outcome of the vulnerability of the industry to the phenomenon, turbulence/disequilibrium, adaptive capacity and co-evolution (Stevension et al., 2009).

# Nepal's tourism and mountain community

Nepal's tourism is associated with the mountain not only today but since its inception. The country was a wonderland till the 1930s as it was not open to all (Mahato et al., 2021) Nepal welcomed only a few during the Rana regime before the 1900s. Mahato et al., (2021) state, "In 1949, the Ranas decided to allow mountaineers to explore as long as scientists accompanied them" (Mahato et al., 2021). Nepal was popular for hunting and adventures during that period. However, different foreigners visited Nepal in their thirst to conquer the Himalayas. In this line, in the late 1920s, the British expedition team attempted to summit Mt. Everest. Further, Nepal gradually started to get open to foreigners in the 1950s and was popular as a destination for mountaineers. Moreover, trekking tourism became popular among adventure seekers around the world and Nepal has the major components of trekking tourism destination like difficult terrain, need of special clothes, unexplored region and communities (Rozycki & Dryglas, 2014) which make Nepal a potential favorite destination for trekking tourism.

Before the 1920s, when tourism was not an occupation in the mountain region, people of the mountain region used to migrate to different places in India and Tibet for short-term employment (Grandon, 2007). It was when the mountain region was not able to discover opportunities in tourism. Word of mouth has become an effective tool in developing Nepal's tourism (Thapa, 2010). Different scholars like Mahato et al., (2020); Thapa (2010) while sharing the history of Nepal's Tourism state that there has been a shift of tourism trend in Nepal. The trend before 1950 was limited to few as the country was not open to all; post 1950 the country was in the news after the successful Everest summit by Sir Edmund Hillary and Tenjing Norgay and trekking and mountaineering has been a popular activity in Nepal.

# Theory of resilience

Though the theory of resilience was mainly directed to ecological perspectives only when it was first proposed by Holling (1973), it is also applicable to tourism and its community. Further, Holling (1973) describing the resilience framework states, "The Resilience Framework can accommodate the shift of perspective, for it does not require a precise capacity to predict the future, but only a qualitative capacity to devise systems that can absorb and accommodate future events in whatever unexpected forms they may take" (p. 21). This statement can be taken for reference while analyzing the resilience of the mountain community to analyze its capacity to accommodate the shocks COVID-19 brought.

Figure 1

CoBRA Model



Note: UNDP. 2014

Similarly, the Community Based Resilience Analysis (CoBRA) framework suggested by UNDP (2014) as one of the practical analytical tools to assess community resilience, is also relevant to analyze the resilience of the mountain tourism community of Nepal as it has identified indicators of community resilience (UNDP, 2014).

Referring to this model, community resilience can be assessed based on indicators such as trends and attainment. Similarly, Deutsches Komitee Katastrophenvorsorge e. V (2022) defines destination resilience as the "overall ability of people in a tourism destination (e.g., service providers, institutions, organisations) to deal with different risks while maintaining an acceptable level of functioning of the tourism system without compromising long-term prospects for sustainable development." (DKKV, 2022). And this can be reflected well in the data of the Sagarmatha and Annapurna regions.

Figure 2



Destination Resilience
Note: DKKV. 2022

## Global tourism resilience in COVID

The tourism industry is one of the top global industries. Globally, it contributed USD 9630 billion to the global GDP where one out of ten jobs was said to be generated by the Travel & Tourism Industries in 2019 (WTTC, 2022). UNWTO (2021) states that there was a decline of more than 80% in the number of international arrivals from January 2020 to January 2021. With a drop of more than 64% in the global tourism industry (UNWTO, 2021), it affected tourism destinations and their stakeholders including local tourism trade. The figure 2 itself shows that the global tourism industry as anticipated was one of the most vulnerable industries during the pandemic, and that was also anticipated to be with low resilience.

The global tourism industry is recovering, actually recovering faster than projected by different researchers (UNWTO, 2022). The increment in the number of international arrivals is promising. If we look at the arrival number of the tourists, the global tourism proved to be more resilient than what was thought

# Nepal's tourism resilience

Nepal's tourism industry's resilience can be defined from the perspective of socio-ecological resilience. While defining Nepal's tourism resilience, it could be defined from the socio-ecological lens referring to scholars like Berkes & Folke (1998), Tyrrell & Johnston, (2008), Holladay & Powell, (2013) and Holladay (2018) where the tourism industry can be regarded as socio-ecological system as it is a blend of humans in nature. In this line, the Socio-Ecological Science concept as suggested by Folke et al., (2010), defines resilience as a capacity to be tolerant to the changes and maintain structure and function.

Tourism industry is one of the most fragile and vulnerable sectors when it comes to restrictions on the mobility of travelers. Even negative news affects a destination's tourism as tourists tend to change, cancel or postpone their travel plans (Bhatta, Gautam, & Tanaka, 2022). This ultimately affects the communities and sectors which solely depend on tourism. For instance: the communities of the mountains of Nepal which are solely dependent on tourism for the economy got severely affected by the lockdown and mobility restrictions due to the pandemic. It was anticipated that many communities would change their profession and there would be a brain-drain of tourism professionals in the mountain. However, circumstances are different. The paper attempts to assess the circumstance referring to the theories of resilience. In the paper, Nepal's tourism is assessed on the base of the same framework shown in figure 2. Further, in the paper, tourism resilience has been considered as a community resilience here, tourism resilience is assessed considering the degree of adaptability of mountain communities of Nepal whose livelihoods are solely dependent on tourism. So, community resilience, here, is the community's capacity to identify needs as they evolve and apply for necessary resources to address these needs (Jewett et al., 2021).

Since the study tries to explore and assess the communal resilience of the tourism community of the mountains of Nepal, it is important to know about the shared or common factors of the study units and to study shared human context, one shall prefer qualitative research methodology (Creswell, 1994). Therefore, qualitative research methodology was used. Further, the secondary data were taken in reference for the analysis of the status before, during, and after the lockdown of the area. Similarly, to discuss the actions and activities of the community, qualitative data were collected and analyzed.

The data were collected from both primary and secondary sources including the tourism statistics of the Government of Nepal, the Nepal Tourism Board, the Ministry, National parks and the Sustainable Tourism Livelihood Project (NTB/UNDP Project). Similarly, primary sources were interviews, observations, Key Informants Interviews (KII) and Focus Group Discussions (FGD).

The researcher visited the tourism sites where informal workers were engaged in cleaning the destination. It was observed that the destinations were clean and more beautiful than before and the community people were engaged in such works.

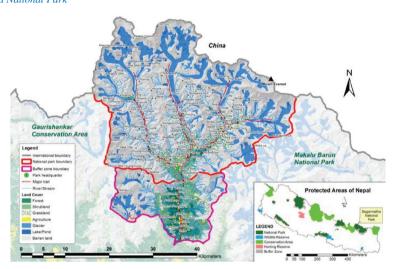
## Research area

The study sites of the research are Sagarmatha National Park region and Annapurna Conservation Area. These two protected areas which are in the mountain region are the areas which witness the highest number of arrival of tourists (GoN, 2019).

Sagarmatha National Park is a national park in the eastern Nepal with an area of 1148 square

kilometres and is home to Mount Everest, the highest peak in the world. It is listed in the UNESCO World Heritage sites for its rich biological and geographical diversity. The total population of the national park and buffer zone is 7745 with 1619 households (SNP, 2022). The major ethnic group of the area is Sherpa whose major occupation is tourism and related trade.

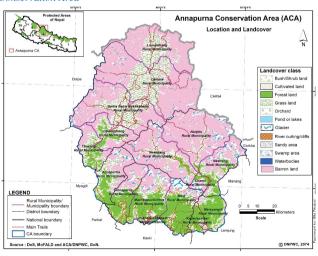
Figure 3
Sagarmatha National Park



Annapurna Conservation Area is a protected area established in 1992 AD. It covers an area of 7629 square kilometres and encompasses the Annapurna Himalayan range in western Nepal. It is a home to more than one million people who are involved in agriculture and tourism as their major occupation (GoN, 2022).

Figure 4

Map of Annapurna Conservation Area



Note: GoN, 2022

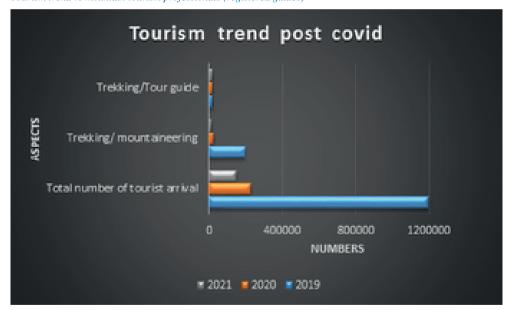
# Findings and discussion

The collected data were transcribed and analyzed. Data from different secondary sources were collected and analyzed. Further, data from primary sources were transcribed and verified with other sources before drawing the conclusion and reach to the results.

While analyzing the data from tourism statistics provided by the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation, it was found that the number of registered tour and trekking guides were increasing even after the COVID. The concerned ministry has published the data upto 2021 which show the increasing trend. From the figure below, the total number of trekking and tour guides increased each year amidst the lockdown. This can be linked with the first research question. Edeh, Ugboego and Adama (2020) in their research about the human resource and organizational resilience found that capacity building of human resource would enhance adaptive capacity of the organization from the foregoing, upskilling human resource would not just improve the skills of the employees but would enhance the adaptive capacity of the organisation. The increase in the number of guides shows that the tourism industry has improved skills which in a way can be linked with the first research question as DKKV (2022) suggests one of the domains of community resilience as the enhancement in capacity.

Figure 5

Tourism trend vs mountain tourism professionals (registered guides)



# Community itself as the strongest capacity

There were not any specific vulnerability and capacity assessments conducted before in the regions with a special focus on the tourism industry. Reports of GoN about disaster and crisis management state Nepal's tourism as a fragile industry as it is highly vulnerable to different natural and anthropogenic crises. In the case of mountains, there are frequent cases of avalanches, Glacier lake outburst floods, rockfall, and landslides (GoN, 2022). If we look at different incidents, the major vulnerability of the Annapurna and Sagarmatha region is

towards avalanches and glacier-related risks. On the other hand, if we analyze the response made by the local people against the handbook of Climate Vulnerability and Capacity Analysis (CARE, 2019), we can consider that community itself as the strongest capacity of the region.

Nepal is vulnerable to different hazards due to its geography and poor economy and, therefore, Nepal is not new to crisis as numerous cases of disasters are recorded annually. The major crisis Nepal faced and that impacted Nepal's tourism was during the insurgency period and the disastrous earthquake of 2015. Mr. Deepak Raj Joshi, former CEO of the national tourism organization, shares his experience of managing the crisis,"The earthquake caused loss of lives and infrastructures, moreover it caused loss of confidence of travelers to Nepal. However, the community came together for the rescue, response and bounce back programs instantly which made it possible to overcome shortly". On a similar note, Dr. Dhananjay Regmi, CEO of NTB who is a glaciologist and environmentalist, shares his experience of evacuating stranded tourists during the first phase of lockdown. He states, "the whole tourism fraternity came together to work on the rescue. From hoteliers to aviation, from local leaders to guides, all came and worked day and night to ensure that visitors reached their homes safely". Similarly, during the pilot project of Nepal Tourism Board and United Nations Development Programme while analyzing the situation with stakeholders, the community itself identified the most vulnerable and involved them in a cash for work program. This shows the communal feeling among the tourism community of mountains.

Tough times are the part of mountain communities as they have been living in hardship for long time. The communities are adapted to different complexities. Wyss et al., (2022) share in their research that the communities have a history of cultural inspiration and retreat that trigger social and technical adaptation. During the FGD the local lodge owners in Khumbu region shared that the Sherpas work as a community and usually tea houses operated above 4000 metres are solely owned and run by them. The owners happen to be relatives to each other. Further, it was stated that the kinship among the owners balances everything. People traveling above cannot even communicate for hotel booking and meals if hotels of lower altitude do not inform ahead as there is low chance of telecommunication. Analysing all these, it might not be wrong to state that the communal feeling of the community is the main capacity of Nepal's tourism. When we analyze this with the theory of community-based resilience, we can draw an answer to the first research question that community is the major capacity which helps minimize other vulnerabilities in Nepal's tourism.

# Crisis as an opportunity

When the government announced the lockdown restricting people's mobility from March 31, 2020, the operation of the tourism industry was impossible. Many hotels and properties were shut down due to the lockdown. Online Khabar (2021) states that more than 17 percent of hotels were shut down in Nepal during the pandemic. However, the mountain tourism community of the study area utilized the time in preparedness. During the pandemic, different local, national and international humanitarian agencies also worked in the rescue and recovery projects. For instance, in Annapurna and Everest region which are the mountain protected areas with highest number of arrivals of the tourists, a short-term employment program run by NTB and UNDP in partnership with local governments provided jobs for the most vulnerable tourism workforce (NTB, 2021). During that time, those workforces worked on disaster preparedness as they reconstructed trekking trails, re-engineered the trails and

worked on other aspects of solid waste management. The theory of community resilience's special focus is on the community's preparedness for disasters and in this line, we can say that the mountain tourism community strengthened their resilience during COVID not only against COVID but also against other disasters which can be related to aspects of community resilience shared by Ghapar, Otham and Jamal (2014) as it refers to the capacity to cope with stress and overcome the adversity. This answers the first research question.

Different tourism professional associations were also working in beautification and upgrading of the tourism products during the pandemic period. During the FGD with the members of Gandaki Trekking Agencies Association of Nepal (TAAN), the participants stated that the trekking professionals including agencies operators and guides were interested in contributing voluntarily in upgrading of the trekking trails. For instance: Mr. Udaya Subedi, treasurer of Gandaki TAAN shared that tourism professionals started participating in waste collection and management around the Fewa lake during the pandemic. These all show that tourism fraternity members were involved in upgrading tourism products which also helped them cope with the stress brought by lack of businesses.

# Collaboration: a key to building resilience

DKKV (2022) suggests social networks as one of the major components of destination resilience, and in the case of the study area, these networks which were later capitalized by collaboration were very crucial for community resilience. Different actors of the tourism industry collaborated to overcome the impacts of the COVID crisis and worked on coping with the impacts. For instance, NTB, UNDP, local rural municipalities, and different professional associations of the tourism trade of Nepal collaborated to implement "Immediate livelihood support program for most vulnerable tourism workforce" which was implemented in different tourist destinations of Nepal including both Annapurna and Sagarmatha region. 80 needy and most vulnerable tourism workforce engaged in different activities which would add value to the tourist destinations in Annapurna and Sagarmatha region (NTB, 2020). For the project, NTB and UNDP collaborated with different local governments, tourism professional associations and other informal groups in tourism. Lastly, these collaborative efforts showed the results as they helped retain the informal tourism workforce during the crisis which is one of the major indicators of tourism resilience of a destination. This might not be the only reason that the number of trekking guides remained in increasing trend despite the pandemic, however, the initiation helped the most vulnerable ones who were likely to leave the profession.

The COVID period was longer than anyone anticipated, and the capacity to absorb the shocks such as an unexpected crisis is resilience. For resilience, joint efforts are a must. Realizing that, the Pilot project was followed by a full-fledged project "Sustainable Tourism Livelihood Recovery Project". In total, 208 informal tourism workers in Annapurna and 268 in the Sagarmatha region were provided short-term jobs which also helped retain the human resources of mountain tourism. There are many projects which were implemented in joint collaboration of different stakeholders which helped in resilience. The World Bank also worked with the Board to build a Crisis Communication Plan as shared by the CEO during an interview. Further, he stated that different stakeholders were ready to collaborate for a tourism recovery project which helped the industry absorb the shock.

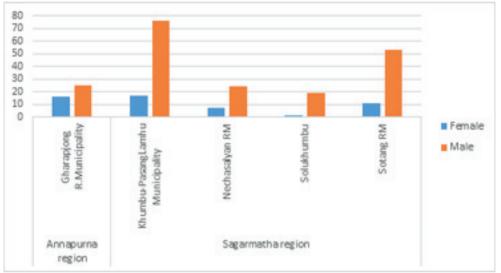
During the FGD with the tourism professional association in Pokhara, it was shared that

collaboration of different stakeholders were readily seen instantly after the lockdown. The NTB, embassies, ministries, Province Government, the Ministry of Home Affairs, Pokhara Tourism Council, Gandaki TAAN, hotels, restaurants all worked together to rescue stranded tourists in Nepal once the lockdown was announced. One of the hotel owners of Pokhara shared that hotels and restaurants of Pokhara even provided meals free of cost. The Chairperson of the tourism council during the interview shared that the pandemic demonstrated the real collaboration among the stakeholders and we were confident that we can overcome this crisis.

Analyzing the interviews and the FGDs, it can be concluded that collaboration was key to fight the crisis and collaboration worked as a catalyst to ensure the resilience of the community.

Figure 6

Chart depicting several tourism professionals



Note: Short-term jobs were provided by Sustainable Tourism Livelihood Recovery Project in Sagarmatha and Annapurna region.

The tourism fraternity received support from the government as well. The federal government of Nepal even provisioned soft loans and 25% of the wages as a relief to the workforce and social welfare fund for the tourism industry (Shivakoti, 2021). These all collaborations and initiations of different stakeholders complimented the resilience of the tourism community.

# Status quo as a strength

In the time of COVID, numerous businesses were shut down. The tourism and hospitality sectors were highly affected as even renowned businesses discontinued their operations (Online Khabar, 2021). The COVID pandemic was unprecedented and no businesses and communities were prepared for that. Therefore, the major trait that kept businesses running was not preparedness for crisis but resilience. In the case of mountain tourism in Nepal where people did not have any other alternatives to their livelihood (Dahal, 2023), the community tried to keep the industry as it is by giving different local tasks.

Tourism is the game-changer in the mountain region. Before tourism, mountain communities were fully dependent on seasonal agriculture which also was merely subsistence farming. One of the interviewees, Mr. Pasang Sherpa, a local guide and leader of Sagarmatha region stated that before tourism, there were no opportunities in the region as the topography is tough and unfriendly for commercial farming of cash crops, and lack of infrastructures always kept them backwards, however, tourism changed everything. Now even small children are good at communication, speak English and have got exposure. This statement depicts that tourism has been a crucial part of mountain communities' lives.

Mountain communities did not explore other opportunities than tourism which in a way helped them become resilient. "There is no option than being resilient as we do not have other options", states Mr. Sherpa. This sentiment of people and the status quo the region has been holding with are major reasons for the resilience. This also addresses the first research question.

## Communal sentiments and values as drivers

Community resilience is an integral part of crisis management, specifically in the field of public emergency management (Admad et al., 2022). In the case of COVID which was one of the biggest global public emergencies, community resilience was the key to overcoming the shock. Here, community resilience encompasses physical and psychological health, social and economic equity and well-being, effective governmental and non-governmental actors and social connectedness (Chandra et al., 2013 as cited in Admad et al., 2022).

There are many challenges for resilience and tourism raises some particular ones (Goodwin, 2017). The resilience of tourism is often determined by the sense of responsibility of the tourism industry or trade. In the case of the study area, during the COVID, it was found from the interview of the leaders of the tourism workforce that the tourism communities were out of jobs, however, they were committed to working for preparedness for the future. Different local bodies of the region provided short-term employment for the tourism workforce as well. For instance, NTB and UNDP collaborated on an immediate livelihood support program for the most vulnerable tourism workforce and provided jobs to the informal tourism workforce. During that project, the organizations partnered with local rural municipalities to identify and provide jobs to the most vulnerable workforce (NTB, 2021).

The tourism communities who were out of jobs during the lockdown were ready to voluntarily contribute as well. "We were out of work for more than six months since the lockdown and out of work means we were almost out of food as well. This project provided us with the work of our sector and we are being paid for what we were supposed to do voluntarily as well: cleaning the routes/ maintenance of the trail," said Mr Narayan Sunar, one of the workers of the project. The statements of Mr. Sunar depict all the components of community resilience and the theory of resilience is in line with the scenario he has described. Therefore, it can be concluded that communal feelings, sentiments of community to others, empathy and collaboration were crucial to minimizing the impacts of the COVID in the mountain tourism community.

# Implications of the study

The major strength of mountain tourism in Nepal is not only the mountains but the people and community. These communities' hospitality ultimately have helped the country become

a favorite destination for mountain tourism. Having mentioned this, the implications of the study are discussed below.

# Capacity building of the community: a must for resilience

Community feelings and collaboration were found to be the major drivers of overcoming the shocks of the pandemic in mountain tourism. Therefore, capacity building of the community is a must to ensure better preparedness and effective responses during a crisis.

# Sustainable collaborations for resilience building

Collaboration of different institutions and bodies proved to be very crucial during the fight against the COVID pandemic. The mountain tourism community collaborated with different stakeholders to ensure the community's resilience. Therefore, the study suggests that there should be long-term and sustainable collaborations among different stakeholders for resilience building.

## **Conclusion**

Tourism is one of the most fragile industries as it gets affected by anything that affects people's mobility and decision-making. Amidst the uncertainties and unpredictable circumstances the earth has been experiencing in the form of climate change, the world encountered another dangerous threat in the form of COVID 19 which was instantly declared as a global pandemic and the whole world went on to lockdown. Consequently, the restriction on people's mobility posed a serious threat to global tourism. Nepal's economy was hit hard and the tourism industry suffered the most serious threat to the community's dependence on the tourism industry. The mountain communities which are dependent on tourism and its multiple impacts were supposed to be severely affected. The study revealed that although they were affected, their community resilience was built due to collaborative actions, communal feelings and feelings of responsibility helped them overcome the shocks and threats posed by the pandemic. The level of their resilience and the time frame the shocks could be absorbed and the learnings they perceived from the pandemic are the areas of further study.

# Acknowledgement

The study bases its discussions and findings on the data of joint projects of the Nepal Tourism Board and the United Nations Development Programme as provided by the unit of Sustainable Tourism Livelihood Recovery Project of the Board.

## **Conflict of interest**

The author, hereby, declares no conflict of interest.

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