TOURISM STAKEHOLDER IDENTITY, VALUES, AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERN: UNDERSTANDING PRO-ENVIRONMENTAL BEHAVIOR IN THE MOUNT EVEREST BASE CAMP REGION

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Abstract: This research project explores the causes and consequences of the tourism economy on values, environmental concerns, and pro-environmental behaviors amongst stakeholders in the Mount Everest Base Camp (EBC) region of Nepal. Stakeholder groups were divided into five different categories: local residents, business owners, government officials, guides/ porters, and tourists to understand their interaction with the environment and impacts of their behavior on environmental inequalities in the region.

Tourism is very important for the EBC region. It is not only an economic activity but also a social institution. People gain their stakeholder identities by engaging in the tourism economy. Tourism differentiates amongst stakeholders through unequal distribution of resources. People's willingness to engage in environmental behaviors is based on power, privilege, and resources available to the stakeholders. Difference in power and privilege impacts people's exposure to environmental benefits and harms. When environmental problems impact poor and ethnic minorities, their concerns are least likely to be addressed in policies and practices.

Pro-environmental behaviors are multidimensional, with people choosing to engage in one behavior and not engage in others based on available resources or personal biases. Stakeholder groups in the EBC region engage in environmental behaviors based on their personal conception of the problems in the region and their personal biases, such as rationality (betterment of tourism economy), altruism (place attachment to the region), self-interest (personal hardships), or their job requirements. Stakeholders often engage in pro-environmental behaviors to promote tourism and facilitate the tourism economy.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Famous for its spectacular mountain peaks and warm hospitality of inhabitant sherpas, Everest Region in Khumbu district is one of the most popular tourist destinations of Nepal. This area has been hosting mountaineers since 1921 and was put on the world map after a successful summit of Mount Everest in 1953 by Sir Edmund Hillary and Tenzing Norgay Sherpa. This region is popular worldwide as an easy pathway for mountaineers to summit Everest (located at 8848m above sea level) and now hosts adventure hikes for non-mountaineers who wish to reach the foothills of Mount Everest Base Camp (EBC) located at 5364 m above sea level. Most tourists arrive in the region during peak mountaineering seasons occurring in spring (March to May) and fall (September to November). During these months, mountaineers can be seen training and acclimatizing in the mountains, while hikers flock to witness spectacular views of Everest along EBC trails. The popularity of EBC hike is increasing and every season thousands of hikers and climbers from all around the world arrive in the region through airport flights (into Lukla Tenzing-Hillary airport), helicopter rides, bus trips into the village of Phaplu and by foot to Lukla for their journey to the base camp.

Tourism has been a part of the local economy since 1921, the year mountaineers started arriving to climb Everest. Although mountaineers introduced tourism as a source

of income for locals, mountaineers have always been fewer in number and provide seasonal employment only to the highly skilled mountain climbers of the sherpa community. The arrival of EBC hikers, on the other hand, has extended tourism year around. EBC hike has now elevated tourism as a primary economic activity and also substantially improved the regional economy. Before the popularity of EBC hike, this region was economically deprived, with the majority of residents' dependent on agriculture for sustenance. With an increase in the number of hikers coming into the region, tourism now provides employment for most of the local residents as well as people from neighboring regions. Tourism has afforded people socio-economic mobility and affluence through trekking and mountaineering careers as well as hospitality jobs focused on catering to the tourist population.

Along with economic prosperity, tourism has brought forth significant environmental degradation in one of the world's most vulnerable locations. EBC region is now experiencing higher pollution and environmental degradation than ever before. The popularity of EBC hike has invited a large number of tourists in the region, often attracting novice trekkers and demanding guests who request faster, more comfortable services from the local mountain lodges. These lodges, although located in a very remote location with limited access to modern transportation, are increasingly westernizing their amenities to appease tourists' demands. With limited access to modern transportation, lodges have to import resources from outside the region. This has increased pressure on the natural environment by deteriorating roads, burdening the existing infrastructure, eroding mountain paths, increasing deforestation and increasing pollution. Environmentally destructive actions of tourists and locals have had long-term effects on the fragile ecosystem and sustainability of the region.

My research project is conducted in EBC region of Nepal with an aim to explore the causes and consequences of tourism economy on values, environmental concerns, and pro-environmental behaviors (PEB) of tourism stakeholders. I delineate stakeholders into five different categories: local residents, business owners, government officials, guides/ porters and tourists. My research aims to understand how tourism stakeholder identity guides social interactions between stakeholders to impact their environmental values, concerns, and pro-environmental behaviors. I also intend to investigate the impact of those behaviors on environmental justice and environmental inequalities in the region. Thus, with an aim to link tourism and environmental inequalities, I ask: (1) What role do identity and associated relationships and networks play in establishing and maintaining pro-environmental behavior? (2) How does tourism stakeholder identity influence pro-environmental behavior? (3) What role does tourism play in enhancing or ameliorating environmental inequality?

Environmental concern, attitudes, and behaviors have become popular topics of study with an interdisciplinary group of scholars interested in understanding personal and social motivators that give rise to pro-environmental behaviors (Dunlap and Jones 2002; Steg et al. 2011; Stern, Dietz, Abel, Guagnano, and Kalof 1999; Van Liere and Dunlap 1980). Within the area of social psychology, a significant amount of research has been conducted to help identify individual and social influences of environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors. Researchers have found individual and social attributes such as values (DeGroot and Steg 2008; Schultz and Zelenzy 1999), socio-demographic factors (Whitmarsh and O'Neill 2010), place attachment and emotional connection to nature (Cheng and Monroe 2012), and rational choice (based on costs and benefits) (Campbell et al. 2013; Sirivongs and Tsuchiya 2012) inspire people to engage in different types of environmentally conscious

behaviors. In addition to these attributes, identity is being considered as an important predictor of individual and collective pro-environmental behaviors. Identity has been successfully associated with behaviors such as activism (Stern et al. 1999), recycling (Nigbur, Lyons, and Uzzell 2010), green consumerism (Peattie 2010), and conservation (Whitmarsh and O'Neil 2010). These studies reveal that individual and social identities exert a strong influence on environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors. With social psychology gaining popularity in environmentalism research, identity is gaining more prominence in studies of environmental concerns and pro-environmental behaviors.

Tourism is also gaining visibility in environmentalism and environmental justice research. Researchers highlight the close relationship between tourism, the environment, and environmental inequity (Buckley 2009; Burns 2015; Holden 2016; Whyte 2010). With increasing attention on international tourism, globalization, and commercialization of the environment, research on environmental problems related to tourism has detrimentally increased. On one hand, tourism is hailed as the most viable economic opportunity for economically depressed regions of the world, deprived of other development options (Holden 2016). However, increasing human activity in fragile landscapes has resulted in serious negative environmental impacts. Tourism has introduced a multitude of environmental problems in host destinations, such as deforestation, overgrazing, soil destabilization and erosion, flooding, and other natural hazards (Buckley 2009; Burns 2015). Scholars interested in environmental problems related to tourism are paying attention to individual behaviors, social identities, and environmental values to understand how they influence people's pro-environmental concerns and behaviors (Cheng and Monroe 2012; Campbell et al. 2013; Zhang et al. 2014; Zhang et al. 2016). Researchers have also addressed how people organize

and fight against injustices in the tourism economy, the context that gives rise to these struggles, and the socio-demographic factors that encourage pro-environmental behavior amongst impacted populations (Griffin 2016; Porter and Tarrant 2000; Moore 2008; Whyte 2010).

This study extends previous research by tying concepts of identity, values, and environmental justice pertaining to tourism economy and considering their impacts on pro-environmental behaviors of stakeholders. To understand these interconnections, data for this study was gathered in two phases. First round of data collection was done through a preliminary qualitative pilot study in 2016. Data collected in this phase of study highlighted a variety of environmental problems affecting the residents of the region and helped guide the framework of the second phase. Preliminary data pointed towards a differential hierarchy of environmental problems among stakeholders in the region. To better understand these differences, a second round of data was collected in 2018 using multiple methodologies such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and a nested quantitative survey measuring respondent's stakeholder identity, identity salience, demographics, values, environmental concern, and their pro-environmental behaviors. Tourism stakeholders were separated into stakeholder groups to explore the causes and consequences of environmental behavior in greater depth, and to understand how the tourist economy impacts their individual and social identity.

I pay attention to residents in the EBC region who are closely engaged in the tourism economy. Previous researchers claim that people deeply involved in the tourism economy internalize their tourism stakeholder status as a part of their identity (Zhang et al. 2014; Zhang et al. 2016) and their behaviors are impacted by said identities. In this study, I focus

on resident who have a salient stakeholder identity in tourism economy. These residents are not only a part of the economic exchange system, but also powerful actors in their communities, decision-makers for local and regional policies, and gatekeepers of the region. I analyze not only the economic relationship of tourism stakeholders but also their social relationships with the community. The social bonds amongst tourism stakeholders are explored to understand their value system, their commitment to group identity, and how people work together to define and address different types of environmental problems. Their individual and social interactions not only impact the environment, but also associated social and environmental inequalities.

My project contributes to the literature on identity through an empirical socio-psychological analysis of stakeholder identity and values. This study also extends the literature on identity by focusing on stakeholder identity salience and its influence on individual values, environmental concerns, and pro-environmental behaviors of stakeholders, currently missing from the general literature. When people engage in the tourism industry, their association with tourism gives rise to a salient stakeholder identity, and this salient identity impacts their motivation to engage in different types of pro-environmental behaviors. Understanding salient identity and connecting it to pro-environmental behaviors helps to identify prominent environmental problems being faced by different stakeholders. A better understanding of how these stakeholders perceive the impact of tourism on the environment, and what environmental problems they deem most important for this region can be critical in formulating appropriate sustainability policies and conservation practices for the future. These policies will help promote environmental behaviors among residents and have significant impact on ameliorating environmental inequalities in the region.

In the next chapter, I review several pieces of literature pertinent to the study and research questions. I draw on theories of environmentalism, identity, and environmental justice to understand the influence of tourism and salient stakeholder identity on environmental behavior, often mediated through existing value systems (Zhang et al. 2016). I also discuss how environmental behaviors lead to environmental and social benefits/injustices for the stakeholders. I begin with an overview of previous literature that defines environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors as utilized in this study. Then I highlight how previous literatures have conceptualized and studied the impact of values, identity, and social identity on environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors. The next section of the literature focuses on stakeholder identity and salience of identity to understand how economic and social dimensions can help predict pro-environmental concern and behaviors of stakeholders. Lastly, I address the close relationship between tourism, environmental justice, and stakeholder behavior, as important aspects of enhancing or ameliorating environmental inequalities.

In Chapter III, I provide a context of the study site and the participating stakeholders. In Chapter IV, I offer an explanation of the research methods and data collection processes. Chapter V provides analysis and discussion of quantitative data results. Chapter VI discusses qualitative findings to address the role of place attachment, religion, and demographic identity on people's values, environmental concern, and environmental behaviors. In Chapter VII, I differentiate stakeholders as local stakeholders and outside stakeholders and talk about how the formation of salient stakeholder identity through tourism leads to differences in power and privilege amongst stakeholders. Here I address the differences in pro-environmental behaviors based on stakeholders' engagement in the tourism economy and

their salient status. Chapter VIII highlights the benefits and harms of tourism as experienced by residents in the EBC region. I close with Chapter IX offering conclusions, limitations, contributions, and suggestions for future studies.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this section, I address how previous literatures have conceptualized, defined, and studied the interrelationships between values, identity, environmental concerns and different types of pro-environmental behaviors. I consider prominent scales devised by various researchers to help predict the influence of values on behaviors and also discuss studies that have utilized these scales to better predict environmental behaviors. Identity is discussed as a multifaceted and dynamic concept, that involves individual and social dimensions which help define an actor's behavior in the larger society. Multiple aspects of identity such as personal identity, social identity, and stakeholder identity are discussed to help understand how people define their environmental concern and why they engage in various types of environmental behaviors. Stakeholder identity is discussed to understand the influence of social statuses and social roles that people develop while engaging in the tourism economy to understand influences on people's environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors. Lastly, I focus on mutual relationships between tourism and environmental justice, highlighting the rapid development of tourism in the global economy and its impacts on environmental inequalities. The global power-dependence relationship amongst different countries is seen to give rise to differential vulnerability and lead to higher environmental injustices.

Environmental Concern and Pro-Environmental Behavior

Researchers have studied environmental concern as a key component in understanding pro-environmental behaviors, citing that concern has a strong positive impact on behaviors (Schultz and Zelenzy 1999; Steg et al. 2011). Early scholars paid attention to environmental attitudes and world views of individuals with higher environmental concerns to understand how their beliefs and actions differed from individuals less concerned about the environment (Schultz et al. 2005; Stern 2000; Van Liere and Dunlap 1980). They found that people who are more concerned about the environment are significantly more likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors (Schultz et al. 2005; Stern 2000; Van Liere and Dunlap 1980).

As more studies focus on the interrelationships between environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors, researchers find that people define environmental problems based on their subjective evaluations (Dunlap and Jones 2002; Steg et al. 2011). Scholars have had a difficult time devising a universal definition for these concepts. Environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors are deemed as complex and subjective ideas. Thus, their definitions are chosen based on the matter of study. Schultz (2001) defined environmental concern as people's interest in environmental problems for themselves, others, and the biosphere. Another popular definition of environmental concern extends the definition from just concern to "people's awareness of problems regarding the environment and the support towards efforts to solve them" (Dunlap and Jones 2002:484). Steg et al. (2011:351) defined environmental concern as "evaluation of seriousness of environmental problems." The most popular definition of pro-environmental behavior (as used by this study) was formulated by Kollmuss and

Agyeman (2002: 240) as the "behavior that consciously seeks to minimize the negative impact of one's action on the natural and built world." But since there is no one way to minimize the negative impact of one's action, pro-environmental behaviors encompass multiple social behaviors such as activism, environmental group memberships, green consumerism, recycling, and conservation (De Groot and Steg 2008; Sirivings and Tsuchiya 2012; Sparks and Shepherd 1992; Whitmarsh and O'Neill 2010). In order to streamline the distinctions, Stern (2000) identified four types of environmentally significant behaviors: (i) public sphere environmental activism through movements, (ii) non-activist pro-environmental behavior in the public sphere such as support for policies, (iii) pro-environmental activities in the private sphere such as recycling and purchase of environmentally friendly products, and (iv) other environmentally significant behaviors such as donating money to environmental organizations and working with organizations that help with the environment. Stern points out that some people engage in environmentally conscious behaviors publicly through activism, supporting policies, donating money, and memberships in organizations, while some choose to engage in day to day environmentally friendly actions such as conservation and recycling. Wakefield et al. (2006) enhanced the conceptualization of environmental behavior by emphasizing interpersonal connections that give rise to environmental actions and includes collective behaviors such as attending public meetings and organization of protests as important types of pro-environmental behaviors.

Values

Values serve as guiding principles in a person's life. People's values are categorized based on their relative importance to oneself, with similar values clustering

together to form value orientations (Rockeach 1973; Schwartz 2012). Values are influenced by microsystems and macro systems of the society as people learn their values from their social relationships and the larger culture (Kollmuss and Agyeman 2002). Values represent personal learned beliefs that serve as collective guidelines to elicit desired social behavior and collective action (Schwartz 2012). People are socialized into different groups and actions are situationally activated when people choose values most relevant to them to model their behaviors based on those situations (DeGroot and Steg 2008). Scholars emphasize that values are more stable over time and have significant impact on people's environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors (De Groot and Steg 2008; Schultz et al. 2005; Schwartz 1977; Stern 2000).

Several models and frameworks have been devised to explain the impact of norms and values on pro-social behaviors. Two most coherent, well accepted, and empirically supported theories that highlight the importance of values in predicting behaviors are Norm Activation Theory and Value Belief Norm Theory. Schwartz (1977) originally developed the framework of the Norm-Activation Model (NAM), which treated environmental protection as altruism. Altruistic values encompass awareness of consequences and feelings of responsibility towards the environment. Schwartz (1992) points out that before engaging in any action, people choose between competing values and normative beliefs are always countered by cost-benefit rationality. Actors with high altruistic values choose to engage in environmentally conscious behaviors despite cost-benefit rationality. Schwartz (1992) developed a world values inventory with fifty-six guiding principles. He grouped human values into ten motivational domains and two dimensions that range from self-enhancement to self-transcendence. The broader range of

human values help understand that people attach relative importance to different values and norms which are important to them, thus generating different types of behaviors. The more important the norms and values to the individual, the stronger the moral obligation to act (Schwartz 1992).

Schwartz's world values inventory as a predictor of behavior has become very popular and is used by researchers all over the world. Value priorities measured by the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) show a predictable relationship with attitudes, personality, behavior, and demographic variables in over 60 countries (Schwartz 1992; Schwartz et al. 2001). Although the NAM model was originally intended to determine pro-social behavior, it has been extensively applied by psycho-sociological researchers to understand environmentally relevant behaviors (DeGroot and Steg 2008; Schultz and Zelenzy 1999).

Scholars have extended Schwartz's NAM model and Schwartz value survey to analyze personal norms and values as a basis for environmental intentions and behaviors (DeGroot and Steg 2008; Stern 2000). The most popular extension in environmentalism was done by Stern et al. (1999) who linked NAM with the New Ecological Paradigm (NEP) model to develop the Value-Belief-Norm (VBN) theory. Stern and colleagues differentiated three overarching value orientations that underlie environmental concern, namely egoistic, altruistic, and biospheric values to study their influence on pro-environmental behaviors. The urge to engage in pro-environmental behavior for selfless purposes is referred to as altruistic values. When individuals rationally calculate their decisions based on costs and benefits to engage in pro-environmental behavior, they act based on their egoistic values. Environmental concern and behavior arising from concern

for the biosphere is called biospheric values. Many researchers have since used the Stern et al. (1999) model to understand pro-environmental behaviors in various settings and they find that egoistic values are important predictors of personal/ private sphere pro-environmental behaviors, while altruistic and biospheric values lead to social/public sphere pro-environmental behaviors (DeGroot and Steg 2008; Thorgersen and Olander 2002; Van der Werff, Steg, and Keizer 2014).

Another important change in SVS stems from the criticism that the original instrument is unable to capture the values of populations residing in non-western less developed countries. The SVS has since been redesigned into the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) to measure the same 10 value constructs but in a less cognitively complex way than SVS. This change makes the scale more usable with different types of population (Schwartz et al. 2001). PVQ has now found a prominent place in the World Value Survey (WVS) which is administered in more than 168 countries. This longitudinal global survey uses PVQ to explore the importance of values in determining different types of behaviors.

Identity

A robust body of literature exists illustrating the link between identity and behavior by predicting these connections through identity theory and social identity theory (McCall and Simmons 1978; Stryker 1968, Stryker1980; Stryker and Burke 2000; Turner 1975). Identity theory (Stryker 1980) is a socio-psychological theory that stems from the larger framework of symbolic interactionism. Identity emphasizes interactions

amongst actors and the social structures that influence people's self-concept and determines their social behaviors (Stets 2006).

Identity is perhaps the most interesting facet of social-psychological theories when predicting behavior. It is multifaceted, dynamic, and encompasses individual as well as social dimensions to define people's behavior within the larger society. Self-identity and social identity are inextricably linked with each other with no clear dividing line between them and encompass demographic and socio-psychological factors that give rise to social behaviors.

Self-identity, popularly referred to as just "identity," is meanings that people attach to themselves to place oneself within the larger society (Stets and Biga 2003). Identity encompasses both the microsystem and macrosystem of society paying attention to individual internal dynamics of the actor (such as conceptualization of oneself) and also the impact of larger culture and socialization as people engage in self-reflection (Stets and Burke 2000; Stryker 1980). Self is generated within the social interactions and provide self-meanings to individuals (Stryker 1980). Identity is thus a manifestation of self, generated through internalization of group values, norms, beliefs and behavior (Mead 1934). Identity often serves as a reference that guides behavior in social situations, where people try to protect their self-image by emulating behavior based on positive feedback received from others (Cooley 1902; Mead 1934).

Identity established through social positions and roles attached to these positions that evoke expectations of certain behaviors is called role-identity (McCall and Simmons 1978; Stryker 1980). Actors are socialized to understand their social statuses and the

expectations of behavior attached to these social positions and roles in society (Mead 1934). People apply these definitions to model their social interactions, and the roles become especially prominent during interaction with people occupying counter roles (Burke 1980; Stets and Burke 2000).). For example, status of a teacher has defined roles attached to the position. When a teacher comes in contact with a student (counter role), their identity and behavior based on their role as a teacher becomes salient. An individual possesses multiple statuses and roles in society, and in presence of multiple identities, identities are hierarchically organized with some identities being more prominent and salient than others (Stryker 1980). Actors model their behavior in favor of identities that they strongly value and deem self-relevant. Identities higher in salience produce stronger emotional reactions and are more likely to impact an individual's behaviors. Emotions and behavioral responses then confirm an individual's self-identity (Stets 2006; Stryker 2004). There are many situations when individuals might face an identity conflict (e.g. when there is an absence of a clear counter role, or the presence of multiple counter roles). Whenever there is an identity conflict, the hierarchical categorization of identity becomes an important predictor of social behavior (Stryker 2004). In the presence of multiple identities, identities are hierarchically organized with some identities being more prominent and salient than others (Stryker 1980).

Social identity theory (Hogg 2006; Turner 1975; Tajfel and Turner 1979) helps us understand how socialization and group memberships impact an individual's identity and behaviors. Social identity is defined as a cognitive representation of a person created from experiences, social roles, and social interactions (Owens and Samblanet 2013). Social identity theory suggests that people derive their self-concept through group

memberships and larger social dynamics (Hogg 2006; Tajfel and Turner 1979). Social norms reflect the cultural, economic, and political forces of society often dictating what type of behavior is socially appropriate based on rules and standards shared by social group (Stets and Burke 2000).

People are categorized into socially ascribed groups by birth (e.g. race, gender), but as people grow up they seek admission into personally preferred social groups (e.g. political ideology). Thus, people are constantly refining their social and individual categorization (based on age, education, occupation, etc.) which substantially impacts their social behaviors (Trepte and Loy 2017). Categorization into different groups helps formulate in-group/outgroup distinctions and gives rise to a self-identity that largely resembles the group dynamics (Hogg 2006; Tajfel and Turner 1979). People conform to in-group norms and values to be accepted as a member of the group and maintain a positive social identity (Hogg 2006). Group memberships lead to closer connections amongst members as they differentiate themselves from others and collectively define/learn group values, norms, and behaviors. In-group identity leads to affective bonds, often invoking higher emotions and commitment to shared identity (Stryker 2004). Thus, when people commit to group identity, shared emotions, and shared norms to maintain a positive social identity, social behavior is impacted (Fishbien and Ajzen 1975; Stets and Biga 2003). Thus, categorization into groups influences people's self, identity, social interactions, and social behaviors, impacting people's experiences and also their life chances (Tajfel and Turner 1979).

Values, Identity, Environmental Concern, and Pro-Environmental Behavior

Researchers have analyzed a multitude of factors such as environmental altruism (Stern et al. 1999), rational choice (Ajzen 1991; Fishbien and Ajzen 1975), socio-demographic differences, place attachment and identity to better understand what impacts environmental concern and people's willingness to engage in pro-environmental behaviors. Environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors are subjective phenomena and conception of pro-environmental behaviors are modeled by researchers based on their area of study. The variability of these factors has led to a divide in the discipline, resulting in two major streams of literature that study pro-environmental behaviors in different ways. One facet looks at socio-demographic factors such as age, gender, race, education, political ideology, and place residence as important predictors of environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors (Cheng and Monroe 2012; Owen, Videras, and Wu 2010; Stern et al. 1999). The other facet addresses socio-psychological factors such as values, beliefs, and world-views as important variables that give rise to pro-environmental behaviors (DeGroot and Steg 2008; Gatersleben, Murtagh, and Abrahamse 2014; Schultz and Zelenzy 1999; Schwartz 2012).

Demographic variables such as income, education, gender, age, marital status and place of residence have been studied as significant variables to understand their impacts on environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors. VanLiere and Dunlap (1980) found that younger people are more likely to support actions against environmental problems when compared to their older counterparts. They also found higher environmental membership and support among urban residents and left-leaning voters. Similarly, people with higher education and higher socioeconomic status show

more environmental concern as well as seek membership in environmental organizations (Dunlap et al. 2000). Studies also reveal that females are more likely to express environmental concern and increasingly participate in pro-environmental activities when compared to their male counterparts (Stern et al. 1995; Zelenzy et al. 2000). The difference between genders is so distinct that feminization of environmental behaviors has been popularized through the framework of eco-feminism. Eco-feminism pays attention to the socializing process and socio-psychological factors that results in higher engagement of females in pro-environmental behaviors.

In addition to demographic differences, researchers pay attention to values, norms, and beliefs to understand the socio-psychological differences in environmental concerns and willingness to engage in pro-environmental behaviors. In environmentalism research, both personal values and collective values are important predictors of pro-environmental behavior. Researchers find that people who emphasize values such as altruism and self-expression give high priority to the environment in comparison to people who emphasize survival values and prioritize economics (Inglehart and Wenzel 2012; Kaiser and Bykra 2011). Kaiser and Byrka (2011) empirically linked environmental protection with values such as self-sacrifice and unselfishness. They find that people with high altruistic values are consistently more likely to behave in environmentally friendly ways. People with high altruistic values are seen to consistently engage in environmentally friendly choices as an important part of their lifestyle with them routinely engaging in behaviors such as recycling, energy conservation, taking the bus, and so forth (Inglehart and Wenzel 2012; Kaiser and Bykra 2011; Van der Werff, Steg, and Keizer 2013). Appreciation for nature and opportunities to experience nature

personally also gives rise to a more self-interested motive for environmental protection (; Campbell et al. 2013; Sirivongs and Tsuchiya 2012).

Culture and socialization are also studied to understand the impact of personal and collective values on behaviors. Researchers find that people from different cultures vary in how they emphasize values and norms to guide their behaviors (Cameron et al. 2017; Greenfield 2009). Some cultures emphasize collective values while others emphasize individualist values and people socialized into different cultures will choose to engage or not engage in pro-environmental behavior based on their collective value system (Greenfield 2009). Peattie (2010) highlights the impact of collective values filtering down into individual value systems. He claims that values are reflected in how individuals manage their household, their food choices, transportation choices, and leisure activities. Cameron, Sherman, and Kim (2017) find that when cultures emphasize conservation behavior as part of their value system, the residents are more likely to engage in conservation practices and see it as a normal part of their lifestyle. Cultural norms transmitted through generations have an impact on people's behaviors. When society engages in specific environmental behaviors as a part of their collective, people are socialized to those specific norms, values, and beliefs leading to increased engagement in pro-environmental behaviors (Cameron et al. 2017). Environmental values are seen to give rise to the ideology/identity of green consumerism.

Researchers caution that values, although an important component in predicting environmental behaviors, should not be used as the only determinant because values might be limited in applicability (Poortinga, Steg, and Vlek 2004, Van der Werff et al. 2013). Thus, many researchers now tie values with other mediating variables to better

predict pro-environmental behavior (Cameron et al. 2017; Gatersleben et al. 2014; Poortinga et al. 2004). Poortinga et al. (2004) studied sociodemographic variables such as income and household size along with consumer values to predict their willingness to perform behaviors that conserve household energy and support measures to improve environmental quality. Sociodemographic variables when combined with values help explain environmental behaviors in greater detail. For example, differences in environmental behaviors of men and women has often been attributed to socialization as well as differing value orientations. Scholars claim that women are socialized to value the needs of others and behave in more selfless ways giving rise to prominent altruistic environmental values and thus tend to be more environmentally conscious than men (Davidson and Freudenburg 1996; Stern et al 2002; Zelenzy et al. 2000).

Van Der Werff et al. (2013) applied the concept of values through the lens of identity to reveal that values do have an impact on identity and environmental concern. Values impact people's identity, thereby influencing their willingness to engage in a wide range of pro-environmental behaviors such as product choices, energy saving, and willingness to pay for green energy. Van der Werff et al. (2013) connected environmental values with environmental identity to find that people who strongly value their environmental identity consistently engage in pro-environmental behaviors. Gatersleben et al. (2014) point out that identity is indeed an important mediator variable that can help understand the links between values and pro-environmental behavior. All these studies have since opened a new facet of study in social psychology and environmentalism.

The identity framework is gaining prominence in environmentalism research as scholars are increasingly paying attention to the influence of identity and social identity on environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors (Ellemers et al. 2002; Stern et al. 1999; Whitmarsh and O'Neill 2010). Whitmarsh and O'Neill (2010) analyzed the impact of identity on private sphere pro-environmental behaviors of conservation. Other researchers have analyzed the impact of identity on public sphere pro-environmental behaviors such as environmental activism (Fielding, McDonald, and Louis 2008), green consumerism (Peattie 2010), and support for policies (Cameron et al. 2017). Van Der Werff et al. (2013) found that strong environmental identity positively influences peoples' visualization of themselves as environmentally friendly and makes them more likely to habitually engage in various types of environmentally friendly behaviors.

The influence of larger community characteristics can be seen in people's identity and their decision to engage in pro-environmental behaviors. Owen, Videras, and Wu (2010) analyzed the impact of community in willingness to embrace environmentalist identities. They found that community dynamics affect the likelihood that people residing there will identify as an environmentalist, even after controlling for individual political leanings and socio-economic characteristics. People willingly or unwillingly adopt the social norms and behavior of the social group to maintain their social identity. Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) emphasize cultural norms as important predictors of pro-environmental behavior in a social setting. They find that community, culture, and social norms affect people's behavior thereby impacting their identity in the process.

Research suggests group dynamics influence prominent/salient identity to serve as guidelines for desirable actions (Ellemers et al. 2002). Researchers give attention to

personal salience and emotions attached to identity, deeming them as important predictors of consistent pro-environmental behavior (Cameron et al. 2017; Van Der Werff et al. 2013). Nigbur, Lyons, and Uzzell (2010) analyzed salient self-identity and private environmental behavior of recycling to understand how group identity impacts a person's self-identity and motivates engagement in recycling behavior. They found that norms of neighborhood recycling patterns had a significant impact on behavior of residents moving into these neighborhoods, who adopted the identity of "recyclers" to emphasize their group identity. Peattie (2010) discussed "green consumerism," a seemingly individualist behavior, by connecting consumers to the larger society. He stated that the consumers are not only acting for themselves, but their behavior is connected to the community as a member of a family, household or community. Similarly, Cameron et al. (2017) found that living in a community that cares about the environment will certainly lead to more environmentally friendly actions. They found that individuals are more likely to perform behavior to support their identity if their activities are socially visible and help them maintain their social identity. Thus, actors always behave in ways that reaffirm their identity with a bias to maintain a desired view of themselves in the society. This means that sometimes they respond to highly personal issues to reaffirm their self-identity, and sometimes they respond to common threats through collective actions (Stets and Burke 2000).

Stakeholder Identity, Environmental Concern, and Pro-Environmental Behavior

Freeman (1984:25) defined stakeholder as a, "group of people or an individual who can affect or is affected by a firm's objective." This definition was further elaborated by Mitchell, Agle, and Wood (1997) who describe stakeholders as people holding power

within a firm, have a legitimate relationship with the firm, and/or have an urgent claim with the firm (Mitchell, Agle, and Wood 1997). Their definition of power reflects on the ability of stakeholders to bring desired outcomes, legitimacy of relationships refers to the inclusion of stakeholders in the activities of the firm, and urgency of claims signifies the effects of firm activities on stakeholders daily living (Mitchell et al. 1997).

This research project looks at tourism as a firm, and the stakeholders of the tourism sector are anyone who can affect tourism activities or is affected by tourism activities. Power in the tourism sector reflects the ability of stakeholders to bring desired outcomes (Mitchell et al. 1997), such as influence in policies. Political entities such as government, non-government organizations (NGO), and world organizations like United Nations World Trade Organization (UNWTO) have a lot of power to influence policies, which makes them a powerful stakeholder in tourism. Legitimacy of relationships in tourism refers to the involvement of stakeholders in the activities of tourism, for example business people whose economic and social relationships with the tourism sector makes them important stakeholders of the tourism economy. Urgency of claims signifies the effects of tourism on stakeholders. Local populations experience social and environmental benefits and injustices from tourism which makes them another important stakeholder in tourism.

Based on the overall definition, many people can be seen as stakeholders in the tourism sector. For example, local residents, business people, foreign companies, world organizations, children residing in the neighborhoods etc. all have some type of power, relationship, or claim with tourism economy. But not all of them are equal stakeholders. Thus, researchers who study stakeholder relationships define stakeholders based on their

area of research and by investigating dimensions of power, legitimacy, and urgency of claim amidst the study population (Byrd et al. 2009; Cole 2013; Zhnag et al. 2014; Zhnag et al 2016).

Understanding what encourages pro-environmental behaviors amongst stakeholders is an important step in developing sustainable tourism. Environmentally friendly behaviors and practices of stakeholders have significant impact on the environment both locally and worldwide. Scholars point out that understanding stakeholder behaviors is critical in accommodating the needs of stakeholders and encouraging sustainable behavior in the future. Researchers thus increasingly study environmentally friendly behaviors in tourism by focusing on specific stakeholder groups, their values and their concerns (Cheng and Monroe 2012; Fairweather, Maslin, and Simmons 2005; Hedlund 2011; Sirivongs and Tuchiya 2012; Zhang et al. 2015).

Local residents are the most important stakeholders of tourism and their values, environmental concern, and pro-environmental behaviors have a significant impact on environmental sustainability and local development (Cheng and Monroe 2012; Zhang et al 2014; Zhang et al. 2016). Scholars suggest that local stakeholders often develop a sense of identity with the environment, forming strong attachments with nature, and leading to greater environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors (Cheng and Monroe 2012). Local residents along with place identity develop altruistic values for the environment and these affective bonds with nature give rise to pro-social values and is an important determinant of pro-environmental behavior (Cheng and Monroe 2012; Stedman 2002; Zhang et al 2014; Zhang et al. 2016). As people reside in a geographical location for long periods of time they develop a deeper connection with the landscape

(Steadman 2002). The strongest bond is seen amongst people born in the region or with childhood attachment to the locality developing a sense of personal identity based on the landscape (Stedman 2002; Zhang et al. 2016). This type of personal attachment and identity affects the value that people place on environment, leading to increased environmental concern and engagement in pro-environmental behaviors (Stedman 2002; Zhang et al. 2016).

Tourists are another important stakeholder in the tourism economy. Researchers find that tourists who value environment show more environmental concerns and are more likely to engage in environmentally friendly behaviors (Fairweather, Maslin, and Simmons 2005; Hedlund 2011). For example, tourists with biospheric values and altruistic attitudes are more likely to visit eco-friendly destinations, engage in activism, and have more interest in environmental protection (Fairweather et al. 2005; Fielding, Mc Donald and Louis 2008; Hedlund 2011). Even though tourists lack affection and attachment to local spaces through "place attachment," the intrinsic interest of tourists for high quality tourism often encourages tourists to act with a greater sense of responsibility towards the environment (Han et al. 2017). In addition, demographic characteristics of tourists, such as their age, education level, and gender have been associated with more environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors, with older, more educated, and female tourists more likely to engage in pro-environmental activities than their counterparts (Fairweather et al. 2005; Fielding, Mc Donald and Louis 2008; Han et al. 2017; Hedlund 2011).

Government officials are important stakeholders who hold a lot of power in the tourism. Researchers consistently highlight the important role of government in

promotion of sustainable tourism. Government officials have the opportunity to encourage pro-environmental behavior through strict environmental policies such as mandatory environmental regulation, monitoring, and penalties that encourage local residents, tourists and business firms to participate in pro-environmental practices (Rivera 2004). However, government officials are often limited, depending on local and national governmental policies regarding tourism and environment. When government actively promotes environmentally friendly tourism policies, government officials have vested interest in protecting the environment due to economic incentives linked to their source of livelihood (Campbell et al. 2013). Bhutan is the best success story of governmental regulation in tourism. Bhutan's government has been highly involved in tourism regulation, management, and development with stringent restrictions and high tariffs on tourists. This has worked well in attracting specific types of tourists in Bhutan. The tourists coming into Bhutan are more likely to be rich, well educated, and concerned about the environment and less likely to be negligent with the environment (Rinzin et al. 2007). The strict policies have been very successful in conserving Bhutan's natural resources and preserving biodiversity (Buch-Hansen 1997).

Studies reveal that governmental regulations not only limit environmentally degrading activities of tourists, but also encourage local residents and communities to engage in pro-environmental behavior. In China, after the government and companies turned to social media to instill pro-environmental norms in their population, pro-environmental activity in tourism increased in popularity (Han et al. 2017). After the government began emphasizing the environment, a growing number of companies have started to publicly demonstrate environmental commitment to green development to

differentiate themselves from rival companies and attract future tourists (Jones et al. 2014). However, when the government emphasizes economic aspects of tourism, government officials are seen to forego environmental protection in emphasis of the tourism economy (Imran, Alam, and Beaumont 2014). Thus, government policies play an integral role in how government officials behave towards the environment. Government officials are thus seen to engage or disengage from environmental protection activities based on their job requirements and overall policies of their workplace (Campbell et al. 2013).

Studies emphasize income and incentive from tourism as an important variable that helps us understand stakeholder engagement in different types of behaviors in the tourism economy (Campbell et al. 2013; Sirivongs and Tuschiya 2012). Economic incentives of tourism are seen to have a significant impact on people's motivation to become committed to environment and conservation practices (Campbell et al. 2013). Income associated with tourism can change the local community's perception of the environment (Sirivongs and Tuschiya 2012). Campbell et. al. (2013) point out that stakeholders who have a vested interest in the economic aspect of tourism take advantage of the resources available in the environment. They are more likely to neglect environmental protection and sustainability. They also find that male respondents are more likely to emphasize economic incentives of tourism, and ignore environment over economic incentives (Campbell et al. 2013).

Researchers have consistently found that education and environmental awareness is key in elucidating environmentally responsible behavior in all stakeholders. Researchers point out that higher education is positively related to pro-environmental

values, which means individuals with higher education are more likely to show more environmental concern and engage in pro-environmental behaviors than less educated counterparts (Imran et al. 2014, Owen et al. 2010). With this in mind, governmental organizations and their officials now encourage various forms of sustainable tourism to the tourists and local communities through education. These sustainable forms of tourism focus on providing environmental education opportunities to residents and tourists to encourage environmentally appropriate behaviors (Poudel and Nyaupane 2012).

Overall, study of tourism stakeholder identity can help us understand how stakeholders who are more conscious of their environment are more likely to practice pro-environmental behavior, educate others, and participate in problem solving activities and thus directly contribute to sustainable tourism development and help decrease environmental injustices.

Tourism, Environmental Justice, and Pro-Environmental Behavior

Environmental justice study started in the United States with a focus on environmental injustices particularly relevant to minority communities (Bullard and Johnson 2003). Majority of first-generation environmental justice research focused on the distribution of environmental hazards, focusing on justice for groups living in close proximity to toxic pollution (Bullard 1983; Mohai and Bryant 1992; US GAO 1983; UCC 1987). These studies along with environmental movements played a big role in raising awareness and fighting against unfair practices in society that targeted rural, low income, and minority communities unequally (Bullard 1994). Early movements and studies were seminal in garnering attention to environmental racism, environmental

injustice, and environmental inequality (Bullard 1983; Mohai and Bryant 1992; US GAO 1983; UCC 1987). Researchers have since continued to pay attention to socially and economically vulnerable populations targeted for disproportionate exposure to toxic and hazardous waste (Middleton, Allouche, Gyawali, and Allen 2015; Moore 2008; Pelluzzo 2009).

Environmental justice research focuses on documenting inequalities faced by minorities and analyzing environmental policies and practices (procedural justice) that lead to environmental injustice and discrimination. The fundamental principle of environmental justice is to command equal environmental protection along with equal public health laws and regulations for people of all communities (Bullard 1994). The United States Environment Protection Agency has formally defined environmental justice to include mandates that no racial, gender or socioeconomic group should bear an unequal share of negative environmental outcomes regardless of their race, income, color, or national origin and reasonable opportunity to participate in decisions that will affect their environment (USEPA 1992).

As the environmental justice discourse has gained popularity, important shifts in the study have occurred. First, the discourse has expanded within the United States to include a wide array of environmental issues such as food justice (Alkon and Norgaard 2009), water justice (Middleton et al. 2015), air quality (Gilbert and Jayajit 2011; Pelluzo 2009), and unequal distribution of resources (Frey 2002, Roberts and Park 2009), and climate change (Roberts 2007). In addition, environmental injustices and conflicts in the developing world have also attracted a lot of attention from scholars fostering a new form of EJ, namely Third World EJ, that encapsulates unique

environmental challenges of developing countries (Schroeder, Martin, Wilson, and Sen 2008). Third world environmental justice researchers have addressed a plethora of inequalities such as unequal contact to harmful toxic exposures in factories (Schroeder et al. 2008), extraction-based inequalities (oil, mining) (Martinez-Alier 2003), waste management, export, and disposal (Frey 2002; Pellow 2004), unequal environmental exposures (Roberts 2007), displacement of minorities (Whyte 2010), human rights (Gonzalez 2015), and global movements protesting global hazards such as climate change (Roberts and Parks 2009).

Tourism and environmental justice are similarly grounded on the concept of space. Under environmental justice principles, the environment as described by Bullard (1994) as the physical and natural world around us where we live, work, play, and go to school. Tourism happens in regions which many people consider home and they live, work, play and go to school. Environmental justice discourse links racism, injustice, discrimination, and environmentalism in a singular frame (Pellow 2000) and focuses on environmental injustices particularly relevant to minority communities, such as toxic contamination, industrial development, and locally unwanted land usage (Bullard and Johnson 2003). Environmental injustices in tourism is related to similar differential access of the environmental befits and harms amongst local residents as well as tourists. Tourism is exploitative towards locals, many times leading to dispossession of locals for the sake of tourist development (environmental racism), while destroying spaces where people live, work, and play (Higgins-Desbiolles, Whyte, and Tedmanson 2013).

Tourism and its link to environmental justice is a budding field of interest for Third world EJ scholars. Tourism and environment are inextricably connected. Tourism

uses nature as a commodified product to promote various types of consumptive (hunting and fishing), non-consumptive (watching birds and scenery), and adventure-based activities (hiking and rafting) for economic gains (Buckley 2009; Gossling and Peters 2015). Tourism encapsulates the unequal relationship between developing countries and developed nations. Developing countries are embracing tourism as an avenue to enhance their foreign exchange by offering their fragile and beautiful ecosystems (mountains, coasts, tropical forests, wetlands, and snow regions) for tourist consumption (Singh 2017).

Tourism is growing in popularity and has developed as a contemporary lifestyle. Improving economic prosperity, increasing freedom to travel, and promotion of cheaper, faster, and more comfortable mass travel systems has amplified popularity of international travel amongst a new generation of travelers (Holden 2016). According to WTTC (2018), travel and tourism have contributed to 10.2% of the global GDP and have created more than 292 million jobs in the global economy. The United Nations World Trade Organization's secretary general has touted tourism as an important mechanism of job creation, essential for the prosperity of communities around the world. The tourism industry has experienced a consistent increase in business since 2010, with 2017 being hailed as the strongest in the last seven years. By 2030, estimated international arrivals are projected to reach 1.8 billion travelers worldwide (UNWTO 2018). Thus, the social and environmental injustices related to tourism are no longer attached to a specific place.

Many developing countries throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America are now promoting tourism for its potential to improve the economy of their country, bring wealth, relieve poverty, and expand employment opportunities for local residents (Cole

and Erikkson 2011; Holden 2016). Apart from positive economic opportunities that tourism can provide to local communities in the form of jobs and business prospects, tourism is also touted to help save the environment by federally recognizing tourist sites and protecting depleting flora and fauna for future generations to enjoy. These sites provide recreational opportunity not only for tourists but also the local population (Cole and Erikkson 2011).

However, tourism has been shown to introduce a multitude of environmental injustices for local populations. Tourism introduces hosts of environmental problems, such as deforestation, overgrazing, soil destabilization, erosion, flooding, and other natural hazards (Buckley 2009; Burns 2015). Tourism has often been linked with inequalities in the distribution/access of environmental benefits such as fresh clean water, air, and open space for local populations (Floyd and Johnson 2002; Griffin 2016; Porter and Tarrant 2001; Whyte 2010). Second, there are also limits to the benefits of tourism that can be enjoyed by locals, for example, a protected environment is not always accessible to local people (e.g. private beaches that are only accessible to the tourists and limit local use) (Floyd and Johnson 2002). Finally, tourism has been known to enhance economic disparities. Tourism not only enhances economic differences amongst tourists and locals but also leads to differential stratification amongst local populations based on power and socio-economic status (Moore 2008). Gossling (2002) emphasized global environmental consequences of tourism, highlighting land use injustices, energy use, greenhouse gas emissions, biotic exchange, extinction of wild species, exchange and dispersion of diseases and changes in the perception and understanding of the environment. Hall and Lewis (2009) measured tourism's impact on global change to find

that tourism's contribution to global change is continuing to grow as a result of increasing domestic and international trips, increasing water use, increase in luxury tourism and overall distance travelled.

Scholars point to the immense impact tourism puts on the environment leading to social and environmental injustices experienced by disadvantaged, low-income, and minority communities (Higgins-Desbiolles Whyte and Tedmanson 2013, Lavnchy 2017; Whyte 2010). Researchers consistently highlight social and environmental inequalities faced by local populations in tourist sites such as displacement from their land, discriminatory practices, and increasing socio-economic gaps, as well as access to natural resources such as water bodies, public land, forests, lakes, and biodiversity (Floyd and Johnson 2002; Porter and Tarrant 2001; Whyte 2010). Porter and Tarrant (2001) found that ethnic groups in Southern Appalachia were generally displaced in poorer parts of town facing greater environmental pollution, had limited access to land, and faced higher costs of living and an increased socio-economic gap between rich and poor. Similarly, Floyd and Johnson (2002) found environmental discrimination linked to socio-economic status differentials, with ethnic minority groups facing larger environmental inequalities than other populations residing in the region. The authors reveal a pattern of discriminatory practices in access to national parks and beaches for marginalized members of the community in the name of tourist development. Likewise, when Parker et al. (2017) examined the cost and benefits of the national park reserve in Canada, they found that first nation villages received significantly less benefits than other regions. The residents of these communities also showed greater concern about environmental harms than other residents in the region. Finally, Whyte (2010) points out that indigenous

communities suffer both distributional injustice and procedural injustice, such as a lack of forum for direct participation in community decision making, which means they have limited opportunity to consent to tourism practices. Whyte thus calls tourism a "mutually advantageous exploitation," where indigenous communities benefit financially but are exploited in many other different ways (2010:88).

In a globalized setting, issues of environmental injustice in tourism have become more prominent. Many researchers are now focusing on globalization of tourism to map the unequal relationships between tourists and local residents. They have addressed injustices regarding local access to fresh water (Lavancy 2017); local beach access (Cole 2016); and tourism waste management and disposal (Grandoit 2005; Moore 2008). Studies have mapped various causes for environmental injustice in global tourism (Carruthers 2008; Gonzalez 2015; Moore, 2008). First, tourism creates a systemic dependence between rich tourists from first world countries and poor locals in developing third world destinations, resulting in environmental injustice. Tourists come to underdeveloped countries to enjoy nature, but do not have to experience any environmental harms that result from tourist activities. Wealthy tourists gain access to environmental goods such as clean bottled water, clean city spaces, and private beaches, while locals are excluded from accessing these "luxuries," sometimes even from basic survival amenities like clean drinking water (Lavnchy 2017). Tourists spend limited amounts of time in the destination locales unaware of any hazardous consequences of their actions, yet they leave lasting environmental impacts for the local populations in the form of waste, sewage, and pollution (Grandoit 2005). Thus, wealthy tourists have access to all the benefits while vulnerable, poor, racial and ethnic minority populations

experience disproportionate human and environmental costs (Carruthers 2008; Gonzalez 2015). Second, tourism increases environmental injustice for minorities by increasing the socio-economic difference amongst locals. Moore (2008) points out that in order to maintain the cleanliness of the streets in Oaxaca, Mexico, a major tourist destination, the municipal government of Oaxaca dumps waste into outside colonies. People residing in tourist locations see themselves as socially distinguished because they do not have to face environmental hazards, while residents living in the outside colonies are vulnerable to environmental injustice because of their location. To resist the injustice, residents of outside colonies often barricade streets leading to dumpsites to make the government fulfill their needs. Studies illustrate that globalized tourism not only impacts environmental injustice because of income differentials between rich tourists and locals, it also leads to stratification within the local population based on power and SES.

Because of the immense social and environmental impacts of mass tourism, stakeholders of tourism are now giving more attention to ameliorating negative impacts by emphasizing pro-environmental behaviors. In 1992, representatives at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro proposed a sustainable development model of tourism that emphasized different routes while reducing tourism impacts, preserving nature and culture for future generations (Birgit 1999). The focus is on protecting and enhancing economic, social, and aesthetic needs for the future and providing guidelines in tourism development (Birgit 1999). Third world countries, national and international non-government organizations, and transnational organizations like UNWTO have been promoting different forms of alternative tourism approaches such as pro-poor tourism, ecotourism, voluntourism, and community-based tourism to ameliorate the ecological

footprint of mass tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles et al. 2013). Researchers also have emphasized the importance of sustainable tourism in protecting the environment as well as the cultural heritage of local populations by developing links to justice, fairness, and equity (Jamal and Carmango 2014; Lee and Jamal 2008).

Alternative forms of sustainable tourism models seek to address the ethics of environmental sustainability by focusing on conservation of the environment while engaging in tourist activities (Burns 2015). They heed towards conservation and enhancement of the environment, with a strong commitment to nature and social responsibility (Brown, Turner, Hameed, and Bateman 1997). Ecotourism is a popular alternative sustainable tourism model that is frequently discussed in the EJ literature. Ecotourism has been touted as an economically viable mass tourism alternative that minimizes ecological footprints and helps preserve natural and cultural resources for future generations (Burns 2015). One of the biggest advantages of ecotourism is that it promotes community participation in decision making processes, facilitating local community cooperation in conservation, maintenance, and enhancement of the environment. A community centered approach with increased access for local populations to participate in decision making processes ensures increased benefits to the residents, helps preserve traditional lifestyle and local culture, and boosts business development amongst the local population (Burns 2015). Ecotourism has also been known to improve educational infrastructure through implementation of community awareness and education campaigns (Campbell et al. 2013).

However, many researchers that study ecotourism do not applaud ecotourism as a sustainable alternative. Researchers find that ecotourism, although a sustainable

alternative to traditional mass tourism, often follows the same trajectory resulting in negative environmental impacts for local communities. First, researchers have criticized ecotourism and its inability to provide promised benefits. For example, Gould's (1999) research on Ecuador and Belize suggests that tourist operations that position themselves as environmentally and socially responsible often restrict benefits for the locals. Most of the brunt of undesirable environmental impacts are borne by local communities, while the investors, business owners, and tourists, who are typically from outside the community tend to benefit the most (Griffin 2016; Meletis and Campbell 2009). Second, there were also limits on local stakeholder participation in the decision-making processes that undermined both distributional and procedural justice aspects of eco-tourism and in some cases, gave rise to local resistance. Zebich- Knos (2008) applied an environmental justice framework in the context of ecotourism in nationally protected areas located in Latin America and found an uneven distribution of eco-tourism revenues. Belsky (1999) studied a community based eco-tourism project in Gales point manatee in rural Belize. Their study found that only a few people benefitted from the project as the project failed to encourage conservation but added to depletion. Villagers resented funding from the project that aimed to beautify the village for tourism, so they started challenging ecotourism through daily resistance at the micro level such as pursuing ecologically harmful activities that ecotourism banned like hunting off-limits species, alienating tourists, disposing of waste in inappropriate places, and burning a community center. Lastly, ecotourism is still vulnerable to the power-dependence relationships between rich first world countries and developing third world countries. Pena (2005) analyzed the patterns of eco-tourism development around the world to reveal that eco-tourism sites are

not random, but systematically situated in un-spoiled places of the developing third world, open for consumption by rich eco-tourists of rich first world countries. Fennell (2008), thus calls ecotourism and the community role as ecological stewards a "myth," pointing out that Indigenous populations do not have many economic resources, and tourism is so vital to their socio-economic fabric that outside forces outweigh community voices. Stakeholders often promote and engage in ecotourism because it is a better alternative but does little in regard to enhancing EJ or ameliorating environmental injustice.

Analytical Framework

I focus on tourism as an economic relationship as well as a social structure. As residents engage in a mutual relationship with the tourism economy, they develop a unique identity of a stakeholder. People directly or indirectly participate in the tourism economy, and they are also being directly/ indirectly exposed to benefits and harms of the tourism structure. With this in consideration, I expect stakeholders' behaviors to reflect their relationship with the environment and the tourism economy. Their experiences of benefits and harms through tourism economy impacts their past, present, and future behaviors.

I conceptualize environmental behavior as defined by Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) "behavior that seeks to minimize negative impact of human action on the natural and built world (p. 240)." I make use of Dunlap and Jones (2002) conceptualization of environmental concern in application to the tourism sector, aiming to understand what types of environmental problems people are aware of and what efforts they make to solve

existing problems. My research considers various types of environmental behaviors paying specific attention to private sphere pro-environmental behaviors of conservation and public sphere pro-environmental behaviors of environmental citizenship.

Pro-environmental behaviors are measured by utilizing the Pro-Environmental Behavior Scale (PEBS) developed by Markle (2013). The behaviors included in this scale are identified by environmental scientists as having the greatest impact on the environment. The original scale is a nineteen-item scale including four dimensions that measure both public sphere and private sphere environmental behaviors related to conservation, environmental citizenship, food, and transportation helping us expand the scope of understanding of pro-environmental behaviors. The first set of questions that address conservation behavior measure private sphere pro-environmental behaviors. Questions addressing environmental citizenship measure public sphere pro-environmental behaviors. The food dimension of the scale posing questions about consumption of pork, beef and poultry was condensed and focused only on the consumption of meat. Hindu and Buddhist traditions (the predominant religion of Nepal and the sherpa community) ban use of beef and pork in many ethnic groups and thus questions on consumption of beef and pork were discarded. The section on transportation was also disregarded in the current study because of the geographical location of the region. This region has no transportation except the use of helicopters for emergency and the airplane flight to Lukla (the first stop of the region). Thus, questions on carpooling, use of energy efficient fuels, and energy efficient cars were not applicable to the setting.

This particular behavioral scale was chosen for various reasons. First, the scale is recent, and encompasses a current list of pro-environmental behaviors. This scale has also

been employed by other researchers to analyze pro-environmental behavior in various contexts. In addition, Markle (2013) himself conducted various tests to validate the scale. He reported a 0.76 coefficient alpha for the full scale and a range of 0.62 to 0.74 coefficient alphas for the subscales. He conducted Bivariate Pearson correlations between the PEBS and the New Ecological Paradigm Scale, the Environment Identity Scale, and the Environmental Regulations Attitude Scale to demonstrate the scales' construct validity. He revealed that test-retest correlations were strong and signify reliability of the PEBS (Markle 2013).

To understand environmental concern and values, this study utilizes section L of the World Values Survey (WVS). This questionnaire was chosen because it utilizes the Portrait Value Questionnaire to measure respondents' value system, and also includes questions that measure environmental concern and different types of pro-environmental behaviors. I chose to employ the portrait value questionnaire survey scale to measure value orientation of the respondents because it measures ten value constructs as defined in the popular Schwartz Value Survey but is less cognitively complex and is more applicable to capture values of populations in non-western / less developed countries. Since this research is being conducted in a developing country, the portrait value questionnaire was a better choice as it has already been successfully employed by the world value survey in more than 168 countries around the world.

Stakeholder identity is predominantly discussed in business and economic research, because a stakeholder's role and behaviors are strongly tied to economic identity. However, social aspects of stakeholder identity are gaining prominence as more importance is being given to social bonds and community cohesion (Byrd et al 2009;

Crane and Ruebottom 2012; Zhang et al 2016). Crane and Ruebottom (2012) developed a stakeholder theory of social identification to understand stakeholders on the basis of their economic as well as social identity. Their model incorporates both the economic relationship and social identities of stakeholders to understand social interactions. I employ the stakeholder theory of social identification as an amalgamation of economic identity and social identity to understand its impact on values, environmental concern, and pro-environmental behaviors.

Several authors have applied the concept of stakeholders in tourism (Byrd et al. 2009; Cole 2013; Zhnag et al. 2014; Zhnag et al. 2016), classifying tourism stakeholders into four basic types (i) Local population, (ii) Tourists, (iii) Tourism promoters or business owners, and (iv) Public agencies and bodies such as local government. Based on the research topic and social structure of the study site, researchers have added and subtracted stakeholder groups accordingly. For example, Tomljenovic et al. (2013) added advocacy groups as stakeholders to understand how activists and NGO's influence tourism development in Croatia. I applied these guidelines to choose stakeholders for the study. The stakeholder groups were chosen because of their specific role in the tourism economy and their attachment to the region. This research project analyzes five different stakeholder groups (i) Local residents (non-business owners), (ii) Business Owners, (iii) Government Officials, (iv) Guides/ Porters and (v) Tourists. I added guides and porters as stakeholder group because they are an important part of the tourist economy in the EBC region. I argue that they qualify as an important stakeholder of the tourism economy in the EBC region.

The stakeholders can be divided into two groups, local stakeholders and outside stakeholders. Local stakeholders reside in the region for long periods of time and are separated into three groups: local residents, business owners, and government officials. The outside stakeholders do not reside in the region but come here for specific purposes, for e.g. guides and porters come for seasonal employment and tourists who come to the region for specific purposes such as vacation, mountaineering, or research.

Hypotheses for the current research were formed based on previous research findings where scholars determined that certain personal and social factors are more likely to impact environmental concern and willingness to engage in environmental behaviors. For example, researchers have found that economic factors (rationality) (Ajzen 1991), socio psychological factors such as values, beliefs, world views (DeGroot and Steg 2008; Gatersleben, Murtagh, and Abrahmese 2014; Schwartz 2012; Schultz and Zelenzy 1999), demographic factors such as age, gender, race, education, political ideology, place residence (Cheng and Monroe 2012; Owen, Videras, and Wu 2010; Stern et al. 1999), identity (personal as well as social) have significant impact on people's level of environmental concern and willingness to engage in pro-environmental behavior. Based on previous research findings, this study tests the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Environmental values positively impact environmental concern.

Hypothesis 2. Environmental values positively impact pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere).

Hypothesis 3. Environmental concern positively impacts pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere).

Hypothesis 4. Stakeholders with salient identity of business owners are less likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere) when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident.

Hypothesis 5. Stakeholders with salient identity of government official are more likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere) when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident.

Hypothesis 6. Stakeholders with salient identity of guide/porter are less likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere) when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident.

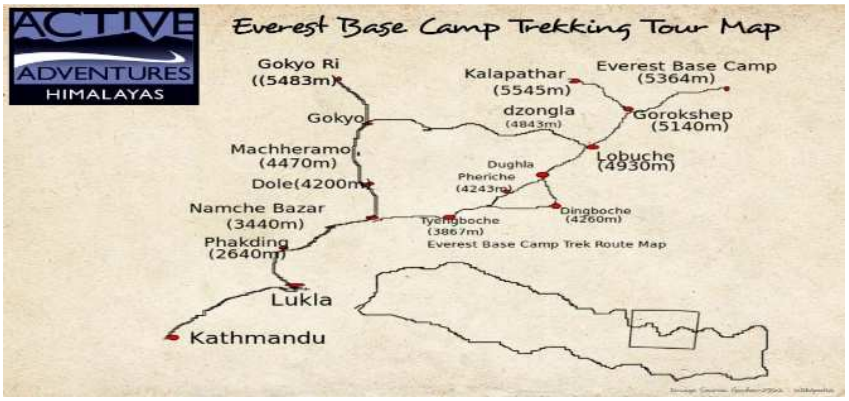
Hypothesis 7. Stakeholders with salient identity of tourist are less likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere) when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident.

CHAPTER III

CONTEXT

The Region

This section discusses the study site and the general population of the EBC region. A proper understanding of the region, its location, and the stakeholders is important to help map their unique relationship to the tourism industry. This region was chosen as an ideal place to conduct my study because of geographic isolation. Much of the human traffic in the base camp is based solely on tourism. There are no other local triggers of environmental degradation such as factories, industries, mining, or pollutants that may add to the economy or subtract from the environment. Thus, this site offers an opportunity to understand the true impact of tourism on environment, culture, stakeholder identity, values, and behaviors.



The above picture is taken from a trekking website to show the exact route trekkers travel during their EBC hike. The region is called the Khumbu region (popularly known as the Everest Base Camp region), and it lies in the northeastern part of Nepal, on the Nepalese side of Mount Everest. The region included in this study starts at Lukla and encompasses all the villages that are on the hiking trail, namely-Phakding, Namche Bazar, Machhermo, Gokyo, Gorokshep, Loubche, Dughla, Dingbouche, Tyengbouche, back to Lukla. The standard trek itinerary for most of the hiking trek encompasses the straight route to the EBC (Lukla- Phakding- Namche-Tyengboche- Lobche- Gorakshep-EBC) and is generally completed in fourteen days. Visitors can decide to take the longer route that passes through the Himalayan glaciers of Gokyo for an added six days, making the total trip last twenty days.

The EBC hike has been rising in popularity with the pavement of Lukla Tenzing-Hillary airport in 2001 (originally constructed in 1965) which has opened the airport for commercial flight. The Luka airport has now made the journey to EBC shorter and easier to access, with more than a hundred thousand passengers landing in the airport in 2016 (Civil Aviation Report 2017). In addition, the region holds a natural draw for adventurers and hikers by being in the foothills of the highest peaks in the world. Although, Mount Everest shares its territory with Nepal and China, the Nepalese side of the Himalayas are easier to climb than the Chinese side of the peak, which means that during the hike, trekkers are more likely to witness several mountaineering expedition teams practicing climbing with the sherpas, acclimatizing to the region, getting ready for the summit, or returning from the summit. That is seen as an exciting part of the whole experience. The region is also increasing in popularity because of accessibility. Nepal has more lax

government regulations regarding visa and visitation rules than China and the exchange rate of Nepal is also higher than that of China, which makes travel to the region cost effective for young hikers from all over the world.

As the numbers of tourists are rising, the region is experiencing both positive and negative changes. Today, the EBC region shows signs of over seven decades of climber's quests to stand on the roof of the world. The problem lies not so much in the expeditions but the large amount of hikers who travel to this remote region with little experience and an expectation of western amenities. The rookie climbers bring assortments of odd objects such as coffee makers and technological gears that cannot be used in the region and leave them on site as they become a hindrance to them (Dundruk 2015). Tourists also demand amenities such as packaged foods and bottled water which has led to growth in plastic pollution. The trash and human waste left by tourists has been posing a huge problem for the region, leading to increased land and water pollution threatening to spread diseases. In addition, lodges catering to the needs of the tourists aggravate the problem by disposing their waste in the vicinity, which translates into an increase in rubbish and littering of all trekking places and camping routes (Basnet 1993). Other environmental problems are related to deforestation, erosion of mountain paths, changes to the ecosystem, changes to the infrastructure, and sustainability of the region (Basnet 1993).

Many stakeholders are privy to direct positive effects of tourism such as economic wellbeing and governmental protection of the region. As the tourists started arriving in the region, the government of Nepal established the Everest National Park in 1976 to protect the area, the people, and rare species of flora and fauna (UNESCO 2018). The

park has since established programs for reforestation and appointed guards to apprehend poachers and illegal firewood collectors. There is also a push towards alternative sources of energy such as solar water heaters and micro local hydro-projects to generate electricity for cooking, heating, and lighting to ensure energy requirements of the local people and visitors (Karan and Mather 1985). Thus, tourism has afforded certain section of the population enhanced socio-economic mobility through employment in the tourism economy. People employed in the tourism economy are well paid, and families have high incomes from lodges. The difference in income amongst stakeholders becomes very evident when it is compared to people who do not have any direct income from tourism. For example, the lower regions below Lukla have now become economically depressed due to decline of tourism. After the Lukla airport started operating in the region, foot traffic into the region has slowed down considerably, and it has impacted the lower regions. Many people from these regions are now seeking work in the upper regions. Tourism opportunities in the upper region is growing and employment opportunities have increased. Now it is common for several members of the same household to have tourism-based incomes. Even the residents of neighboring villages come into the region for the economic opportunities (Stevens 1993).

The Stakeholders

The EBC region has been historically inhabited by the sherpa ethnic community traditionally working as mountain expedition guides and porters. This has led to a common misbelief that the term sherpa refers to guides and porters. However, sherpa is an ethnic group who have inhabited the EBC region for many decades. But as tourism has flourished in the region, other ethnic minorities from tamang and rai communities, who

used to reside in lower parts of the Khumbu district, have moved near the trekking routes for economic prosperity. With tourism flourishing, the sherpa community tightened their grip on land rights, with land being passed down to children strictly through birth or marriage. This control on land was started to limit land access to outsiders. Sherpas have this managed to maintain ownership of lands near trekking routes, the most economically prosperous in the region, allowing them increased prestige, status and power in the area. This control of land has also allowed the sherpa community to own most of the local businesses, important offices in the region, and become influential members of the community. Even though the sherpa community now shares the region with other ethnic minorities, the difference in power and privilege is evident. Different ethnic minorities generally own land outside the tourist region for personal residence and they seek employment in lodges and businesses. They can be seen renting land and houses for businesses from the sherpa locals. With time, many villages are now scattered throughout Khumbu region, forming ethnic enclaves outside the trails. Most residents of Khumbu region are recognized as local residents or business owners depending on their engagement with the tourism industry.

The EBC region is also home to various government officials who come into the region as government employees. In addition to people elected as government officials from within the region, the region hosts government officials from all over Nepal in different capacities. The government officials are influential, powerful, and play an important role in regional development and environmental control. Various government offices in the region are directly related to environmental conservation and management. The government officials included in this study work with the community in some

capacity to address the social and environmental upkeep of the region. For example, Nepal Army officials who are not particularly environmentally focused were interviewed because they are integrated with the Sagarmatha National Park, who work to monitor human activities in the national park and work with locals to prevent poaching of endangered local animals, as well as prevent smuggling of medicinal herbs, plants, and trees from the region.

The tourists coming to the EBC region are predominantly from outside of Nepal. Internal tourism is growing steadily but the region is not very popular amongst Nepalese tourists because of high costs, long travel time, and availability of other shorter popular hikes in other parts of the country. The incoming tourist population is thus generally divided into two different types, mountaineers and hikers. Mountaineers visit the region to spend months at a time as they train and acclimatize for their summit expeditions. Mountaineers come in groups, bringing in their own expedition teams and employ local sherpas to help them navigate the mountains. Hikers come into the region for shorter periods, generally ranging from sixteen to twenty days. They are often accompanied by guides and porters who help them get acquainted with the locals. They have to follow a very strict itinerary and a set schedule along the path to the base camp.

Guides and porters fly into the region with the tourists. They accompany tourists throughout their hike, often staying with them in the same hotels, educating them about the region, acting as translators, and carrying their belongings back and forth until their return to Kathmandu. Since they accompany tourists in their hikes, they move up and down the region very frequently. During busy tourist seasons, they accompany two to three tourist groups along the trails in one single month. Their main job is to shepherd the

tourists in and out of the region quickly and efficiently. Guides and porters thus spend time with the tourists monitoring their behavior and communicating their needs to businesses and local population. Their engagement in the tourism economy makes them crucial stake holders of the region.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Data for this research project was collected and analyzed utilizing a mixed methods approach, a strategy where qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection and data analysis processes are integrated. Multiple methodologies when combined together, allow for complex study designs to be more flexible and adaptable in the field and fosters an accurate description of personal views (Hesse-Biber 2010). Using multiple forms of data collection and analysis processes also helps researchers acquire data that is rich, comprehensive, and able to provide broader understanding than employing either qualitative or quantitative methodology alone.

A qualitative approach helps understand subjective meanings of the respondents and enables richer insights. It allows respondents to frame their lived experiences in their own words, and uncovers their subjugated knowledge (Hesse-Biber 2010). Quantitative research, on the other hand, necessitates the formulation of hypotheses and requires empirical verification of collected data. Qualitative and quantitative methods, when combined together, can help with triangulation, add rigor to the study, enable deeper learning, and help compliment and strengthen findings. If one methodology raises

questions or seeks explanation, the other can provide better clarification (Hesse-Biber 2010).

I chose mixed methodology for my study because I wanted a comprehensive understanding of pro-environmental behaviors amongst tourism stakeholders in EBC region. Data collection for this study involved participant observation, a survey questionnaire, and semi-structured interviews with the participants. Mixed methodology allowed participants to share their opinions in different formats, giving them a stronger voice and adding breadth to the study. The methodologies were chosen because they have complementary strength and allowed an understanding of stakeholders' environmental behaviors with use of a variety off techniques.

By using different methodologies to measure the same concept, I expected to get robust findings as well as triangulate the results for improved validity. However, mixed methodology has its own disadvantages. Researchers caution that mixed methodology research design can be very complex requiring a lot of time and resources to plan and implement. During analysis, if there is discrepancy in findings amongst different data, this can make results unclear and inconclusive. Thus, a good rationale is needed before implementing a mixed method design in a study (Hesse-Biber 2010).

A sequential mixed methods design was chosen for various reasons. Different phases of data collection and data analysis facilitated a better understanding of the stakeholder population and their interconnections, which later helped me obtain a more representative sample of respondents. Multi-stakeholder studies such as this encompass populations with diverse backgrounds (Cole 2012; Cole 2013). Cole (2012) points out

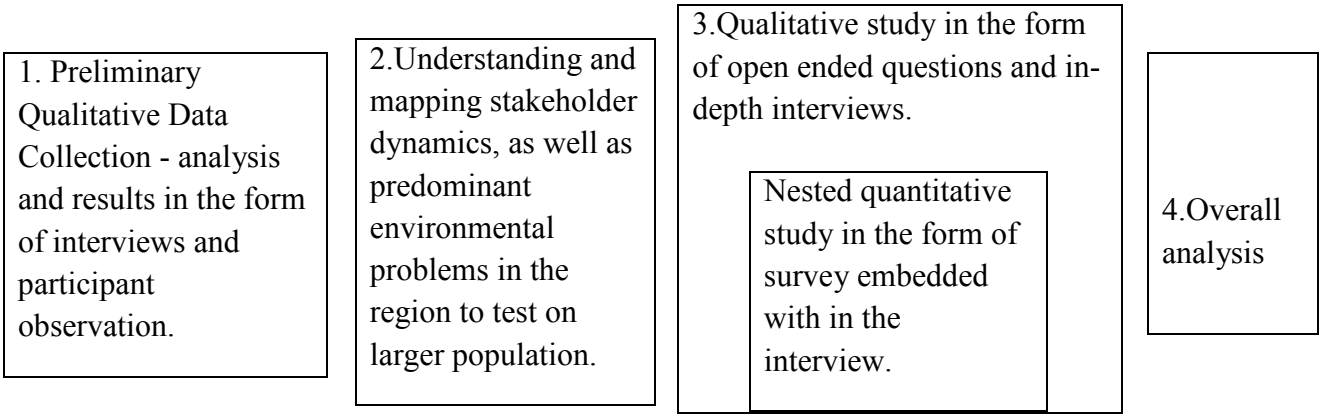
that a multi-layered approach helped her understand the underlying social, political, and environmental factors that led to mismanagement of water sources and ultimately water crisis in Bali.

Data for this study is similarly collected from different sources and in different phases which enhances reliability and validity of findings. The findings of the first phase of the study helped frame the questionnaire and population sample for the second phase of the study. Researchers point out that analysis of multiple and diverse stakeholder viewpoints requires a robust platform to ensure a systematic and through approach in both collection and analysis of data (Hesse-Biber 2010; Cole 2012; Cole 2013).

For this study, a preliminary qualitative study was conducted in July 2016 to understand stakeholder identity in the region as well as understand environmental problems experienced by the local population. Participant observation and ten in-depth interviews were conducted during this phase. The results of this preliminary study helped me distinguish amongst stakeholders, understand connections between them, explore their understanding of environmental problems for the area, and document actions being taken to alleviate these problems. The findings helped frame the second phase of this study conducted from August 2018 to December 2018. This phase of data collection employed a nested mixed methods design involving semi structured interviews with fifty stakeholders, a nested quantitative survey within the interviews, and participant observation in the region. The survey questionnaire delineated respondent's identity, values, environmental concern, and pro-environmental behaviors. Interview data reflects stakeholders' experiences with the environment through open ended questions. It offered

an opportunity for stakeholder groups to articulate their concerns about environmental problems in the region, their beliefs, and values through mutual dialogue.

The design of the study is as follows:



Data Collection

Phase one of the study involved qualitative data collection methodology involving participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Preliminary data collection was conducted in July 2016. Ten interviews were collected during this phase, three with local residents, three with business owners, two with government officials, and two with guides of the region. This first phase was conducted in most popular route of EBC region, spanning through Lukla, Phakding, Namche Bazar, Thyangboche, Dingboche, Loubche to Gorakshep. This route is the most popular hiking package advertised by trekking companies, and hosts the largest number of tourists during any season. Participants were chosen from different villages along the trail namely, Lukla, Namche, Tengbouche, Phakding, Loubche, and Gorakshep. Interviewees were recruited throughout the trek

using purposive sampling and I differentiated them based on their local stakeholder status as well as on the degree of group and economic homogeneity. Their responses helped me identify differences amongst stakeholders and understand their social relationships. Interviews talked about power and privilege dynamics of social groups, environmental problems in the region, environmental justice issues, and actions being taken to alleviate those problems. This understanding helped me streamline and guide the framework of the study and determine phase two data collection procedures.

Phase two was conducted for approximately 4 months (120 days) in the EBC region. This phase of data collection covered a larger landscape encompassing the popular standard trekking route, as well as high skill trekking routes of Gokyo and Cho la pass. This full hiking route is also very popular but require better skills, extensive training, and more time to complete. During this phase, most interview respondent recruiting and data collection was done at acclimatization points (Lukla, Phakding, Namche, Thame, Gokyo, Macchermo, Loubche, Gorakshep) of the trek. Acclimatization stops are villages where tourists, guides and porters spend an extra day in the region as a rest day for body to accommodate with the altitude. These stops were chosen because the local population density is larger, the villages are more prominent, and long rest days made respondents more willing to participate in one on one interviews. Relatively more time (approximately one month) was spent in Namche Bazar which is an acclimatization point during the climb up but also a rest stop during the climb back. Namche Bazar is also the largest, most populated and most popular village in the region, making it an important stop for data collection.

During the first phase of data collection all ten interviews were conducted in English. I found that most of the respondents often did not open up to the conversations (even though they have a good grasp of conversational English). Later many pointed out that they did not feel comfortable talking in English. When I conducted the interviews in Nepali during the second phase of data collection, respondents were more willing to talk, elaborated their thoughts, and fully engaged in mutual conversations. Understanding your situation in an interview process is important because positionality of researcher is very important part of the data collection process. I feel that my status of a Nepali female researcher played an integral role in my research experience. I experienced a lot of respect and care during my time in the region. People regularly commented on my positionality as a female researcher studying in United States, engaging in research in her home country willing to talk about people's problems. I found them more willing and open to talk to me. This was especially prominent when talking to women of the region. They communicated trust and comfort, for which I thanked them profusely at the end of each interview. Deinara and Scott (2006) point out that social proximity is indeed an advantage when a researcher interviews within ones own cultural community.

Most days were spent engaging in participant observation, striking up random conversations with locals, roaming market places, and visiting monuments such as monasteries, museums, incinerator sites, and micro hydro power facilities. Participant observation helped me identify stakeholders, informally analyze public environmental behavior of stakeholders through their daily interactions, and note the interconnections amongst stakeholders in the region. All of the observations and public contact were recorded in a journal with extensive field notes. Pictures of important notice boards,

information brochures, governmental forms, and warning signs in the region that addressed environmentally friendly behavior (with things to do or not to do while in the region) were also recorded with the field notes. The field notes and information from public signs were transcribed into a word document each day.

Following established protocols in sociological research, the population sample was a purposeful and convenience based (Babbie 2007, Hesse-Biber& Leavy 2006). Participant observation provided opportunity for regular and continuous contact with local residents, often leading to informal conversations about the region and then inquiring if they would consider participating in a survey and semi-structured interview during their free time. Following initial consent, individual interview appointments were set up with stakeholders. The interviews were set up in a public location chosen by the interviewee or in the sitting area of the lodge where I was residing.

People were approached for interviews based on their stakeholder status and involvement in the tourism economy. I wanted to include people who have been involved in the tourism economy or resided in the region for a substantial amount of time, and thus personally experienced benefits and harms of tourism industry. With this consideration, I started to recruit stakeholders who have been involved with the region for at least five years. Local residents chosen for the study had been residing in the region for at least five consecutive years. Business owners who were selected for the study own various businesses in the region ranging from lodge owners, shop owners, money exchange/ service providers, small local tea houses, and bar owners. They have owned and have been running their businesses for at least five years. Guides/ porters were approached

based on their work experience in the region. Guides and porters were recruited based on their total working experience in the region of at least five years.

It was more difficult to recruit government officials to partake in interviews. Government officials of important offices such as Sagarmatha National Park (SNP), Sagarmatha Pollution Control Committee (SPCC), Buffer Zone (BZ), Nepal Drinking Water Corporation (NDWC), Nepal Army, Nepal Police, and Eco-Himal were recruited based on their availability, willingness to partake in an interview, and their service in the region. Some officials interviewed, were an integral part of their organization, but had not been living in the region for five years. To make sure their voices were heard, I included government officials who had been working in the region for at least three years. Lastly, tourists were recruited based on their willingness to participate in the interviews. Tourists range from first time visitors to seven time visitors in the region.

Most of the interviews with local residents happened during afternoons, which is the slowest time of the day for everybody. Afternoons are rest time for locals as tourists spending the night journey on to their next destination after breakfast, guests staying in the lodge go explore the village or leave with their guides for acclimatization walks, and the next group of tourists arrive in the evening. Local residents and business owners were mostly interviewed during afternoon time at their preferred location. Most interviews with government officials also happened during daytime. Interviews with guides and porters were conducted during evenings after their tourist groups had gone to rest, which made it easier to have longer conversations and more detailed interviews. Interviews were generally conducted during their hike back from the camp because of less stressful

atmosphere overall for the guides and porters after a successful hike and happy customers who do not need as much help while returning.

Tourists were recruited along acclimatization points. I would strike up conversations with them about the region, inform them about the nature of my research, and ask them if they would like to participate in an interview soon or when returning back from the climb. Many would agree to participate, but given the time constraints of the climb, most interviews were set up during their climb back on the rest days in Namche and Lukla. Lukla was more fruitful for tourist interview sessions because of numerous flight cancellations back to Kathmandu and tourists looking for restful ways to spend the day.

Only adults eighteen years of age and older were included in this study. Ten participants from each stakeholder group were recruited for the surveys and semi-structured interviews leading to a total of fifty respondents/participants. Purposive and convenience sampling was used to select participants from each stakeholder group. All interviews were conducted in English and Nepali (which the researcher speaks fluently) or a mixture of the two. The quantitative close ended questionnaire was nested into the qualitative interview process (Roth 2006; Hesse-Biber 2010). Respondents were first given a hard copy of the survey to fill out in their preferred language, Nepali or English. Many respondents who completed their interview in Nepali preferred to fill out the English version of the survey citing that their reading and writing in English is much better than their spoken English (due to an English medium education system in Nepal). Help was provided to respondents who needed direction while filling out the survey, often guiding them through the questionnaire whenever they felt confused. When no help

was needed, respondents were given space and time to complete the survey at their own pace.

Survey Measures

The survey questionnaire measures stakeholder identity, salient stakeholder identity, demographic variables, values, environmental concern and different types of pro-environmental behaviors. This survey analyzes salient stakeholder identity, environmental values, and demographic variables such as female, income, education, birth, and sherpa as independent variables to predict their influence on respondents' environmental concern and different pro-environmental behaviors.

Previous researchers have found that environmental concern can be a defining factor on whether or not a person chooses to engage in pro-environmental behaviors. Environmental concern is analyzed as a dependent variable to understand how other independent variables- salient stakeholder identity, values, and demographic variables impact peoples concern. Then, environmental concern is analyzed as an independent variable to understand its effects on people's pro-environmental behaviors. Environmental concern is measured by asking respondents to choose a statement that expressed their point of view when discussing the environment and economic growth. The option placing priority on protection of the environment was coded 1, and another option placing priority on economic growth and creating jobs was coded 0. The self-reported emphasis on the environment is measured as respondent's environmental concern.

Pro-environmental behavior of respondents is measured by utilizing the Pro-Environmental Behavior Scale (PEBS) developed by Markle (2013). The dependent variable pro-environmental behavior is divided into public sphere and private sphere pro-environmental behaviors. Out of four dimensions included in the original scale of Markle (2013), I chose two dimension (subscales) to measure pro-environmental behaviors in this study. The first subscale measures public sphere pro-environmental behaviors. This scale (alpha=0.86) includes four items that measure environmental citizenship coded in this study as Envmembership, Envdonation, Envdemonstration, and Envtalk. These items were coded as binary variables with 1=yes 0=no responses. The subscale measuring conservation behavior consisted of seven items (alpha =0.67) that measure private sphere pro-environmental behaviors. Participants responded to items that asked respondents how frequently they performed private conservation acts such as "turn off lights," "limit energy consumption," "turn off electronics," "limit time in shower," "full load dishes/laundry," "watch videos on environment." These variables were coded 0= never, 1= rarely, 2=sometimes, 3=usually, and 4= always. "Control temperature" was coded as 0= hot, 1= warm, and 2=cold. Participant mean scale score was calculated for each pro-environmental behavior and each subscale. Higher scores mean more frequent engagement in environmental behaviors.

The survey questionnaire verifies stakeholder identity of the respondents by asking them to categorize themselves into single or multiple stakeholder groups namely local residents, business owners, government officials, guides or porters, and tourists. If a respondent chooses multiple stakeholder identities, they are asked to hierarchically categorize their stakeholder identity based on its salience i.e. which stakeholder identity

do they think as most important for them. Salient stakeholder identity as a variable was coded based on stakeholder groups. Salient stakeholder identity is a five-category nominal variable. I dummy coded the variable into series of dichotomous variable for all but one variable Local residents. Respondents who chose salient identity of business owner were coded 1=business owner, 0=else. Respondents who chose salient identity of government official were coded 1=government official, 0=else. Respondents who chose salient identity of guide/porter were coded 1=guide/porter, 0=else. Respondents who chose salient identity of tourist were coded 1=tourist, 0=else. I chose to use local resident salient stakeholder identity as the reference category.

In addition to salient stakeholder identity, other demographic measures such as age, female, income, education, birth, and sherpa were also included in the survey. Age measures the age of respondents in years. Female reflects if the respondents identified as female=1 or male=0. Income reflects monthly earnings of stakeholders in Nepali rupees and is coded as 1= 0-10000, 2=10001-30000, 3=30001-50000, 4=50001-1,00,000 5=1,00,001-2,00,001 6=2,00,001-5,00,000, 7=5,00,001-10,00,000, 8 =10,00,000 and above. Education reflects respondents educational attainment coded as 0= no formal education, 1= incomplete primary education, 2=complete primary, 3= incomplete secondary school: technical vocational school, 4= complete secondary school: technical/ vocational school, 5=incomplete secondary: university preparatory type, 6=complete secondary: university preparatory type, 7= some university level education without degree, 8= university level education with degree : bachelors, 9= university level education with degree: masters, and 10= university level education with degree: Ph.D. Birth reflects weather the respondents were born in the region coded as 1=birth in the

region, 0=not born in the region. Sherpa reflects weather respondents belong to the sherpa ethnic group coded as 1= sherpa, 0=else.

Value is measured using a ten item PVQ scale (Schwartz 1992: Schwartz et al 2001). The alpha for the PVQ scale is 0.69 and the scale measures impact of personal values on respondent's environmental concerns and pro-environmental behaviors. Respondents were given an example of a person who values different things in life, such as self-direction, power, security, hedonism, benevolence, achievement, stimulation, conformity, universalism, and tradition. Respondents were asked to indicate whether the person described in the question is 1= not like me at all, 2= not like me, 3= a little like me, 4=somewhat like me, 5= like me, and 6= very much like me. I pay special attention to environmental values which fall under the umbrella of universalism. Environmental value was measured with the question "Looking after the environment, to care for nature, and save life resources," in which respondents had to indicate weather that person is = not like me at all, 2= not like me, 3= a little like me, 4=somewhat like me, 5= like me, and 6= very much like me. For other questions and value attributes, see table 3.

Data Analysis

After the surveys were filled out by the respondents, semi-structured interviews were conducted following a basic interview outline, allowing the respondents to elaborate on the concepts of identity, environmental values, environmental concerns, and their engagement in different types of environmental behaviors. Topics related to community ties, economic relationships, attitudes/perceptions about the environment, environmental degradation, and behavioral responses towards environmental problems were discussed.

Each participant took part in one in-depth interview that lasted 2-3 hours. Interviews were semi structured and organized around the interview guide. The interviews consisted of open ended questions to garner a broader understanding of respondent's perspectives about the environment, issues they think are most important for the region, and their motivations to engage in environmentally friendly behaviors. Respondents elaborated on their lived experiences and community dynamics that help them define their environmental concerns. The semi-structured interviews allowed for flexibility so that respondents could be as detailed as possible. To ensure accuracy in data, interviews were digitally audio recorded with participant permission. Interviews were conducted in English and Nepali depending on the participant's preference. The interviews in Nepali were translated and transcribed (at the same time) in English in a word document during evenings or free days following interview sessions. The interviews conducted in English were transcribed similarly, word for word.

To ensure confidentiality of participants, all collected data was stored in a locked bag, that remained with researcher at all times during the study period. No names or individual identifiers were collected. Each subject was given an identification number for audio recordings, written notes, and surveys. Each interview was coded with the initial letters of the stakeholder group, for example RE for local residents, GU for guides and porters, BO for business owners, TO for tourists, and GO for government officials. Numbers were assigned to represent the number of interviews for each stakeholder group such as RE1, RE2, TO1, GO1. Other identifying information (if any) was removed immediately.

Data was organized and analyzed according to qualitative and quantitative procedures. The overall analysis of the survey, interview transcripts, and field notes began after the completion of each phase of the project. After phase one data collection in 2016, analysis of data was done through qualitative content coding and data checking processes. After extracting raw data from each interview, hand coding was done to identify thematic categories. The transcripts were analyzed by breaking down interview questions. While presenting significant themes that emerged from the interviews, identifying attributes were replaced with stakeholder status and gender. In the pilot research, I found that "community," "stakeholder identity," "tourism," and "gender" were common themes that emerged from the transcripts. Intercoder reliability added "threat" as an additional category signifying threat to the physical environment which was then added as a subcategory. Latent deductive coding was done to address research questions and themes were identified for "pro-environmental motives" and "pro-environmental behavior."

During phase two of data analysis, initial thematic coding occurred immediately after each interview session in order to identify emergent themes. Initial thematic coding was done based on research questions and the interview questionnaire. For the second round of coding I went through interview transcripts and field notes heavily coding line by line to develop corresponding theme categories. Finally, a third round of coding was done to help solidify thematic categories and link them together for further analysis. Different stages of thematic coding facilitated a constant comparative analytic process. Individual code sheets were developed with codes like salient stakeholder identity, community identity, personal identity, identity conflict, personal values, cultural values,

environmental concerns, economic concerns, local regulations, green certification, health impacts, pollution, and environmental behavior. Corresponding text and quotations from the coded interviews were compiled to build individual thematic code sheets. Code sheets were recorded as separate files in word document and individually analyzed later for the final analysis.

I feel confident in my qualitative data set and its representativeness of the EBC population. The stakeholders chosen for the study represents a diverse population residing in the EBC region. I consciously tried to diversify the population sample by including various ethnic and minority groups in all the key stakeholder groups. I feel my sample size of fifty respondents represent diverse group of stakeholders in the EBC region. In addition, a medium sized pool i.e. a sample of thirty respondents is considered a good number of interviews needed in a qualitative research, especially if interviews are supplemented with participant observation (Baker, Edwards, and Doidge 2012). I feel that my sample size of fifty meets the suggested number of interviews needed for data adequacy in a qualitative study.

Qualitative research measures data adequacy by looking for saturation. Saturation is reached when adding new themes or categories does not improve the explanation of themes or categories or add any new information. During data analysis saturation level for all codes were reached. I believe that adding more participants to the data set would not add anything new to the qualitative analysis, making the findings both robust and reliable.

CHAPTER V

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

Descriptive statistics for all the participants as well as each stakeholder group was computed to understand the differences between the groups (Table 2). Survey results show that respondents for this study ranged from 20-68 years of age, encompassing 30 males and 20 females. Local residents, as a group overall, have low income and low level of education. The group encompasses residents identifying as sherpa as well as residents from other ethnic minorities. These people have resided in the region for many years (average 35.2 years), which means that they experience environmental benefits and costs for long periods of time. The local resident stakeholder group was sampled for higher female representation (N=6) to compensate for the lack of females working in businesses, government offices, and as guides/porters. Business owners are more likely to be men given the patriarchy social system of Nepal. Even though this region has a lot of women entrepreneurs or women working with their husbands in businesses, more men business owners (N=6) agreed to be interviewed. Business owners have the highest income amongst local stakeholders. They are also more likely have higher education than local residents. They have spent most years in the region (average 44.1 years), with many

belonging to the sherpa ethnic community. Government officials are also mostly men (N=7) with high education and high income. Many government officials also belong to the sherpa ethnic community, illustrating the strong hold of sherpas on local governance (N=5). Government officials who are from outside the region are seen to be generally younger in age and have been residing in the region for a few years. Guides and porters are mostly from outside the region (N=8), and they make the least amount of money in the tourism economy. These respondents are most likely to be male, young, unmarried, and least educated. Tourists coming into the region are relatively economically stronger and more educated. The age range for tourists ranged from 21-68.

Quantitative data analysis was done through several regression analyses on STATA. These analyses were conducted to understand the overall impact of stakeholder identity, demographic variables (age, female, income, education, sherpa, birth), environmental values, and environmental concern on private sphere and public sphere pro-environmental behaviors. Based on the hypotheses the predictor variables of interest are Envvalue, Envconcern and Salient stakeholder identity. Logistic regression models were used for dichotomous dependent variables such as Envconcern, Envmembership, EnvDonation, Envdemonstration, and Envtalk. I use logistic regression because with linear regression models and dichotomous dependent variables we risk meaningless results as the predicted probability may fall out of 0-1 range. Also using linear analysis for binary dependent variables is heteroskedastic by construction which has been avoided by utilizing logistic regression models.

Multiple regression models were used to analyze the relationships between predictor variables and categorical/ ordinal dependent variables such as Turn off lights,

Limit energy consumption, Turn off electronics, Limit time in shower, Full load dishes/laundry, Control temperature, and Watch videos on environment. Ordinal logistic regression models were run again to see if this model better estimates the relationship in between predictor variables and the ordinal dependent variables. No difference in significance or association was found.

Participant mean scores were calculated for each pro-environmental behavior in the subscales. Then individual variables were created by combining the scores to understand the impact of predictor variables on private sphere pro-environmental behavior and public sphere pro-environmental behavior.

Hypothesis 1 states that environmental values positively impact environmental concern. Quantitative results show that environmental value is not significant predictor of environmental concern, failing to support the hypothesis. I find that, increase in environmental value increases the log odds of respondent's environmental concern by 0.129 among residents in the EBC region, however the relationship is not significant.

Hypothesis 2 states that environmental values positively impact pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere). Regression analyses do not reveal any significant impact of values on private sphere or public sphere pro-environmental behaviors, failing to support the hypothesis. Increase in envvalue has significant positive impact on only one a public sphere pro-environmental behavior, which is envdonation. Increase in envvalue increases the log odds of respondents donating money to an organization for environmental causes by 0.718.

Hypothesis 3 states that environmental concern positively impacts pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere). The regression results show that environmental concern is not significantly related to public sphere and private sphere pro-environmental behaviors, thus failing to support the hypothesis. Environmental concern has significant impact on one public sphere environmental behavior, Envdemonstration. Respondents choosing environment as more important increases the log odds of respondents participating in environmental demonstrations by 0.718. No other significant relationship was found in between environmental concern with any other environmental behaviors.

Hypothesis 4 states that stakeholders with salient identity of business owners are less likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere) when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Quantitative results show that salient identity of business owners does not have any significant negative association with either private sphere or public sphere pro-environmental behaviors when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident, thus failing to support the hypothesis. Survey results show that stakeholders with salient identity of business owners are significantly less likely to have envconcern when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Stakeholders identifying as business owners decreases the log odds of respondents displaying envconcern by 2.368, when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Identity of business owner is significantly related to pro-environmental behaviors such as envdonation and limit time in the shower. Salient identity of business owner is associated with 0.431 unit decrease in probability of stakeholders limiting time in the shower when compared to stakeholders

with salient identity of local resident, all else constant. Salient identity of business owner increases the log odds of respondents engaging in public sphere pro-environmental behavior of envdonation by 1.681, when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident.

Hypothesis 5 states that stakeholders with salient identity of government official are more likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere) when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Quantitative results show that salient identity of business owners has significant positive association with public sphere pro-environmental behaviors when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. However, salient identity of business owners does not have any significant association with private sphere pro-environmental behaviors when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local residents. Thus, I find only partial support for this hypothesis. Survey results show that stakeholders with salient identity of business owners are significantly more likely to engage in all public sphere pro-environmental behaviors when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Stakeholders identifying as government official increases the log odds of respondents engaging in envdonation by 3.007, when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Stakeholders identifying as government official increases the log odds of respondents engaging in envdemonstration by 1.705, when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Salient identity of government official increases the log odds of respondents engaging in envmembership by 1.305, when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Salient identity of government official increases the log odds of respondents engaging in envtalk

by 0.752, when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Salient identity of government official is associated with one private sphere environmental behavior. I find1.302 units increase in probability of government officials watching videos on environment, when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident, all else constant.

Hypothesis 6. Stakeholders with salient identity of guide/porter are less likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere) when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Quantitative results show that salient identity of guide/porter does not have any significant negative association with either private sphere or public sphere pro-environmental behaviors when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident, thus failing to support the hypothesis. Survey results show that stakeholders with salient identity of guide/porter are significantly less likely donate to organizations for environmental causes when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Stakeholders identifying as guide/porter decreases the log odds of respondents engaging in envdonation by 1.824 when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident.

Hypothesis 7. Stakeholders with salient identity of tourist are less likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors (public sphere and private sphere) when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. Quantitative results show that salient identity of tourist does not have any significant negative association with either private sphere or public sphere pro-environmental behaviors when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident, thus failing to support the hypothesis. Survey results show that stakeholders with salient identity of tourist are significantly

more likely to watch videos on environment when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident. I find 0.096 units increase in probability of tourists watching videos on environment when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident, all else constant.

I also conducted several regression analyses to understand the impact of demographic variables on the dependent variable. Demographic variables included in the study are female, age, birth, education, income and sherpa. Logistic regression was used for dichotomous dependent variables; Envconcern, Envtalk, EnvDonation, Envdemonstration, and Envtalk. Multiple regression was used to model the relationship between predictor variables and dependent variables; Turn off lights, Limit energy consumption, Turn off electronics, Limit time in shower, Full load dishes/laundry, Control temperature, and Watch videos on environment.

Variables such as age, female, birth, and sherpa are also seen to have significant impacts on different types of public sphere environmental behaviors. Identity of sherpa is significantly positively associated with environmental concern. Survey results show that respondents identifying as sherpa are also significantly more likely to engage in public sphere pro-environmental behaviors such as donating to organizations for environmental cause, membership in environmental organization, and talking about the environment to others. Identifying as sherpa results in 0.448 increase in log odds of environmental concern among residents in the EBC region. Identifying as sherpa results in 1.085 increase in log odds of envdonation among residents in the EBC region. Identifying as sherpa results in 0.544 increase in log odds of envdemonstration among residents in the

EBC region. Identifying as sherpa results in 0.293 increase in log odds of envtalk among residents in the EBC region.

Survey results show that female is significantly positively associated with pro-environmental behaviors such as envmembership and envtalk. Being a female increases the log odds of respondents getting envmembership by 0.368 among residents in the EBC region. Being a female increases the log odds of engaging in envtalk by 0.135 among residents in the EBC region. Survey results show that age is significantly positively associated with pro-environmental behaviors such as envdonation and envtalk among residents in the EBC region. Increase in age results in 0.152 increase in log odds of envdonation among residents in the EBC region. Increase in age results in 0.016 increase in log odds of envtalk among residents in the EBC region. Similarly, increase in income results in 0.265 increase in log odds of envdonation among residents in the EBC region. Lastly, birth in the region increases the log odds of residents envconcern by 0.293 among residents in the EBC region. These relationships are further analyzed through narratives to help better understand their impact on environmental behaviors.

Values are considered to represent what is of importance to an individual. This study pays specific attention to environmental values and its impact on environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors. However, the survey results did not find any significant relationship between environmental value, environmental concern, and pro-environmental behaviors. I then conducted regression analysis on salient stakeholder identity and different values. Survey results show that identity of business owner has significant positive relationship with power. I find 0.736 units increase in probability of business owners valuing being rich, when compared to

stakeholders with salient identity of local resident, all else constant. Government officials and tourists value benevolence. I find 0.289 units increase in identity of government officials valuing society, when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident, all else constant. Identity of tourist is associated with 0.217 increase in value for society, when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident, all else at constant. Thus, business owners give more importance to money and expensive things. Government officials significantly value benevolence which means that they give more importance to doing good for the society. Guides and porters as a group place significantly less value on benevolence, this means that do not care about doing good for the society. Tourists coming into the region are seen to put more value on hedonism and benevolence. In other words, tourists coming into the region value experiencing a good time and they also think it is important to do good for the society. Through qualitative narratives I try to understand how these values might impact stakeholder pro-environmental behaviors.

I find very little significant statistical relationship in between salient stakeholder identity and private sphere pro-environmental behaviors. Salient identity of business owner is associated with 0.431 unit decrease in probability of stakeholders limiting time in the shower when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident, all else constant. Salient identity of government official is associated with 1.302 units increase in probability of government officials watching videos on environment, when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of local resident, all else constant. Salient identity of tourist is associated with 0.096 units increase in probability of tourists watching videos on environment when compared to stakeholders with salient identity of

local resident, all else constant. No significant association is seen in between demographic variables and private sphere pro-environmental behaviors. This is very interesting and the lack of association should be given more attention. While 50 participants is considered a robust data for a qualitative study, the survey sample of 50 may be too small thus impacting the overall findings. Increasing the sample size would offer an important impact on predicted probabilities and log odds of overall findings.

CHAPTER VI

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS I

Environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors are subjective, based on people's awareness of environmental problems (Dunlap and Jones 2002), their evaluation of those problems (Steg et al. 2011), and measures taken to alleviate them (Kollumus and Agyeman 2002). Residents in the EBC region partake in various types of pro-environmental activities such as attending public meetings, organizing gatherings to talk about environmentally friendly ways of life, supporting policies that push for a green region, introducing kitchen garden initiatives, organizing cleaning campaigns that bring back trash from the upper regions and mountains, introducing green initiatives to establish eco-friendly lodges, building hydropower plants for clean energy, working together to collect, recycle, and burn trash to keep the area clean, as well as donating time and money to environmental organizations. Stakeholders decide to engage in different types of environmentally friendly behavior based on their identity, values, and social connections. When people subscribe to multiple identities in society they experience an identity conflict, and during those times people have to define their salient identity as a prime motivation to engage in various behaviors. In this study, I try to understand how salient stakeholder identity, values, and social networks in the EBC region help establish

environmental concern and impact people's willingness to engage in various types of pro-environmental activities.

The first research question addresses the role of identity, associated relationships, and networks in establishing and maintaining pro-environmental behavior. I map out these relationships with three distinct socialization processes. First, identity as a local of the region is important in establishing a connection with the landscape, helping residents develop place attachment and altruistic relationships with the environment. Place identity not only defines people's attachment to the region, it also defines who people consider an insider vs who they label as outsiders, which then invokes personal belonging and common-sense of community identity. Attachment to a place has important impacts on residents' environmental concern and environmental behaviors. Second, culture and religion of the region also influences residents' pro-environmental behavior. Here, Buddhism not only impacts personal identity but also forges a community identity amongst stakeholders. Most residents display close relationship with the monastery and buddhist ideals help promote pro-environmental behaviors. Third, demographic differences leading to division of labor and unequal distribution of power, privilege, and resources available to groups impact people's behaviors. This study finds that differences in socialization, particularly related to age and gender, leads to respondents prioritizing different values, concerns, and behaviors towards the environment. Residents thus choose to engage in different types of behaviors based on their socialization, personal motivations and social relationships.

Place Attachment: This Is My Home

"Place identity" is formed when the residents establish a strong connection with a geographical area, often developing a sense of identity associated to the landscape (Cheng and Monroe 2012; Prohansky 2010). Place identity encompasses deep meanings inhabitants acquire from a place or region, often invoking a concept of self and community based on the geographical area (Steadman 2002). Previous studies have found that a strong relationship between a person and a place helps forge a personal relationship with nature as well as promote strong social connections. Personal attachment to a place is generally based on length of residence, property ownership, birth in the region, and feelings of comfort and safety in one's surroundings (Hernandez et al. 2007; Prohansky et al. 1983).

This section of the literature review addresses how people in the EBC region define the area. I find that tourism plays an integral role in people's definition of the landscape. I then try to understand how this definition impacts people's environmental concern and their environmental behaviors. I also look at how the definition of landscape helps instill insider/outsider distinction in the region and what qualities a stakeholder must possess in order to be defined as an insider or risk being outcast. Understanding the landscape and the social connections within can help us understand how people define their identity, and address the environment.

First it is important to understand the landscape as the locals view it. EBC region is unique because even though it covers multiple villages, thousands of kilometers in area, and thousands of meters in altitude, the economy of the region defines the landscape.

Residents living in the region and outside stakeholders engaging in the tourism economy often define the landscape based on tourism practices. When tourists come into the region, they do not come to visit one specific village. They come to enjoy the trails and villages all the way up to the basecamp. For them, the EBC region is one specific destination. Similarly, when companies advertise hiking packages, the whole region is advertised as one package. This outside description of the region has seeped into local stakeholder's definition of the landscape as well. Most local stakeholders now associate the whole region as one and define it as one specific place when describing their home. I find that respondents' definition of home is not limited to the village where they reside, but villages are seen as a small part of the overall region. This could be related to stakeholders' close engagement in tourism economy and their proximity to the trails. Many local stakeholders say that their place of residence would not exist without the tourism economy. One local stakeholder explains, "If tourism in this region dies tomorrow, this village will cease to exist, and I will have to move to a different part of the region. My definition of home would not change just because I moved away from here. This place is my home." This type of conception of home and landscape is remarkable because the boundaries of home are often fluid.

The definition of the region based on the tourist trails has important economic and social implications. Local stakeholders generally move to prominent tourist villages for employment opportunities. Business owners engage in business dealings with other business owners based on the tourism economy. Government also perpetuates definition of region through tourism. Locals point out that most of the money coming into the region from the government is expended on the most prominent tourist villages in the

region. When residents move out of traditional lands for economic opportunities elsewhere, old villages disappear from the landscape. When money is spent into infrastructures such as hydro power plants for electricity, or drinking water facilities, they are most likely to be distributed into popular tourist villages along the trails. Similarly, amenities such as bridges, wider trails, and health posts are situated near popular tourist trails. Also talk on sustainable tourism practices, disaster relief materials are preached and practices in prominent tourist villages. Thus, tourism benefits the villages and trails by bringing them into limelight. If residents want to experience benefits of tourism they have to define their villages and trails as a part of the larger tourism structure. This is done by obscuring the existence of village as a separate entity and defining it as a part of the overall region. A local resident from Lukla says, "EBC is defined by the trails. Before the trails of phaplu and jorsalle- all the way up to Lukla was part of the EBC region. But after the airport in Lukla started, neither the people nor the government give any attention to the lower regions." It is almost as if the lower landscapes have been detached from people's mindset and newer villages from upper parts of the region are being included in the EBC landscape as new trails open up. As the trails change with time, the definition of landscape changes along with it. This unique phenomenon of defining the region based on the economy is very intriguing and interesting. I find that trails help define the region.

Tourism not only defines the region and villages included in the landscape, it also defines insider-outsider distinctions. Even though the EBC region encompasses many villages, numerous trails, and different ethnic populations, the definition of who is a local resident and who is an outsider is strictly controlled. The larger society tends to define inside and outsider distinctions to instill a common sense of belonging. One sherpa local

resident says, “After the popularity of tourism, the EBC area has seen a lot of in-migration of people from various parts of the world. People move here for economic opportunities and social causes. Thus, the definition of who counts as an insider and who is an outsider is very strictly maintained.” There are official and unofficial norms of inclusion in local society. For example, people moving into the region are not accepted as locals until they go through a change of generation. Which means if you have to grow up in the region to gain local status. When asked “what does it require for someone to be a part of the community?” A local resident from the sherpa community answers, “They must show that they want to be part of the region. They must not only think about how to make money but participate in the overall dynamics of the place. It is easier to say that you care for the region, but harder to prove them through actions.” An important determinant of environmental concern and willingness to engage in environmental behaviors lies in these group distinctions and power dynamics within the region.

For people who are insiders, the boundaries of home are very fluid as they claim the whole region to be their home. For example, business owners who own properties in different villages in the region do not have a set landscape as their home. Local residents who have family and friends residing in different parts of the trails are also more likely to identify with the whole region as their home. Sherpas who have generations of lineage in the region similarly do not constrain their perception of home to a specific village. When people define themselves as insiders, they display close connection with the region and communicate strong sentiments of attachment with the environment. Their identity and attachment is often referred to as “love” and “attachment” with the place. Many profess their “love” for the Himalayas and the nature around them. One local stakeholder

exclaims, “I love this place. It is my home.” When people recognize the region as their home and see the environment as a part of their heritage, culture, and identity, they show concern about environmental degradation and are worried about rampant development of tourism in the region. Many fear that the nature they love will not be the same after human destruction. They engage in environmental behaviors to save their heritage. People talk about passing on the Himalayas and the natural beauty to their children. They believe that they are caretakers of the region and they need to save the environment so their children can enjoy it in future. One local resident of Loubche explains it perfectly, “We are the caretakers of nature and we need to take care of nature like she is our mother. Someday this responsibility will be passed on to our children. I want my son and daughter to love this place as much as I do. They must be as proud of being a namche sherpa as I am.”

Sherpa community, who have been inhabiting the landscape historically are seen as natural residents of the region. Other minority castes such as rai, magar, tamang, and gurung who moved gradually into nearby villages and trails during early years of tourism are also considered local residents. The only difference in between the sherpa community and diffrent ethnic communities is their residence. The land near the hiking trails are inhabited by the sherpa community, while ethnic minorities are more likely to own land nearby the trails and work in the tourist economy by renting land and businesses. The land ownership distinction, although a minor detail, has larger social and political impacts. Sherpa inhabitants have exercised strict control over local landownership, restricting inheritance or trade of land within the sherpa community to keep up the land distinctions. One guide explains,

> You cannot buy land here. Even if you pay extravagant amount of money, they will not sell land to you. Sherpas don't want to let other people own land in the tourist trails. You own land if you are born into the family, or you get married into the family. When people from outside want to invest in the region, they have to partner with a local sherpa to gain access to their land.

Strict control on land ownership not only keeps outsiders away from the region, it also keeps power within the community. I find a high concentration of respondents identifying as sherpa in government offices. Power in the community and access to resources is seen to impact people's willingness to engage in environmental behaviors. When asked if concentration of sherpa in powerful positions was through design, government officials reject the idea of ethnic monopoly. One sherpa government official says,

> Any one residing in the region can instate groups, organization, and be a part of the local development politics. Nominations on memberships for local nonprofit organizations and governmental organizations are democratically handled with voting. It is true that most important positions in the region are overseen by the sherpa community, but it happens through a fair process.

One local resident, who also wants to be involved in local governance explains, "We find that the sherpa community is more likely to open up dialogues and conversations on making the place better. New ideas of environmental conservation can

be introduced when people care about the development of the region, care about nature, care about prosperity, and care about tourism." Other respondents also agree with the idea that sherpa community is indeed closer to the region, giving in to the idea of heritage and lineage in the region.

Even though ethnic minorities are considered locals, they have less power and privilege in the region. Despite generations of lineage in the region, they do not have similar power and prestige as the sherpa community. Because ethnic minorities have no control over local resources, they have less social, economic, and political power. Lack of power and privilege in society affects stakeholders' environmental and social behaviors. For example, ethnic minorities are hesitant to stand up against the sherpa community. Many residents feel that they will not win, so going against sherpa community would be a waste of money, time, and effort from their perspective. I also find that distinction amongst residents as insider and outsiders based on ethnicity exposes minority ethnic groups to larger environmental inequalities. Their concerns are overlooked and they lack power, privilege and governmental representation to engage in pro-environmental behaviors.

One local resident belonging to the tamang ethnic group talks about the distinctions in society made as insiders and outsiders. He also narrates why some communities behave in more environmental ways than others, He says,

> Sherpa community has resided in this region for a very long time-since the start of tourism. They have earned a lot of money. They have enough money to take of their children and grandchildren. With their personal

> needs taken care of, they are more likely to work on community needs, show concern about the environment, and improve the tourism process in the region. Minority groups do not have the same access to resources. All my attention goes towards taking care of my family and my work. I do not have time to participate in meetings and spend hours in offices when my family and work needs my attention. When people are rich and they can afford multiple employees, they can afford to think about the environment, and they can afford to engage in politics.

As the sherpa community starts to sell their land to outsiders' due to affluence and lack of inheritors to take over their businesses, many outsiders feel that the control of the land will shift to outsiders. One Rai resident of the region says, "I am not saying that the control is going to defer from the hands of sherpa community in next few years but in the long run, diversity is inevitable. When the local population changes, it will be interesting to see how the power dynamic changes along with it."

Stakeholders who have resided in the region since their birth also report a strong sense of identity through their residence in the region. Generations of lineage in the region, and growing up in the region with intimate family connections can strongly be tied to place attachment, love for the region, and care for the environment. I find that identity and affective sentiments towards the environment are passed along to the children through socialization. Quantitative survey results also show that people born in the region have significantly higher environmental concerns. The strongest bond with the region can be seen amongst people who have lived there since their childhood. The

positive association of birth with environmental concern can be traced to place attachment in qualitative narratives.

A sherpa resident who is now nearing retirement, maps his life experiences to explain his close attachment to the landscape,

> I was born in a village nearby, not far away from the trails. But with tourism growing, that village has disintegrated. My father built a lodge in Gorakshep and I have been living here ever since. Most of my childhood and adulthood was spent going up and down these trails along with tourists and porters. When I was small, I used to take yaks and horses down to Lukla and bring up merchandise for the lodge. After I took over my father's lodge and I spend most of my time in Gorakshep and Namche. I have family and friends all over the region. This whole region is the home of my ancestors.

This importance of place attachment and identity as residents of the region is apparent. Sherpa community has a lot of place attachment to the EBC region, and we see this attachment invariably transforms into environmental concerns and environmental behaviors. With generations of culture, heritage, and ownership associated with the landscape, sherpas display very close identity with the region. Statements such as "we own the region," "it is our home," and "we are the children of this place" are very common. Survey results confirm that respondents identifying as sherpa show significant environmental concerns. Sherpa ethnic identity also has a statistically significant positive impact on public sphere environmental behaviors such as donating money for

environmental cause, memberships in environmental organizations, and talking about the environment to others.

Overall, I find that place identity can help people form strong connections within the society and establish a collective social identity. The powerful in the society tend to define insider and outsider distinction through social processes such as land ownership and political engagement. The people who feel like they are part of the community are more likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors. Distinctions of power, privilege and control of resources in the community also impacts peoples environmental concern and behaviors. This lineage is carried on through socialization of upcoming generations.

When we look at pro-environmental behaviors through the lens of socialization we find that community dynamics, culture, and social norms impact people in significant ways. Previous researchers have found that living in a community that cares about environment encourages residents to engage in pro-environmental behaviors (Cameron et al. 2017, Kollmuss and Agyeman 2002, Nigbur et al. 2010). I find similar patterns in EBC region. In upcoming section, I will discuss socialization as an important predictor of environmental values, environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors. I highlight the prominence of religion (Buddhism) and its impact on people's conception of the environment and their behaviors.

Buddhism: Living in Harmony with Nature

The predominant religion of the EBC region is Buddhism. Religion is an important part of the region's culture giving people a personal identity and when extended to group settings, it enforces a community identity. By sharing a religion people share norms, values, and beliefs that guide their social behaviors and builds social solidarity. Most of the residents in Khumbu region share Buddhist ideals to guide their lifestyle and behaviors. A local resident educates me about the Buddhist way of life,

> Buddhist idea of an ideal person lies in the vision of a well-balanced man who is grounded on dharma. Buddhists believe that nature resides in living things, art, religion, culture, knowledge and everything around us. We must let the Buddhist ideals guide our lives. We must reduce greed, hate and give rise to kindness, compassion, honesty, and cleanliness. When we are unrighteous, it will bring disaster, pain, and suffering to our community and nation. We are dependent on nature, when the nature cooperates with us we get prosperity and happiness. It should be understood that all animals, humans, and plants are interdependent on each other and we have to take care of each other or we will all perish.

Buddhist ideals emphasize harmony with nature and respect for environment as an important part of their daily lives. Local stakeholders often use religious beliefs to motivate their social behaviors. Local stakeholders talk about donating money to a monastery calling for environmental causes and many work with monasteries on conservation and upkeep of the environment. People often emphasize their cultural and

religious values to engage in environmental behaviors. I find this especially significant when people face an identity conflict in regards to their environmental behaviors. Many stakeholders confirm that even if they do not believe in a cause they will comply with the monastery's requests. Even when not overtly religious, socialization into buddhist culture guides people's norms, lifestyles, and behaviors.

The effect of Buddhist teachings is apparent in stakeholders' behaviors. With much focus on nature and environment in the buddhist religion, people comply with the idea of living in harmony with nature. A local resident and a business owner who also works as a part time SPCC member says, "I have different roles in the society, but overall, I am a Buddhist and I follow Buddhist ideals in my life. I want to live together with nature, and take care of the environment because that is what I believe in. I want to be a good member of my society, take care of my surroundings, and be a part of my monastery." The idea of karma and respect of nature is emphasized. A young business owner talks about importance of religion in his life. He says, "Buddhists are supposed to help their neighbors, and reciprocate love when families are going through hard times. We are supposed to respect people, animals, and nature, all living and non-living thing. As a society, we collectively work together for various social and environmental causes."

The impact of the monasteries and their teachings can be seen in people's behaviors. Government officials understand this relationship, so they often call monasteries to spread important messages of protection, conservation, community, and friendship. Various success stories help solidify these claims. One resident shares the story when officials called upon Dalai Lama to use his power with Buddhist followers and stop trafficking of animal parts within Nepal, India, and Tibet. When Dalai Lama

urged his followers to stop wearing fur of endangered animals on their clothing, residents responded by burning furs and banned endangered animal products in the region.

One government official claims that faith and conservation go hand in hand. He says,

> Conservation through spiritual leaders in the region is not a new thing. People are more likely to listen to the lamas in the monasteries, and not only listen but actually embody them in real life. Most environmental actions that can significantly affect a person's life such as "suddenly closing off a segment of forest for preservation" or "closing off land and banning disposal of trash" or "asking residents to stop using animal products in name of conservation" can be hard to advertise and implement. In such times, we call upon monasteries to help us relay the message to the locals.

People claim that the regional government would not be successful if monasteries were to be taken out of the equation with regards to environmental policies. One government official says,

> The local monasteries work with the government to help the environment. Monasteries help build and store incinerators to promote cleanliness. They help officials hold community meetings in their premises for environmental talks. They preach cleanliness and harmony with nature in their sermons. They have donation boxes set up for tree plantations. People are more likely to donate to their monasteries than other places.

Young people also learn about religious norms and collective behaviors since childhood through religious stories and folklores. Sherpa culture strongly believes in nature and protective deities. They believe that nature, when angry, can be extremely cruel and merciless. Thus, the idea of pacifying and soothing Mother Nature is strongly ingrained in local customs and traditions. Children learn from the adults about mother nature and the rituals through which she can grant happiness, prosperity, and success. Important achievements of locals have been bound into folklores to emphasize the importance of religion in everyday activities. One local resident narrates the tale of first ascent of Everest. She says,

> Miyolangsangma, a Tibetan Buddhist goddess is said to reside on the top of the Mount Everest Peak. Many foreigners tried to climb the Mount Everest but were unsuccessful. Tenzing Norgay Sherpa prayed to the goddess before attempting to climb the Everest. She allowed Tenzing to follow her to the top along with Sir Edmund Hillary. Even today mountaineers need to pray to the goddess before attempting their climb. Offerings like flowers, incense, and food should be given to please the goddess and ask for her favor.

The idea of nature as god is seen in many other narratives. A sherpa guide explains the importance of respecting nature,

> I believe that nature is goddess. We believe that all Himalayan ranges are gods and goddesses. Before every expedition sherpas offer prayers and food to the gods. If not done properly gods get angry and do not let you

> ascend the peaks. They send landslides and people die. We have to respect nature and gods. If you befoul nature earth (the places that gods reside) then they will get angry with you and bad luck comes to you.

Narratives reveal that as people get older they are more likely to turn to religion. Older adults indeed report to be more devout. Religiousness is reported with narratives such as "going to monasteries frequently," "going twice a day for prayers," and "attending worships and sermons." Older adults, especially after the age of fifty report better relationships and involvement with different monasteries. With increased engagement in monasteries, people are also more likely to address social and environmental issues in their behaviors. Survey results show that increase in age is significantly related to increase in environmental values amongst stakeholders. Increase in age is also significantly related to increase in likelihood of engaging in public sphere pro-environmental behaviors such as donating money to an organization for environmental cause and talking about environment to others.

One elderly resident explains that dominant religions of Nepal- Buddhism/ Hinduism promotes religion in later years. He says,

> The idea is that when you are young, you can be carefree and wild. When you reach school age then you learn discipline and respect for authority. When you reach early adulthood then you get married, have children, work hard, make a life for yourself, and take care of your parents. During old age, you leave all the worldly pleasures and make time for gods by serving them and repenting for your sins. Our religion gives us a pass

during young years. You do your karma and you will get fruits of your labor. After fulfilling your worldly duties, you then turn to god.

One elderly business owner says,

I have more time to go to the monastery now that my children have taken over the business. I go to there every morning and evening. It is not only a religious experience but also a social experience. We discuss concerns and solutions to various problems in the region. We have made up our own little group within the local monastery that helps with social and environmental causes. I feel like I am better involved in my society.

Tengboche monastery, the largest monastery of the region was formed in 1919, and since its inception the religious organization has been working hard to protect the surrounding forests. They promote harmony with nature and encourage conservation by partnering with different environmental groups and NGOs. One local resident who is actively engaged with the tengboche monastery says, "Monks perform ceremonies up on the hills above the monastery each year to harmonize human presence with power of nature. These ceremonies are attended by thousands of people in the region. The government officials use these gatherings as a perfect opportunity to call upon the buddhist ideals to emphasize harmony, protection, and conservation."

The relationship between the government and the monasteries is based on mutual exchange. The government also works with the monastery to promote Buddhist culture. There are signs all over the trails saying things like, "Polluting water sources is a sin" or "Please live in harmony with nature." These governmental signs reinforce the importance

of Buddhist ideals and give social legitimacy. Government officials state that working with the monastery on conservation and reforestation has shown great progress. In many parts of the region forest covers have increased, and as community is taking charge of tourism.

I find that, religion significantly impacts socialization in the EBC region, helping guide lifestyle and behaviors of the residents. Religion instills common community bonds and acts as motivation for pro-social behaviors. Religion is so impactful in the region, government and monasteries mutually work together to promote pro-environmental behaviors in the region. Strong emphasis of culture and religion on the environment is also handed down through socialization and we see that religion and care of environment becomes a part of the region's identity. When people face identity conflict they generally use religion as a basis for their actions.

People Do Not Have Similar Attitudes Regarding the Environment

People's attitudes and behavior towards the environment helps them define environmental problems, and people are more sympathetic to social issues that have a personal significance for them (Hilgartner & Bosk 1988). Environmental concerns and pro-environmental behaviors, thus, are not static but differ with groups and their priorities. People prioritize different aspects of the environment as valuable and perceive environmental threats in dissimilar ways, based on their everyday life and framing of the problem (Mohai & Bryant 1992). Demographic identities influence how people construct and address environmental problems, and also help determine the type and amount of resources available for attention to the problems (Taylor 2000). Studying differences in

socialization help understand how division of labor, control of resources, and power/privilege dynamics which influence environmental concerns and their pro-environmental behaviors.

This study finds that age and gender are associated with environmental values, environmental concerns, and/ or pro-environmental behaviors in various ways. Survey results reveal that increase in age is significantly related to positive environmental values and increase in likelihood of engaging in public sphere pro-environmental behaviors such as donating money to organizations for an environmental cause, and talking about the environment with other people. Apart from religion (as discussed above) one can understand the impact of age on environmental values, environmental concern, and environmental behaviors by looking at the socialization processes in the region.

Nepal is a patriarchic society where tradition is a big part of people's lives. In the EBC region, businesses and properties are transferred from generation to generation, with a cultural expectation that children, especially sons, are going to stay with their parents and take care of them when they get older. Many young adults choose to take over their parents' businesses and let their parents retire away from business pressures. Assets and properties are generally divided amongst sons after fathers' demise, or on fathers' discretion while alive. This means that older male adults have significant control of properties and financial power. Women and younger adults are less likely to be decision makers for businesses until the businesses are passed down to them, thus they have less power and resources when compared to older males. The lack of power and resources impact people's willingness to engage in pro-environmental behaviors.

Age and gender differences also can be seen in governmental positions. Most of the local high official positions are occupied by older males from the sherpa community. These people in powerful positions are more likely to engage within the community, talk to people, and donate money to various causes. I find that power and control of resources makes it easier for older males to engage in pro-environmental political and social activities. A business man talks about politics and old age, "My father now spends most of his time engaging in politics and social work. After I took over the business, it gave my father more time to engage with the community and move into politics. He did not have to focus on the shops anymore and had more free time to engage in social activities." Older people who have more free time start getting involved in politics and voting after they are in their middle age. It is one of the ways to get involved in the community. One local resident exclaims,

> Older adults have lived their life, gained experiences in the society. They have more time to engage in social work and think about others. They also know a lot of people which means that they will likely get more votes than younger adults who might not know as much people or have as many social connections.

Narratives and discussion of social situations reveal that younger adults do not ignore the environment. They just don't have the resources to engage in environmentally friendly behaviors. As younger generations gain resources, their engagement in the tourism economy increases. One business owner was passed down his family business due to the untimely death of his father. He narrates his encounter with changing business model in the region,

> I took over the lodge after the death of my father. My father believed that tourism and growth of tourism only would better our society. I felt that this place was being destroyed by uncontrolled tourism. While I do believe that tourism is an important part of our economy, we have to change with time and take care of the nature that brings tourists into the region. I have worked hard to expand my businesses. I work harder to implement environmental friendly behaviors. I was one of the first people to enroll my lodge into the green lodge initiative when it was introduced in the region. We get ecofriendly badges for our lodges when we use ecofriendly options for daily management such as using kerosene, electricity as alternatives to wood fire, setting up kitchen garden to limit outside import of vegetables, implementing compost techniques for the organic waste coming out of the kitchen, and using/reusing local natural resources like leaves, twigs, wood, dung, bio-gas in sustainable ways. Most of the new generation business owners are participating in these initiatives which will surely bring change in how we do business.

As young residents become more involved in tourism processes, the region is slowly getting exposed to new ideas and new ways of doing things. Younger generations are more technology savvy, and internet has connected them to newer and better methods of sustainable tourism. Younger generations see technology as the main advent of change in the region. One young government official says, “The older population does not really understand technology or how

to use it. Social media is important to connect with the outside world and bring changes in the region, both environmental and social."

Internet has also helped the younger generations gain access to the globalized world and it impacts the way they see their environment and address environmental problems. One government official remarks,

> After media started covering news on trash in Everest, local youths grew concerned that the government was not doing anything to address these the problems. They started pressuring the government to finance cleaning campaigns and environmentally friendly policies. The young climbers worked especially hard on the cleaning campaigns by going up and down the region, bringing back trash, and making sure that they were disposed properly.

Younger residents are better informed as social media use is increasing among them. Younger populations are thus more technology friendly and like to explore green initiatives that are popular all over the world and introduce them into the region. One young sherpa training to be a business owner plans his green venture for future,

> There is a lot of talk about encouraging eco-friendly tourist opportunities in the near future. I think I would like to explore the international market more and encourage different types of tourist opportunities in the region. I know the green initiative is big right now for the lodges. I think more attention should be given to individual trekkers who do not come with guides and porters because no one is monitoring their activities. I am

> thinking of renting small pieces of land for camping so that we can monitor tourist behavior, give them a central place to dispose of their trash, and it does not require all the money and expenses as a lodge. My father is hesitant and I understand that new unfamiliar ideas can be daunting at first, but it will be much cheaper and very nature friendly in the long run.

Over all we see that the EBC region is going through a demographic shift and the technology gap in between younger residents and older generations can be seen in how they conceptualize the environment and engage in pro-environmental behaviors. I find that younger generations who are more technology savvy, social media friendly are connected to the western ideals of environmentally friendly tourism through technology. They seem to understand the changing face of tourism and are aware of environmentally friendlier practices and alternatives to traditional tourism. However, their age and lack of control of resources leaves them powerless to implement any significant changes in the community.

Technology has certainly made the whole community more aware about green initiatives and environmentally friendly practices. With popularity of community- based tourism in the international tourism market, the EBC region is emphasizing community management to get locals more involved in conservation. One local stakeholder of the sherpa ethnicity says,

> Before all the money gathered from tourists used to go to the central government and the village development committee had to send a budget

> to the central office which was approved and the money filtered down through various offices, leaving a very small amount for local development. After the community took over the budgeting, they have fought to keep most of the tourism money in the region for development initiatives.

Young residents want to be active in tourism management but they face hurdles as their concerns are not taken seriously. That's why they generally work in groups to gain power in the decision-making process. One young local stakeholder explains, "New youth groups are forming all over the region. When I say something, the offices will not take me seriously, but when do it in a group they have to listen to us. With groups, we have found that our voices will be heard."

In addition to age differences, I find gender difference in engagement of environmental behaviors Previous researchers have pointed towards differences in socialization, cultural norms, and gender expectations having an impact on pro-environmental behaviors (Zelenzy et al. 2000). Studies note that gender roles in society encourages men to take on roles of economic providers, while women are socialized into caring and nurturing roles (Davidson & Freudenberg 1996; Hochschild 1989; Mohai & Bryant 1992). This division of roles limits women into the natural sphere, such as taking care of environment, while men focus on the cultural sphere, such as business, politics, and science (Davidson & Freudenberg 1996). Similar social dynamics can be seen in the EBC region too.

Being a female is significantly associated with public sphere environmental behaviors such as increased likeliness to be a member of an environmental organization and talking about the environment to others. Although the survey does not show a significant difference between genders regarding their environmental concerns and environmental values, qualitative narratives illustrate a consistent higher likelihood that women engage in environmental behaviors.

Women have less resources in general as they are less likely to own properties and they also have less income than men. The effect of lower income can be seen in how women address the environment. It is seen that women address the environment on smaller and more intimate scale. Women are seen to work amongst each other by forming groups to address environmental problems together. They focus on education training and dissemination of information on environmentally friendly practices. One resident woman who also owns a small store in the region points out that she makes sure that she goes to the meetings in her area so that she can educate herself about sustainable tourism and also on issues of pollution and environment. She says,

> We learn about gardening for sustainable kitchen garden. They teach us what grows best in the region, how to tend to seeds, when to plant the seed, and how to harvest seeds for future use. These classes are local small and mostly attended by women. They are very informative about day to day life concerns and teach us how to be sustainable. I now grow vegetables such as carrots, cauliflowers, cabbage, garlic, radish in my garden.

Women's clubs also give women social contact as they talk to each other about environmental issues of the region. Women groups are most likely to be actively involved in initiatives that address pollution and environmentally friendly behaviors. One local woman remarks,

> We have a women's club in our village and we regularly discuss environment and environmentally friendly practices. When there was a lot of talk about plastic and minimizing plastic in the region, the government started a plastic free zone initiative. This meant that the shops will not give small plastic bags to shoppers to help minimize plastic in the region. Everybody was encouraging residents and tourists to carry reusable plastic bags. Women implemented the plastic free initiative in action. I always remember to carry (reusable) bags. I do more household shopping, so I remind my husband every time he goes out to carry a reusable bag in case he wants to buy some vegetables form the local market.

Women also educate each other on how to become environmentally conscious. One local resident who also works in a government organization talks about some things they do in their local women's club to make things more interesting. She says,

> We have started classes that teach women to make crafts out of trash. We make strings out of old plastic bags by cutting strips of plastic and connecting them to each other, and then we weave them into useable household items. I have a small bag to store things that I have made in one of those classes. I also learned to recycle paper and mold those into vases,

> plates, and decorative items. We have also learned to make decorative pieces and mosaic patterns from glass pieces. I went to a large community meeting where they were talking about using discarded bottles and glasses to make houses. These are really nice ideas. It might not make a big difference but are small steps.

Women have less power in the patriarchic system. Women are also less likely to serve in governmental organizations. I had a hard time locating female government workers in the region, and when found, these women were most likely to work part time in low level positions which did not have a lot of power or prestige. Thus, understandings of power and privilege are very important when we want to understand why certain groups decide to engage in pro-environmental behaviors. Women groups often partner with other big organizations to make significant differences in the region. One business women who is also the head of her women's group says,

> Our women's association was very worried about trash management in the region, we then worked together with SPCC and joined the initiative to control pollution in the region. We started collecting donations to build a house where we can burn trash. We have run classes that teach us how to compost kitchen scraps and organic waste and use it in our kitchen gardens. Many times, locals do not know which trash can be recycled, so once we partnered with local monastery to do education session on how to recycle. The only problem is that when we start educational campaigns, only women come into these gatherings. I guess men say, women are doing it so I will send my wife.

Females have less power and resources in the community than their male counterparts, thus their concerns are generally disregarded. Females therefore engage in various types of sustainable behaviors that address environment on a smaller scale with activities that do not require money or other resources.

CHAPTER VII

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS II

Each stakeholder group has a specific role in the tourism economy. People also have differing attachment to the region which impacts their identity, values, environmental concern, and environmental behaviors. This section of qualitative findings addresses the second research question to understand how tourism stakeholder identity impacts pro-environmental behaviors. I find that identity of a tourism stakeholder considerably influences stakeholders' personal and social lives. Being engaged in the tourism economy not only impacts people's economic wellbeing and their social relationships, it also determines the resources available to engage in environmentally friendly behaviors.

This study maps out the relationship in between stakeholder identity and environmental behaviors by dividing stakeholders into two specific groups, (i) Local stakeholders (encompassing local residents, business owners, and government officials) (ii) Outside stakeholders (encompassing guides, porters, and tourists). Jobs categorize people into different stakeholder groups and respondents internalize their social status to define their salient identity. This salient identity then impacts people's self-perception and social /environmental behaviors. I look at how different stakeholder groups voice their environmental concern, what environmental and social problems they think are most

salient to the region, and what motivates them to engage in pro-environmental behaviors in the region.

Positions Define our Concern and Behaviors

Local Stakeholders

Local stakeholders are people who reside in the EBC region on a permanent/semi-permanent basis, usually for a relatively long time. Stakeholders such as local residents, business owners and government officials are studied as local stakeholders. These stakeholders have resided in the region for at least three consecutive years and consider the region their home. These local stakeholders are very familiar with the region, tourism economy, the environment and environmental/social problems of the region. They also engage in tourism economy in direct/ indirect ways, and are directly/ indirectly exposed to harms and benefits of the tourism economy. Many local stakeholders are born in the region and belong to the sherpa ethnic community.

The tourism economy helps us differentiate in between local stakeholders. Almost all local stakeholders are engaged within the tourism economy in some capacity, but there are crucial job differences that makes them more different than similar. Local residents, for example, are engaged in low paying employment jobs. Business owners provide goods and services to tourists and make the most money through the tourism economy. Government officials included in this study, work in the region, professionally addressing social and environmental problems generated directly or indirectly from the tourism economy. Thus, jobs differentiate stakeholders based on their income and help determines their social status, power, and privilege in the region.

Survey results show that local residents are the least educated and also make the least amount of money when compared to the other local stakeholder groups. They are generally employed in lower level jobs and do not own businesses or land near the trails. This means that they have least economic and social resources in the region.

Business owners have more resources, as well as more power and privilege because of their high income from the tourism industry. I find that close engagement in the tourism economy gives them access to specific privileges. Business owners live in areas that are very close to the trails and these areas are larger, cleaner, with access to various modern amenities such as electricity, solar power, and treated drinking water. Their income from tourism helps them afford these modern amenities and technologies. Because business owners have money and power in society and they have the resources to focus on environmental issues that they deem important. This leads them emphasize issues pertinent to tourism and ignore issues that impact local residents. It can be especially seen in the neglect of water pollution and failure to apply measures that work towards local waste management. This neglect becomes more prominent when business owners and government officials work together.

Business owners gain a lot of social benefits through tourism income. Thus, it is not surprising to see them put significant more emphasis on economy development rather than showing environmental concern. Survey results show that business owners have highest mean income amongst all local stakeholders. Business owners also place significantly more value on power than local residents, which means they give more importance to money and being rich. Business owners are significantly more likely to donate to organizations for environmental causes, however donating money for

environmental cause could also be related to socialization or religion of the EBC region, so we cannot really claim that their salient stakeholder identity as a business owner impacts this environmental behavior. One of the reasons that business owners donate to organizations could be because they are more economically well off than other local stakeholders, and when monasteries ask for money for environmental causes, they emphasize their cultural values.

Government officials are the most diverse group in the region after tourists. All of the government officials included in the study have worked in their current job and in the EBC region for at least three years. Survey results show that half of the government officials included in the study are of sherpa ethnicity. Many of them are long-term residents of the region, born and raised there. Some come to the region from different parts of Nepal for job opportunities and reside in the region on a semi -permanent basis. I did not find any significant association between salient stakeholder identity of a government official with environmental values and environmental concern. However, government officials are seen to significantly value benevolence, which means that they give importance to doing well for the society. Survey results show that government officials significantly engage in all forms of public sphere pro-environmental behaviors such as donating money to organizations for environmental causes, participating in demonstrations for environmental causes, being members of environmental organizations, and talking about the environment to others. I do not see an association with public sphere pro-environmental behaviors except that they watch significantly more videos on environmental issues than local residents.

Because the government officials are employed in various social and environmental offices their narratives show varied concerns about the environment. Their concerns about the environment were diversified based on their work and interests. They focus on specific issues their organizations promote and are involved in environmental issues that pertains to their job requirements. When analyzing individual government official's environmental behaviors, it is seen that their concerns and behaviors are heavily dependent on their job requirements and organizational affiliations. For example, an official of SPCC points out the problem in management of human waste and its impact on the environment claiming, "Human waste and its disposal is one of the most challenging environmental problems for the region." One official of International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD) claims, "Global climate change is one of the most significant events shaping the environment and the region today." One government official working in the Khumjung VDC points towards natural disasters as the most imminent problem. He says, "We should raise awareness on taking care of the ecosystem in the region. The focus should be on adaptation to changing environment and protecting ourselves from natural disasters like glacial outbursts, flooding, landslides, and earthquakes." Government officials working with the Nepal Army are more focused on conservation and preservation of forests and wildlife.

I find that people engage in pro-environmental behaviors based on the resources available to them and the power they have in their social circles. For e.g. local residents and ethnic minorities lack power and privilege which makes them more vulnerable to various environmental injustices. Local residents have education and engage in low paying manual labor jobs. They are not engaged within the community or involved in the

community to understand that they are facing different environmental problems. A local health care professional in Gokyo says,

> Most of the times, local people do not know about environmental problems so they cannot address it. If you ask many locals, they do not know about water pollution in the region. Tourists are urged to treat their water before they drink it, or only drink bottled water, but locals do not have access to such information. We see increase in water borne diseases in the region, but if people don't know what's causing it, how do they address it?

Qualitative narratives also reveal that environmental and social problems hit these poor local residents the hardest. They get the least amount of benefits from the tourism industry, and also face more social and environmental harms. Lack of power in the community is then transferred into their environmental behaviors. Even when local residents know about environmental problems and experience harms on a daily basis, they are often unable to address those problems. One local stakeholder remarks, "The rivers are getting smaller and dirtier than ever before. After the lodges started putting western toilets, the waste has started seeping into the water supply. I have been told that I need to boil my water before drinking. I just boil my water now. I don't know what else to do." Another local resident, a mid-aged woman living in Namche says, "With lodges being built in the area, fresh water sources are disappearing. After they built a lodge on the top of the hill, the water fall behind my house has dried up. I now have to go to the community tap to fill up drinking water. I walk further down to the river to clean clothes." When asked why they do not discuss these issues with government to address

the problems? People say that the government does not care about these small issues. One young local resident points out that the inequalities in the region is based on economic vulnerabilities. He says, "We know the water is polluted. It is the first thing we tell tourists - do not drink water from the river and falls without properly treating it. Locals just assume that they have higher tolerance for pollutants. When rich tourists are given priority, poor locals are the most vulnerable."

Much of the environmental inequalities affecting local residents does go unnoticed or unaddressed. Local residents complain that because they are poorer, less educated, and work in low income positions. Their problems are often undermined local residents have few resources and less power to alleviate environmental problems that affect their daily lifestyle. Because of lack of available resources, they are also the least likely to take pro-environmental actions. In such situations, environmental concern and environmental behaviors are not dependent on people's awareness and evaluation of environmental problem. It is often based on a systematic hierarchy of needs. When people do not have resources to cannot address environmental problems, or ameliorate them they just ignore the problems and go along with their lives. One local resident says,

> I know about the different environmental problems in the region. I also see social problems in the region. I know the water I drink is polluted. But I cannot do anything about it because I have other problems of my own that needs to be addressed. I have two children that go to school, I need to take care of my parents too. I guess daily survival is more important for me than environment for now. Not that I don't engage in environmentally friendly behaviors, but mostly we are thinking of -how do I eat tomorrow?

Even though there is an assumption that all local stakeholders are exposed to benefits and harms from the tourism industry, certain stakeholders hold more power, privilege, and money in the region to minimize their exposure to harm others experience. Business owners, for example, face the same environmental problems as local residents but they experience and address environmental problems in different ways.

Understanding motivation to engage in pro-environmental behaviors is very important. One government official says that the key to promoting sustainable behaviors among stakeholders is to understand what motivates them to engage in environmental behaviors. He points out,

> Local residents will work with the government to act in environmentally friendly ways if we communicate to them through the monastery or show them some benefits of engaging in pro-environmental behaviors, like development of the region. Similarly, promoting sustainable behavior amongst business people is done by educating them about the profits of sustainable behavior, like, engaging in energy saving, recycling, waste reduction. Business people respond to rewards, so we reward them with green certification that can help them better their business. They are more likely to engage in activities that save money for them. To encourage long-term environmental behaviors stakeholders need positive incentives. Many times, tourism provides that incentive.

Tourism, in the EBC region, is not only an economic engagement and a social phenomenon, it is also something that people value. When people engage in tourism, it

not only determines resources for stakeholders, it also motivates them to engage in specific social and environmental behaviors. Income from tourism is seen as one of the biggest advantages for the residents in the region, and most residents put a lot of emphasis on tourism as a way of their lifestyle.

The emphasis of tourism is more prominent amongst business owners. I find that even though they have resources, tourism still provides motivation to engage in environmental behaviors. Business owners often decide not to engage in pro-environmental behaviors if it does not benefit the tourism economy. Business owners emphasize tourism as the most important thing for their society and are seen to understand and address the environment as an afterthought of tourism. Business owners defend tourism and make excuses for environmental destruction as a result of tourism activities. They either deny environmental inequalities or overlook inequalities faced by the local populations. They often cite things like, "development has it costs," "the pollution and water shortages people experience in this region is not a problem," "we are doing better than other cities," and "the management of this region is great and I do not think that the region has such problems." Throughout their narratives, development of the region is associated with development of tourism. One sherpa business owner says, "Tourism has given us affluence and made this region visible. When tourists come into this place, they provide jobs not only for the people in the region but for people all over Nepal. For tourism to grow, there will be environmental sacrifices." One business owner says the exaggerated pollution reports are a myth or political propagandas. He says most of the caution is for safety measures,

> The rivers are not polluted. People who come from outside do not have the same immune system as we do. We just don't want them to get sick while travelling, so we caution them to treat their drinking water. Tourists coming into the region are generally used to drinking treated water. We do not want them drinking water on the trails - you know the water sources that animals drink from. It is wise to caution them about safety. Also, they are more likely to buy bottled water, which is just a good business practice.

No matter the excuses businesses make for the tourism industry, they cannot deny the impact of tourism on the environment, especially when it starts impacting the tourism industry itself. Business owners have a lot of vested interest in promoting tourism in the region. They often engage in different types of pro-environmental behaviors, even expensive ones such as greenhouse farming, conservation of forests, and adoption of clean energy to help tourism prosper. Most business owners employ new expensive technologies to encourage sustainable business for the future of tourism. Emphasis on tourism can be seen in narratives where people talk about technology and sustainable practices. They say things like, "I want to implement all the technology that is necessary to give tourists a good time," and "we employ sustainable practices to keep our environmental pristine, improve our amenities, encourage tourism."

Business owners also work to counter environmental degradation through support of policies, and working with government offices to bring sustainable, environmentally friendly alternatives. One business owner talks about technologies being introduced in the region. He says, "New innovative ideas such as hydro power plants, and solar energy

have been introduced to help with environmental sustainability. It helps generate electricity for businesses and local residents so we don't have to use the forests for energy." Business owners constantly talk about the important role they play in environmental maintenance of the region. A businessman who owns lodges in Lukla addresses how environmental problems are being attended in the region,

> We have been fighting environmental issues related to pollution and waste management for almost a decade. We have worked together with various groups to clean mountains and the trekking trails. We have worked with the government officials and the SNP to conserve the forests. When they block forest use, businesses suffered because businesses were using the forests for firewood and timber. When the forests were barred from use, businesses moved to other energy resources such as kerosene. Now, we collectively invested in local hydro power plants that provide us with electricity. Before hydro power plants started in the region, we used solar power for electricity for couple of years. Of course, heating and cooking is not done with electricity yet, so we still have to buy firewood, but we follow strict national park guidelines to acquire wood. I have not heard anyone from the community complain because we know that preserving the environment means more tourism and everybody benefits from tourism.

I find that business owners and government officials often work together to define and address environmental problems in the region. Business owners often form partnerships with government offices through donations and community engagement.

One business owner of Tyangboche talks about such partnerships, “We work with the government offices such as SPCC, VDC, Buffer Zone to make things happen. We work hard to bring forth new environmental initiatives such as trash removal program to make this region better.” Business owners also to work within their communities to engage in collective sustainable behaviors. A business owner in Namche talks about his local collaborations,

> I regularly go to community meetings. I work with SPCC to control pollution. I work with the government and NGOs to keep up a green lodge. I have implemented every environmentally friendly and locally sustainable tourism initiative introduced in the region. I have worked with “grow local” on setting up a kitchen garden where I grow my own produce. I have my own yaks and cows that give me milk. I shop local as much as possible. I make sure to get my produce from local farmers before importing our food. When people stay at our place they are not only supporting me to grow my business but other local businesses that I associate myself with in the region.

Government offices in the EBC region also work heavily by collaborating with other offices and the larger community. Government officials have a lot of power in the community to lobby and promote policies to implement change. Government offices and government officials have a significant impact on the environment based on the policies and environmental concerns prioritized by them. They impact environmental behaviors of other stakeholders through rules and policies that encourage and often reward pro-environmental actions. Government offices work together with other stakeholders and

collaborate with religious institutions, powerful leaders, as well as the general community to encourage sustainable environmental behaviors. For example, SPCC has partnered with many other local, national and international groups to tackle issues of environmental pollution. One SPCC official in charge of conservation and national park management says, "For a long time, SPCC has been actively working with WWF to conserve forests in the region. We have also been working with SNP to increase forest cover in the region. We have now involved locals in sustainable management of the forest through community based agro-forest program." One local resident says, "SPCC has been working with various local youth groups, women groups, and environmental groups to tackle waste and pollution the region."

With each collaboration project, the priorities of the organization change along. The manager of the SPCC project says,

> SPCC is now trying to create environmental awareness amongst local people by gathering people to participate in solid waste management activities. There are trainings and awareness programs about solid waste management of hotels and lodges. The focus is on solid waste and threat to sensitive places like streams, water sources, and trekking trails. To accomplish this SPCC has been conducting mass public awareness campaigns with local people and other government officials such as the VDC chairperson, representatives from national park eco-club, and school teachers.

Officials believe that working with the community and raising awareness amongst general population is the best way to promote environmental behaviors, and the only sustainable way to help mitigate environmental problems. International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICOMOD) works with other governmental organizations such as local VDC and regional government to address climate change and the threats of natural disasters in the region. They work with communities to prepare for imminent disasters and implement sustainable pro-environmental behaviors in the region. One official of ICOMOD says, "Working together with the VDC, villages, and communities to erect evacuation signs all over the region has helped us raise environmental awareness. Early warning system has helped raise alarm regarding glacial outbursts. The community is becoming more active in mitigating future problems."

Similar narratives are heard from the government officials. Nepal army and Nepal police work together in the EBC region to monitor crime and encourage conservation. They have now recruited help from local communities to monitor illegal human activities in the park. One army official says, "We work with local people to monitor human activities in the park, such as illegal forest/timber cutting, and protection of endangered animals. This is a very large region and we have offices in a few villages, so we work with other offices and local residents to monitor these types of illegal activities." He reveals that working together with communities has had direct impact on local conservation behavior.

Most government officials increasingly favor the idea of community management for sustainability. One local VDC official says, "With introduction of community management, locals now help identify conservation priorities in the region. Governmental

agencies help locals by educating them on horticulture, vegetable farming, nursery, green house construction, conservation, and community forest programs. The objective is to improve nutritional status and economy of local farmers and encourage conservation and sustainability." Officials claim that community management has been very successful as the community gets involved in local management. People become more involved in conservation projects. A VDC official in khumjung says,

> National Park Buffer Zone was established in 2002 by locals to direct community based conservation projects in Khumbu and adjacent sherpa regions. These conservation projects have established a community forest users group. They also have brought forth projects such as conservation of the eastern Himalayan corridor and sacred landscape program, which focuses the attention of conservation to nearby mountains that are not as popular as Mount Everest, but still of extreme significance to the community. These conservation programs have now encouraged transboundary conservation initiatives involving Nepal, China, and Bhutan.

Government officials are always introducing new initiatives to help mitigate trash in the region to protect the environment as well as increase tourism and promote sustainability. Many programs such as the kitchen garden initiative, kerosene depots, green house farming, composting techniques, and bio-gas through animal waste have been successfully administered. One government official of the VDC says that the best way to promote environmental behaviors amongst stakeholders is to give them more control over the regional governance. The idea is that locals get to control the money

coming into the region through tourism and use most of it for the development of the region. Since the locals are in charge, the locals are seen to be more involved in sustainable tourism practices because they want tourism to flourish in the region, and a clean environment means better tourism opportunities for the future.

Pro-environmental behaviors are thus multidimensional with stakeholders choosing to engage in one behavior vs another based on available resources or personal experiences. An understanding of salient stakeholder identity in tourism is important because it allows for a deeper understanding of individual and social processes that inspire people to engage in different types of environmentally conscious behaviors. Stakeholder identities also give people access to different types of power, privilege, and control of the regional governance, which in turn helps determine their resources and their ability to engage in various types of pro-environmental behaviors.

People refer to their tourism stakeholder identity to decide their personal environmental and social behaviors. When examining different stakeholders' engagement in pro-environmental behaviors, I find that stakeholder's willingness to engage in environmental behaviors are based on their personal conception of the problems, their personal biases, rationality (betterment of tourism economy), altruism (place attachment to the region), self-interest (personal hardships), and/or their job requirements.

Outside Stakeholders

Outside stakeholders in this study are defined based on their temporary relationship with the region. The outside stakeholders such as guides, porters, and tourists who come into the region for seasonal employment or vacation and research purposes.

These stakeholders stay in the region for limited time, but are responsible for most of the human activity in the region. They travel up and down the trails, use local resources, and their actions lead to pollution of the environment. They have least place attachment and identify with the region and its surroundings. Survey results show that neither guides and porters nor tourists engage positively in any private sphere or public sphere pro-environmental behaviors. Regardless, they are considered very important stakeholders of the environment.

Tourists from all over the world come into the region for it's spectacular views, glory of concurring nature, and satisfaction of engaging in a unique experience. The remoteness of the region lets people get away from their busy lives and immerse themselves in the wanderlust. Some come to seek adventure, some come for recognition and pride, some come for research, and some for all the above. Tourists not only bring environmental problems with their activities, they also bring new understanding of environmental problems, and sometimes help alleviate environmental problems by working with local stakeholders. Outside stakeholder's environmental attitudes and behaviors have lasting impact on the region. Tourist and their engagement in environmentally friendly behaviors is imperative to institute environmental justice in the region. Although tourists spend limited amount of time in these type of destinations unaware of the consequences, their action their actions leave long lasting impacts for the local population (Grandoit 2005). Tourists are not exposed to environmental problems in the same way that the locals experience them. Previous research shows that tourists when vacationing act differently towards the environment and they are less likely to make environmentally friendly choices during their vacations (Lavanchy 2017; Whyte 2010).

However, their decisions while in the region leaves long lasting imprints on the environment. One government official claims, "If tourists do not act environmentally friendly then no matter how much locals take care of the environment, it will be hard for us to manage the place."

When asked about their concerns for the local environment, almost all tourists interviewed say that they care about the environment and the impact of human actions on the fragile ecosystem. Tourists concern and actions can be important motivators of environmental behaviors in local population. The impact is amplified with popularity in social media. One government official talks about the impact of social media on local stakeholders' behaviors, especially when engaged in tourism. He says,

> Social media has bridged the gap of communication lag in between the tourists and the locals. When you go into the social media #everestbasecamp, you see wonderful pictures of the region that entice new visitors to come to the region. You will also come across scathing reviews about the region. The locals are watching these social media posts. They talk about these reviews and they are always looking at how to idealize the region so that more tourists come here.

Tourists bring their own experiences and socialization while travelling. They help recognize environmental problems that are being ignored, disregarded, or unaddressed by the local population. For example, locals started considering pollution a problem after tourists started pointing it out. Pollution and waste in the Everest region got a lot of international attention in media before Nepal's government and locals started addressing

the issue. A local resident reflects, “International researchers and tourists raised alarm on pollution with extensive media coverage about waste on Everest. After it garnered huge international attention, Nepal government started implementing policies and actions to mitigate trash on Everest. We have now managed to turn back time.”

Today, many foreign researchers regularly visit the region to study pollution, climate change, vegetation, culture, and tourism. The effect of these research can be seen on the way locals think about the environment. There has been an increase in dialogue and actions regarding pollution, environmental degradation, and climate change. Longitudinal forest coverage change has been directly or indirectly inspired by international researchers and their interests.

I find that tourists address the environment depending on their own values, environmental concerns, and personalities. Some tourists expect a pristine environment and complain when their perception does not match the reality. Others work within themselves to be environmentally friendly and lessen their footprint in the region. While some tourists work with the local communities/society to better the environment. Many tourists ironically complain about the number of tourists in the region. One tourist points out, “There is a lot of overcrowding in this small region. While coming up and down the trails we have to wait to cross the bridges because these bridges do not accommodate dual traffic. I had to wait for almost half an hour to cross one of the bridges. The region really needs to accommodate their infrastructure to accommodate the increasing number of tourists in the region.” Along with that tourists complain about the number of animals carrying goods up and down the trails. One tourist talks about the animals in the region being a problem for the infrastructure. She says, “The sheer number of animals walking

these trails carrying heavy burdens on their backs would put lot of pressure on the frail mountain tracks and the bridges. I think that animals can be an environmental hazard when they are not being properly regulated in the region. The trails are littered with yak dung and the dung mixed with melting snow and rain."

When tourists voice their concerns to local stakeholders listen to them and work proactively to address their problems. The problem with tourists and their visualization of environmental problems for the region lies in the fact that the environmental concerns emphasized by them does not always reflect environmental concerns of local population. Tourists stay in the region for a relatively short time and not much of that time is spent with locals to properly understand their experiences with nature, their lifestyle, and their hardships. Thus, the focus of tourists and researchers is based on their personal definition of environmental problems, often westernized and visual problems, not always concerned with local issues.

Most tourists also claim that they actively work to lessen their environmental impact when travelling. Survey results show that tourists coming into the region are seen to put more value on hedonism and benevolence. This means that they value having a good time but they also put importance on doing good for the society which could illustrate a link between the value of benevolence with pro-environmental behaviors. For example, one tourist says, "I like to travel as economically friendly as I can. I have brought solar chargers with me because I knew this location was remote and energy is scarce. I researched about the region beforehand and have carried almost everything that I need for my own comfort." Another tourist echoes similar thoughts. Her environmental behavior included some economic aspects as well. She says,

> I definitely want to reduce my footprint when I travel. I tend to make environmentally friendly choices. I have to pay to charge my phone, I have to pay to connect to the internet. I have to pay for hot baths, I pay high prices for food, beverages than Kathmandu so I try to be economically as well as environmentally conscious. I am actually amazed at the amenities available in such hard parts of the country.

Local stakeholders talk highly of tourists who visit the region and are engaged in vital projects that help alleviate environmental problems and increase sustainability in the region. Locals talk about different international teams, companies, expeditions, researchers, and tourists that have helped clean up trash in Everest. These people came from various parts of the world to climb various summits and also help clean up the region. Tourists have participated in cleanup of the region in various ways. One tourist, who is now an integral part of the cleanup project in Gorakshep explains his mission,

> I came to the region in 2012. There was a trash cleanup campaign going on at that time. I decided that tourists should be a part of the clean up because tourists are the ones most responsible for the trash. We started this Sagarmatha cleanup project in partnership with Eco-Himal and Saving Mount Everest Project. We contact all the tourist formed alliances with the guides and tourists in Kathmandu. We ask the tourists and guides if they would like to carry back ten pounds of trash from the base camp to Lukla. Tourists and guides who agree to do that are given prepacked ten pounds of trash that they can tie to their backpack and bring them back and deposit them to the local office in Lukla.

Similarly, two foreign nationals who came to the Everest base camp as tourists now spend six months in Nepal to help the region come up with a long-term sustainable solution to human waste in Gorakshep. One government official who is closely involved with the Mount Everest Biogas Project talks about the contribution of tourists in finding long term sustainable solutions to environmental problems in the region. He says,

> The Mount Everest Biogas Project was initiated in 2010 by Dan Mazur and Gary Porter. During that time, everyone was concerned about the environmental impact of waste being dumped in Gorakshep. Being engineers themselves, they began to test the technology of converting human waste into biogas. This is not a new technology but it is hard to replicate the process in a cold environment. The progress has been slow but steady. This project, if successful, will help us form similar biogas projects in other parts of the country.

Tourists are powerful stakeholders and thus their conception of environment and definition of environmental problems impacts the region in significant ways. Guides and porters however are not very powerful. They are also outsiders who come into the region for seasonal work. Survey results show that guides and porters are predominantly young males. They do not significantly engage in any public sphere or private sphere pro-environmental behaviors than local residents. When values of stakeholders were analyzed, guides and porters are seen to have significant negative value on society, which means that they do not care about doing good for the society. We could extend this value to their status in the region as outsiders. They do not have place attachment to the region

like local residents as they reside outside the region. In addition, they make the least amount of money amongst all stakeholders in the region.

Even though guides and porters do not have significant environmental concerns they are very important stakeholders of the environment. Their close relationship with the tourists makes them unofficial stewards of the local environment. They are first contacts that tourists have with the region. Guides and porters accompany tourists from Kathmandu up to the base camp and back to Kathmandu. During this trip guides perform range of duties such as accompanying tourists, helping them get acquainted with the region, monitoring their behavior, and also guarding the local environment. One guide says,

> Our main job is to safely take the tourists up to the base camp and bring them back. Then the next important job is to help them communicate with the locals and make their stay comfortable. Then our job is to help them familiarize with the place, tell them what to do and not to do regarding their clothing, food, and the environment. I will tell my tourists what they can wear and what they need to carry with them based on the weather. I also tell them what to eat and drink on different altitudes so that they can keep up with their energy. I also let them know in Kathmandu that they need to travel as self-sustainable as they can (e.g. get a refillable bottle for water, keep their equipment to a minimum, and not carry a lot of things that will be more of a burden to be disposed in the higher altitudes). I need to monitor not only my tourist's behavior but also other tourists in the area. When I am in the region - which ever it might be – I am responsible

> to make sure that I give the tourists as much information as I can to make their stay comfortable and fruitful. During this time, I am also frequently monitoring their behavior and asking them to deposit their trash in appropriate places.

While going up and down the trails, the guides are not only responsible for their own behaviors but also have to control tourist's behaviors. With years of experience they familiarize themselves with the area which is an important type of environmental behavior too. One guide of the region points out,

> As the altitude and the climate changes near the base camp, trashcans are far in between and the toilets are even more far away. They are only available in the villages through the route. During this time if we want to go to the bathroom in urgent, we have to go into the nature. We have to make sure that we are not disposing human waste in the streams and water sources. Even if there are no water puddles, many landscapes become local water sources during monsoon and early winter. Understanding the landscape and monitoring tourist behavior is thus important and such knowledge can only be gained through experience.

When tourists do not hire a guide, porters have to act as makeshift guides. Porters then become the main line of communication in-between tourists and locals. Thus porters also need to have a proper understanding of the local culture and the local environment to guide tourist's behaviors.

Guides and porters agree that their behaviors are very impactful on environment of the region. Their interactions with tourists dictates environmentally friendly by behaving in environmentally friendly behaviors. First one guide says, “Tourists are always watching us and how we act. I make sure to throw the trash in trash cans. I make sure that tourists are always watching us and imitate how we act. The only thing I can do is lead by example.” Another guide says similar things, “All we can do is educate. I will constantly remind tourists about the rules and culture of the region. Even when we see people travelling by themselves, we strike up conversations with the tourists and start up a dialogue about the expectation in the region.” One young porter talks about how he handles tourists and their behaviors,

> I tell the tourists where the next trashcan can be found, or to use toilets whenever we come across one because the next toilet will be three to four hours away. Sometimes I will even carry their trash and dispose them properly. Tourists coming to the region are very particular about where to throw trash when they are in the lower region, but as we go up the motivation to carry their trash to the trashcans gets lower. Several times I have carried empty water bottles, so we could dispose them properly. We, guides and porters see to it that tourists be responsible and respectful of the place, culture and traditions.

Guides and porters also work with local government and/or NGOs to get into special programs that address environmental problems of the region. One guide talks about a special program that her trekking company is involved with that helps target the pollution in Everest Base Camp. She says,

> There is a private partnership of my trekking company with Saving Mount Everest project. Every time someone registers through our company to come into the EBC region, we give them a choice weather they want to carry back trash from Everest Base camp into Lukla. The trash brought back to Lukla is then safely deposited for recycling or burning. I, as a guide, am always registered to bring back prepacked ten pounds of trash from the basecamp. Many tourists will volunteer to carry back trash and many will decline but it is a great initiative that I feel very proud to be associated with this nonprofit. Every time I come back from the base camp, I bring back trash and deposit it.

This study finds that local and outside stakeholders work in different capacities to address environmental problems. Powerful define environmental problems and address environmental issues based on their conception, often ignoring concerns of the powerless, underprivileged minorities residing in the region. People with less power engage in environmental behaviors based on their necessities, or simply ignore the problems by choosing not to address the issues.

CHAPTER VIII

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS III

Globalization of tourism has significantly increased tourist traffic in the EBC region within the last two decades. The influx of tourists has led to accelerated development as well as increased environmental problems in the region. In this section, I examine how tourism has enhanced or ameliorated environmental and social inequalities in EBC. There are undeniable cultural, social, and environmental changes in the region. The impacts of these changes are being studied. I consider what types of efforts are being done to alleviate environmental injustices in present and in the future. Better understanding of these relationships will help identify inequalities in the region and what can be done to alleviate injustice in the future.

Tourism: Benefits and Harms

Nepal is a developing country that has been promoting tourism as a way of improving the country's economy and relieving regional poverty. Tourism has brought substantial prosperity in the region. Income from tourism has provided jobs and improved lifestyle of local residents as well as people from outside the region by increasing employment opportunities. With increase in income, small homestays and roadside teashops have now turned into big lodges and fancy restaurants. Small villages have

evolved into bustling little towns with modern amenities and state of art housing structures. The region is now developing at a fast pace with fancy lodges, wider trails, and modern bridges that help both tourists and locals. For example, the Lukla airport was started to help transport tourists into the region, but it has also significantly cut travel time for local people.

Significant changes can also be seen in the infrastructure. Tourism has contributed to many social developments during the last decade. Several primary, secondary, and high schools have opened in the region that give educational opportunities to local children who are not be able to move out of the region. Several small health posts have been erected in major villages to help tourists with altitude sickness and also cater local residents suffering from health problems. Tourism has also introduced new technologies for sustainable energy into the region, such as hydro power plants, bio-gas plants, compost techniques, and green house farming.

Tourism helps save environment by federally recognizing tourist sites and helping to protect depleting flora and fauna through conservation (Cole and Erikkson 2011). The upper regions of EBC was declared a part of Sagarmatha National Park in 1976, with an aim to protect natural resources in the region and encourage tourism. Many locals believe that establishment of the national park was the first step in protecting local environment. A government official of Khumjung VDC says, "The Nepal government would not have established this national park if they did not consider tourism as the ulterior motive. The idea of conservation is entangled with the economic side of tourism."

Locals argue that prosperity from tourism has enabled them to take better care of the environment. Locals continuously compare their region with other parts in Nepal. One sherpa government official says,

> Tourism give us locals economic prosperity, so we can take care of environment on our own. Whenever we introduce any type of social or environmental cause in the region, the locals start fundraising for the project. Business men and local residents happily donate for environmental causes such as reforestation, park management, and pollution control. They want to work for advancement of the region because a better region means growth in tourism.

Local stakeholders say that income from tourism motivates people to upkeep the social and environmental heritages of the region. One local business owner from the Namche area talks about the connection in between tourism and conservation. He says,

> There was a time when we were very concerned about the declining forest and poaching of wild animals in the region. When we decided that it was a big problem for the region, the locals and the government officials worked together to take care of the environment. Together we have managed to increase forest coverage and protect the local wildlife. We know it is important for us to conserve our wild species and our forest to ensure future tourism in the region. You can see forest coverage depleting in many parts of Nepal because they do not have any motivation to protect forests and wildlife. Here tourism gives us that motivation.

Tourism also motivates people to look after the social, cultural, and environmental assets of the region. National and international attention to pollution and waste in the region has now given rise to community involvement in upkeep of the region. The rising profile of the region and extreme media attention towards the environment is seen as a positive side effect of tourism. One local business owner comments,

> The trekking routes were once called garbage trails because the pollution was very visible. The situation has now drastically improved thanks to all the attention given to it in the local, national, and international media. Nepal government acted fast to address those concerns and now they have expanded the protection to adjoining lower regions of EBC that was not included in the SNP. The lower regions have been designated as the Buffer Zone. SPCC works with local stakeholders to collect and properly dispose trash in the SNP and Buffer zone.

Tourism has also brought in modern technology to help mitigate drawbacks of tourism. For example, a SPCC government official says,

> There are modern technologies being introduced in the region that address environmental problems in the region. The practices of recycling and modern ways of composting has been implemented recently. First, trash is sorted to take out the recyclables such as plastic bottles, batteries, and aluminum cans. These recyclables are then sent to Kathmandu for further processing. Then the remaining trash is sorted into compostable trash and

> burnable trash. Compostable trash is sent into the big community compost site and the burnable trash is deposited in local incinerators. SPCC is actively working to build additional covered incinerators all over the region so that trash can be taken care of locally and does not need to be transported all over the region. Covered incinerators are becoming a necessity because this region is mostly wet with snow or rain and it gets harder to burn wet trash in the open.

Tourism has brought stakeholders together who work with each other to address environmental problems. It is seen that local stakeholders and outside stakeholders often work together to address environmental problems and encourage future tourism. Social institutions such as government offices, NGOs, and monasteries are working with local communities to encourage environmental behaviors. This has resulted in significant improvement in the environment, even turning back time.

Lastly, the most noteworthy difference is seen in social status of women in the region. Tourism and the associated economic prosperity has allowed women more independence. One local resident says, “We have access to different types of jobs. I do not have to depend on my husband to bring home money. I moved into this area because of tourism and the employment opportunities. I am independent and can take care of myself.” Similar narratives can be heard from various other female stakeholders. One small business owner in the region says, “My husband died several years before. I came to this area to open a little shop. Now I can support my children, I can send my children to school. It is harder for me alone but not impossible. I am not sure, I would have had

the same opportunities if I lived in a different part of the region." Another business owner notes,

> Tourists coming to the region is good for all of us. Advancing tourism has brought economic opportunities not only for this region but many villages as far as ten villages away. I came here from another village for employment opportunities. We get jobs, money. I don't have to be dependent on my drunk husband to feed my children.

Tourism provides economic opportunities to local people in form of employment and business prospects, and yet tourism leads to social and environmental injustices particularly within disadvantaged, low income, and minority communities (Higgins et al. 2013; Lavanchy 2017; Whyte 2010). In the region, local stakeholders face environmental and social consequences of tourism in personal ways. One local business owner who also works as a government official talks about environmental problems for local residents. He says,

> Tourist come one day and leave the next but locals will face the dire consequences of deteriorating water supply, depleting environment, and vanishing flora and fauna. I feel that people actively ignore the environmental problems affecting local populations. We can see trash accumulating on the streets, we can see the water banks getting bigger, so we raise alarm. But what about things that we do not see in front of us such as water pollution, species extinction, and cultural degradation?

Local residents experience changing culture and environment in personal ways. Many local residents often refer to degradation of culture as an attack on their identity. Some local residents are upset because tourism economy uses religious artifacts as props to attract tourists into the region. One local stakeholder exclaims, "Cultural and religious artifacts such as Buddhist stupas being built throughout the region. Colorful prayer flags on top of the stupas and bridges are normalized. Prayer wheels with mantras inscribed on them are laid out throughout the trails." One local resident points out, "The government has taken over the upkeep of the mani stones, stupas, prayer flags, and prayer wheels - which is a good thing." Many local residents, however, lament that the upkeep of religious artifacts and cultural artifacts is only limited to the tourist trails. The stupas and mani stones away from the tourist trails are deteriorating in need to repair. Moreover, stupas and mani wall like structures are being built in unlikely places as entertainment for the tourists coming into the region. These structures and spaces have no spiritual meanings attached to them. Religious monuments are now being reproduced as artifacts and show piece for tourists. One local resident says,

> My only concern is tourists and their disrespect for the mani stones. Mani stones are carved with holy prayers for our ancestors and their spirts. We collect the mani stones and make a huge mound to keep these stones in one place and give them proper respect. We only walk on the right side of the mani stone. We respect them as holy spirits. Tourists generally do not know religious meaning behind these stones. We often see tourists sitting and stepping on the sacred mani stones. I don't like that.

Many respondents agree that religion, culture, and environment of the region is being flaunted as a tourist commodity. The flaunting of local treasures for consumption of tourism is not only limited to cultural artifacts. Locals have found tourism seeping into their traditional lifestyles and causing changes in their environmental interactions. This basically means that any positive changes in the region are generally being done for tourist consumption. Local people's grievances are generally ignored in favor of tourism.

Previous researchers have found that tourism is very exploitative towards minority populations, often leading to dispossession of locals for the sake of development while destroying spaces where people live, work, and play (Higgins et al. 2013; Moore 2008; Whyte 2010). I find similar pattern in the region too. Government policies often limit access to natural environment for personal use, which has serious implications for poor minority populations living outside tourist regions and who use the environment for daily sustenance. For example, SNP is continuously working with monasteries and local governance to introduce new conservation techniques and environmental policies in the region. In order to protect the forest in the region and promote future tourism, SNP has been expanding protected forest reserves and banning their local use. One local resident of the region who works as a porter explains, "They are shutting off parts of the forests and now we have to move to other areas if we want to survive. I have to walk farther every day to gather wood fire and graze my cattle. When I cannot use the environment for sustenance and the alternatives are costly, I have to move. I can get wood for free but I have to pay for kerosene."

Although created with an aim to preserve the natural environment, expansion of protected areas are causing local residents to relocate out of these spaces. They show

great displeasure to such rules that have hampered their traditional ways of livelihood. Various indigenous populations are impacted by these strict environmental rules that aim to increase tourism. One local resident talks about the injustices being faced by local tribes,

> My community has been traditionally hunting for food. We used to meet for sustenance and sold the skin to the tourists or businesspeople for money. Government has now banned hunting in the region, so now I have to depend on tourism. You know in many areas of Nepal they have opened trophy hunting as a sport where tourists can hunt for entertainment. The very same government that are disabling local people from engaging in traditional methods of hunting, let tourists use guns to kill animals. We tribes do not have guns, we use sharp sticks and traps to hunt our animals. We hunt for food, not entertainment. But tourists can come and hunt for entertainment. If they really cared about the environment and wanted to preserve it, then they would not allow it in any form in any part of the country. Conservation is just a way to control local behavior and its unfair.

One local resident whose family has traditionally made a living by foraging and growing medicinal herbs talks about the decline of their ancestral occupation and increasing social inequalities,

> Certain communities have benefitted through growth of tourism, but people like us have to struggle with increased prices of land, food, and every other amenity. The nearby villages suffer the most because they are

> dependent on low income jobs. My grandfathers and fathers are traders who used to trade medicinal herbs in Namche. People as far as Tibet used to come to Namche for trading. Now, I can't sell herbs and roots in the tourist market. The market is concentrated with souvenirs and artifacts. Traditional occupations and trades are dying and all of them are getting replaced by tourism.

In many ways minority groups lose their autonomy and way of life as government implements policies that hamper their lifestyles and practices of generations.

I find that many times environmental problems are conceptualized and addressed in the region determined by "who" problems impact. When environmental problems tourists, tourism, or powerful stakeholders, those problems are more likely to be addressed. When problems impact powerless their concerns are overlooked. Lack of power, privilege, and political representation limits them from voicing their concerns and their problems are deemed as less important or irrelevant. One local resident living near Thame illustrates his position in society. He says,

> There is a huge dumpsite very near to my village in Thame. After the expeditions come down from the Everest cleanup, they generally bring back thousands of kilograms of trash. All that trash is first deposited and sorted near Gorakshep. Gradually batches of trash are sent to lower villages and deposited outside the tourist trails where they await proper sorting and disposal. The region is building incinerators to burn the trash, but the process is very slow. The garbage mountain near my village has

> been forgotten and no matter how much we complain, it has not been addressed yet. It is unsightly and we have to monitor our children constantly so that they do not go play in the garbage. But that's how it is. They want to keep the trails clean, so they dump nearby villages with that waste.

Scholars who have previously researched spatial geographic inequity and unequal distribution of environmental benefits and costs among different social groups find that socially and economically vulnerable populations are targeted for disproportionate exposure to toxic and hazardous waste (Middleton et al. 2015, Moore 2008; Pelluzzo 2009). Similar patterns are seen in the region. Some stakeholder groups such as local residents carry a higher burden of environmental harms than other stakeholder groups. The poor and the ethnic minorities experience most environmental burdens while gaining least economic or social benefits from tourism. Their concerns are least likely to be addressed in policies and practices. Local residents have very few resources and even less power to alleviate environmental problems that affect their daily lifestyle.

Powerful stakeholders often work together to define environmental problems and leaving the powerless undefended and voiceless. When the government actively ignore environmental degradation, and focuses on other environmental problems of the powerful it leads to grave injustice. I find that tourism, waste, and water pollution have been actively researched in the region and the focus on waste has led to higher pro-environmental activity to mitigate environmental problem. However, impact of human activity on water sources has garnered less media attention and people are not giving priority to eliminate contamination of water sources. Increasing tourism in the region is

actually aggravating the problem of water pollution. Many local stakeholders think it can have troubling consequence on health of locals but they have not addressed the problem. One local resident says, "Water pollution has been actively ignored because it mostly affects poor local residents who cannot afford drinking water supply and have to depend on local water sources."

Even when government brings in environmentally sustainable amenities such as hydro power plants and local drinking water tanks for local consumption and infrastructure. These amenities are expensive and unevenly distributed to most of poor locals living outside the trails and cannot afford these amenities. The society is now highly stratified with minorities lacking access to development. Poor and minorities pay higher environmental and social costs. Increase in tourism has resulted in natural habitat loss, strain on water resources, exposure to health hazards, and has forced local population competing for critical natural resources. This supports previous research claims that tourism enhances economic disparities amongst local populations often leading to enhanced stratification in their socio-economic status (Moore 2008).

One of the biggest problems of the EBC region is the arrival of large amounts of tourists in the region. Neither the Nepalese government nor the local offices have set a limit on the number of tourists arriving into the region. There is also no set limit on shop and lodge permits to control the number of businesses being opened in the villages. Local residents fear that overbuilding in the region will have significant social, economic, and environmental impacts. In addition, locals have now started to partner with outside companies to build massive lodges and restaurants increasing the risk of overbuilding and overloading of the infrastructure. One woman talks about her fears for the region. She

says, “More tourists need to come in to the region for these big businesses to make a profit. I do not know if the local environment and the regional infrastructure can handle all these pressures. The need for better management is obvious and necessary.”

The increase of human activity in the region is sure to aggravate current problems. Locals are now talking about managing tourists and are increasingly in favor of strict rules for backpacking solo trekkers who travel without guides and porters. A business owner explains, “We see backpackers camping near water sources and we are concerned about human waste and contamination of water sources for the village and local residents. It is harder to monitor behavior of tourists who travel by themselves in the region. We should be serious about properly regulating tourism in the region.”

The impact of tourism although evident on the infrastructure and the local environment. The most glaring difference is however seen on the local diet. Before tourism, the main source of income and diet was local agriculture but increase in tourism resulted in significant decline in agriculture and farmlands to build lodges and restaurants. This as a result has had serious impacts on local sustainability. Increase in tourism has led to increased need for food and vegetables which are now being imported from outside the region. Locals have been focusing on self-sustainability to decrease import of food and kitchen gardens are being set up to grow kitchen vegetables such as corn, cabbage, potatoes, carrots etc. Most food being imported in the region generally accommodate the needs of tourists. For example, every restaurant now offers pizza, pasta, pancakes and noodles, which is catered towards the western diet. These foods are low in nutritional value and are often not suitable as the regional diet. This type of diet is not sustainable in the region often deviating from the traditional diet into westernized

cuisines. Locals are more likely to suffer from various diseases such as diabetes and heart disease.

Since its inception, tourism presented an excitable potential of development in Nepal. The first couple of decades were spent on making tourism economy stronger and encouraging tourists to visit different regions in Nepal including EBC. But for the last couple of years, people and the nation have started to feel the aftermath of rampant uncontrolled tourism which has depleted local environment and national natural resources. Local people are seeing the impact of tourism on their flora and fauna, forest coverage, water pollution, solid waste, human waste, and increasing natural disasters. In the EBC region, the problem of environmental degradation had gotten so out of hand that international media got involved in raising awareness about waste in Everest as a prime concern. Local communities not only face the harsh after math of tourism, they also see increased stratification within their communities. Some locals face harsher social and environmental injustices raising concerns on local, national, and even international justice issues in tourism sector.

CHAPTER IX

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This study focuses on salient stakeholder identity in tourism as an important predictor of environmental values, environmental concerns, and pro-environmental behaviors. Researchers claim that people deeply involved in tourism economy internalize their tourism stakeholder status as a part of their identity (Zhang et al. 2014; Zhang et al. 2016). Tourism is very important to the stakeholders in the EBC region with regards to economic security. There are not a lot of varying career choices, other than tourism, available to the residents. Even when stakeholders engage in alternate careers such as farming, jewelry making, small home-based businesses, etc., these goods and services are catered to tourists or business catering to tourists. Thus, when stakeholders reside in the region, they automatically subscribe to a tourism stakeholder identity based on their interaction with the tourism economy. This status gives them access to differing power, privilege, and resources, often enabling or limiting their engagement in various types of pro-environmental behaviors.

Even in presence of multiple identities, people hierarchically organize their identities with preferred being more prominent and salient than others (Stryker 1980).

When there is an identity conflict, hierarchical categorization of identity becomes an important predictor of social behaviors (Stryker 2004). Identities higher in salience confirms people's self-identity and actors model their behavior in favor of identities they strongly value and deem self-relevant. Emotions and behavioral responses then confirm an individual's self-identity (Stets 2006; Stryker 2004). Understanding salient stakeholder identity in tourism is important because it allows for a deeper understanding of individual and social processes that inspire people to engage in different types of environmentally conscious behaviors.

Researchers interested in personal and social motivators that give rise to pro-environmental behaviors have found that individual and social attributes such as identity, values (DeGroot and Steg 2008; Schultz and Zelenzy 1999), socio-demographic factors (Whitmarsh and O'Neill 2010), place attachment/ emotional connection to nature (Cheng and Monroe 2012), and rational choice (based on costs and benefits) (Campbell et al. 2013; Sirivongs and Tsuchiya 2012) inspire people to engage in different types of environmentally conscious behaviors. I find similar behavioral association among stakeholders in the EBC region. Stakeholder groups in the EBC region are seen to engage in pro-environmental behaviors based on their status, their personal conception of environmental and social problems, their personal biases, rationality (betterment of tourism economy), altruism (place attachment to the region), self-interest (personal hardships), or their stakeholder identity and job requirements.

Previous researchers have conceptualized environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors as subjective. They point out that people engage in pro-environmental behaviors as they become aware of environmental problems and evaluate

these problems as serious in their implications (Dunlap and Jones 2002, Kollumus and Agyeman 2002, Steg et al. 2011). However, this study finds that environmental concern and environmental behaviors are not always subjective and dependent on people's status in society, availability of resources, awareness, and their evaluation of environmental problem. Even when people are aware of environmental problems and experience them personally, lack of resources deters them from engaging in pro-environmental action. Stakeholder identity impacts people's access to resources as different stakeholders have access to different types of resources. Business owners, for example, make the most money amongst local stakeholders and are seen to engage in pro-environmental behaviors to increase future tourism. Government officials have more political power, so they use that power to engage in pro-environmental behaviors. Tourists also have a lot of power and privilege in the region, which is why their environmental concerns are taken more seriously. Many tourists when properly motivated also have resources to engage in pro-environmental behaviors of their choosing.

I find that income from tourism can be a prominent determinant of pro-environmental behaviors among stakeholders. Many local residents talk about the importance of tourism for the region and their behaviors being a conscious effort to promote a pristine image of the region to tourists. Most local stakeholders engage in pro-environmental behaviors to promote tourism. Previous studies emphasize economic incentives of tourism and its significant impact on people's motivation to become committed to environment and conservation practices (Campbell et al. 2013). They highlight that income associated with tourism in protected areas can change the local

community's perception of the environment (Campbell et al. 2013; Sirivongs and Tuschiya 2012).

Amongst all stakeholders, business owners are most likely to engage in pro-environmental behaviors as a rational choice, with an aim to encourage future tourism in the region. Business owners have a vested interest in tourism and often engage in expensive pro-environmental behaviors such as greenhouse farming, conservation of forests, adoption of clean energy, donating to environmental causes which can help future tourism opportunities. This goes against previous findings where researchers point out that stakeholders who have a vested interest in the economic aspect of tourism take advantage of the resources available in the environment, neglecting environmental protection and sustainability in this process (Campbell et al. 2013). This is interesting because I find that business owners strongly engage in different pro-environmental behaviors even though they have significantly less environmental concern when compared to local residents. They engage in resource based pro-environmental behavior (envdonation) when compared to local residents. Through their qualitative narratives, they emphasize the impact of their behaviors on tourism development and progress of the region.

Government officials also have a vested interest in protecting the environment due to economic incentives linked to their source of livelihood. Their pro-environmental behaviors are based on their job descriptions. Researchers consistently highlight the important role of government in promotion of sustainable tourism. Government officials have the opportunity to encourage pro-environmental behavior through strict environmental policies such as mandatory environmental regulation, monitoring, and

penalties that encourage local residents, tourists, and business firms to participate in pro-environmental practices (Rivera 2004). When the government actively promotes environmentally friendly tourism policies, it impacts environmental behaviors of other stakeholders (Campbell et al. 2013). In the EBC region, when government officials promote pro-environmental behaviors amongst stakeholders by targeting the local conception of rationality. To encourage pro-environmental behaviors and participation in environmentally friendly activities, government officials emphasize the idea of sustainable tourism. They are seen to provide stakeholders with various incentives such as green lodge certification, free seeds for kitchen gardens, free classes and materials to encourage sustainable behaviors such as composting and greenhouse farming. The local governance says that rational motivation is necessary for the local population.

Similar to government officials, I find that pro-environmental behaviors in guides and porters are also based on their job requirements and social relationships with their organizations. Their behaviors are seen to arise due to economic incentives linked to their source of livelihood.

Overall, resources available to an individual based on their social status is an important part of their willingness to take action. Survey results reveal important relationships in between stakeholder identity, resources, and pro-environmental behaviors. For example, business owners are significantly more likely to donate for environmental causes than local stakeholders because they earn more money. Government officials who have more power in the region significantly engage in behaviors such as envdonation, envtalk, envdemonstration, and envmembership than local residents. Females in the region significantly engage in social behaviors such as

envmembership and envtalk and narratives reveal that their choices are based on lack of resources. Increase in age is also significantly positively associated with envdonation, a resource based pro-environmental behavior. Narratives reveal that older males control property ownership and are more financially secure thus enabling them to engage in resource based behaviors. Sherpa who have more resources than other minority population in the region significantly engage in pro-environmental activities such as envdonation, envmembership, and envtalk. Lack of resources thus impacts stakeholders' environmental behaviors in negative ways.

Tourists, on the other hand, engage in pro-environmental behaviors based on their personal identity and values. In this study I find that tourists engage in pro-environmental behaviors by relating it to their personal identity. Many tourists emphasize travelling green and reducing their footprint on the planet, thus engaging in pro-environmental activities such as carrying a refillable bottle, using solar chargers, buying local, and disposing trash in appropriate places. This is seen to be done to reaffirm their identity of a green traveler. However, a few tourists go above and beyond regular green activities and engage within the local community to make a difference to the region's environment and they are shining examples of environmental consciousness and altruism. Few tourists work with the local population to mitigate pollution and improve the environment of the region.

Identity has important impacts on local stakeholders' environmental behaviors too. When people recognize themselves as locals they often have very close identity with the landscape as well as emotional attachment to the region. Research finds that people reside in a geographical location for long periods of time develop a deeper connection

with the landscape (Steadman 2002). The strongest bond is seen amongst people born in the region or with childhood attachment to the locality developing a sense of personal identity based on the landscape (Stedman 2002; Zhang et al. 2016). Survey data shows that birth in the region is significantly associated with increase in envconcern among residents of the EBC region.

EBC region and the stakeholders have a unique relationship with tourism. Tourism has developed this region exponentially and also given people economic prosperity. Now tourism is an integral part of people's lives and also the landscape. EBC region now sees a lot of migration from outside the region, as people come in here for economic opportunities. In addition, locals have also migrated throughout the land as new trails get added for tourism purposes. Now locals often own multiple houses in the region, and have friends and family all over the region as they migrate around for better opportunities. Thus local concept of home, locality, and landscape is often fluid and expansive. In addition, tourists also look at the region as a single experience. Even though region consist of many villages and small towns, outside stakeholders come into the region to hike the trails and reach base camp, and for them the whole region is one single entity. This conception has further influenced local conception of landscape as well as. As tourist trails are added and subtracted from the region it impacts how locals define the landscape and what place they call home. Previous literature has found that the definition of home for migrants is based on belonging. It is a subjective feeling associated with a place and the society, and thus, home can be localized and fixed into small spaces or extensible and stretched to distant places (Ralph and Staeheli 2011). I find that

definition of home is personal for EBC residents as some define home as a small village, while the majority identify with the whole region as their home.

The fluid definition of home/landscape have important impacts on their pro-environmental behaviors and their social experiences. People living in tourist areas get access to environmental and social benefits. When villages are not a part of tourist attraction, residents living in the areas do not get access to benefits such as new infrastructures, wider bridges, new health posts and training for sustainable tourism. They also experience increased environmental harms such as being dumping grounds for pollution and waste when residents start moving out of the localities. Thus, tourism makes landscape visible to people and policies. Previous researchers have also found that tourism brings people benefits when government becomes interested in the region's upkeep and maintenance of infrastructures (Campbell et al. 2013). It will be interesting to explore the social and environmental impacts that happen when tourist destinations die into obscurity and the impacts on the population left behind. In the EBC region, I find that people generally move to other villages to seek employment and amenities. But a study focusing on dying tourist villages and migrating populations might lead to fascinating results on environmental and social justice issues.

People decide insiders and outsiders of the region based on the landscape. When people are identified as insiders they display more attachment and identity with the landscape. They also engage in pro-environmental behaviors because they feel a personal attachment to the place and want to preserve it for future generations. I find higher environmental concern and engagement in various types of pro-environmental behaviors when people see the region their home and define themselves as caretakers of the region.

Scholars suggest that local stakeholders often develop a sense of identity with the environment, forming strong attachments with nature that leads to greater environmental concern and environmentally friendly behaviors (Cheng and Monroe 2012).

Sherpas specifically think of themselves as owners of the region as well as caretakers of the localities. They are seen to engage in various pro-environmental behaviors and they reveal strong emotional relationship with nature. Sherpa community has generations of lineage in the region and they accentuate insider/ outsider distinction by controlling land ownership near the trails. Sherpa identity is closely associated with the landscape and by limiting access to land near trails they keep their identity strong as well as preserve their power and privilege in the society. This study finds that the belonging to sherpa ethnic group leads to increased place attachment, with respondents displaying significantly positive environmental values, environmental concerns and willingness to engage in environmental behaviors. Survey results confirm that respondents identifying as sherpa show significant positive environmental concerns. Sherpa ethnic identity has statistically significant positive impact on public sphere pro-environmental behaviors such as donating money for environmental cause, memberships in environmental organizations, and talking about the environment to others.

Pro-environmental behaviors are often dictated through ingroup-outgroup distinctions, power, and impact. Residents who are labeled as outsiders often face larger environmental inequalities and social problems such as environmental pollution, limited access to environmental amenities in the name of conservation, disappearing water sources, conflict in land use, removal of traditional methods of livelihood, economic hardships that come along with inflated prices of land and other amenities, increasing

social inequalities, and cultural changes. Their concerns are often overlooked in actions as well as policies because they lack power, privilege, and political representation in the society. But when powerful outside stakeholder group such as tourists complain about environmental problems, these problems are met with attention even if it does not impact them in the long run.

Culture and socialization also impact behaviors of stakeholders. Religious beliefs that promote harmony with nature encourages specific types of environmental values and pro-environmental behavior among stakeholders such as donating to monasteries when they call for environmental reforms. Even though survey results do not show any significant impact of environmental values on pro-environmental behaviors, stakeholders with high environmental values do seem to significantly positively engage in pro-environmental behaviors such as envdonation and envtalk. The overall culture of Buddhism and harmony with nature impacts people's value system. All stakeholders in the EBC region talk about the strong impact of Buddhism on their environmental consciousness. Even government officials often work with monasteries to educate, encourage, or discourage stakeholders into engaging into certain types of behaviors. Cameron, Sherman, and Kim (2017) find that when cultures emphasize conservation behavior as part of their value system, the residents are more likely to engage in conservation practices and see it as a normal part of their lifestyle. Peattie (2010) highlights the impact of collective values filtering down into individual value systems. I similarly find that stakeholders do understand the strong impact of religion on pro-environmental behavior.

Tourism also differentiates in between stakeholders by controlling access to different types of jobs available in the region. Tourism also limits power and privilege amongst certain groups through unequal distribution of resources. Stakeholders in the EBC region not only experience tourism different, but are also exposed to environmental benefits and harms in various ways as they engage in different types of pro-environmental behaviors. The powerful, who are not exposed to harms or have resources to mitigate those harms, often get to define environmental problems in the region. I find that poor and ethnic minorities who lack resources face more environmental injustices. Their concerns are often undermined or ignored because they lack the power to voice their concerns.

Limitations

The focus of this study is on salient identity as a tourism stakeholder and the impact of that salient identity on respondent's values, environmental concern, and pro-environmental behaviors. I find significant positive association between salient stakeholder identity and different public sphere pro-environmental behaviors, but I did not find many significant inter-relationships between stakeholder identity and private sphere pro-environmental behaviors. Tourism stakeholder identity is a social identity, and when stakeholders are made to focus on public salient identity, they might emphasize their socially visible public behaviors. Consequently, the focus on a social identity also emphasizes group norms that dictate a certain way of life which might lead the respondents to focus on their public pro-environmental behaviors. Future studies should consider personal salient identities to analyze their impact on private sphere pro-environmental behaviors.

In this study, I also make an effort to understand identity conflict amongst stakeholders even though they subscribe to a salient tourism stakeholder identity. But I do not pay attention to multiple social and personal identities that people may subscribe to while residing in the region. Future studies should consider multiple identities to understand how people choose salient status based on all their social identities rather than just tourism stakeholder status. And how does choosing a stakeholder status other than their job description can help us understand their environmental behaviors in greater detail.

Continuing the tradition of previous studies on environmentalism, I have focused specifically on environmental values and its impact on environmental concern and pro-environmental behaviors. Previous researchers have found that tourists engage in environmentally friendly behaviors when they value the environment (Fairweather, Maslin, and Simmons 2005; Hedlund 2011). They reveal that tourists with biospheric values and altruistic attitudes are more likely engage in activism, and have more interest in environmental protection (Fairweather et al. 2005; Fielding, Mc Donald and Louis 2008; Hedlund 2011). While I do not find high environmental values amongst tourists, I find that tourists put a significantly high emphasis on benevolence than the local residents. Overall, I also did not find any significant association between salient stakeholder identity and environmental values. When I analyzed other prominent values and their relationship with salient stakeholder identities, I found values such as benevolence and power are significantly related to salient tourism stakeholder identities. This study finds that business owners are significantly more likely to value power than local stakeholders. This value could be associated with economic status of stakeholders.

Similarly, both government officials and tourists place high value on benevolence than local residents. Both these stakeholder groups are powerful stakeholders in the EBC region. Tourists help define environmental concerns for the region and government officials help make up policies to ameliorate environmental problems. Understanding impact of values on stakeholders can be important in determining stakeholder's environmental concern and environmental behaviors. Future studies can consider values other than environmental values to predict the relationship in-between pro-environmental behavior and identity.

I chose a mixed methodology to increase reliability. However, the biggest limitation of this study is the small sample size of the survey respondents. When the stakeholders are divided into separate salient stakeholder groups, the N of the group is further limited to ten respondents. This could influence the overall findings of this study. For example, I did not find any important or consistent relationships between salient stakeholder identity and private sphere environmental behaviors. Similarly, no significant relationships are found between environmental values and different pro-environmental behaviors. Having a larger sample size might have important impacts on these findings. Future studies need to be conducted with a larger sample size of survey respondents to fully understand the impact of environmental value and environmental concern on pro-environmental behaviors amongst tourism stakeholders.

Contributions

Despite some limitations, my project has important contributions to the existing literature as well as practical benefits for the EBC region. First, this study contributes to

the literature on identity by extending the concept of stakeholder identity into tourism stakeholder status. This study also extends the literature on stakeholder identity by focusing on salience of identity based on the tourism economy. Salient tourism stakeholder identity is based on economic and social relationships of tourism stakeholders, and is seen to promote different types of values amongst people to influence their environmental behaviors. I pay attention to the social bonds of tourism stakeholders, their value systems, their group identity, and their intrinsic motivation to address environmental problems in the region help to understand why people chose to engage in various types of behaviors.

This research also contributes to the literature on tourism and EJ by focusing on environmental behaviors and impacts of those behaviors on social and environmental inequalities for local stakeholders. The data collected in this study helps identify prominent environmental problems for different stakeholder groups in the EBC region. It provides a better understanding of how stakeholders perceive the impact of tourism and what environmental problems they deem as most important for the region. Better understanding of people's position in the society, their socialization, their values, and their culture helps us understand what influences their actions and why they choose to act in certain ways help can provide information for future behavioral interventions and policy making.

To make a positive change in social actions, policy makers need to cooperate with locals and coordinate their effort to satisfy needs of the community. Effective collaboration can only be done by properly understanding concerns of different population and understanding what problems are most important for various groups. I

believe that knowledge sharing in between stakeholders can help better explain stakeholder's environmental concern, their motivation to engage in pro-environmental behaviors. Policy makers can use the knowledge of norms, rules, routine prevalent in community to steer the process of planning and implementation of shared goals. Proper dissemination of information regarding environmental concerns of various stakeholder groups is necessary and can help formulate appropriate sustainability policies and conservation practices in the future which can be beneficial to the local residents of the EBC region.

I engaged in community outreach work in Namche Bazar to talk about my pilot study. The talk was presented during a monthly community meeting being held by SPCC. I found a lack of women present in these meetings. Even during my study, I found that women generally do not engage in public discussion of issues and segregate themselves into women's groups to address environmental issues in small scale. Similarly lack of power among younger respondents means they work harder to get their voices heard and their concerns addressed. The talk surrounded these issues and lack of pro-environmental behaviors among stakeholders. . I find that success or failure of collective processes depends on recognizing interdependence in community, enabling communication, and gathering consensus. On the other hand, it is also important to recognize hierarchies, power, and privilege.

During this meeting we talked about multiple issues and concerns in the region ranging through topics such as climate change, disaster preparation, glacial flooding, and conservation implications in great detail. We also talked about the surge of technology in relation to environmental behaviors. These topics are of utmost importance by themselves

and need to be discussed in greater detail. I intend to write papers regarding the progression of focus on climate change in the EBC region and the local stakeholders awareness of the issue. I also collected data on disaster preparation in the region which provides fascinating insight on how disaster resiliency has changed in the region within the last decade. This could also be a good paper option for future.

In addition, I also found fascinating new avenues for future research ideas. ch feel that this study I find that younger respondents who are connected to the world with technology are increasingly using social media forums to understand what environmental problems are associated with the region, as well as learning new techniques to implement environmentally sustainable tourism. The impact of technology on sustainable development of tourism is well discussed in tourism research. Studies reveal that governments have used social media to encourage local residents and communities to engage in pro-environmental behavior (Han et al. 2017). However, I did not find studies on how stakeholders use technology to educate themselves on pro-environmental behaviors and promote these behaviors amongst themselves, which is prominently seen in the younger generations of the EBC region. These dynamics would be useful to consider in future studies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

"Let's begin by talking about you first."
How long have you been residing in the region?
(If not from the region) How long have you been travelling to this region?
What roles do you play in the region?
Which role do you think is the most important?
How do you introduce yourself to other people?
Are you involved in any organizations? Governmental? Community?
How important is that organizational membership for you?
What does the organization do?

"Let's talk about your experience with the region?
What is your involvement here?
    How long have you been living/ working here?
    What roles?
What does this place mean to you?
How much do you value the environment?
How much do you value tourism?
Have you noticed a change in the natural environment because of increasing tourists?
    If so, what changes have occurred?
    What do you think about these changes?

Let's talk about your perceptions about environmental concerns and behaviors in the region…"
Are you concerned about the natural environment of the region?
    Why
    Are Others concerned about the natural environment?
    Why?
    What do you think about it??

What do you think is the most pressing environmental problem in the region?

Why?

When and how did you first come to be familiar with that problem?

What do you think about it?

What other problems do you think need attention in near future?

Are you currently involved, or have you had any experience with involvement in Environmental issues?

How long have you been involved?

In what ways?

What encouraged your involvement?

"Let's talk about how people here think about environmental problems…"

Businesses

Are there specific environmental issues that people of the region pay more attention towards?

Who does it impact? Tourists and locals, or just one specific population?

How are they addressing the issue?

What do you think of it?

Is there any success?

Tourists

What environmental issues do you think tourists are most concerned with?

How do people address such issues?

Do you think people pay more attention or less attention to their concerns?

How/ why?

Is there any success or have you noticed a difference?

Do you think that it is an important concern? How/why?

Guides and porters

What do you think guides and porters contribution is to the area? How can they help with environmental management?

Is there any environmental concern that's specific to them? What/ why?

Have they talked to you about it? How do you feel about it?

- If concerned Why?
- If not concerned why? Do you agree or feel that it is not as important?

Have you talked to other people about these problems?

Who needs to be concerned about it and how could they help?

Government officials

What does the government think most pressing environmental problem in the region?
What do you see the officials focusing on the most?

Why?

What do you think about it?

What other problems do you think need their attention in near future?
Are you currently involved, or have you had any experience with involvement in Environmental issues?

How long have you been involved?

In what ways?

What encouraged your involvement?

II. Community members/activism – perceptions and responses
"Let's talk some about your community…"
Are residents in your community concerned about any specific environmental issue that everybody thinks is most pressing?
What issues and why?
[If problems are noted] When did you first learn about these issues?
History/context?

Is there something being done about pressing environmental problems noted by the community?

How are they doing that?

How long?

Is there any success?

How would you define success?

Are you involved in these community movements/ works?

How long and to what extent?

What are your thoughts on the success of these attempts?

Would you do anything different?

Are certain areas or peoples more affected by issues related to environmental problems than others?

Ethnicity, social class, locals/outsiders?

How? Why?
Are these people also involved with community activism and management?

How have community movements discussed or addressed different environmental problems in the past or are currently discussing ……such as?

- Water pollution?
- Health problems?

- Government policies?
- Climate change?
- Waste Pollution?
- Degradation of the region?
- Deforestation?
- Wildlife preservation?

In what way would you talk about these issues with neighbors/community members, government officials, and agencies if given a choice to voice your concerns? (Are you more concerned about human rights, health, environment etc.?)

Have you ever attended community meetings regarding these issues?
If yes; what were these meetings like (please describe)?

Is there any community cooperation or development of grassroots groups to work on the issue?

Who is engaged?
What is the constituency/membership?
Social class? Gender?
Education level?
Occupation?
What are the goals/objectives of such groups?
What strategies and tactics have been used? Successful? Unsuccessful?
Coalitions?

III. Related environmental issues

"Let's talk with some depth about your ideas about issues that have been related to environmental issues in the region."

What issues related to environment degradation has your community experienced? What are your concerns? Please describe the nature of these issues and the associated concerns...

How do you think environmental problems have had an Economic impact based on;

Benefits/costs
Housing values
Tourism Industry
Short term/long term

How do you think environmental problems have had a social impact based on;

Anxiety/fear?
Conflict?
Communication with neighbors?

Communication with Tourists?
Communication with Industry?

How do you think environmental problems have had an impact based on wildlife and nature Concerns about contamination or exposure?
Vegetation?
Soil?
Water?
Animals/insects/birds?

How do you think environmental problems have had an impact on health?
Do you have concerns regarding health?
Have you or family members experienced a change in your health?
Which health changes most concern you?
Have you done anything to address these health concerns? If so, what?

Do you think there is need for additional research in the area? Regarding what?

General Implications

How do you feel about inequality and power in the region? Who holds the most power and why?
How important is it that you own land in the region?
What are the relationships in between tourism industry, state, and other agencies and groups?
What are your thoughts about what the future holds regarding these environmental problems?
What other risk factors do you assess from the environmental degradation?

IV. General background information

"May I please request some demographic information about you...?"

Age
Sex
Education level
Marital Status
Social / Stakeholder Status
Ethnic group

Are there any other concerns related to environmental problems in the region you want to discuss that I did not address?
Why do you think these concerns should gain more attention?
Are there others that you know of who might be interested in speaking with me?

APPENDIX B

SURVEY

INTR0DUCTORY QUESTIONS

1. Which of these groups or identities apply to you (Select multiple if applicable)

- ☐ *Local resident*
- ☐ *Business owner*
- ☐ *Government official*
- ☐ *Guide Porter*
- ☐ *Tourist*

(If multiple stakeholder groups are selected)

2. Which of these groups or identities is most important to you? Please rank 1 2 3… with 1 meaning the most significant form of identity.

- ☐ *Local resident*
- ☐ *Business owner*
- ☐ *Government official*
- ☐ *Guide Porter*
- ☐ *Tourist*

3. How long have you been a resident of the village where you live now? (Years)?

_____

WORLD VALUES SURVEY (CARD L)

One answer for each description:

	Very much like me	*Like me*	*Somewhat like me*	*A little like me*	*Not like me*	*Not like me at all*
4. It is Important for this person to think up new ideas and be creative: to do things their own way						
5. It is important for this person to be rich: to have a lot of money and expensive things						
6. Living in secure surroundings is important for this person, avoiding anything that may be dangerous.						
7. It is important for this person to have a good time, to "spoil" one self.						
8. It is important for this person to do something for the good of society.						
9. It is important for this person to help people nearby: to care for their wellbeing.						
10. It is important for this person to be successful, to have people recognize one's achievements						
11. Adventure and taking risks are important for this person, to have an exciting life.						
12. It is important for this person to behave properly; avoid doing anything people would say is wrong						

13. Looking after the environment is important for this person; to care for nature and save life resources						
14. Tradition is important for this person; to follow customs handed down by one's religion or family.						

15. Which of the following problems do you consider the most serious one for the whole world as a whole? (Mark only one)

- ☐ *People living in poverty and need*
- ☐ *Discrimination against girls and women*
- ☐ *Poor sanitation and infectious diseases*
- ☐ *Inadequate education*
- ☐ *Environmental pollution*

16. Here are two statements people sometimes make when discussing the environment and economic growth. Which of them comes closer to your point of view

- ☐ *Protecting the environment should be given priority, even if it causes slower economic growth and some loss of jobs*
- ☐ *Economic growth and creating jobs should be top priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent.*

During the past two years have you

17. Given money to an ecological organization

- ☐ *Yes*
- ☐ *No*

18. Participated in a demonstration for some environmental cause?

- ☐ *Yes*
- ☐ *No*

19. How interested would you say you are in politics?

- ☐ *Very interested*
- ☐ *Somewhat interested*
- ☐ *Not very interested*
- ☐ *Not at all interested*

SECTION 2: PEBS PRO ENVIRONMENTAL BEHAVIOR SCALE

20. How often do you turn off the lights when leaving a room?

- ☐ *Never*
- ☐ *Rarely*
- ☐ *Sometimes*
- ☐ *Usually*
- ☐ *Always*

21. How often do you switch off standby modes of appliances or electronic devices? Never

- ☐ *Rarely*
- ☐ *Sometimes*
- ☐ *Usually*
- ☐ *Always*

22 . How often do you cut down on heating or air conditioning to limit energy use?

- ☐ *Never*
- ☐ *Rarely*
- ☐ *Sometimes*
- ☐ *Usually*
- ☐ *Always*

23. How often do you turn off the TV when leaving a room?

- ☐ *Never*
- ☐ *Rarely*
- ☐ *Sometimes*
- ☐ *Usually*
- ☐ *Always*

24. How often do you limit your time in the shower in order to conserve water?

☐ *Never*
☐ *Rarely*
☐ *Sometimes*
☐ *Usually*
☐ *Always*

25. How often do you wait until you have a full load to use the washing machine or dishwasher?

☐ *Never*
☐ *Rarely*
☐ *Sometimes*
☐ *Usually*
☐ *Always*

26. At which temperature do you wash most of your clothes?

☐ *Hot*
☐ *Warm*
☐ *Cold*

27. Are you currently a member of any environmental, conservation, or wildlife protection group?

☐ *Yes*
☐ *No*

28. During the past year have you contributed money to an environmental, conservation, or wildlife protection group?

☐ *Yes*
☐ *No*

29. How frequently do you watch television programs, movies, or internet videos about environmental issues?

☐ *Never*
☐ *Rarely*
☐ *Sometimes*
☐ *Usually*
☐ *Always*

30. How often do you talk to others about their environmental behavior?

☐ *Never*
☐ *Rarely*
☐ *Sometimes*
☐ *Usually*
☐ *Always*

31. During the past year have you increased the amount of organically grown fruits and vegetables you consume?

☐ *Yes*
☐ *No*

32. During the past year have you decreased the amount of meat you consume?

☐ *Yes*
☐ *No*

DEMOGRAPHICS

33. Sex

☐ *Male*
☐ *Female*

34. Married

☐ *Yes*
☐ *No*

35. Children

☐ *Yes (if yes)(35 a) How many* _____
☐ *No*

36. Birth Year _____

37. This means you are _____ *years old.*

38. Were you born in the region?

☐ *Yes*
☐ *No*

39. Caste/ Ethnicity _____

40. What is the highest level of education that you have attained?

- ☐ *No formal education*
- ☐ *Incomplete primary education*
- ☐ *Completer primary education*
- ☐ *Incomplete Secondary school : Technical /Vocational*
- ☐ *Complete Secondary school: Technical/ Vocational*
- ☐ *Incomplete secondary : University preparatory type*
- ☐ *Complete secondary: University preparatory type*
- ☐ *Some University level education without degree*
- ☐ *University level education with degree (Bachelors)*
- ☐ *University level education with degree (Masters)*
- ☐ *University level education with degree (Ph. D)*

41. Income

- ☐ *0- 10000 a month*
- ☐ *10000- 30000 a month*
- ☐ *30000-50000 a month*
- ☐ *50000-100000 a month*
- ☐ *100000-200000 a month*
- ☐ *200000-500000 a month*
- ☐ *500000-1000000 a month*
- ☐ *1000000 and above a month*

TABLE 1

Variables for the Regression Models

Variable Name	Mean	SD	Range	Description
Dependent Variables				
Envconcern	0.68	0.47	0-1	Concerns towards the environment 0= Economic growth and creating jobs should be top priority 1= Protecting the environment should be given priority
Envvalue	4.08	0.86	1-6	Looking after the environment is important for this person: to care for nature and save life resources 1= Not like me at all, 2= Not like me, 3= A little like me 4=Somewhat like me, 5= Like me, 6=Very much like me
Public Sphere Environmental Behavior				
i) Envmembership				
ii) Envdonation	0.42	0.49	0-1	Membership in Env. Organization :0=No, 1=Yes
iii) EnvDemonstration	0.54	0.51	0-1	Money to Organization for Env cause :0=No, 1=Yes
iv) Envtalk	0.48	0.51	0-1	Participate in Demonstration for Env. Cause: 0=No, 1=Yes
	2.92	0.72	0-4	Talk about Env. to others : 0= No, 1=Yes
Private Sphere Environmental Behavior				
i) Turn off lights				
ii) Limit energy consumption	3.38	0.91	0-4	0= Never, 1=Rarely, 2=Sometimes, 3=Usually, 4=Always
iii) Turn off electronics	2.88	0.70	0-4	0= Never, 1=Rarely, 2=Sometimes, 3=Usually, 4=Always
iv) Limit time in shower	3.18	0.77	0-4	0= Never, 1=Rarely, 2=Sometimes, 3=Usually, 4=Always
v) Full load dishes/laundry	3.00	0.63	0-4	0= Never, 1=Rarely, 2=Sometimes, 3=Usually, 4=Always
vi) Control temperature	3.04	0.86	0-4	0= Never, 1=Rarely, 2=Sometimes, 3=Usually, 4=Always
vii) Watch videos on environment	1.52	0.83	0-2	0=Hot, 1=Warm, 2=Cold
	2.56	0.69	0-4	0= Never, 1=Rarely, 2=Sometimes, 3=Usually, 4=Always
Independent variables				
Age	36.68	12.20	20-68	Age in Years
Female	0.40	0.42	0-1	Female=1, Else=0

Income	5.38	2.28	1-8	1= 0-10000 , 2=10001-30000, 3=30001-50000, 4=50001-1,00,000 5=1,00,001-2,00,001 6=2,00,001-5,00,000, 7=5,00,001-10,00,000, 8 =10,00,000 and above (Monthly Earnings)
Education	7.10	1.62	0-10	(0)= No formal education, (1)= Incomplete primary education, (2)=Complete Primary, (3)= Incomplete Secondary School: Technical Vocational School, (4)= Complete Secondary School: Technical/ Vocational (5)=Incomplete Secondary: University Preparatory type; (6)=Complete Secondary: University Preparatory Type, (7) Some University Level Education Without Degree, (8) University Level Education with Degree : Bachelors, (9) University Level Education with Degree: Masters, (10) University Level Education with Degree: Ph.D.
Birth in the region	0.38	0.49	0-1	Born in the region =1, Else=0
Sherpa	0.36	0.45	0-1	Sherpa=1, Else =0
Stakeholder Status				
i) Business owners				
ii) Government officials			0-1	Business Owners=1, Else=0
iii) Guides/porters			0-1	Govt.Officials=1, Else=0
iv) Tourists			0-1	Guides/porters=1, Else=0
			0-1	Tourists=1, Else=0

Note: N=50

TABLE 2

Descriptive statistics of stakeholders

Background Variables	Local Residents		Business Owners		Government Officials		Guides and Porters		Tourist	
	Mean	Range	Mean	Range	Mean	Range	Mean	Range	Mean	Range
Age	37.2	20-55	44.1	25-67	35.7	22-56	26.2	23-32	40.2	21-68
Female	0.6	0-1	0.4	0-1	0.3	0-1	0.2	0-1	0.5	0-1
Income	3.2	1-5	6.8	6-7	6.5	6-7	2.5	2-3	8.0	8
Education	5.6	3-8	7.5	6-9	8.2	7-9	5.4	4-7	8.3	8-9
Birth	0.8	0-1	0.4	0-1	0.5	0-1	0.2	0-1	0	0
Sherpa	0.8	0-1	0.7	0-1	0.5	0-1	0	0-1	0	0-1

Note: N=50

TABLE 3

Ten value constructs measured in the survey as per (Schwartz et al. 2001) and their corresponding PVQ questions

SELF-DIRECTION: It is important for this person to think up new ideas and be creative: to do things their own way
POWER: It is important for this person to be rich: to have a lot of money and expensive things
SECURITY: Living in secure surroundings is important for this person, avoiding anything that may be dangerous.
HEDONISM: It is important for this person to have a good time, to "spoil" one self.
BENEVOLENCE: It is important for this person to do something for the good of society.
BENEVOLENCE: It is important for this person to help people nearby: to care for their wellbeing.
ACHEIVEMENT: It is important for this person to be successful, to have people recognize one's achievements
STIMULATION: Adventure and taking risks are important for this person, to have an exciting life.
CONFORMITY: It is important for this person to behave properly; avoid doing anything people would say is wrong
UNIVERSALISM: Looking after the environment is important for this person; to care for nature and save life resources
TRADITION: Tradition is important for this person; to follow customs handed down by one's religion or family.

Table 4

Results of Logistic Regression between Stakeholder Identity, Env. Value, Env. Concern and Public Sphere PEB

Identity	Envdonation.		Envdemonstration		Envmembership		Envtalk	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Business Owners	*1.681	0.305	-0.241	0.258	-0.576	0.203	0.343	0.307
Govt. officials	**3.007	0.311	***1.705	0.386	*1.305	0.359	*0.752	0.221
Guides/porters	*-1.824	0.283	-0.832	0.382	*-2.604	0.330	0.203	0.411
Tourists	0.834	0.641	-1.384	0.478	-0.418	0.255	0.141	0.262
Env Value	*0.718	0.126	-0.351	0.196	-0.162	0.101	0.037	0.154
Env Concern	-0.331	0.157	1.306	0.131	0.454	0.162	0.287	0.167

Notes: N=50. SE= Standard Error. β =unstandardized coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table 5

Results of Logistic Regression between Demographic Variables and Public Sphere PEB

Identity	Envdonation.		Envdemonstration		Envmembership		Envtalk	
Demographic Identity	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Female	0.090	0.105	-0.925	0.173	*0.368	0.237	*0.135	0.088
Age	*0.152	0.251	0.038	0.214	-0.004	0.210	*0.016	0.179
Birth	0.965	0.191	1.090	0.132	0.337	0.115	0.353	0.146
Education	0.368	0.119	0.321	0.283	0.163	0.207	0.109	0.223
Income	*0.265	0.259	-0.032	0.147	-0.003	0.190	0.009	0.191
Sherpa	*1.085	0.214	**0.544	0.144	0.145	0.159	**0.293	0.203

Notes: N=50. SE= Standard Error. β =unstandardized coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table 6

Results of Multiple Regression between Stakeholder Identity, Env.Value, Env.Concern and Private Sphere PEB

	Turn off lights		Limit energy consumption		Turn off electronics		Limit time in shower		Full load dishes/laundry		Control temperature		Watch videos on environment	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Business Own.	0.771	0.122	0.513	0.117	-0.546	0.168	*-0.431	0.242	0.242	0.230	-0.401	0.234	0.144	0.222
Govt. officials	0.716	0.121	0.387	0.244	0.281	0.112	0.053	0.225	0.664	0.173	-0.067	0.185	***1.302	0.235
Guides/porters	0.428	0.156	-0.235	0.167	0.012	0.264	0.102	0.176	0.306	0.292	0.024	0.321	-0.299	0.274
Tourists	0.272	0.283	0.416	0.221	0.057	0.239	0.353	0.155	0.551	0.142	-0.719	0.206	**0.096	0.144
Envvalue	0.342	0.072	0.027	0.119	-0.092	0.112	0.737	0.109	0.084	0.075	0197	0.103	-0.510	0.228
Envconcern	-0.282	0.106	0.356	0.061	0.122	0.131	-0.002	0.188	0.062	0.106	0.091	0.091	-0.007	0.260

Notes: N=50. SE= Standard Error. β =unstandardized coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table 7

Results of Multiple Regression between Demographic Variables and Public Sphere PEB

	Turn off lights		Limit energy consumption		Turn off electronics		Limit time in shower		Full load dishes/laundry		Control temperature		Watch videos on Environment	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Female	0.179	0.184	0.363	0.170	-0.025	0.196	0.028	0.187	0.226	0.151	0.067	0.199	-0.020	0.225
Age	-0.036	0.106	0.018	0.141	-0.028	0.140	-0.026	0.116	-0.027	0.177	-0.118	0.186	0.004	0.223
Birth	-0.121	0.181	0.412	0.116	0.232	0.169	-0.201	0.191	0.136	0.105	0.122	0.216	0.333	0.151
Education	0.031	0.102	-0.001	0.190	0.111	0.147	-0.013	0.120	0.901	0.133	0.042	0.121	0.063	0.246
Income	0.068	0.188	0.231	0.104	0.119	0.117	0.029	0.115	0.168	0.178	0.102	0.142	0.194	0.222
Sherpa	0.186	0.143	-0.052	0.145	0.071	0.166	0.101	0.198	0.114	0.193	0.061	0.227	0.289	0.151

Notes: N=50. SE= Standard Error. β =unstandardized coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.

Table 8
Results of Logistic Regression between Stakeholder Identity and Environmental Concern

Env. Concern	β	SE
Business Own.	*-2.368	0.229
Govt. officials	1.293	0.324
Guides/porters	-0.311	0.275
Tourists	0.858	0.309
Envvalue	0.129	0.116

Notes: N=50. SE= Standard Error. β =unstandardized coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table 9
Results of Logistic Regression between Demographic variables and Environmental Concern

Env. Concern	β	SE
Female	0.489	0.208
Age	-0.055	0.180
Birth	*0.293	0.310
Education	0.486	0.185
Income	-0.121	0.174
Sherpa	*0.448	0.122

Notes: N=50. SE= Standard Error. β =unstandardized coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table 10

Results of Multiple Regression between Salient Stakeholder Identity and Different Value Constructs

	Environment		Rich		Society		Success		Goodtime	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
Env Concern	0.328	0.227	**-0.559	0.209	-0.011	0.283	-0.341	0.216	-0.257	0.344
Business Own.	0.164	0.262	***0.736	0.398	-0.176	0.383	0.134	0.189	0.134	0.234
Govt. officials	0.234	0.380	0.198	0.223	**0.289	0.245	*-0.051	0.256	0.198	0.356
Guides/porters	0.100	0.203	0.023	0.392	*-0.161	0.256	0.189	0.369	0.148	0.313
Tourists	0.434	0.108	0.034	0.192	*0.217	0.342	0.458	0.325	**0.856	0.240

Notes: N=50. SE= Standard Error. β =unstandardized coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

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