

The Impacts of Tour Operations in
Remote Village Communities



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THE IMPACTS OF TOUR OPERATIONS IN REMOTE VILLAGE COMMUNITIES



By

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This thesis identifies the outcomes and impacts that remote village communities in less developed countries obtain from visits by a specialist tour operator. The thesis explores the causal factors that determine the outcomes obtained by local people in these communities. This thesis set out to answer the following research questions: 1. What impacts do tour operators create in village communities in less developed countries? 2. What are the key factors that determine the types of impacts that tour operators create in these communities.

The thesis used two approaches to address these research questions. The first involved an extensive literature review of studies concerned with the impacts created by tourism activities in remote village communities. This broad review demonstrated that the level and types of impacts created by tourism activities in village communities varied greatly. Several key factors appeared to determine the level and type of impacts created. These included; the cohesive or communal nature of the community; the role of external bodies such as tour companies and the level of local involvement in tourism development.

The second phase of the study involved field research in three communities in Asia. The aim of the field research was to determine the impacts created a specialist tour operator-Intrepid Travel -within these communities.

The research highlighted that visits from Intrepid groups were providing mixed outcomes for village communities. The major benefits appeared to be financial although the level of benefit varied dramatically between communities and households within communities. In several of the communities, Intrepid trips were making significant contributions to household livelihoods. In these communities, Intrepid's visits were allowing local people (particularly men) to remain in their communities during a period of transition from subsistence-based livelihoods to those based on cash economies. The most prominent socio-cultural impacts created by intrepid trips included the revitalisation and co modification of traditional arts and crafts and the empowerment of women

through increased leadership and employment opportunities. Intrepid trips appeared to be creating few physical impacts.

The three case studies highlight that the impacts created by Intrepid trips were determined by the specific characteristics of the communities and Intrepid's method of operations. Two 'core factors' appeared most important, namely; the level and type of activities completed by Intrepid groups; and the level and type of local participation in these activities. These core factors were determined by the interplay of a host of secondary factors- all of which were controlled by Intrepid, the particular village or wider external forces such as national government policies.

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I am also very appreciative to all those at Intrepid who also contributed to the project. There are too many to mention all, but I would particularly like to thank Angela for her unstinting support in writing up this document, as well as Jane and Tom, who provided enormous support and encouragement. A very big thank you also to all of those Intrepid leaders who allowed me to join their tours and observe how Intrepid operates its trips in the three village communities I visited.

Finally, my biggest thanks goes to the members of the village communities where I completed my case studies. I will forever cherish my memories of the time I spent in each of the communities I visited. In particular, I would like to recognise the role played by my assistants/interpreters in Khun Puai –Sam and Peter as well as Unsa in Skandis Longhouse. I would not have been able to complete the field research without them.

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A NOTE ON EXCHANGE RATES.

The following currencies are referred to in this report. Their approximate exchange rate to the Australian dollar (AUD) as of April, 2003, are shown below:

Malaysian Ringgit (MYR) AUD\$1 = 1.97

Vietnamese Dong (VND) AUD\$1 = 8,182.50

Thai Baht (THB) AUD\$1 = 22.80

INTRODUCTION

This thesis identifies the outcomes and impacts that remote village communities obtain from visits by tourism operators. The thesis also explores the causal factors that appear to determine the outcomes obtained by local people in these communities.

The thesis demonstrates that the impacts created by tour operators not only vary between village communities but also between individual households within each community. These impacts are determined by a range of factors, some of which are related to the internal dynamics of the village communities while others are the result of the tour operator's style of travel. Two of the most important factors include the level and type of activities completed by tour groups while in the village and the level and type of local involvement in these activities. The thesis demonstrates that when given the opportunity, local people are more than just passive recipients of tour group visits and are actively involved in determining the outcomes they receive.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO STUDY

1.1 Introduction to topic

Visits by tourists or travellers to rural village locations are now a major part of tourism development in less developed countries. This is a reflection of the changing needs and motivations among tourism consumers from developed countries (Binkhorst and Van der duim, 1995) and among domestic tourists from major urban centres of developing countries (Hatton, 1999a; Wood, 1998).

Dearden (1994, p82) emphasises that people partaking in visits to remote village communities are often “interested in a quite specific attraction, be it a particular animal, mountain, cultural site, or people” while Albuquerque and McElroy (1995, p23) suggest that the search for more “durable and culture intensive tourism styles ... is fuelled by growing disenchantment with the cumulative crowding, cultural disruption and ecosystem degradation associated with conventional mass tourism... and an increasing demand among select vacationers for pristine natural and cultural experiences”.

Major instigators of tourism development are not necessarily the village community, but external forces such as specialist tour operators, seeking new destinations for an increasingly discerning clientele; government agencies, looking to implement development policies, or large conservation groups such as the World Wide Fund for Nature or Conservation International, seeking to protect endangered wildlife and landscapes often through community based natural management and conservation programs (Belsky, 1999).

There are examples of village communities developing their own tourism initiatives, although these are rare due to the specialised skills, infrastructure and financial commitment required to develop and maintain tourism growth. The examples that do exist are increasingly known as community based tourism (Mann 2000) or community based ecotourism (Sproule and Suhandi 1998).

What has become apparent is that much of the tourism that is occurring in remote villages of the less developed world are specialised forms of tourism. Researchers have used many different names when describing these forms of tourism. Some of these include new tourism (Pearce, Moscardo et al. 1996; Mowforth and Munt 1998), alternative tourism (Butler 1989; Cazes 1989; Albuquerque and McElroy 1995), responsible tourism (Johnson 1990), ethical tourism (Gordon and Townsend 2001), indigenous tourism (Butler and Hinch 1996), ethnic tourism (Adams 1997), aboriginal tourism (Altman and Finlayson 1993), adventure tourism (Zurick 1995), ecotourism (Walpole and Goodwin 2000), community-based ecotourism (Drumm 1998), rural tourism (Lane 1994) or special interest tourism. (Harron and Weiler 1992)

Tour companies involved in this form of tourism are generally considered to be “medium sized independent companies, specialising in particular geographic areas or types of holidays.” (Curtin and Busby 1999, p137) Although their focus may vary in regards to geographic areas or types of holidays, these tour operators tend to share similar characteristics. Some of these include: “(1) an obvious focus on natural and cultural experiences in combination with specialised marketing; (2) small scale facilities/ infrastructure that strive to respect the native genius and heritage of the place; (3) attempts at positive host-guest interaction and mutual understanding; (4) an emphasis on local control and equitable dispersion of benefits; and (5) in the case of ecotourism, enhanced environmental quality, community cohesion and revitalisation.” (Albuquerque and McElroy 1995, p24)

Some of these forms of tourism have been touted as a panacea for development by a number of governments and large tourism organisations such as the World Tourism Organisation. Some of the claims made include, that such tourism brings impoverished rural village communities into the mainstream of development (Bayes 2002) and, that it provides them with increased income and other economic resources. Other claimed benefits include, the preservation of fragile cultural and

ecosystems and the creation of meaningful opportunities for cross cultural understanding and mutual learning. (Hatton 1999a)

However, some tourism researchers (Butler 1989; Cazes 1989; Albuquerque and McElroy 1995; Mowforth, 1998) warn that these forms of tourism could potentially be as negative as those created by conventional tourism. Butler (1989) argues that alternative forms of tourism can potentially be more problematic than conventional tourism because they “penetrate further into the personal space of residents, involve them to a greater degree, expose often fragile resources to greater visitation, proportionally may result in greater leakage of expenditure and may cause political change in terms of control of development. (p13)

This lack of consensus is due to various factors. The most pressing appears to be the lack of comparative studies and the ideographic and disparate nature of research (Pearce and Butler 1993; Cohen 1996) conducted on the impacts of tourism. The diverse range of descriptions researchers have used to describe different types of tourism is an example of this.

Researchers such as Long (1996) and Wall (1998) have been particularly critical of research on the impacts of tourism. As Wall suggests, the problem appears to be that “few authors have taken the trouble to document adequately the types of tourism, the community characteristics or the nature of the host- guest encounters which give rise to these impacts.” (Wall 1998, p2)

More specifically, Wall believes that much of the research conducted by academics has limited policy relevance to practitioners because they “fail to indicate how many people, of what type, doing which activities, in communities with specified characteristics, in specific forms of host –guest interaction, result in particular consequences” (Wall 1998, p2)

This research attempts to address these weaknesses by focusing explicitly on the types of impacts that a tour operator has in remote village communities in less developed countries.

A major feature of this study, therefore, is its focus on the settlement form of village communities. This focus is overdue given that “more than half of humanity and the overwhelming majority of the world’s poor live and work in villages.” (Taylor and Adelman 1996)

However, while the broad concept of village communities is used to encompass the diversity of sites included in this study, it should be noted that there is no accepted criteria for the administrative definition of settlements such as the village. While there is no conclusive description of a village, there are elements common to most definitions. These common elements include, a focus on small scale settlements, in rural regions, where the livelihoods or subsistence systems of village inhabitants, still rely to some degree, on activities involving the natural environment, whether it be some form of gathering (fishing, hunting, plant collecting), pastoralism or farming (Finserbush, Ingersoll et al. 1990). Often, but not always, the communities living in these settlements are bonded by kinship, political or historical ties.

These elements are common to the cases in the field research and literature review and form the basis for comparison amongst them.

1.2 Purpose and Scope of Research

The broad aim of this research is to contribute to the literature available on the impacts that tourism can create in village communities. In response to the weaknesses identified by Wall (1998), this study adopts a very focused approach. The research questions that guide this study are:

- What impacts do tour operators create in village communities?
- What factors are likely to contribute to the level and types of impacts created by tour operators in village communities?

The study attempts to answer these research questions by; firstly, completing a broad review of the literature available on the impacts of tourism development in village communities and secondly, by conducting an evaluative and applied study on the outcomes and impacts for three

village communities of visits from a specialist tour operator- Intrepid Travel. The specific research objectives for the case studies involving Intrepid Travel were:

- To identify what outcomes local people in village communities obtain from visits by Intrepid groups.
- To identify what effect these outcomes are having on local people in these communities.
- To identify what factors determine the type and level of outcomes obtained by local people.

Completing this research is important for several reasons. The major benefit should be to tour operators in general and to Intrepid Travel in particular. The information contained in this thesis should enable tour operators to modify the practical implementation of their trips, so that negative impacts are reduced while making trips more positive for local people.

From a research perspective, it is hoped that this study will add some clarification to the burgeoning literature available on the impacts created by alternative forms of tourism and on the factors that determine these impacts.

The thesis contains nine chapters. Chapter two includes the comparative literature review of the outcomes and impacts of tourism development for rural village communities. Chapters three and four provide a background to the field research sites and describe the research design, data collection methods, data analysis and limitations involved in the field research phase of the study. In chapters five to seven, each case study is presented separately. Chapter eight offers a comparative review of these chapters and outlines the patterns of similarity and difference amongst them. Chapter nine concludes the report.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The first phase of this research project involved a broad review of studies, which focused on the impacts of *tourism development in village communities in less developed countries*. Only studies, which focused on these three areas, were included in the review. The aim of the review was to identify the type of impacts tourism development was creating, and the factors that appeared to determine these impacts.

The articles for review were identified through data- base searches and manual searches of journals in tourism and other related fields. An extensive search of the following databases was conducted: Science Direct, Current Contents, Carl Uncover, Social Sciences Index-Proquest, Tour (a bibliographic database covering leisure, recreation, tourism, sport and hospitality) and Academic Search Elite-Ebsco Host.

Keywords used for searches included a combination of the following terms: development, tourism, social impacts, anthropology, ethnicity, social change, indigenous, culture change, rural, third world, communities, village, ecotourism, alternative tourism, nature based tourism, less developed countries, third world and developing nations.

An intensive manual search was also made of the major tourism journals such as; Annals of Tourism Research, Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Journal of Tourism Studies, Journal of Travel Research, Tourism Management and Tourism Recreation Research. Further searches were made of the major journals in related fields such as development studies. These included journals such as: Contours, Cultural Survival Quarterly, Orbit-Voices from the Developing World, Development in Practice, Journal of Development and Change, Journal of International Development and World Development and Rural Sociology.

Studies were purposely chosen to include academic, empirically based research reports as well as publications from non-academic backgrounds including magazines such as Contours

(produced by the Ecumenical Council on Third World Tourism) and the Cultural Survival Quarterly. The major reason for adopting such a broad approach was to increase the number of studies available for review and to seek the views of those groups who are directly involved with tourism and village communities in developing countries. Unfortunately, only a few papers were available from tour group managers or others directly involved in the operation of tourism in village communities. This process identified fifty-nine academic and non-academic papers for review.

The review of each study identified the impacts that tourism has created in village communities and the range of factors that were considered to be important in determining these impacts. The review of each study created many sub groupings of impacts and causal factors. These categories were continually revised as new groupings of impacts and causal factors emerged from the studies selected for review.

The final process in this review was assigning each of these smaller categories into one of the broader categories commonly used by tourism researchers (Mathieson and Wall 1982). These categories include: Economic, Socio-Cultural and Physical (Environmental). In reality, it was somewhat simplistic to classify the impacts in this way as many of the impacts were interconnected and could have been included in several of the categories. For example categories generated such as the rise in land and food prices could easily have been considered as either an economic or socio cultural impact.

2.2 Review of Tourism Impacts

Economic Impacts

For many of the studies in this review, economic impacts referred to the effect of financial benefits accruing to the village communities. These impacts included, the generation of employment and income for village people and the ramifications for village people of these impacts for other spheres of life within the communities, such as, the rise in land and food prices or the distribution of tourism income.

The review of studies highlight that tourism development has provided *economic benefits to rural village communities*, although this level of economic benefit varies immensely between different contexts.

The village communities where tourism had brought *substantial economic benefits* included: South Pentecost Island village communities in Vanuatu (Burlo 1996), Loboit Soit and Emboreet villages in Northern Tanzania (Christ 1998); villages in Senegal (Echtner 1999); Achuar village communities in Ecuador (Rodriguez 1999), and village communities in the Mt Everest Region (Stevens 1993). In the case of Loboit Soit and Emboreet villages, more than \$40,000 in tourist fees have been paid to the two villages. These funds have been spent on maintaining a village borehole and water pump, expanding the village school and purchasing food for villages during a drought (Christ 1998).

In contrast to these examples were others where tourism development had provided *few economic benefits to the village communities*. These included the: Gales Point community in Belize (Belsky 1999); a village community within the Komodo National Park in Indonesia (Walpole and Goodwin 2000); an Akha village community near Chaing Rai (Toyota 1996); village communities in the Mustang Region of Nepal (Shackley 1994); village communities in Sulawesi, Indonesia (Ross and Wall 1999), and a village community in Ngada, Flores, Indonesia (Cole 1997)

In regards to the distribution of benefits, thirty five out of the fifty nine studies highlighted that *economic benefits of tourism development were only flowing to individuals* within the villages and not the whole community. In the other twenty studies, the *benefits of tourism flowed to all members of the community* - often in the form of a communal fund or project. Six of these communities have set up arrangements within their communities so that economic benefits flow to individuals who complete tourism related work whilst also contributing to a communal fund. These communities include: the Zabalo community in Ecuador (Borman 1999); the Capirona Community in Ecuador (Colvin 1994); Huaorani Community in Ecuador (Drumm 1998); Garifuna, Mayan and

Kekchi Village communities in Belize (Edington and Edington 1997); Iban Longhouse communities in Skrang (Kedit and Sabang 1993) and the Achuar village communities in Ecuador (Rodriquez 1999).

The distribution of economic benefits within the communities also provided some interesting outcomes. In particular was the fact that in five of the studies, much of the *economic benefits of tourism were being cornered by local elites*. Often this was as a result of their favoured economic position when tourism first started within the community.

Compounding this was the outcome, identified in five studies, *that foreign interests were obtaining some of the benefits* from tourism development in some village communities. Often these foreign interests were people who had come to the village communities as travellers and had returned to take advantage of business opportunities, which they subsequently developed.

Combined these outcomes show that the benefits of tourism development in rural village communities are not necessarily flowing to the average village member. Given this, it is not surprising then that studies also showed that *tourism was causing division* within the village communities over the distribution of income. Two further studies (Daniel 1998; Mulligan 1999) identified divisions within communities over the pace and level of tourism development.

One of the outcomes considered by village people to be a negative result of tourism development was the *rise in land and food prices*. Six studies highlighted this. Of these studies, four focused on the rise of food prices (Hitchcock 1993; Stevens 1993; Robinson 1994; Shackley 1995), while the remaining two concerned the rise in prices of land within the village community (Smith 1994; Mulligan 1999).

Other major outcomes of tourism development on the economies of village communities was the role of tourism in helping to *convert the traditional economies* found in some of the villages into the market and cash economies predominant in nearly all developed societies today. Two studies (Stevens 1993; Hatton 1999a) highlighted this fact. However, in these cases it is perhaps

unfair to suggest that tourism was the only reason for this change in economic relationships within the community.

The final economic outcome identified in the studies was the role of tourism in providing much needed *job opportunities* to village members. Surprisingly, only 14 studies specifically indicated this outcome. This is understandable, however, given the broad range of studies reviewed (with varying intents). Five of these studies classified the jobs created as low paid or semi skilled.

Table 2.1 Review of economic impacts in village communities.

Positive Outcomes.	Studies.
Income to individual members and households within the community from accommodation, selling of traditional crafts etc.	The majority of studies state or infer this outcome except those studies where the outcomes from tourism are totally communal.
Communal funds for village communities, which were either distributed evenly to individual members or used to develop village projects.	(Sofield 1991; Caslake 1993; Colvin 1994; de Vidas 1995; Burlo 1996; Matzke and Nabane 1996; Edington and Edington 1997; Christ 1998; Drumm 1998; Honey 1998; Schaller 1998; Zeppel 1998; Borman 1999; Echtner 1999; Honey 1999; Rodriquez 1999; Stonza 1999; Hatton 1999a)
Job opportunities for village members.	(Borman, 1999; Bartsch 2000); (Brockelman, 1990; Caslake, 1993; Chopra, 1991; Colvin, 1994; Drumm, 1998; Hatton, 1999b; Hitchcock, 1993; Hitchcock, 1997; Long, 1996) (Matzke and Nabane 1996) (Place, 1998; Robinson, 1994; Rodriquez, 1999) (Saul 1999)(Smith, 1994; Stevens, 1993; Telfer, 2000; Thoma, 1998; Walpole, 2000; Brockelman and Dearden 1990; Langoya and Long 1997; Bookbinder, Dinerstein et al. 1998)
Communal funds as well as income for individual members and households within the community.	(Kedit and Sabang 1993; Colvin 1994; Edington and Edington 1997; Drumm 1998; Borman 1999; Rodriquez 1999)

Negative Outcomes.	Studies.
Foreign interests were obtaining some of the economic benefits.	(Smith, 1994; Chopra, 1991; Shackley, 1994; Place, 1998; Campbell, 1999)
The distribution of income or the pace and level of tourism development was causing division within the community.	(Smith 1994; Mansperger 1995; Daniel 1998; Alexander 1999; Belsky 1999; Mulligan 1999; Saul 1999)
Rises in food and land prices	(Hitchcock, 1993; Stevens, 1993; Robinson, 1994; Shackley, 1995; Smith, 1994; Mulligan, 1999)
Local elites were obtaining the majority of economic benefits	(Dearden 1996; Long and Wall 1996; Place 1998; Belsky 1999; Campbell 1999; Saul 1999)
Job opportunities created by tourism were menial and low paid.	(Chopra 1991; Hitchcock 1993; Hitchcock 1997; Place 1998)

Socio-cultural Impacts

The socio- cultural impacts of tourism in many of the studies reviewed focused on the effect of tourism on traditional aspects of village communities such as arts and crafts practised, roles of women and youth, daily lifestyles of local people, political and management systems and intra village relationships.

A surprising outcome common to many of the studies was the role of tourism in stimulating either a *resurgence of interest or a strengthening of a village's commitment to traditional practices*. Nineteen of the studies reviewed highlighted this point. While this portrays an optimistic outcome of tourism development on the traditional culture of village communities, it should be remembered that the collection of studies reviewed is broad and the intentions of the authors varied.

An interesting outcome of the development of tourism within the village communities was the *emergence or reinforcement of management and political institutions*. Ten studies commented on this outcome. Nine of these studies highlighted how the development or reinforcement of existing management institutions was a major factor in determining the success of tourism in the village communities. Only one study (Belsky 1999) contradicted this finding. In this study, the management structure implemented in the community had been designed by external agents and had not built on the institutions already operating in the community. Not surprisingly, the management institutions implemented failed badly.

The *outcomes of tourism development for women* in village communities were mixed. Seven of the studies reviewed commented on the outcomes for women. These outcomes include: changes in traditional child rearing patterns, increased employment opportunities and social independence, greater work load, opportunities for leadership and management positions, and increased opportunities for women in marginal positions.

In three of the case studies documented by Hatton (1999a), women have assumed defining and controlling positions in relation to tourism development within their villages. This is a

reflection of the endemic cultural and historical circumstances of the village communities as well as the belief that women in these communities were more reliable and paid more attention to detail than their male counterparts.

The *outcomes on the youth* of village communities were also mixed. Sixteen of the studies commented directly on the outcomes of tourism development on the youth of the village communities. Of these, five identified tourism as being a positive influence on the lives of young people in the village as it offered them the opportunity to remain in the village as they were able to receive an income from guiding or other tourist activities. In the case of Stevens (1993), tourism development has also been a factor in luring young people away from their village community.

The interest of tourists in village culture has also reinforced the value of this culture for young people within the village communities. Two studies (Michaud, Maranda et al. 1994; Borman 1999) highlight the role of tourism in providing young people with the incentive to learn about traditional culture so as to partake in tourism activities.

Interestingly, another outcome related to the youth of the village communities was the role that tourism played in giving, or in some cases transferring, power relations from older members of the community to the younger generation. What the Matzke and Nabane (1996) study shows is that as tourism gains in importance, the political power invested in the younger members within the community increases as they are often the ones dealing with tourists and controlling the direction of tourism. This is especially the case if tourism becomes a major economic influence within the community. Conversely, Robinson (1994) suggested in his study that local political institutions were suffering because young people were away completing tourism duties.

The impact of tourism development on the curbing of emigration of young people from the village is another outcome that several studies identify. This is directly related to the increase in job opportunities for young people that tourism development brings. Although most studies infer this

outcome, only two (Hatton 1999a; Telfer 2000) specifically identify young people as the recipients of job opportunities created by tourism.

Some of the negative outcomes of tourism development for young people in village communities are the demonstration effects of the tourists' lifestyles on the aspirations of young people and the corresponding rise in begging by young people. Communities that had confronted and overcome these problems had set clear guidelines for tourists and tour companies to follow when coming to their villages.

One of the outcomes that seven of the studies identified as being a positive effect of tourism development was *the opportunities for village members to interact with tourists* from backgrounds very different to their own. Seven studies demonstrated that local people enjoyed the opportunity to broaden their understanding of other people outside their own cultural group. One of the key ingredients in these successful interactions was the equal relationship between the two groups and the role of the tour guide/ tour operator in educating tourists about the cultural and social mores of the village communities.

Some of the more negative outcomes mentioned in the studies highlighted that *local villagers suffered disruptions* when tourists came into their villages. Four of the studies identified these problems, however, most studies revealed that villagers were happy to put up with the disruptions if they could see direct economic benefits from the visitation or tourism development. Associated with these disruptions were complaints from villagers about the inappropriate dress or behaviour of tourists. Villagers considered this to be a lack of respect for their culture.

Table 2.2 Review of socio-cultural impacts in village communities

Positive Outcomes.	Studies.
Resurgence of interest and/or strengthening of a villages commitment to traditional practices such as: Textiles: Architecture: Traditional crafts: Dress: Rituals: Music and dance: Maintenance of significant religious architecture and symbols: Commitment to traditional lifestyles:	(de Vidas 1995) (Cole 1997; Hatton 1999a; Hatton 1999b) (Colvin 1994; Hitchcock 1997; Bartsch, 2000; Drumm 1998; Hatton 1999a) (de Vidas 1995) (Burlo 1996) (Mansperger 1995; Cole 1997; Schaller 1998; Telfer 2000) (Stevens 1993; Cole 1997) (Burlo 1996; Hatton 1999a)
Emergence or reinforcement of management and political institutions within the village.	(Sofield 1991; Michaud, Maranda et al. 1994; de Vidas 1995; Matzke and Nabane 1996; Langoya and Long 1997; Honey 1998; Schaller 1998; Rodriquez 1999; Stonza 1999; Hatton 1999a)
Opportunities for village members to interact with people outside their own cultural group.	(Kedit and Sabang 1993; Robinson 1994; Wearing and Larsen 1996; Cole 1997; Cole 1997; Drumm 1998; Hatton 1999c)
Increased employment opportunities and social independence for women.	(Wilkinson, and Pratiwi 1995; Stevens, 1993; Hatton, 1999; Smith, 1994; Langoya and Long 1997; Saul 1999)
increased opportunities for leadership and management responsibilities for women.	(Hatton 1999a)
Increased opportunities for women in marginal positions.	(Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995)
Increased Opportunities for youth to remain in the village due to tourism generated income.	(Smith 1994; Echtner 1999; Stevens, 1993; Robinson, 1994; Langoya and Long 1997)
Increased interest by youth in traditional village activities.	(Michaud, Maranda et al. 1994; Borman 1999)
Increase in political power for youth within the village Community.	(Matzke and Nabane 1996)
Reinvigorated the role of elders as transmitters of traditional culture	(Drumm 1998; Michaud, Maranda et al. 1994)
Negative Outcomes.	Studies.
The management institution created in the village by external agents caused division within the community and was considered a failure.	(Belsky 1999)
Increased workload for women.	(Toyota 1996)(Stevens 1993; Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995; Saul 1999)

Changes in traditional child rearing patterns.	(Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995)
Young people copying and aspiring to the material goods that tourists brought with them to the village.	(Mansperger 1995; Hitchcock 1997; Daniel 1998; Echtner 1999)
Youth begging from tourists.	(Dearden 1996; Echtner 1999)
Disruptions to village life.	(Colvin 1994; Mansperger 1995; Drumm 1998; Hatton 1999a)
Weakening of commitment to traditional: Rituals/Ceremonies.	(Stevens 1993; Binkhorst and Van der duim 1995; Crick 1997; Saul 1999)
Lifestyles, obligations and relationships.	(Dearden 1996; Toyota 1996; Mulligan 1999; Saul 1999)
Art sites, burial sites ;	(Hitchcock 1997)
Disquiet among some villagers due to the inappropriate dress or behaviour of tourists.	(Long and Wall 1996; Daniel 1998; Hatton 1999a)

Physical Impacts

For many of the studies in this review, physical impacts referred to the effect of tourism development on the natural environment surrounding village communities. These impacts included the conservation of landscapes and wildlife, pollution of water sources, degradation of forest cover, erosion of soil and the accumulation of litter.

The review of studies tended to show that tourism development is providing mixed outcomes in regard to the protection and conservation of natural areas in and around village communities.

Eighteen studies discussed or mentioned the outcomes of tourism development on the environment within or surrounding village communities. Of these studies, nine emphasised the positive role that tourism development in or near village communities was having on the *conservation of the natural environment including wildlife*. In all of these studies, village residents (who have had to alter their lifestyle in some way) were obtaining direct economic benefits from the conservation of the nearby landscape and wildlife.

In these nine studies, tourism development was having the following environmental benefits: protection of a Howler Monkey population, Belize (Edington and Edington 1997; Alexander 1999); reduction of poaching in the Khao Yai National Park, Thailand (Brockelman and Dearden 1990);

conservation of land and wildlife surrounding Maasai village communities in Tanzania (Christ 1998); conservation of the Komodo National Park (Hitchcock 1993); conservation of a hippo population in KwaZulu Province, South Africa (Honey 1999); conservation of coral reefs offshore from the village of Desa Jungut Batu, Indonesia (Long and Wall 1996) and protection and conservation of wildlife surrounding the village of Masoka, Zimbabwe (Matzke and Nabane 1996).

In contrast to these positive outcomes were the studies, which stressed that tourism was having a *negative effect on the physical environments within* and surrounding village communities. In these studies, tourism development was causing the following environmental problems in or around village communities: the accumulation of garbage, deforestation, pollution of land and water supplies and erosion. In the case of Belsky (1999), tourism development had produced a backlash against conservation, especially by those not benefiting economically from tourism.

Table 2.3 Review of physical impacts in village communities.

Positive Outcomes.	Studies.
Conservation of landscapes and wildlife.	(Hitchcock 1997, Christ 1998)(Edington and Edington 1997; Alexander 1999, Matzke and Nabane 1996, Hitchcock 1993, Honey 1998, Christ 1998)
Increasing villagers understanding of the benefits of conserving the landscape and wildlife surrounding their communities.	(Edington and Edington 1997; Langoya and Long 1997; Schaller 1998; Alexander 1999)
Infrastructure improvements linking village communities to more developed areas.	(Hitchcock 1993; Smith 1994; Wall 1996)
Conservation of coral reefs.	(Long and Wall 1996)

Negative Outcomes.	Studies.
Destruction of plant species.	(Hitchcock 1997)
Pollution of water sources.	(Hitchcock 1997; Dearden 1996; Daniel 1998; Smith 1994)
Accumulation of litter.	(Hitchcock 1997; Stevens 1993; Daniel 1998)
Soil erosion.	(Smith 1994; Hitchcock 1997; Stevens 1993)(Daniel 1998)
Forest degradation.	(Robinson 1994; Smith 1994; Stevens 1993)(Hitchcock 1997; Cochrane 2000)
Waste disposal.	(Robinson 1994; Smith 1994; Dearden 1996)

2.3 Review of Causal Factors

The second part of this review of studies focused on the key factors that consistently appeared to determine the type and level of impacts created by tourism development in village communities. A review of the studies suggested that the following factors were particularly important: the *cohesive or communal nature of the community*; the *role of external bodies such as tour companies, conservation groups and government agencies*; the *level of local involvement in tourism development*; the *importance of tourism as an economic base for the community*; the *development and use of organisational structures within the communities*; the *pace and size of tourism development* and the *role of the tour guide*.

In many of the studies reviewed, it was a combination of these factors rather than one specific factor that determined the type and level of impacts created by tourism development.

The cohesive or communal nature of the community is a key factor that is mentioned in fifteen of the studies reviewed. In these studies the communal nature of the community (or lack of) is a major reason given for the success or failure of tourism to deliver positive outcomes for members of village communities.

Three of the studies reviewed (Place 1998; Belsky 1999; Mulligan 1999) demonstrate that communities that have no defining ties such as kinship or social networks or political structures that bind the community together, struggle to cope with the pressures that tourism development brings—especially if the economic benefits are limited. In the above-mentioned studies, tourism development has brought division within the community over the distribution of economic benefits and the pace and level of development.

Belsky (1999) in particular, is very critical of the tourism development in the community she studied because no attention was paid to analysing the community or how community history, institutions and social processes might affect outcomes on the ground. In this case, a management model was devised and introduced by an external agent without taking into account the role of local

Institutions.

Place (1998), like Belsky (1999), highlights how the atomistic nature of the village community of Tortuguero was one of the major reasons why the benefits of increased tourism development flowed to local elites and outside interests rather than local community members.

In contrast to these studies are others (see, for example Kedit and Sabang 1993; Colvin 1994; de Vidas 1995; Matzke and Nabane 1996; Edington and Edington 1997; Borman 1999; Telfer 2000) where the cohesive nature of the community has been a critical factor in providing outcomes for village members in these communities.

In these communities the benefits of tourism are spread throughout the community either through a communal/project fund or through initiatives undertaken within the community, which spread the benefits of tourism for all those involved. These initiatives include rotating the responsibility for looking after tourists (accommodation and meals) throughout the community. These types of initiatives are less intrusive and disruptive to village life and give members more time for other activities such as farming, family duties, crafts and fishing.

A key feature of these communities and others reviewed is the *use of management and political structures within the communities* to cope with the changes and demands of tourism development. In these communities, either indigenous or introduced political and management structures give voice to the community, ensuring that it is the community that develops, drives and benefits from tourism in the village. The communities in a number of studies (de Vidas 1995; Matzke and Nabane 1996; Hatton 1999a) have used existing village institutions to help with the introduction and development of tourism in their communities.

Hatton (1999a), in his discussion of the Songup Folk Village on Cheju Island in Korea reveals how the community uses a range of associations such as the women's association, the youth association and the older persons association to develop and run tourism in their community. These

villagers actively demonstrate the importance of good communications within the village and the need to ensure the involvement of the entire community.

In many of the studies reviewed, external agents (tour operators, government bodies and conservation groups) have initiated the development of tourism in conjunction with village communities. The role played by these external agents is an essential factor in determining the outcomes received by village communities. The outcomes for village communities of these developments have been mixed and have depended on the willingness of the external agents to spend a great deal of time in planning with the villages involved. In the most successful tourism developments, the external agents have also spent much time in capacity building (such as education and training) within the communities or have provided other essential services for the communities such as marketing or business skills.

Some of the least successful tourism developments involving external agents (Hitchcock 1993; Daniel 1998; Belsky 1999; Mulligan 1999) have provided few outcomes for local people predominantly because external agents have given local people few opportunities to be involved in the planning and development of tourism within their communities.

Place (1998), when discussing the development of tourism in the Caribbean village of Tortugero, Costa Rica highlighted how external tour operators were directing the course of tourism development. In this case, government and institution policies encouraged foreign tourists and discriminated against small local enterprises. Cases, however, showing positive and productive outcomes from tourism development between external agents and village communities also exist. These involve private tour operators, government departments and conservation groups.

The most positive examples of tourism development between tour operators and village communities include: the partnership between Rainforest Expeditions and the community of Infierno (Stonza 1999); the arrangement between the South Pentecost village communities and the tour agency, Tour Vanuatu (Sofield 1991); the Kapawi Ecotourism Project between the private tour

operator Canodros S.A and the Federation of Ecuadorian Achuar Nationalities(Rodriquez 1999); the arrangement between the village community of Deas Jungut Batu and Bali Hai Tours (Long and Wall 1996); the relationship between the tour company Tropic and the Huaorani Community in Ecuador (Drumm 1998); the lease agreements between Dorobo Tours and four Maasai villages in Tanzania (Christ 1998) and the lease arrangements between the Tanzanian Villages of Loboit Soit and Emboreet and the tour company Oliver's Camp (Christ 1998).

The key factors that determined the success of these relationships were the extensive amount of planning that was needed; a commitment on the part of the private tour operator to bear the financial costs and risks of capacity building (education and training) and the involvement of local people in meaningful roles by tour companies (Hitchcock 1997).

National Governments and their administrative bodies have also made a positive contribution to the development of tourism within village communities. In the some cases (Matzke and Nabane 1996, Hatton 1999a) the role of government subsidies and personnel were essential in the successful development of tourism in these communities.

Another key factor determining the success of tourism development in village communities was the *level of local control* exhibited by village communities. Practical steps that communities have taken to control tourism include: limiting the size of tour groups; limiting the length of visitation, siting tourism accommodation outside of their village communities and determining the roles they would play in any tourism development within their communities.

Village communities that have taken these initiatives include: Stamang Iban community, Malaysia (Caslake 1993); Huaorani community, Ecuador (Drumm 1998); village communities in Senegal (Echtner 1999); Desa Jungut Batu community, Indonesia (Long and Wall 1996); Lau Village communities, Solomon Islands (Michaud, Maranda et al. 1994); Achuar village communities, Ecuador (Rodriquez 1999); indigenous Quichua communities of Rio Blanco, Ecuador

(Schaller 1998); village communities on South Pentecost Island, Vanuatu (Sofield 1991) and the village community of Infierno, Peru (Stonza 1999).

Other studies that demonstrate a clear link between the success of tourism development (by providing positive outcomes to village communities) and the level of control exhibited by the local people include Sofield (1991); Stevens (1993); de Vidas (1995); Thoma (1998); Borman (1999); Echtner (1999); Stonza (1999); Hatton (1999a) and Matzke and Nabane (1996). Control for tourism in all of these communities rests predominantly with the local people.

Another key factor, which appears to determine the role and outcomes of tourism in village communities, is *the level and pace of tourism development in relation to the original economic base of the community*. Eight studies Alexander (1999), Campbell (1999), Michaud (1997), Robinson (1994), Stevens (1993), Long and Wall (1996) and Hatton (1999a) highlight that tourism in these communities has been incorporated into the villagers economic base without disrupting the predominant form of economic livelihood of the community. In these cases, tourism has provided an additional form of income for the villages without destroying or completely replacing the original economic base of the community.

In the village of Ostinal in Costa Rica (Campbell 1999), the impacts of tourism have been ameliorated due to the fact that more than 70% of the community still rely on egg harvesting and that tourism only provides an additional income for those involved. Given the unequal distribution of tourism income predominantly to local elites and foreigners, it is perhaps fortunate that this is the case otherwise the impact of tourism could be far greater.

Michaud (1997), when studying the impact of tourism on the village of Ban Suay in Northern Thailand shows how the majority of the community still perceive traditional agriculture as either subsistence or cash orientated as the most desirable and economically rewarding activity. The job of hosting tourists in the community has fallen to marginal members of the community who in many cases no longer have the physical capabilities to continue agricultural activities. Not

surprisingly, Michaud (1997) concludes that tourism is having only a minimal impact on the community.

Hatton (1999a), like Michaud (1997) paints a fascinating picture of how tourism has been incorporated into the economic base of the Songup Folk village on Cheju Island, Korea. In this case, the subsistence base of the community has not been threatened as women control and organise tourism in the village thus allowing men to continue their traditional roles as agricultural producers.

The final factor that the studies identify relates specifically to tour operations in village communities and the *role of the tour guide*. Five studies Binkhorst and Van der duim (1995), Long and Wall (1996), Toyota (1996), Cole (1997), Borman (1999) highlight the important role the tour guide plays in determining the outcomes that village communities receive. Toyota (1996), when discussing the impact of tourism in a hilltribe community in Thailand, believes the role of the tour guide is very important because they not only mediate the interaction between villagers and travellers but they also construct and expose the image of hilltribe people to the visitors through their explanation and interpretation of hilltribe culture.

Cole (1997) in her discussion on the role of the tour guide stresses the educative role that the tour guide plays in informing tour passengers of the appropriate behaviour and dress required when visiting village communities. You would expect this role to be essential in reducing the outcomes identified earlier such as the disruptions to village life and the lack of respect felt by some communities from inappropriate passenger behaviour.

An interesting perspective on the role of the tour guide is provided by Long and Wall (1996) who highlight the positive role that local or indigenous tour guides can play in the presentation of their own village communities. Long and Wall (1996) show how the employment of three village members from the village of Desa Jungut Batu on Nusa Lembongan in Indonesia greatly enhanced the presentation of the village for participants visiting the village on a Bali Hai Tour. Borman (1999), as mentioned earlier, discusses the importance his village of Zabalo placed in being guides

for the tourism experience rather than the objects of the experience. He firmly states that being guides for the experience was an essential element in controlling tourism in his village.

This review of literature has provided a thorough background to the types of impacts that tourism has created in remote village communities and the factors that have determined these impacts. The review highlights that tour companies are one of the major initiators of tourism development in village communities. The review demonstrates that tour companies can create a diverse range of impacts in the village communities they visit. While some studies were very positive about the benefits that tour visits can bring, others were damning in their critique (Belsky 1999).

Interestingly, some of the most positive reviews tended to involve small but progressive tour companies such as Rainforest Expeditions (Stonza 1999), Bali Hai Tours (Long and Wall 1996), Tropic (Drumm 1998), and Oliver's Camp (Christ 1998). These reviews support the claims made earlier that tourism can bring impoverished rural village communities into the mainstream of development and provide them with increased income and other economic resources.

However, while these reviews are positive it is relevant to note that only one of them is based on an empirically based research study Long and Wall (1996). Further field research is needed to fully understand the impacts that tour operators can have in village communities.

The following chapter describes in detail the research methods used in the three case studies involved in the field research phase of this thesis.

CHAPTER 3: FIELD RESEARCH: BACKGROUND TO RESEARCH SITES

3.1 Introduction

The field research phase of this study is a small attempt to further explore the impacts that tour operators can have in village communities. This second phase of the study involved an evaluative and applied study of the impacts created by a specialist tour company (Intrepid Travel) in three village communities in Asia. These communities were Skandis Longhouse (Borneo), Khun Puai (Northern Thailand) and Van Commune (North West Vietnam).

3.2 Background to Intrepid Travel

Intrepid is a medium sized Australian company that began taking small groups of travellers to Asia in 1989. Since its rather humble beginnings, the company has grown exponentially and now takes over 20, 000 travellers away each year; employs over 100 leaders in Asia, 40 office staff and runs over 170 trips to 14 destinations (2001). All of Intrepid's leaders are based permanently in Asia. As well as having its own leaders, Intrepid also employ local guides who provide specialist information and expertise to Intrepid travellers.

Intrepid Travel was chosen for this research as it embodied the characteristics of specialist tour operations as described by Curtin and Busby (1999). In particular their trips do have "an obvious focus on natural and cultural experiences in combination with specialised marketing; small scale facilities/ infrastructure that strive to respect the native genius and heritage of the place; attempts at positive host-guest interaction and mutual understanding and an emphasis on local control and equitable dispersion of benefits. (p137)

More specifically, Intrepid was chosen as its low cost, 'warts and all' style of travel includes home stays in remote village communities through out Asia. Perhaps more importantly Intrepid has a reputation within the general travel industry of having a commitment to sustainable travel issues.

This commitment is reflected in the companies long term goal to be the internationally recognised benchmark for socially and environmentally aware adventure travel.

Intrepid describes its style of travel as Responsible Travel. This travel style is a reflection of its core purpose, which is to run trips that “enrich peoples lives by creating unique, interactive travel experiences... that are fun, affordable environmentally sustainable and benefit local communities.” (Intrepid Mission Statement)

The key features of this travel style include:

- Grass roots travel using all forms of local public transport where possible.
- Using small scale locally owned accommodation and homestays where available and using local restaurants and markets for dining. In many cases this means sleeping on the floor of a bamboo hut, washing in a nearby hut and using pit toilets. Intrepid don't believe in developing or encouraging the development of infrastructure specifically for its groups.
- Employing western leaders who facilitate the company's values to travellers and local communities, educating them in sustainable tourism practices. Intrepid also employs local guides to aid travellers understanding of local culture and etiquette.
- Having maximum group sizes of twelve, which allow travellers to experience, cultures at a grass roots level offering greater opportunity for cross-cultural understanding.

As part of this commitment to Responsible Travel Intrepid donates 10% of after tax profit to charities and other projects it supports through its recently created Intrepid Foundation. Launched in 2002, the Foundation supports large non- government organisations such as Amnesty International, Oxfam-Community Aid Abroad, as well as smaller projects in destination communities visited. Other commitments made include the employment of a full time Responsible Travel Manager who monitors the company's sustainable travel performance. Intrepid leaders who run its trips throughout Asia are also responsible for completing smaller responsible travel tasks.

As a recognised industry leader, Intrepid was considered as an excellent case study to explore the impacts created by tour operations in village communities. It should be said that Intrepid Directors were very enthusiastic to participate in the research project as they were keen to develop a more thorough understanding of what impacts their trips were having in village communities. Although Intrepid leaders are required to fill out reports after every trip, there is no systematic method used by the company to determine its impacts in village communities.

The visits Intrepid groups' make to village communities are only a small part of any tour it operates. Most of these visits occur as part of a trek or some form of outdoor activity. For example, one of the communities included in this study is visited by Intrepid as part of a three-day hill tribe trek. This trek is only one component of a larger eight-day trip, which also includes visits to major towns and cities.

Intrepid uses a variety of means to operationally implement its tours to village communities. This can include sub contracting the visit to a local tourism operator, who is then responsible for all aspects of the tour including transport, accommodation and activities. The local operator also provides a guide for the tour. In other cases, Intrepid independently organises all aspect of the tour and is reliant on local people within the communities visited for accommodation and activities. An Intrepid leader accompanies all Intrepid trips irrespective of whether a local operator is involved. One of the major roles of the leader is to make travellers aware of the culturally appropriate behaviour and dress when visiting different communities.

3.3 Background to communities included in the study

The other major feature of this study is its focus on village communities. Three village communities visited by Intrepid were included in this study. Various criteria were used to identify which village communities would be used as case study sites. As this was predominantly an exploratory study it was decided to include as diverse a selection of cases as possible. This also allowed the study to meet Intrepid's aim of understanding its impacts across the diverse range of

locations it visits. Accordingly, village communities were chosen which reflected variety in regards to:

- How long Intrepid had been visiting the community.
- How long Intrepid groups stay within the community.
- How often Intrepid groups visit the community.
- How many other tour groups visit the community.
- Whether the visit to the community is run by a local tour operator or directly by Intrepid staff.
- The ethnic composition of the community.
- The level of local involvement in visits by Intrepid groups.
- The geographical location of the community.

Table 3.1 highlights the characteristics of each case according to these criteria.

Table 3.1 Characteristics of Intrepid trips to village communities.

	Skandis	Khun Puai	Van
How long Intrepid has been visiting the community.	Since 1993	Since 1999	Since 1995
How often Intrepid groups visit the community.	Every three weeks	Every week	Every week
Ethnic composition of the community.	Iban	Karen	White thai
How long Intrepid groups stay in the community.	2 nights	1 night	1 night
The level of local involvement in visits by Intrepid groups	Very high	High	Very low
Whether the trip is run by a local tour operator or directly by Intrepid staff	Intrepid staff	Local operator	Local operator
The geographical location of the community.	Sarawak, Borneo	Northern Thailand	North West Vietnam
How many other tour groups visit the community.	None	Others regularly	Irregular visits by other groups

The following descriptions provide some background to each community included in the study.

3.4 Background to Skandis longhouse

Skandis is a small isolated Iban longhouse that Intrepid visits as part of its adventure trips, “Borneo Adventure” and “Sarawak”. The longhouse is the focus of a three-day trip where travellers spend two nights living in a communal longhouse and are involved in various activities such as jungle walks, longhouse parties and farm visits.

The people of Skandis belong to the Iban who are the most populous of Sarawak’s indigenous groups and make up roughly a third of the state’s one million plus inhabitants. Unlike many Iban the people of Skandis prefer to maintain a subsistence lifestyle rather than move to urban areas such as Sarawak’s capital Kuching.

Skandis is a collection of fourteen families all of whom live in one long communal building called a longhouse. Each family has its own room (Bilek) which is essentially its family apartment. Approximately 70 people live in the longhouse. Each family is very much an autonomous unit, and is responsible for its own affairs.

The major political organisation within the community is the development and security committee (J.K.K.K). Most of the male household heads are members of the committee. A Women’s committee also exists and all female household heads are members.

Distinctive elements of material culture still exist in Skandis and include the daily lifestyles of community members, the architectural structure of the longhouse and the many examples of traditional goods such as baskets, mats and knives. The use of drums and gongs and the wonderfully rhythmic forms of dance known as the Najart are also still practiced.

The livelihoods of families in the longhouse are dominated by growing dry rice (for subsistence purposes), harvesting established pepper fields, hosting Intrepid groups, and for a

minority working in other areas such as Kuching or Singapore. Generally only young male household heads (under forty years of age) complete this seasonal work.

Skandis is a community in transition. These changes include the building of the all weather road to the nearby settlement of Nanga Kesit in 1999; the introduction of power in 1994; the arrival of Intrepid travellers in 1993; the establishment of pepper gardens in 1984; the involvement of the longhouse administratively and politically in the Malaysian Government system; and the introduction of schooling for its children.

Intrepid Travel dominates the history of tourism in Skandis, as it has been the only tour company to regularly visit the longhouse. The first trips to the community started in 1993 and were run by Thomas Ng (a Chinese Malay tour operator based in Kuching) and Sally Goldstraw the original Intrepid leader to Borneo. In 1997, Intrepid severed its ties with Thomas, as his relationship with Skandis and Intrepid leaders had become unworkable. This gave Skandis complete control of Intrepid's visits and allowed them to obtain the full economic benefits from Intrepid's visits.

Since 1998, the frequency and style of trip to Skandis has remained the same, although there has been a small turnover in Intrepid leaders. Trips are scheduled for once a month for the majority of the year and twice monthly during the middle and end of the year to coincide with peak holiday periods in Europe and Australia. Travellers who visit the community continue to participate in various activities including a gift giving ceremony, welcoming party, jungle walk, village stay and craft market. Local people lead all these activities.

The majority of Intrepid travellers who visited Skandis between 1/1/2001 and 1/8/2001 were female (61%), while (79%) were between the ages of twenty and forty. Just over half of these travellers were from Australia and Great Britain with the remainder from Europe, North America and New Zealand. Almost all were professionally employed in areas such as Education, Finance, Health, Government Services, Engineering and Science or were University Students.

3.5 Background to Khun Puai

Khun Puai is a large Karen village that Intrepid visits weekly as part of the trip- ‘A taste of Adventure’ in Northern Thailand. Travelers stay in Khun Puai on the second night of a three day trek they complete as part of their eight day trip. Intrepid travelers participate in singing activities, massages and a craft market during their time in the community.

Khun Puai is a large Karen hilltribe village, situated in the foothills of the mountain ranges that form the backbone of Doi Inthanon National Park in Northern Thailand. The village is home to 62 households and is estimated by locals to be about 80-100 years old. About 400 people live in the community.

The people of Khun Puai belong to the Karen ethnic group which is officially recognised by the Thai Government as one of the nine ‘Hill Tribes’ living in Thailand. The Karen people in Thailand belong to one of four different sub groupings. Those who live in Khun Puai belong to the largest of these sub groupings, the Sgaw Karen.

Traditional elements of material culture are still major features of life in Khun Puai although this is changing rapidly as the community continues to integrate into the dominant Thai culture. Distinctive elements of material culture still obvious include traditional forms of clothing and ornaments.

All households are still involved in growing rice for subsistence purposes. Some households in the village don’t have wet rice fields and have to work dry rice fields which are very steep and not as productive. None of the households sell any of the rice they harvest from their fields.

Both men and women are involved in activities that produce monetary outcomes, particularly during the non rice-producing season. Many of the men work as farm laborers near the lowland town of Ban Kat or the Hmong Village of Khun Wang while several grow flowers that are sold in markets in Ban Kat. Men in the village are also involved in Intrepid’s trips. These include

those directly involved, the porters and the accommodation provider, plus those indirectly involved such as the massage providers.

Women in the village are also involved in monetary producing activities although unlike the majority of men, their cash producing activities are confined to the village setting and almost exclusively involve tourism related activities.

Khun Puai is a community in transition as many of its old ways are changing rapidly. Forces of change include: the external policies of the Thailand Government; the building of the road, which provides access to Thai towns in the lowlands; the role of the church, and tourism through visits from several companies including Intrepid.

According to those in Khun Puai, travelers first started coming to their village about twenty years ago, as part of hikes that aimed to climb Doi Inthanon, Thailand's highest mountain. Tourism appeared to operate inconsistently in the village until about five years ago when a local operator from Chiang Mai called Banana Tours began more regular visits.

Banana Tour groups now stay in the village almost every night. During these occasions, up to twenty people stay in a local house provided by relatives of one of the guides who work for Banana Tours.

Intrepid's visits to Khun Puai are run by a local operator, Siam Adventures. The role played by Siam Adventures is pivotal to the level of outcomes obtained by local people as it is responsible for all aspects of the trek including the itinerary, the provision of a guide and the recruitment of two porters from Khun Puai. An Intrepid leader also participates on the trek although they are not directly responsible for organising activities on the trek. The role of the Intrepid leader is most important in monitoring traveler satisfaction.

Intrepid, through its association with Siam Adventures has been running trips to Khun Puai for approximately three years. Intrepid groups have only visited the community on a weekly basis, although during peak holiday periods such as Christmas and New Year, sometime come twice a

week. Intrepid groups stay at the bottom end of the village and use two men from the community as porters.

While in the community, Intrepid travelers have the opportunity to complete walks around the village; visit the local river for a wash; join young people from the village for singing activities; obtain massages and purchase arts and crafts from a local village market.

Two hundred and eighty eight travelers visited Khun Puai on Intrepid trips between 1/1/2001 and 1/7/2001. The majority of these travelers were female (64%) while most were under the age of forty (84%). Nearly 43% of the travelers who visited Khun Puai in the first half of 2001 were from Australia with the second largest grouping of travelers coming from the U.S.A. (22%). Small numbers of travelers came from New Zealand, Great Britain, Japan and Canada. Almost all of the travelers were professionally employed, while 24% of travelers were university students.

3.6 Background to Van Commune

Van is a large White Thai village that Intrepid visits every week as part of its adventure trip, “Vietnam Adventure”. Buffalo Tours, a local tourism operator based in Hanoi (Northern Vietnam), operates the trekking trip for Intrepid Travel. Participants stay at Van commune on the first night of a three day trek.

The White Thai of the Mai Chau area are one of the small Thai ethnic groups in Vietnam. The Thai who number over one million people are well known for their expert rice farming techniques, distinctive dress standards, unique arts and crafts and for their striking wooden houses built on stilts. Many of these material elements of Thai culture are features of life in Van.

Van is located in the far North Western Corner of Vietnam, approximately one hundred and fifty kilometres from Hanoi. The 121 households that make up the community are geographically dispersed over a large area and surround the extensive rice fields that sustain the livelihoods of people in the community. The six hundred people who live in the community belong to three clans. These include the Ha Clan, Dinh Cong Clan and the Ngan Van Clan.

The village cooperative is the dominant political organisation within the community. The cooperative is essentially a ten-member village council who manage the affairs of the community. Other organisations in the village include the elderly union, youth union and the women's union. Administratively the village of Van belongs to the Pieng Ve Commune, Mai Chau District and is part of the Hoa Binh province.

Like the majority of White Thai villages, the people of Van are predominantly rice farmers and have been since the start of their village approximately 150 years ago. Rice is harvested twice a year and is farmed for subsistence purposes only.

The majority of households are still reliant on subsistence agriculture and grow crops such as maize, manioc and ground nuts, which they sell to wholesale collectors from Hoa Binh or at local markets. Only a very small percentage of households rely on wage labor to support their families.

The changes that have occurred in the community over the past thirty years have ensured that the people of Van now have physical access to surrounding towns such as Mai Chau and electronic access through television and radio to mainstream Vietnamese society. These changes include the building of the road in 1968, the introduction of mains electricity in 2000 and the centralist administrative structure imposed on the community by various levels of government.

Buffalo Tours is the local tour operator that runs the Mai Chau trek for Intrepid. It is responsible for all aspects of the trip including the supply of a guide who accompanies the group during the trek and the choice of homestay used. The role that Buffalo Tours play makes it one of the most decisive factors in determining the outcomes that local people obtain from Intrepid visits.

The program that Intrepid groups complete in Van was organised by Tran Trong Kien the director of Buffalo Tours in 1995. The first trips ran every couple of months. By 1998, however, Intrepid groups were visiting the village every week, as they do now. The program completed by

trip participants has changed very little. Intrepid groups stay at the same household and continue to do a village walk on the second morning of their stay.

One hundred and ninety-one participants visited Van on Intrepid trips between 1/1/2001 and 1/7/2001. The majority of these (63%) were female and under the age of forty (67%). Nearly 60% were from Australia with the second largest grouping of travelers coming from Great Britain (15%). Small numbers came from the U.S.A, Europe and New Zealand. Almost all of the participants were professionally employed while nearly (10%) were university students.

3.7 Summary of case study sites

Summaries of some of the characteristics of the three communities included in the field research are presented in Table 3.2. The table illustrates that the livelihoods of households in each of these communities are changing from a reliance on subsistence based livelihoods to those based on market economies. These changes demonstrate that each of the communities are no longer closed autonomous or culturally self-contained entities. The broad changes that are occurring in livelihood strategies in each of the villages (including Intrepid's trips) have integrated these communities into regional, national and global markets.

Table 3.2 Characteristics of communities include in the study.

	Location	Ethnic group	Livelihood strategies	Size of village	Management / political system	Changes in the community
Van	Mai Chau District, Northwest Vietnam.	White Thai.	Subsistence rice farmers. Cash crops such as maize, manioc, ground nuts.	120 households	Village cooperative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Road built in 1968. • Visits by tour groups began in 1993. • Mains electricity in 2000. • Dominant role of village cooperative. • Increasing influence of Viet Kinh culture through media outlets.
Skandis	Lubuk Antu District, Sarawak, Borneo.	Iban	Subsistence rice farming. Cash crop of Pepper. Hosting Intrepid groups. Working in major towns such as Kuching.	14 families who live in a communal building.	Village development and security committee called the J.K.K.K. Village headman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of Pepper gardens in 1984. • Building of road to nearby settlement of Nanga Kesit. • Introduction of power in 1994. • Arrival of Intrepid travellers in 1994. • Introduction of schooling for all of the children in the community. • Involvement of the community in the Malaysian government system.
Khun Puai	Mae Wang District, Northern Thailand	Karen	Subsistence rice farmers. Farm labouring in Thai towns. Markets for Intrepid group.	62 households	Village chief.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visits by tour groups began in 1980's. • Road built in 1990's. • Building of Thai primary school. • Introduction of Christianity. • Inclusion in Thai administrative system. • Increasing influence of Thai culture.

CHAPTER 4 FIELD RESEARCH: METHODOLOGY, DESIGN AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Field Research: Methodology

The research methodology used in the field research phase of the study was determined to a great extent by the characteristics of village communities and the time available to complete the field research. A period of three months was available for the field research phase of the study. This meant a decision had to be made between spending all of this time in one community or conversely spending the time in a collection of communities. Towner and France (1992) suggest that ‘resolving this issue requires seeking a balance between opportunity cost and trade-off. Thus the opportunities cost in conducting a detailed, small scale study in one location will be the benefits lost by not conducting a more wide ranging but possibly superficial study across a wider area.”(p49)

Intrepid’s wish to understand their impacts across a variety of communities ensured that a comparative study of three communities was undertaken. While this limited the depth to which information could be gathered, it did allow a broader perspective on the type and level of impacts that Intrepid trips create in various types of village communities. Given these limitations and the general characteristics and locations of the communities involved (remote, subsistence economies with low levels of education), it was decided to employ research methods that development practitioners use to monitor and evaluate projects and programs. (Kumar 1993)

These techniques are collectively known as rapid rural appraisal methods and have been used by researchers in areas such as natural resource management, agriculture, poverty and social programs and health and food security (Chambers 1994). Although not prolific, there are examples of tourism researchers using these techniques as part of a coherent research strategy. See, for example Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995); Walker (1997); Bartsch (2000)

In describing rapid appraisal methodologies, Towner and France (1992) suggest that the methodology falls somewhere between the “contrasting approaches of academics and development practitioners”(p48). In this sense, Kumar (1993) believes that rapid appraisal methodology “can be better explained as falling within a continuum of various informal and formal modes of data collection that are used to provide decision- related information in development settings.” (p11)

The research techniques used in this study reflect this and included key informant interviews, participant observation of Intrepid trips, development of community maps, informal surveys and impact ranking activities. The uses of these techniques are explained in the following section (research design).

The advantages of using this methodology for this study, was that it rapidly generated information with a relatively low level of investment, and that it provided an in depth understanding of the relationships between critical elements of Intrepid’s visits to the community. Beebe (1995) suggests that this ‘systems perspective’ is a basic element of any rapid appraisal.

However, like all research methods, the use of rapid appraisal methods also has limitations. These limitations, identified by Kumar (1993) and Finan (1999) included time limitations, which “often impose a severe schedule on the research routine and make it difficult to develop among local community representatives the bonds of trust upon which successful communication is built.” (Finan 1999, p306). These limitations were present during this research although they were offset to some degree by the relationship Intrepid personnel had developed with influential members of the communities visited.

The use of interpreters within the communities helped with communication although their use could also be considered a severe limitation of the study. By not having a full grasp of the language in each of the three communities, the researcher was resigned to the fact that he would miss “the subtleties in respondents answers and the additional information that is picked up by understanding conversations” (Heyer 1993, p203).

Kumar (1993) also believes that the reliability and validity of some of the information generated when using rapid appraisal methods can be questionable, particularly if probability sampling is not used when selecting individuals or groups for interviews. The study uses a range of research techniques and a relatively structured research design to address these limitations. (IDDS Workshop 1998). In particular it is hoped that the use of purposively selected samples addresses some of the concerns raised by Kumar(1993). Other techniques used to address these limitations include the use of a range of rapid appraisal methods. This was important as it allowed data collected from one method to be checked against data collected by other methods.

The structured research design and the stratified sampling techniques used in this study are explained more fully in section 4.2.

4.2 Field Research: Design

The household was chosen as the unit of analysis for this study. Although “far from being a straight forward unit of analysis” (Pratt and Loizos 1992, p22) the household was chosen, as it remained the most important social and economic grouping, even in communities such as Skandis where families live in a communal longhouse.

The study used a stratified sampling strategy to determine which households would be interviewed as part of an informal survey Patton (1987). This strategy stratified the households in the village according to their level of involvement with Intrepid groups. Three groups were identified and these included:

- Those that were directly involved with Intrepid groups. Households in this group had members who were directly involved in each Intrepid trip and received a direct monetary payment from Intrepid for their services.
- Those that were indirectly involved with Intrepid groups. The economic benefit to households in this group were variable and dependent on purchases made by Intrepid

travellers for goods such as arts and crafts or for services such as traditional massages.

Participation of local people in activities was also variable.

- Those that had no involvement with Intrepid trips. This group contains households whose members have no involvement with Intrepid groups and, therefore, receive no economic benefit from having Intrepid travellers in the village.

The sample of households chosen for interviewing in each grouping was determined by a household's geographical position within the community. In this approach, every effort was made to choose households for each category from all geographical sections of the community. The development of a community map highlighting the geographical location of all households and their level of involvement with Intrepid groups, therefore, became a key research method used in this study. This method was adopted to overcome the natural bias created by the spatial arrangements of households according to social, wealth or religious reasons. For example, in Khun Puai many of the households were spatially arranged according to family groupings.

Other research methods used included semi -structured interviews, informal surveys, participant observation, ranking exercises, historical time lines and basic seasonal calendars. Questionnaires were also given to travellers to assess the outcomes they received from their visits to the village communities. The following format was used in each study.

- **Review of secondary information on the community.** This information predominantly came from a review of internal documentation at Intrepid including leader and passenger feedback reports.
- **Participant observation of several Intrepid trips to the community.** This provided information on the key members of the community who were involved, type of activities undertaken by Intrepid groups, type and level of local involvement, roles of each of the stakeholders involved in the visits, outcomes obtained by local people and disruptions of daily lifestyles.

- **Key informant interviews.** These were held with; influential members of the community who were involved in Intrepid trips, Intrepid leaders and community leaders. This provided a broad assessment of tourism within the village and general background information on the village.
- **Development of a community map.** The map was used to highlight the geographical location of all households and their level of involvement with Intrepid groups. A household's level of involvement was determined by simply asking each household 'what involvement do they have with Intrepid groups'. This information was backed up by observation of Intrepid groups in the community and key informant interviews.
- **Development of an informal open-ended survey.** Information gathered from participant observation of several Intrepid visits and key informant interviews of local and Intrepid leaders was used to develop a broad series of questions. The focus of the informal survey was on the contribution that outcomes obtained from Intrepid visits made to household livelihood strategies and on household perceptions of Intrepid visits. These were tested with key informants to assess their suitability before being administered to households.
- **Administration of an informal survey.** This was given to households in the three categories identified. Some questions were open ended, therefore allowing household respondents to answer questions in their own words. The informal surveys were held towards the end of the researcher's time within the community.
- **Administration of questionnaires to Intrepid travellers.** A questionnaire was given to all Intrepid travellers who visited the community during the researchers stay. The focus of the questionnaire was on outcomes obtained by travellers and the factors that determined these outcomes.

The following table 4.1 highlights the research methods used in each community, including the numbers of interviews and questionnaires completed for each case study.

Table 4.1 Research methods used in the three communities.

	Skandis	Khun Puai	Van
Community map detailing location of households and their level of involvement with Intrepid groups.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Key informant interviews with village leaders, individual members involved with Intrepid groups, Intrepid leaders.	N=4	N=6	N=6
Informal surveys of households. These surveys were open-ended questionnaires that allowed respondents to answer questions in their own words.	N=14	N=26	N=7
Participant observation of Intrepid trips within the community.	N=2	N=4	N=3
Impact ranking exercises held with households interviewed.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Seasonal Calenders to determine busy periods within the community.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Questionnaires on travellers' outcomes.	N=20	N=26	N=15
Use of Interpreters	Yes	Yes	Yes

4.3 Field Research: Data Analysis Techniques

This study used processes and techniques commonly used by qualitative researchers when analysing data. Although the focus of the study was on a comparative analysis of three case studies, it was necessary firstly to “pull together the data relevant to each case and write discreet, holistic case studies” (Patton 1987).

The process of analysing data to develop ‘stand alone’ case studies involved several phases. In the first phase, the study used a method known as the constant comparative method (Bogdan and Taylor 1998). Developed by Glasser and Strauss (1967), this method “combines inductive category coding with a simultaneous comparison of all units of meaning obtained. As each new unit of meaning is selected for analysis, it is compared to all other units of meaning and subsequently grouped (categorised and coded) with similar units of meaning” (Maykut and Morehouse 1994,

p134). This phase, therefore, involved identifying categories and the subsequent linking of these categories into themes and concepts. Categories were organised according to the dual objectives of the study to identify the outcomes obtained by local people from Intrepid trips and the factors, which determined these outcomes.

The second phase of this process involved the exploration of relationships and patterns across categories. In doing this, the study develops matrices, which highlight the link between processes and outcomes. These matrices are similar to the causal/ outcomes matrices identified by Miles and Huberman (1994). The purpose of developing such a matrix is to “help articulate program processes, program impacts, and the linkages between the two” (Patton 1987, p155). These matrices are displayed at the end of each case study chapter.

Once the data analysis for each case study was completed, the formal process of comparing cases for similarities and differences began. However, it should be noted that the inductive approach to data analysis meant that this process was occurring during the data collection phase of the research.

This study uses the basic principles inherent in the comparative methods developed by Ragin (1994) to examine patterns of similarities and differences amongst the three case studies. The key “focus of this approach is on *diversity*- patterns of similarities and differences” (Ragin 1994 p107). This method appeared particularly well suited to the applied focus of this study, as its explicit aim is to identify the different causal conditions that determine different outcomes. As Ragin (1994) highlights, “to assess causation, comparative researchers study how diversity is patterned. They compare cases with each other and highlight the contrasting effects of different cases. Comparative researchers view each case as a combination of characteristics... and examine similarities and difference in combinations of characteristics across cases in their effort to find patterns” (p112).

However, it should be stated that this study applies these principles in a very simplified way. The small number of cases and the variation in degree of outcomes limits the full application of this approach as outlined by Ragin (2000). Nevertheless, the focus on viewing each case as a combination of characteristics is a feature of this study.

CHAPTER 5: SKANDIS LONGHOUSE COMMUNITY,

IMPACTS OF INTREPID TRIPS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the impacts created by Intrepid visits to Skandis Longhouse. Skandis longhouse is the focus of a three-day trip where Intrepid travellers spend two nights living in the longhouse and are involved in various activities such as jungle walks, longhouse parties and farm visits. The community assumes all responsibilities for the visit. This involves organising transport and other activities such as a craft market, welcoming party and jungle walks.

The chapter separates the impacts created by Intrepid groups into three areas. These included economic, socio-cultural and physical impacts. The causal factors that were considered important in determining these impacts were also assessed. A summary of these impacts and causal factors is presented in table 5.3. The table attempts to link many of the key impacts of Intrepid trips with the factors which were most important in determining them.

5.2 Economic Impacts

The economic impacts created by Intrepid visits to Skandis community were determined by identifying: the financial benefits the community obtain and how they distribute these financial benefits; and the financial benefits individual households obtain and the effect this has on their families.

The economic outcomes that accrue to the longhouse benefit both individual households and the broader community. These benefits are for the following services: cooks, boat transport, guided walk, gas for cooking, headman's salary, rice wine, musical instrument hire, lights, food, and accommodation (head tax).

The economic outcomes from the services provided are consistent for all trips and only vary slightly depending on the number of travellers. This list does not include the economic benefits that come from the craft market. Payments are made to individual households for boat transport,

cooking, guided walks and the headman's salary, and to the community for accommodation, gas for cooking, lighting, hire of musical instruments and rice wine.

Table 5.1 highlights the total economic benefit to the longhouse from two Intrepid visits. The table also includes the rough estimation of direct tangible costs incurred as estimated by longhouse members and Intrepid leaders.

A key feature of the table is the income obtained by the community from the market held for Intrepid groups. These figures show that the income obtained from the market was over 40% of the total income earned from each Intrepid trip. The market is an important part of Intrepid's visits as it allows all households to obtain some financial benefit from each trip.

The community's decision to rotate the responsibility for boat transport, jungle walks, cooking and rice wine production also diversifies the income obtained from Intrepid trips. Boat transport provides the largest economic outcome of the services supplied by individual households. Individual households are only involved with jungle walks and cooking about twice a year.

Benefits that accrue to the whole community from Intrepid payments for accommodation and rice wine were not obvious. Some communal benefits identified by respondents included payment for medical and food emergencies and for longhouse celebrations.

The relatively small size of Skandis and the unique communal living arrangements of the longhouse have facilitated the type of organisational structure which has encouraged the development of a communal fund in Skandis.

Table 5.1 Economic benefits and costs to the households of Skandis.

Services Provided	Beneficiary	Trip 1 (n=11)		Trip 2 (n=11)	
		Direct cost to longhouse	Payment to longhouse	Direct cost to longhouse	Payment to longhouse
Accom @ 10MYR/ pax	Longhouse	0	110	0	110
Cooks @ 24MYR/ cook	Individual household	0	48	0	48
Headman's salary	Individual household	0	25	0	25
Lights	Longhouse	20	40	20	40
Jungle walk @ 10MYR/ guide	Individual household	0	20	0	20
Hire of musical instruments	Longhouse	0	16	0	16
Food	Longhouse	0	380	0	380
Rice wine @ 5MYR/ bottle	Longhouse	25	200	20	150
Gas @ 13MYR/ visit	Longhouse	13	26	13	26
Market	Individual household	0	944	0	1062
Donations & gifts	Individual household	0	275	0	165
Boat transport @ 180MYR/ boat	Individual household	150	540	150	540
Total payment (less costs)			2416MYR		2379MYR

Results from ranking exercises held with all households highlight the impact that Intrepid trips are having on the livelihood strategies adopted by households in the community. (See Appendix 2)

- Six households-nearly half of the longhouse- estimated that two-thirds of their yearly income was derived from Intrepid trips.
- Two households estimated that half of their yearly income was derived from Intrepid trips.

- Four households estimated that one-third of their yearly income was derived from Intrepid trips.
- Two households estimated that just one-sixth of their yearly outcome was derived from Intrepid trips.

A closer inspection of these estimates reveals that the older families (determined by the age of their male household head) in the longhouse obtain a much higher level of economic benefits from Intrepid trips than the younger families in the village. The obvious reason for this is that the male household heads of the younger families are in a position to work in other areas such as Kuching or Singapore. This means they have far greater income generating opportunities than the older males in the community who no longer want to or are physically incapable of doing the unskilled labouring work available in areas such Kuching.

The other determinant, which appears to be relevant in this case, is the level of pepper produced by individual households. Those households, which harvest more than five bags of Pepper per year, estimated that less than a third of their income was from Intrepid trips.

Four factors appeared to determine the level of outcomes obtained by households in the longhouse. These included: the age of the household (households with older male members were more reliant on Intrepid trips); ownership of resources (those who owned boats could obtain a larger share of the income bought into the community); younger male households working in other areas (households with male household heads who could work in other areas were less reliant on Intrepid trips) and the amount of Pepper produced (households who harvested a greater number of bags than their neighbours were less reliant on the income obtained from Intrepid trips).

The money earned from tourism is spent predominantly on schooling, food and other household goods. Table 5.2 Gives an overview of how households spend the income obtained from Intrepid's visits.

Table 5.2 Household spending of money obtained from Intrepid trips.

Household spending of money obtained from Intrepid trips.	Number of households. (n=14)
Schooling, including fees and accommodation.	12
Clothing.	2
Rice.	3
Other household goods, such as sugar, coffee, baby's milk, salt, biscuits and dried fish.	9

5.3 Socio-cultural Impacts

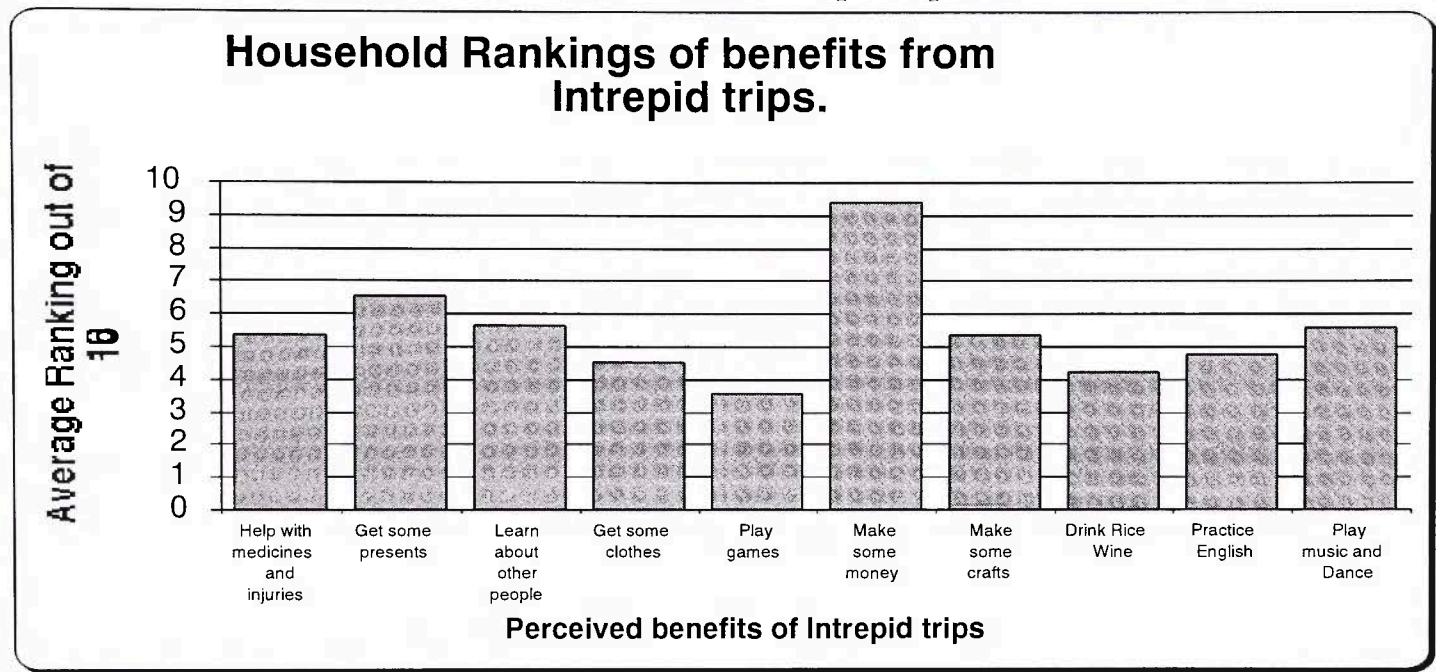
The socio-cultural outcomes for the longhouse were assessed according to: local perceptions of Intrepid trips; the effect of Intrepid trips on daily lifestyles of local people; arts and crafts practiced within the community and intra longhouse relationships; effect of Intrepid trips on longhouse political or management structures; role of women in Intrepid trips; and the role of youth in Intrepid trips.

It was beyond the scope of this study to discuss the effects of Intrepid trips on the complex pantheon, mythologies, cults and rituals that characterise spiritual life in the longhouse, particularly given that none of these features are part of Intrepid trips.

All of the households in the longhouse were very positive about having Intrepid groups visit the longhouse. Only two households identified any negative thoughts regarding Intrepid trips, although these were directed towards a specific incident relating to an aggressive passenger. To understand households' perceptions of Intrepid trips, household respondents were asked to rank in order of importance, a list of ten possible benefits, which their household obtained from Intrepid trips.

The list of benefits were developed after general discussions with people in the longhouse about the things they liked and disliked about Intrepid trips. Figure 5.1 highlights the results.

Figure 5.1 Household rankings of benefits from Intrepid trips.



The results demonstrate that the overwhelming benefit that local people receive from Intrepid trips is the opportunity to make money. Only two households didn’t choose making money as the thing they most liked about hosting Intrepid groups. Given this response, it is not surprising that obtaining presents was the next most important feature of Intrepid visits to the longhouse- particularly given that the presents that Intrepid bring to the longhouse are basically foodstuffs that support a household’s livelihood strategies. Making some crafts and help with medicines are other features of Intrepid trips that provide direct tangible outcomes for local people which not surprisingly are ranked highly by the longhouse community.

Interestingly, the opportunity to learn about other people and their culture figures prominently as a benefit of Intrepid trips amongst households. The researcher’s observations highlighted that household members appeared genuinely interested in interacting with travellers to the longhouse-especially during the party held on the first night. The average ranking of

importance of playing music and dancing among households was a reflection of this genuine interest in interacting with Intrepid travellers.

Several factors were important in creating these opportunities for interaction. The most important being the roles played by an influential member of the community and Intrepid leaders. The role of the local member is particularly important as he can speak English and, therefore, act as an interpreter between Intrepid travellers and local people. Consistent visitation by the same Intrepid leaders has allowed them to develop personal relationships with local people. This has contributed to more meaningful interactions between local people and Intrepid travellers.

Intrepid trips do disrupt the lifestyle of those in the longhouse, however, this disruption is only temporary and limited to those directly involved in each trip. Intrepid trips have now become a normal part of the lifestyle for the community, albeit an infrequent one. The rotation of activities amongst households in the community and the infrequent visits by groups has ensured that none of the households are directly responsible for Intrepid groups in every visit.

Intrepid trips have not replaced the subsistence base of the community. Quite fortuitously, the busiest times for Intrepid trips coincide with quieter times in the agricultural cycles of the longhouse.

Intrepid trips have commercialised the production of handicrafts within the community. However, this commercialisation has been driven by the longhouse and does not appear to have diminished the importance of handicrafts to those who live in the longhouse. Visits from Intrepid groups have encouraged the development of new styles and designs of handicrafts. The purchasing interests of travellers have encouraged the development of new styles.

Unlike craft production, the display of dance and music in the longhouse does not produce an economic outcome for the longhouse, excluding the very small payment that is made for the hire of the musical instruments that are used for the party. There is not a staged display of traditional

dance (Najart) for Intrepid travellers, although someone from the longhouse normally dances during the welcoming party.

Some tension exists in the longhouse over the spending of money allocated to buy food for the Intrepid groups. One household has accused the household responsible for the buying of food of misappropriating this money. A longer period of research time would have been required to confirm whether the claim had substance or was merely a part of intra longhouse rivalries. The response of the longhouse was to seek the involvement of an Intrepid leader, as this would lessen the possibility of direct conflict between longhouse members.

Women are prominent members of the Skandis Longhouse and are directly involved in all aspects of Intrepid trips. The most prominent roles played by women in Intrepid trips are as cooks and in making crafts for the markets, whilst some also lead jungle treks. As a result of Intrepid trips, women in the longhouse have had the opportunity to generate direct monetary benefits for their families independently of their husbands. Goods made by women were responsible for over 55% of the total income made from the market.

The structure and organisation of Intrepid trips within the longhouse has ensured that the increasing workload that befalls women when groups visits is only temporary. Furthermore, the rotation of responsibilities has meant that they only need to perform the more time consuming roles (such as cooking) every three months or so.

Socio-culturally, Intrepid's trips have very little impact on the youth as very few actually reside in the longhouse, as they are away studying at schools. The children that do live in the longhouse are very young, generally under the age of five, and the interaction they have with travellers is limited.

5.4 Physical Impacts

The physical outcomes for the community from Intrepid trips were assessed according to: waste and pollution created by Intrepid groups and the use of local resources by Intrepid groups .

The physical effects of Intrepid's visits to the longhouse appear negligible. The major reason for this is that Intrepid groups are totally reliant on existing facilities and generally only consume local products. The only facilities that have been specifically developed to cater for Intrepid groups are the building of two pit toilets. The presence of these toilets ensures that any waste created by Intrepid trips is confined to a very small area. Other than the toilets, the facilities used by travellers are exactly the same as those used by people from the longhouse.

There is little doubt that aspects of Intrepid trips associated with the river system- boat transport and bathing- would create environmental consequences, however, they would most likely be insignificant and were not directly measured.

Visits from Intrepid trips have the potential to exacerbate water shortage problems during the dry season; however, this is only of minor consequence to those in the longhouse as they are able to obtain water from the Kesit River.

5.5 Causal Factors that determine Intrepid impacts

Table 5.3 highlights the impacts that Intrepid visits create and the factors which determine these impacts. The table highlights that members of Skandis community are obtaining substantial economic and social outcomes from Intrepid trips. All members of Skandis obtain some economic benefits from Intrepid trips. These outcomes are particularly important for older members of the community who no longer are able to obtain economic benefits from other external sources. Other outcomes include the commoditisation and diversification of handicraft production and the empowerment of local people to control tourism within their community. Local people consider their increased knowledge and awareness of other cultures to be a major benefit of Intrepid visits.

Many factors determine the outcomes that local people obtain from Intrepid trips. These are directly related to the specific characteristics of the community and to factors determined by Intrepid's style of travel such as the pre trip information it provides to all travellers. The involvement of local people and Intrepid leaders in the development of visits was also considered

pivotal to the outcomes that local people obtained from Intrepid trips. This case study demonstrates the level of involvement of local people in an Intrepid trip is a key factor in the outcomes obtained by all stakeholders.

The aim of table 5.3 is to directly link the impacts of Intrepid trips with the factors that determine them. These factors appear on the top left hand side of the table. The grouping of factors are split according to whether they are determined by the community themselves, Intrepid or in some cases a combination of Intrepid and the community. For example, factors such as the role of influential people within the community and the number of households involved in Intrepid trips are considered factors determined by the community. Other factors such as the frequency of Intrepid trips are factors largely determined by Intrepid. Some factors, such as the number and type of activities completed by Intrepid groups, are considered to be determined by both Intrepid and the community as both stakeholders are involved in the planning and operation of activities.

These causal factors are also grouped according to their level of importance in determining the impacts created by Intrepid trips. Factors that were considered to be most influential or important in determining a particular impact are noted with a dark star. Less influential factors are noted with a clear star. For example the first causal factor on the table- number of households involved- was considered to be most important in determining the following impacts: economic outcomes to all households within the community; minor disruptions to daily lifestyles of some people and positive perceptions of local people to Intrepid visits. Thus the table attempts to link the impacts created by Intrepid visits and the factors that determined them.

The impacts that accrue to the community from Intrepid’s visits are found on the right hand side of the table. The table differentiates between primary impacts and secondary impacts. Primary impacts are those that directly accrue to the community from Intrepid’s visits. Examples of primary impacts include the provision of financial benefits to a household. Secondary impacts are essentially the effect of these primary impacts. For example, a primary impact of Intrepid’s visits is

the provision of economic benefits to the broader longhouse community, which provides financial help to families in times of medical emergencies. The secondary effect of this impact is the reinforcement, to households, of the benefits of belonging to the broader longhouse community.

Table 5.3 Skandis and Intrepid Travel Groups. Causal Factors and Impacts.

Causal Factors that determine Impacts																	Primary Impacts					Secondary Impacts											
Community Factors										Community/Intrepid Factors.		Intrepid Factors.																					
Number of households involved	Activities involving Intrepid groups are restricted amongst households in the community.	Role of community as an intermediary between the community and the economy.	Specific household factors	Inclusion in the ability of the household to take advantage of employment opportunities external to the community.	Ownership of infrastructure such as boats used for transport and the level of Pepper harvest.	Size of the community	Existing inequalities and competition within the community	Core values of the community	Stable nature of the community.	Existence of material traditions to exploit in the form of the handicrafts.	Motivation of local people to be involved in Intrepid trips.	Role and status of women within the community	Direct involvement of women in a real range of activities	A concentration provided for Intrepid groups is community property.	Indigenous management systems within the community.	Agricultural cycles within the community.	Participation of local and travellers in a broad number of activities	Opportunities for direct interaction between travellers and local people.	Direct involvement of local people and Intrepid leaders in the development of trips.	Consistent visitation from the same Intrepid Leaders.	Intrepid Leaders have a detailed knowledge and understanding of the community.	Pre visit information for travellers on Skandis and on the appropriate behaviour and clothing required whilst in the village.	Use of local facilities.	Consumption of local products.	Frequency of Intrepid trips.	Motivations of Travellers.	Frequency of visitation from Intrepid groups.	Size of groups. Maximum group size at 18 people.					
	H					Π	Π							H	H				Π	Π									→	Economic benefit to the broader village community.	Provides electricity and gas to the community. Supports village wide celebrations. Provides financial help to families in times of medical emergencies.	→	Reinforces to households the value of belonging to Skandis Longhouse.
HH	H	H				ΠH	ΠH						H				H		Π	Π									→	Economic Outcomes to all households within the community.	Allows male household heads to stay in the longhouse. Helps households meet their daily requirements for food. Enables households to provide education for their children.	→	Helps all households- particularly those with older members to maintain and improve their lifestyles.
																						H		HHH		H			→	Physical Impacts are negligible or not apparent.			
		Π							H					Π															→	Gradual empowerment of local people to develop tourism to suit their needs.		→	Has provided the community with confidence to accept visits from other tour groups.
	H	H						H						H				Π						H				→	Commodification and diversification of handicraft production within the community.	Small economic gain to households within the community	→	Reinforces to skandis the distinctive elements of their culture.	
								H		H	H						Π											→	Women are generating economic outcomes for their households		→	Reinforces the prominent role of women within the community.	
		H								H							Π	H		Π					H			→	Increased knowledge and awareness of other cultures amongst Skandis community members.				
		H								Π	H					H		H		Π						H		→	No disruption to the subsistence base of the community.				
HΠ															H	Π									H	H		→	Minor Disruptions to daily lifestyles of some people				
HH	H	Π							Π	Π							Π	H	H	Π	Π	Π				Π	Π	→	Local perceptions of Intrepid trips are positive. Perceived benefits include the opportunity to make some money, receive some presents, makes some crafts and play music and dance.		→	Keeness within the community to increase visitation levels from Intrepid groups.	
							H																					→	Minor levels of tension between some households over the spending of money allocated to buy food for Intrepid groups.		→	Some feelings of unease between the dominant family groupings within the community.	
	H									Π	Π						Π	H		H	H	Π				Π	H	→	Positive feedback from travellers.				

Causal Factors	H Most Important	Π Important
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CHAPTER 6: KHUN PUAI COMMUNITY,IMPACTS OF INTREPID TRIPS

6.1 Introduction

The following chapter highlights the impacts created by Intrepid visits to Khun Puai. Khun Puai provided an interesting case study in comparison to Skandis Longhouse as Intrepid uses a local operator, namely Siam Adventures to run the trip. Travelers stay in Khun Puai on the second night of a three day trek they complete as part of a longer eight day trip. Intrepid travelers participate in a range of activities in the community including singing activities, massages and a craft market. Accommodation for the Intrepid groups is provided by a household within the community.

The case study demonstrates the importance of organised activities, such as the craft market, in providing financial benefits to households of Khun Puai. The impacts created by Intrepid visits and the factors that determine them are included in table 6.3

6.2 Economic Impacts

The economic impacts from Intrepid's trips benefit a large number of households in Khun Puai. At present, there is no mechanism within trips to provide a collective benefit to the community although the astonishing success of the craft market held for Intrepid groups ensures that many households in the community benefit from Intrepid visits. Households in Khun Puai provide the following services for Intrepid groups: accommodation, craft markets, portering duties and massages.

Table 6.1 highlights the total economic benefit to Khun Puai households of four trips observed. The table does not include the estimation of direct costs incurred by individual households although given the services provided, it is likely that such costs would have been negligible.

Table 6.1. Economic benefits and costs to the households of Khun Puai.

	Trip 1 (n=10)	Trip 2 (n=7)	Trip 3 (n=9)	Trip4 (n=10)
Services provided	Total benefit	Total benefit	Total benefit	Total benefit
Accom @ 20THB/ pax	200	140	180	200
Massages @ 50THB/ Half hour	550	350	450	450
Market	5130	3750	6770	3000
Two Porters @500 TH/ Trip	1000	1000	1000	1000
Porters Tips	650	500	650	1000
Total payment to the village.	7530 THB	5740 THB	9050 THB	5650 THB

Table 6.1 highlights the success of the craft market in providing economic benefits to households within the community. In three of the four groups observed, the market provided over 68% of the total economic benefit. The financial benefit to the two porters was also substantial with each receiving between 700 - 1000 Baht per trip.

Almost 84% of households in Khun Puai receive some benefit from Intrepid Trips. This benefit is dependent on a household's level of involvement with Intrepid groups. Only three households are directly involved every week and receive a wage for their services. The majority are indirectly involved through their participation in the craft market or provision of massages.

The income earned from Siam Adventures for households directly involved can be substantial. The two porters receive a payment of 500 THB per trip. This can increase to 1000 THB once traveler's tips are added. The financial benefit to the accommodation provider is approximately 200 THB per trip.

In comparison, the economic benefit to the households indirectly involved varies and is determined by the amount of crafts sold or the number of massages provided. Interviews conducted with those indirectly involved (n=19) highlight that specific factors determined a household's level of involvement. These interviews revealed the following:

- The total income of five households came from the craft market. In all of these cases the male household head was no longer present or was unable to work outside of the community.
- Five households (26%) estimated that very little of their income (less than 20%) came from their involvement with Intrepid groups. Interestingly, these households have large wet rice fields and don't have to buy any rice. Income obtained from Intrepid trips merely supplements the income obtained from other activities.
- One household estimated that it obtains almost no economic benefit from Intrepid visits. This household earns a substantial income from growing flowers and has enough wet rice fields to ensure that it doesn't have to buy rice. Not surprisingly, there is little motivation for this household to be involved with Intrepid groups.
- The remaining eight households (42%) estimated that some of their income (anywhere between 25-75%) came from work associated with Intrepid groups.

These figures, while drawn from a small sample (39% of households indirectly involved), show that the income obtained from Intrepid's trips is an important part of many households' livelihood strategies. Its level of importance increased substantially if the male head of the household was not present or continued to reside in the village and was not employed in a cash earning capacity. Another important factor appeared to be the size of wet rice fields owned by a household. Those households who were able to produce enough rice for their family from their rice fields were not as involved in the village market.

Money earned from Intrepid's trips is spent on a range of different items. The most important is rice which was identified by a majority of houses. Table 6.2 gives an overview of what households in the village spend their income on.

Table 6.2 Household spending of money obtained from Intrepid trips.

Household spending of money obtained from Intrepid trips.	Number of households. (n=26)
Schooling, including fees and accommodation.	2
Clothing.	1
Rice.	14
Chillies.	7
Sweets at local store.	4
Cotton for making traditional crafts and clothes.	5
Vegetables.	4
Fish.	2
Medical Appointment.	1
Soap.	4
Motorbike	1

These figures show that while Intrepid's trips are an important source of income for many households, it is not substantial enough to spend on major items. The exception to this is the household which spends a proportion of the income gained from Intrepid trips on motorbike repayments. This household is directly employed by Siam Adventures and thus receives a wage every trip.

6.3 Socio-cultural Impacts

All of the households interviewed were ambivalent about tour groups who visited the community. In fact, most had few opinions about travelers, except for the fact that they provided an opportunity to make some extra money. Such a response suggests that most households don't think much about tourists who visit the community.

The three households directly involved in Intrepid trips identified the opportunity to make some money as the major benefit their household received from Intrepid trips. They believe that visits to the village have been very good for them as it has allowed them to stay in the village, and that tourism work is much easier than working as laborers in farms in Ban Kat or Mae Wang.

For households indirectly involved, the greatest benefit has been the opportunity to sell crafts and traditional clothes at the market or give massages to Intrepid travellers. Other benefits mentioned by ten households were the opportunity for village children to sing with tourists who come to the village and to get some food. Twelve households mentioned the donations made by Siam Adventures for school clothes and books as a good thing for their village. Excursions organised by Siam Adventures for young people in the village were also considered as a positive benefit for Khun Puai, as were the donations of vegetable seeds that Intrepid travelers give to households within the community.

The three households who have no involvement with Intrepid groups were still positive about having Intrepid groups in the community even though their household did not receive any benefit from these groups. Households in this group had purposely chosen not to be involved because of specific household factors.

Only three households identified any negative aspects of tourism. These negative comments were related to local guides who smoked and drank too much. Interestingly, these households were at the top of the village, near where Banana tour groups stay.

The arts and craft market held for Intrepid groups is a significant part of the program completed by travelers. The extraordinary level of involvement of households reflects the markets importance to those in the community.

Interviews with women from households indirectly involved (n=19) demonstrate that tourism visits have commercialised the making of arts and crafts in the community. However, this does not appear to have lessened the value of these arts and crafts, as all women interviewed stated

that even if Intrepid groups no longer came to the village, they would still make many of the goods sold such as clothing and bags. The majority said they simply wouldn't make as many.

Most (n=15) stated that they make many of the garments and goods sold at the market during the dry season when they have time, as during the wet season they are required to work long hours in the rice fields.

The direct effect of Intrepid's trips on teenagers in the village appeared limited. This is because there is very little interaction between travelers and teenagers. Only one teenage member of the village was involved regularly with the trips observed and this was indirectly through the provision of massages.

The interactions that young people do have with Intrepid groups come during the singing that occurs at night. However these are very young children between the ages of 3 and 12. Those who attend not only get to mix with travelers but also receive a good meal and drink while Intrepid travelers are having a meal. However, while there appeared to be little direct effect of Intrepid trips, there has been a positive impact through non- tour activities such as organising excursions and the supply of funding for school uniforms and books.

The general confinement of Intrepid travelers to an area near their accommodation, has limited the effect of Intrepid's trips on the community. Intrepid groups stay at the very bottom of the villlage well away from the majority of households. The very small number of people from the community involved also limits Intrepid's impact in this regard. Excluding Bati Guler, who provides his home for accommodation, and several ladies involved in the market, there is virtually no impact on the daily lifestyles of people in the community.

The indirect role played by women in the village is an essential part of Intrepid's visits. It is through their involvement in the craft market that the benefits of Intrepid's visits are spread amongst the community. Apart from their role in the craft market, women are not directly involved in Intrepid trips. Both the porters and the accommodation provider are men.

Given the organisation of the market and the early time it is held, the disruption to the roles played by women in the community is minor. Many of the women who make garments to be sold don't attend the market but prefer to give their goods to other women who accept a small fee if anything is sold. Most of the women in the community produce the majority of their crafts during the non rice producing season when they have more free time. All women felt very positive about their role in the market as it had allowed them to make a direct contribution to the economic strategies adopted by their households.

Intrepid trips do not appear to have had any impact on the political or management structures in the village. This is because the development of tourism in the community has been based on relationships with individual households rather than the village as a collective. Nevertheless, the chief of the village was consulted before trips were permitted to the village.

Intrepid trips have little impact on relationships between people in the community. All people were happy to have groups come and stay in the community. Having set prices at the market has ensured that all involved receive a fair price for their goods and removes the possibility of competition based on price.

6.4 Physical Impacts

The physical effects of Intrepid's visits to the village are negligible and not readily apparent. The short time that Intrepid groups stay in the community and the use of existing facilities by groups has ensured its physical impacts are not obvious. The confinement of activities to a relatively small area of the community has also lessened the physical impacts of Intrepid trips. Apart from the small community centre built by Siam Adventures, there have not been any facilities specifically developed to cater for Intrepid groups.

There is little doubt that aspects of Intrepid's program within Khun Puai, such as bathing in the Mae Puai, could create environmental consequences. However, they would most likely be insignificant and were not measured. Intrepid travelers are directed to purchase biodegradable soap by their Intrepid leader to lesson this possible impact.

If anything, visits by Intrepid groups may be having a positive impact on the village environment as it encourages people to keep the village clean. On several occasions, Siam Adventures has been involved with local people in a clean up of the community.

6.5 Causal Factors that determine Intrepid impacts

Table 6.3 highlights the relationship between the impacts created by Intrepid visits and the factors which determined these outcomes. The table highlights that Intrepid trips provide financial benefits to over 80% of the households within the community. The success of the craft market has led to a commoditisation of crafts within the community although these crafts and clothing are still a major feature of everyday life within the village. The few opportunities for direct and meaningful interaction between local people and Intrepid travelers has limited the sociocultural outcomes for local people. Excluding the role of the two porters involved in the trip, there are few opportunities for local people to assume leadership or interpretative roles. Intrepid visits appear to create few physical impacts for the community.

The table also highlights the key factors, which appear to contribute to the outcomes obtained by local people. A direct link is made between the impacts created by Intrepid visits and the factors which determine them. Like the other case study in Skandis Longhouse, the factors which determine the impacts of Intrepid visits are related to factors involving both Intrepid and the village community. An important factor is the role of Siam Adventures which organises all activities within the community. Importantly, these activities provide opportunities for all households to obtain some benefit from Intrepid visits.

Table 6.3 Khun Puai and Intrepid Travel Groups. Causal Factors and Impacts.

[illegible]

Causal Factors	H Most Important	Π Important
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CHAPTER 7: VAN COMMUNE, IMPACTS OF INTREPID TRIPS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the impacts created by Intrepid visits to Van Commune. The Van case study proved to be very different to those involving Khun Puai and Skandis Longhouse. The obvious difference between the earlier case studies and Van was the almost lack of impacts of Intrepid trips in this community.

Like Khun Puai, Intrepid uses a sub contractor to operate its visits to Van commune, yet the differences in impacts could not be more stark. Buffalo Tours, a tourism operator based in Hanoi organises the trekking trip for Intrepid Travel. Participants stay at Van village on the first night of a three day trek. During their stay in the village, Intrepid travellers stay with a local family and complete a walk around the village with a guide (non local) provided by Buffalo Tours.

The impacts created by Intrepid visits and the factors that determine them are included in table 7.3. The most obvious reason for these differences include the complete lack of activities involving local people in the village and the use of only one household in the village for accommodation. Like the other case studies, the table attempts to draw causal links between a range of key factors and the primary and secondary impacts created by Intrepid's visits to the community.

7.2 Economic Impacts

The economic impacts of Intrepid trips were determined by identifying the income obtained by the one household involved in Intrepid visits and the effect on this household of income obtained from Intrepid trips.

The economic benefits of Intrepid trips to Van only accrue to one household and do not provide any direct benefit to the community. This is simply because Intrepid's visits do not have activities which allow any interaction between local people and Intrepid groups. The economic

benefits to the one household involved are substantial and have contributed greatly to the opportunities available to its members.

The household involved in Intrepid trips receives a payment of 40,000VND per trip participant for providing the homestay accommodation. During the first six months of 2001, the household accommodating tourists received payments totalling 7,640,000VND for 191 travellers. The significance of this payment is highlighted by the wage paid to the village chief Ding Cong Hahn who receives 40,000VND per month.

Costs incurred for the household when hosting Intrepid groups includes:

- Business license- 550,000VND per year.
- Revenue Tax- 100,000VND per month irrespective of whether tourists visit or not.
- In 1994-98, this tax had been set at 50% of total income earned from tourism.

Even taking these costs into account, the economic benefits to the household are still very substantial at 6,815,000VND for the first six months of 2001.

The household does not incur any costs relating to the food and water consumed by travellers during their time in the home stay as they are supplied by Buffalo Tours. Buffalo Tours also supplies a cook who accompanies the group for two nights.

The economic benefits from tourism supplement the income obtained by the household from other sources, including the wages paid to Mr Oong, his daughter Ha Thi Hong Ky (who teaches in the local school and continues to live with her parents) and Mrs Oong's pension. Several of the other daughters who also teach but live away from the village send a small amount of money on occasions back to the family. According to Mrs Oong, the income earned from tourism accounts for over 80% of the aggregate weekly income earned by the family.

The economic benefits from tourism have been spent on schooling for the household's children, household goods and the employment of labor during rice harvesting and planting. According to Mrs Oong, the most important benefit is the schooling provided to her children. This

includes the university education of her daughters, Ha Thi Hong Ky and Ha Thi Hong Phu, and the payment of school fees for her son, Ha Duc Inh, who is completing high school studies in Mai Chau. In fact, it is most unlikely that Ha Thi Hong Ky or Ha Thi Hong Phu would have attended university if not for Intrepid trips, as the family simply could not have afforded it.

Money obtained from Intrepid's trips is also spent on buying household goods such as fans and mattresses. Some is spent on fertilizers for their rice fields and allows the family to hire labour from the village during rice harvesting in September and rice planting in February. Declining harvests have seen the introduction of fertilizers, which help maintain yields. Without the income from tourism, Mrs Oong would not be able to maintain a rice crop as the members of her household are either too old, are working elsewhere, or are still completing schooling. No productive use is made of the forest area that is allocated to the family.

The impact of Intrepid trips on this household is substantial, particularly the educational opportunities that have become available to some of its members. The consistent income obtained from tourism has reinforced the family's position within the wealthier sections of the community, a position that should be maintained into the future given the investment the family has made towards educating its younger members. It is interesting to note that one of the reasons Mrs Oong's household was originally chosen to host groups was because of its large size and the educational background of its members.

Interviews conducted with village leaders highlight that all believe that the village community should receive some economic benefit from Intrepid's visits to the village. This was the case between 1994 and 1998 when the cooperative received 15% of the taxes Mrs Oong (hosting household for Intrepid groups) paid to the Pieng Ve commune. However, since the changes in the tax structure in 1998, the cooperative has not received any benefit from visiting tourists to the community.

7.3 Socio-cultural Impacts

The socio-cultural outcomes for the village community from Intrepid's trips were assessed according to: perceptions of village leaders; perceptions of households not involved in Intrepid trips and the perception of the hosting household towards Intrepid trips.

The limited programme completed by Intrepid groups while in the village and the lack of local involvement limits the socio-cultural outcomes and impact of Intrepid trips on the community. Village leaders and households interviewed were ambivalent about having Intrepid groups stay in the community and were not concerned that the benefits of Intrepid trips flowed to only one household. These interviews revealed that Intrepid's visits to the community were having very little effect on any of the following: daily lifestyles of people; arts and crafts practiced; intra -village relationships; political or management structures; women or young people.

Village leaders interviewed as part of this research included: Mr Dinh Cong Hahn (Village Chief), Mr Ha Cong Dung (Chairman of the Village Cooperative), Mr Ha Van Sam (Vice-Chairman of the village Cooperative), Mr Ha Cong Thoan (head of the Elderly Union), Ha Cong Thu (Head of the Youth Union) and Dinh Hu Wen (Vice-Chairman of the Women's Union).

All of these leaders believed that tourism visits involving Intrepid groups had little impact on the village. None were aware of any complaints or negative comments from people in the village about tourists staying at Mrs Oong's house although all identified activities that could make Intrepid visits more positive for local people.

Those leaders involved in the village cooperative, believed that the village as a whole could benefit more from having Intrepid groups in the community. All mentioned the fact that the cooperative no longer gets a percentage of the money from the taxes paid by the household to the local commune. All would like to see the village cooperative get some financial benefit from Intrepid visits and several leaders even nominated projects, which could be developed if these funds were available.

Mr Ha Cong Thoan mentioned that when tourists first came, some of the older members of the community thought that they were all French or American and did not want them to come. However, once they realised that not all tourists who came to the village were French or American, they were happy for them to be in the village. Thoan believes that tourism could contribute to the Union's activities, particularly in the form of donations of medicines or the sponsoring of activities such as a trip to visit the Elderly Union in a nearby commune.

Ha Cong Thu believed that most young people in the village were hardly even aware of the presence of tourists within the community. He said this was because at the time that tourists walk around the village most young people are at school. He mentioned that tourists who come to the village are very polite and friendly.

Dinh Hu Wen could not identify any benefit to members of her Union from tourist visits, but was happy for tourists to come to the community and for the benefits of tourism to go to one household. She believed that women could be more involved with groups who come to the village through dance demonstrations and possibly through the development of a craft market. She explained that dancing for tourist groups would allow the women to practice their dances in readiness for village festivals and district competitions.

Interviews conducted with the seven households, highlighted that none had opinions on Intrepid trips. None of these households could identify any benefits that tourist visits had made to their households. However, three were aware that a water buffalo had been donated to a household within the community and one other household mentioned that one Intrepid group had donated books to the village kindergarten. The dispersed physical layout of the village and the limited program completed by Intrepid groups whilst in the community means that there is very little meaningful or direct contact between Intrepid groups and local people.

Nevertheless, each household was happy for tourists to visit their village even though they did not receive any benefit and all were unconcerned that the economic benefits flowed directly to

one household. They could not identify any problems caused by tourists who visited their community. Household members who had some minor interaction with tourists said that they were friendly and had not caused any trouble.

All households thought that there were not enough tourists visiting the village to warrant them getting a business license. Obtaining a license to house tourists is a time consuming process, which requires formal approval from several committees at various administrative levels. Police approval is also required. External controls, therefore, have determined to a large extent how tourism in Van village has developed.

The ambivalence amongst households towards Intrepid trips appeared to be related to several factors. Perhaps the most important was the relatively prosperous nature of the community. The political and social structure evident in the village has ensured that all households can maintain a reasonable standard of living from their allocation of rice fields and forest. Therefore there is not a great deal of drive amongst local people to be involved in the cash economy to help supplement their subsistence activities.

Interviews with Mrs Oong revealed that she was very positive about having Intrepid groups stay in her home. The main benefit she identified of hosting tourists, was the education she could provide her children. She also enjoys meeting the Intrepid leaders who come to the village, but would prefer that the same ones come regularly so that she could get to know them. She does not talk very much to Intrepid travellers, because she cannot speak English but she is happy for them to come once a week.

She does not think that hosting tourists disrupts her house much, because tourists only visit once a week and Buffalo Tours supplies all of the food and water. She also likes the cook who comes with them and is happy to help prepare the meals. Now that she has retired, she has the time to look after the tourists who come to her house.

According to Mrs Oong, the money that she makes from tourism has also allowed her to keep producing a rice crop, as she is able to pay other people in the community to help during rice planting and harvesting.

7.4 Physical Impacts

The physical outcomes for Van village were assessed according to the waste and pollution created by Intrepid groups and the level of local resources used by Intrepid groups.

The physical effects of Intrepid visits are negligible, as the household hosting Intrepid groups consumes few local resources while Intrepid groups are staying with them. Excluding the small amount of firewood used to cook meals and the water used for washing, there are few resources consumed by the groups. Intrepid groups are instructed by their leader to take all their personal rubbish with them.

The arrangements made to transport 20 litre water drums into the community by motorbike, has greatly reduced the number of plastic water bottles used by travellers on the trek. In this system, travellers refill their water bottles at each homestay from one of these drums.

There is little doubt that activities undertaken by Intrepid groups, including the walk around the village would create some environmental consequences, however, they would be minor as most walks occur on dirt roads.

The toilet facilities used by travellers at the homestay create the greatest level of physical impacts. The toilet at the household is simply a shallow hole in the ground. A separate urinal is also provided although it is simply an open area where urine runs directly into the soil and is not stored in any capacity. Both arrangements create the possibility of physical and health risks, although, this risk is probably greater for travellers than the hosting household as only Intrepid groups use these facilities. The hosting family use separate facilities.

7.5 Causal Factors that determine Intrepid impacts

Table 7.3 highlights the relationship between the impacts created by Intrepid visits and the factors which appeared to determine these impacts. The table highlights that the benefits of Intrepid trips to Van only accrue to one household and do not provide any outcomes to the broader community. This can be attributed to the political and socio-cultural structure of the community, external government policies, and the practical implementation of Intrepid trips by Buffalo Tours. Like the other case studies, the table acknowledges the role played by the various stakeholders involved in determining the impacts created by Intrepid trips.

Table 7.3 Van village and Intrepid Travel Groups. Causal Factors and Impacts.

Causal Factors that determine Impacts															Primary Impacts					Secondary Impacts					
Community Factors					Community/ Intrepid Factors		Intrepid Factors																		
Only one household is involved in Intrepid trips.	Tourism in the community is controlled by external political and administrative factors.	The dispersed physical layout of the village.	Characteristics of hosting household including size of household and educational and occupational background of hosts.	Size of the community.	Lack of motivation within the community to become involved in Intrepid trips	Stable and prosperous livelihoods available to all households.	Cooperative nature of relationships within the community.	No opportunities for local people to be involved in Intrepid trips-excluding those from the hosting household	Participation of passengers in a very limited number of activities.	Lack of interaction between Intrepid passengers and local people	Use of local Operator Buffalo Tours who are responsible for the design and implementation of Intrepid's trips to the community.	Lack of consistent visitation from the same Intrepid leaders.	Pre visit information to passengers is limited particularly the history and background of the village community.	Buffalo Guides and Intrepid leaders knowledge and understanding of Van community is limited.	Arrival time in the village.	Food and water consumed by Intrepid passengers while in the community is supplied by Buffalo tours not the hosting household.	Frequency of Intrepid trips.	Motivations of passengers.	Size of groups. Maximum group size is 12.						
H	H							Π	H		H										→	No collective economic benefit to the village community			
Π	Π		H								H							Π			→	Substantial Economic Benefits to one household within the community	Economic benefits have been spent on : University Education and schooling for three children within the household. Purchase of household goods such as fans and mattresses. Employment of labour during rice harvesting and planting seasons.	→	Intrepids trips have reinforced the families position amongst the wealthier sections of the community. The trips have substantially increased the future opportunities for young members of the household. The opportunities afforded to younger members of the household should allow the family to maintain its present status into the future- irrespective of tourism visits. Monetary payments from tourism have helped the family produce a rice crop- something it would have struggled to do given the limited number of people still residing in the household.
Π						Π	H	H		H	H										→	Local people were ambivalent or had no opinion of Intrepid visits			
H									Π							Π	H		Π		→	Physical Impacts are negligible.	The delivery of 20 litre water tubs to Van and other villages on the trek greatly reduces the number of plastic waterbottles used by passengers. The pit toilet system used by Intrepid passengers at the hosting household has the potential to create physical impacts.		
H				H	H	H		Π	Π	Π	Π										→	Sociocultural Outcomes for the community are negligible.			
Π					H			Π			Π										→	Local people- excluding the hosting household are not involved to any degree in Intrepid trips.			
				H				H	H	Π	Π	Π	Π	Π							→	Mixed Feedback from Passengers.			

Causal Factors

H Most Important

Π Important

CHAPTER 8: COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF CASE STUDIES

A key feature of this study is the use of a comparative approach to identify patterns of similarity and difference amongst the case studies. The focus of comparison among the case studies was on the economic, socio-cultural and physical impacts created by Intrepid visits and the causal factors, which determined these impacts. However, as mentioned earlier, it was difficult determining causation due to the myriad of factors involved. Like the individual case studies, the comparative review acknowledges the role played by all of the stakeholders involved in the trips, particularly the individual communities and Intrepid.

8.1 Comparative review of Economic Impacts and Causal Factors

There was a great discrepancy in the level and type of economic impacts created by Intrepid trips in the three village communities included in this research. In Skandis and Khun Puai, Intrepid visits are making a major contribution to livelihood strategies adopted by the majority of households. For example, in Skandis over fifty percent of households estimated that over half the income their household obtained in one month comes from Intrepid trips. This helps all households- particularly those with older members to maintain and improve their lifestyles. In Khun Puai, rough estimates highlight that at least half of the households interviewed (n=26) drew over half of their monthly income from Intrepid groups. This is in comparison to Van village where one household is taking all of the financial benefits available from Intrepid groups. These financial benefits are very substantial and have made a major contribution to the livelihood strategies of this household.

The level of economic benefits to households within the communities was dependent on various factors. Two of the most important of these were: the type and number of activities participated in by Intrepid travelers which provided financial benefits to local people and the level of local participation in these activities.

In Skandis and Khun Puai, all households can participate in activities if they choose. The organisation of activities such as craft markets or traditional massages allows all households to obtain some financial benefit from Intrepid visits. In these cases, local people have been instrumental in developing these activities for Intrepid travellers. The important role played by Siam Adventures in Khun Puai should also be recognised as it has been instrumental in helping develop the village craft market, which provides substantial financial returns for households in the community.

Van Commune, in comparison, does not have such activities organised for Intrepid groups. Van is an interesting case in that while material traditions are still a major feature of life in the community, there are no markets or cultural performances for Intrepid groups. The most obvious reason for this is that such activities have never been instigated or organised by either the local operator- who runs Intrepid's trips- or by local people. The secure and stable lifestyles led by local people and the tight control of tourism development by the national government might explain their lack of motivation to become involved in such activities.

Of the three villages, only Skandis devotes part of the income obtained from Intrepid groups to a fund which supports the whole community. This fund is used to finance projects that benefit the whole community. These projects reinforce the value for longhouse members of belonging to the Skandis community.

In comparison, the other two communities have no mechanism in place to provide funds obtained from Intrepid trips to support the broader village collective. In these communities, all income obtained from Intrepid trips goes to individual households.

The key factor which appeared to determine the decision in Skandis to devote some of the economic benefit from the Intrepid trips to the village as a collective was the indigenous organisational systems operating within the community. While the households in Skandis were fiercely independent, they were also committed to the longhouse as a collective group. This level of commitment was not apparent in the other villages included in this research. Interestingly, Van

village had very structured management systems in place which would have allowed for the community as a whole to receive some financial benefit from Intrepid trips. This, however, has not eventuated and would require some initiative on the part of the local operator (Buffalo Tours) or from Intrepid leaders.

Interestingly, the effect of financial outcomes obtained by households was similar amongst all of the case studies. Almost all of the households who obtained some financial benefit from Intrepid trips used this income to help pay for their children’s schooling or on basic foodstuffs such as rice. In this way, Intrepid trips are helping households in each of the communities meet their basic subsistence needs.

Those households who obtained a substantial financial benefit from Intrepid’s trips were generally those who spent this income on schooling for their children. This was particularly the case for the households of Skandis and Van village. The households of Khun Puai could be considered an exception in this case as only 2 households interviewed (n=26) spent money obtained from Intrepid groups on schooling. However, this could be partly attributable to the fact that at the time of the research, the primary school in Khun Puai was rarely open as the Thai teacher was not often present.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the majority of households who only obtained a minor financial benefit from Intrepid’s trips did not have enough money to spend on schooling and spent this income on general foodstuffs such as rice instead.

Table 8.1 provides a comparative review of the economic impacts of Intrepid trips and the factors which appeared to determine these impacts. The table identifies the type and level of economic impacts that occur from Intrepid’s visits. Some of the factors that appeared to determine these impacts are included in the right hand side of the table. The most important of these are identified as being critical in determining this impact. These critical factors are included under each impact box.

For example, the table highlights that the most critical factor in determining whether there is a collective economic benefit to the community from Intrepid visits is the fact the indigenous organisational systems already operate within the community. This demonstrates clearly that village communities are not just passive recipients of Intrepid's visits but are directly involved in determining the type and level of impacts created by these visits.

Table 8.1 A comparative review of economic outcomes obtained by village communities and the key factors which determine these outcomes.

<i>Economic outcomes to Households.</i>	<i>Scale used.</i>	<i>Skandis</i>	<i>Van</i>	<i>Khun Puai</i>	<i>Key factors which appeared to determine outcomes obtained.</i>
Collective economic benefits to the community.	Yes	4			<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Role of an influential member of the community.• Indigenous management systems within the community.• Accommodation for Intrepid groups is community property.• Unique communal living arrangements of the community.• Commitment to the community as a collective.• Initial development and organisation by Intrepid leader.• No strong commitment by household members to the community as a collective• Lack of initiative by Intrepid or its local operator.
	No		4	4	

Critical Factors determining outcome: *Indigenous organisational systems within the community.*

Number of households in the community who obtain some financial benefit from Intrepid's trips.	Majority	4		4	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Existence of activities such as the craft market which allow all households to participate if they choose• Accommodation provided for Intrepid groups is community property,• Indigenous management systems, which ensure that activities involving Intrepid groups are rotated amongst households.• No activities, which allow all to participate if they choose.• Lack of interest by local people to be involved.• Tight control of tourism within the community by external forces such as governments.
	Minority		4		

Critical Factors: *Type of activities completed by Intrepid groups, level of local participation in these activities.*

Level of economic benefit to the majority of households.	Major	4		4	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Existence and involvement of a broad number of households in activities such as the craft market, massages, boat transport etc.• Limited number of activities, which provide financial outcomes to local people.• Lack of interest of local people.
	Minor		4		

Critical Factors: *Type of activities completed by Intrepid groups.*

Distribution of economic benefits to households.	Majority obtain the financial benefits	4		4	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dependent on the participation of a broad number of households in extra activities such as craft markets, massages etc.• Small numbers of households dominate activities with Intrepid groups.• Specific household factors such as wealth, level of education of members, size of household and infrastructure owned by households determine which households are in involved.
	Minority obtain the financial benefits		4		

Critical Factors: *Level of household participation in activities involving Intrepid groups. This is determined by specific community/ household factors and planning issues involving Intrepid Travel or the local operator*

8.2 Comparative review of Socio-Cultural Impacts and Causal Factors

The socio-cultural impacts created by Intrepid visits were mixed for households involved in Intrepid trips. In reality, the socio-cultural outcomes for local people were very low, except in Skandis. A lack of activities which offered genuine opportunities for interaction between Intrepid travellers and local people limited these opportunities for the communities of Van and Khun Puai.

Nevertheless, even accounting for this it must be said that household perceptions of Intrepid trips were generally positive. The most positive were from Skandis and Khun Puai. Interestingly, these communities were those that received the highest financial contribution from Intrepid groups. Interviews held with households in these communities highlight that local people consider the opportunity to make some money as the thing they most like about having Intrepid groups visit.

The households in Van village were mostly ambivalent to visits by Intrepid groups as few if any had any interaction with Intrepid groups. Interestingly, none were negative which suggests that Intrepid groups are creating very few negative impacts within the community.

The other factor, which appeared to influence a household's perception of Intrepid's trips was whether the household believed that the broader community was benefiting from Intrepid visits. This was particularly the case for households who didn't receive any financial benefit from Intrepid groups. The positive reaction of households indirectly involved in Intrepid's trips in Khun Puai reflects this broader community benefit. Intrepid, through its local operator has been involved in a series of activities, which benefit young people in this community.

The most obvious impact of Intrepid trips on the material traditions of the communities were observed in Skandis and Khun Puai. In both of these communities, visits by Intrepid groups have commercialised the production of traditional crafts. Interestingly, the development of craft markets for Intrepid groups has been driven by local people, not Intrepid or its local operator.

The opportunity for households to gain financially and the purchasing choice of Intrepid travellers are the key factors driving the extraordinary success of the markets held in Skandis and

Khun Puai. The purchasing choice of travellers has also encouraged the development of new styles of traditional crafts sold at these markets. No attempts have been made to set up traditional craft markets in Van village. This is particularly surprising as traditional crafts are still a major feature of village life in Van.

The development of craft markets and other activities such as traditional massages have been instrumental in encouraging the direct involvement of women in Intrepid trips in two of the communities. This is particularly the case in Skandis and Khun Puai where women produce most of the crafts sold at the markets. Excluding their role in the craft market, women do not have a visible presence in other aspects of the activities that Intrepid travellers participate in during their time in Khun Puai.

In comparison, women in Skandis are more actively involved with Intrepid travellers through activities such as jungle walks or craft demonstrations. In both these cases women earn a significant amount of money for their households. The level of participation and roles of women in Intrepid trips is determined largely by their existing roles within their respective communities. Skandis provides a clear example in this regard. In this community women are very strong and forthright members of their community. It is not surprising that they adopt such high profile roles with Intrepid groups and are involved in a range of activities- beside cooking or craft market activities. It was unclear what effect, if any, this prominent role by women was having on domestic relationships or roles.

The effect of Intrepid visits on youth in the communities appeared limited. In Van village and Skandis this is because young people have little or no involvement in Intrepid visits. In Khun Puai, young people are directly involved in singing activities involving Intrepid groups. Most of these young people are under the age of thirteen. Older teenagers in the community have little involvement with Intrepid groups. Interviews with younger people in the community revealed that most had little or no opinion of Intrepid groups.

The disruption of daily lifestyles in any of the communities from Intrepid trips appeared to be temporary and confined to a minority of people who were directly involved with Intrepid trips on a regular basis. For the majority of people in each of the communities Intrepid trips have had no effect on their daily commitments. The short period of time Intrepid groups spend in the communities and the limited number of activities completed by groups limits the effect of Intrepid trips in this regard. In Skandis the disruption of daily lifestyles is limited due to the rotation of responsibilities amongst all households. This means that no household is directly involved in every trip- excluding Unsa, the headman who is directly involved in each trip. Other factors important in this regard are the times and day when Intrepid groups actually arrive in the communities.

An increased awareness and knowledge of other cultures was an outcome identified in Skandis. Activities completed in Skandis provided opportunities for direct interaction between Intrepid travellers and local people. The role of the Intrepid leader and a prominent member of the community are pivotal in this case as they play the role of intermediaries between travellers and local people. In particular, the welcoming party held was instrumental in creating meaningful interaction opportunities.

In comparison, the opportunities for Interaction between Intrepid travellers and local people in the other communities were limited. Most interaction that did occur in these communities was generally between children and Intrepid travellers.

Overt levels of tension created by Intrepid trips were identified in Skandis. In this case the tension was a result of disagreements between households over the allocation or spending of money related to Intrepid visits. Overt levels of tension between households over Intrepid trips were not apparent in either of the other two communities. The disagreements between households in Skandis appeared to be due to existing rivalries between dominant households within the community. Table 8.2 provides a comparative review of socio-cultural outcomes obtained by village communities and the factors, which determined these outcomes.

Table 8.2 A comparative review of socio-cultural outcomes obtained by village communities and the key factors, which determined these outcomes.

<i>Socio-cultural outcomes to Households.</i>	<i>Scale used.</i>	<i>Skandis</i>	<i>Van</i>	<i>Khun Puai</i>	<i>Key factors, which appeared to determine outcome/s, obtained.</i>
Household perceptions of Intrepid trips.	Positive	4		4	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• If the household was able to obtain a financial benefit from Intrepid trips.• If they had a personal relationship with the Intrepid or local leader (Provided by local Operator).• If they could identify a broader community benefit from Intrepid trips.• If they felt groups didn't cause any problems and respected local ways.• If there were opportunities for members of the household to participate in activities with Intrepid travellers.
	Mixed				
	Negative				
	Ambivalent		4		
					<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Households with stable and prosperous livelihoods were not as motivated to be involved.• Local people have few opinions of Intrepid visits, as they are not involved in any way with Intrepid travellers.• Local people accept that tourism is controlled by external government policies, which limit their involvement.• Intrepid travellers don't cause any problems within the community.• Cooperative nature of the community means that households don't resent that benefit from Intrepid trips only flowing to one household.

Critical Factors: *Degree of positiveness was determined by a household's level of involvement in tourism related activities.*

Effect of Intrepid trips on traditional arts and crafts within the community.	Commoditisation	4		4	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Motivation of local people to obtain financial outcomes from Intrepid groups.• Motivation of travellers to purchase traditional goods.• Travellers purchasing interests.• Role and status of women within the community.• Existence and continuing relevance of material traditions within the community• Role of Intrepid or Local Operator to organise activities• Motivation of local people to obtain financial outcomes from Intrepid groups.• Travellers purchasing interests.• Existence and continuing relevance of material traditions within the community
	Development of new styles	4		4	
	Renewal or support	4		4	
	Not apparent				
	Not applicable		4		
					<ul style="list-style-type: none">• No activities involve material traditions.

Critical Factors: *Motivation amongst local people to obtain financial benefits from Intrepid trips through the commercialisation of material traditions such as crafts and massages.*

Disruptions of daily lifestyles within the community.	Major			
	Moderate			
	Minor			
	Not apparent	4	4	4

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited time Intrepid groups spend in the community. Frequency of trips. Arrival day and time in the community. Number of households involved. Peak periods of visitation occur during quiet periods in the agricultural cycles of the community.

Critical Factors: *The number of households directly involved in every trip is very low.*

Income and employment opportunities for women.	Major	4		4
	Moderate			
	Minor		4	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing role and status of women within the community. Direct involvement of women in the production of crafts and clothing for the market. Minor roles of women in activities conducted with Intrepid groups.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing role and status of women within the community.

Critical Factors: *Existing roles and status of women within the community determined their level and type of involvement with Intrepid.*

Increased knowledge and awareness of other cultures amongst local people due to Intrepid trips.	Major	4		
	Moderate			
	Minor			4
	Not apparent		4	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Motivation of passengers to be involved, Opportunities for direct interaction between locals and Intrepid travellers, Motivation of local people to be involved, Role of an influential member of the community.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited opportunities for interaction between local people and Intrepid travellers. No opportunities for interaction between local people and Intrepid travellers.

Critical Factors: *Activities, which encourage direct interaction between Intrepid travellers and local people.*

Intra village tension as a result of Intrepid trips.	Major			
	Moderate			
	Minor	4		
	Not apparent		4	4

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited opportunities for the majority of local people to be involved. Problems with the payment of monies to the community from Intrepid trips. Lack of leadership or management group within the community. Community factors, such as the temporary nature of the village, lack of social and historical bonds between households. Lack of organisation by the local operator.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing inequalities and competition within the community.

Critical Factors: *A lack of social or cultural bonds between households, marginal livelihoods of households and inequalities in the distribution of financial benefits from Intrepid trips contributed to intra village tension arising from Intrepid visits.*

8.3 Comparative review of Physical Impacts and Causal Factors

A major criticism normally made of tourism development is that it creates substantial physical impacts. This, however, was not an outcome observed in any of the three case studies. Certainly, aspects of Intrepid trips would have had environmental consequences – such as boating requirements, the building of toilets or the use of waterways for washing. These however were not directly measured and would most likely be minor. Undertaking this form of research was beyond the scope of this exploratory study. Any physical impacts created by Intrepid groups appear to be localised as the movement of groups within the communities is generally confined to a small area.

Conversely, Intrepid trips have not contributed to raising awareness of environmental issues within the communities except for perhaps in Khun Puai. In this community, the local operator who runs Intrepid's trips has been involved in organising clean up activities within the village.

In almost all of the communities, Intrepid use existing facilities or have contributed to the building of facilities which cater for its groups. It is only in Van village that toilet facilities have not been developed to cater for weekly groups of twelve people. The purchase of plastic water bottles by Intrepid travellers has the potential to create litter around village communities, although this problem has been reduced through the use of water filters and through efforts to remove any plastic water bottles purchased within any of the communities. The very limited number of activities undertaken by most Intrepid groups limits the physical impact that they could possibly have.

How Intrepid operationalises its trips determines to a great extent the physical impacts created by its visits. This provides an interesting comparison to the economic and social impacts created by intrepid visits. In these cases, factors directly related to the community have a far more influential role in determining what impacts occur.

Some of the elements of Intrepid's approach which limit its physical impacts include the restriction of group numbers to twelve people and the use of existing facilities and infrastructure.

These key elements ensure that only limited pressure is applied to local facilities and then only for a short period of time. Restricting the frequency of Intrepid trips to each community appears to be another major reason why the physical impacts of Intrepid trips are not apparent. This frequency varies between once per week for Van Commune and Khun Puai or in the case of Skandis once every three weeks.

Other factors directly controlled by Intrepid which limit the physical impacts of their trips include the pre visit information provided to travellers and the limited activities and time Intrepid groups spend in the community. Intrepid, as part of its responsible travel ethos, provides information to its travellers on appropriate methods of behaviour whilst in any village community. This includes such directives as using biodegradable soap when washing and recycling water bottles or using water filters. The small number of activities undertaken by groups within the communities has also limited the physical impacts of Intrepid trips. The general confinement of groups to a small section of the community means that any impacts created by Intrepid groups is very localised.

Table 8.3 provides a comparative review of the physical outcomes obtained by village communities and the factors, which determine these outcomes. The apparent lack of physical impacts observed or identified from the field research is reflected in table 8.3. However, as mentioned earlier it should be recognised that no major scientific analysis was undertaken of the water quality or other aspects of the physical environment as part of this study.

Table 8.3 A comparative review of physical outcomes obtained by village communities and the key factors which determine these outcomes.

<i>Physical outcomes to Households.</i>	<i>Scale used</i>	<i>Skandis</i>	<i>Van</i>	<i>Khun Puai</i>	<i>Key factors which appeared to determine outcomes obtained.</i>
Disturbances to the physical environment within or surrounding community.	Major				
	Moderate				
	Minor				
	Not apparent	4	4	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Maximum group size of twelve limits level and type of infrastructure required.• Facilities such as toilets are generally provided for Intrepid groups.• Frequency of Intrepid Trips- no more than once per week.• Intrepid philosophy of using local facilities and consuming local products.• Pre visit information provided to travellers ensures they dress and behaviour appropriately.• Limited time groups actually spend in the communities.• Small number of activities completed by Intrepid groups.• General confinement of group activities to a small section of the community.• Size of community. Physical presence of groups is more obvious in small communities.

Critical Factors: *Practical implementation of Intrepid trips including the restriction of group sizes to twelve, the use of local facilities and the limited number of activities completed by Intrepid groups.*

8.4 Core and secondary factors which determine the impacts created by Intrepid visits

A review of Tables 8.1-8.3 highlights the range of factors that appear to determine the impacts created by Intrepid's visits. Of all these factors, two appear to be most important. These include *the level and type of activities completed by Intrepid groups* and *the level and type of local involvement in activities involving Intrepid groups*. It is not surprising that the two communities who receive the greatest level of outcomes from Intrepid trips (Skandis and Khun Puai) are those where local people are directly involved with Intrepid groups through a variety of activities. In contrast, the outcomes for the community of Van village are limited as they have little or no involvement with visiting Intrepid groups.

However, it is worth noting that these core factors are in fact determined by a host of other secondary factors. These secondary factors are directly related to how Intrepid practically implements its trips – including the role played by its local operator- and the specific characteristics of the villages involved. These are unique to each case. Figure 8.4 highlights the most prominent range of secondary factors, which determined the type and level of activities completed by Intrepid groups in the case studies and the type and level of local participation in these activities. The importance of the role played by the communities cannot be understated. This was particularly the case for the economic and socio-cultural impacts created by Intrepid visits.

Not all factors were relevant in each of the case studies. The influence and importance of each of the secondary factors varied amongst the case studies. For example, in Van village the external policies of the national government had a huge influence on the outcomes obtained by local people from Intrepid visits where as in Khun Puai and Skandis its influence as a factor was minimal. This highlights the point that while the core factors are common to each case, their impact is different, due to the fact that the range of secondary factors vary between cases. The specific factors that were important in each case study can be found in the tables at the conclusion

of each case study. (Review tables 5.3, 6.3, 7.3) Figure 8.4 demonstrates that the activities completed by Intrepid travelers and the level of local involvement in these activities are the result of a complex interaction of factors related to Intrepid and the community it visits.

Figure 8.4 Key factors that determine the Outcomes and Impacts for village communities of visits by Intrepid groups.

Community/Intrepid characteristics.

(Type and number varies amongst case studies)

Livelihood security of households. Stable, prosperous households with secure livelihoods were less likely to be involved with visiting Intrepid groups.

Role of an influential member of the community who participates in the organisation and operation of Intrepid's visits. Acts as an intermediary between Intrepid travellers and local people. Critical role in shaping village opinion about Intrepid groups.

Specific household factors such as wealth, education levels of members, size, infrastructure owned. Can determine which households are involved.

External government policies can determine the level of tourism development within a community.

Existing political and social systems operating within the community. Can be a critical factor in determining the level of involvement of local people.

Existing roles and status of groups within the community such as women and young people can determine their involvement with Intrepid groups.

Role of Intrepid leaders who regulate the dress and behaviour of Intrepid travellers.

Consistent visits by the same local guides and Intrepid leaders can encourage the participation of local people in activities involving Intrepid groups.

Limiting group sizes to twelve determines the type of activities completed by Intrepid groups and encourages interaction between local people and Intrepid travellers.

Level of visitation of Intrepid groups. Regular visits by Intrepid groups provides consistent outcomes to local people and encourages them to be involved.

Role of local operator/ Intrepid in developing visits to the community- including level of consultation with local people. Critical factor which has a huge influence on the the core factors.

Intrepid philosophy of using local facilities and consuming local products.

Determine

Core factors (apply to all Intrepid trips)

The level and type of activities completed by Intrepid groups.

The level and type of local participation in activities involving Intrepid groups

Determine

Primary Impacts.

Level and type of Economic, Social and Physical impacts

Determine

Secondary Impacts.

The effect of primary impacts obtained from Intrepid trips.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to answer the following research questions:

- What impacts do tour operators create in village communities in less developed countries?
- What are the key factors that determine the types of impacts that tour operators create in these communities?

The thesis used two approaches to address these research questions. The first involved an extensive literature review of studies concerned with the impacts created by tourism development in remote village communities.

The studies demonstrated that the major impacts created by tourism development are without doubt the economic and employment benefits that come from tourism development. The review highlights that many village communities are struggling to adjust from a reliance on subsistence based economies to those based on cash market economies. Tourism development is one avenue that local people are taking advantage of to make these adjustments. However, with these economic benefits, have come problems, particularly in relation to the distribution of these benefits. Inevitably, conflicts have arisen as the benefits of tourism have flowed to local elites or foreign interests.

Other outcomes of tourism development have involved the changing roles of women and young people within these communities. The studies generally demonstrate that the roles for women and young people in these communities have been improved as a result of the introduction of tourism. Of course examples also show that in some instances tourism has produced negative outcomes for these groups such as the increased workload on village women and the incidence of begging among young people.

The revitalisation and reinforcement of traditional practices appears to be a major positive outcome for village communities of tourism development. This contradicts, to some extent, the rather negative impressions that many researchers have found when researching this area of tourism

in less developed countries. Other outcomes generally considered to be positive for village communities were the opportunity for village members to communicate with people outside of their immediate cultural groups.

The final outcome identified in reviewing the studies was that tourism in the remote rural regions of the world is having only a marginal impact on the protection and conservation of natural areas close to village communities. As with all the other outcomes, there are studies, which are the exception to this, where tourism is not only making a very positive impact on people's lives but also on the natural environment surrounding their communities.

A review of the studies also highlighted the key factors that consistently determine the success or otherwise of tourism in rural village communities. These key factors include: the cohesive or communal nature of the community; the role of external bodies such as tour companies; the level of local involvement in tourism development; the importance of tourism as an economic base for the community; the development and use of organisational structures within the communities; the pace and size of tourism development and the role of the tour guide. In many of the studies reviewed, it was a combination of these factors rather than one specific factor that determined the outcomes that particular village communities obtained from tourism in their communities.

The second phase of the study involved field research in three communities in Asia. The aim of the field research was to determine what outcomes three village communities in Asia were receiving from visits by a specialist tour operator- Intrepid Travel and to identify the key factors that determined these outcomes.

In regards to economic outcomes, the field research confirmed the finding from the literature review that visits from Intrepid groups are providing economic benefits to households although the level of economic benefit varied amongst households with those directly involved receiving substantial outcomes while others received very little.

The field research also supported the finding of the majority of studies reviewed that financial benefits were flowing to individuals rather than the village as a collective. Skandis Longhouse was an exception to this.

Results from the case studies confirmed at least to some extent the finding from the literature review that most of the economic benefits were being cornered by local elites although quite surprisingly this had not led to animosity or divisions within the communities.

One of the major findings of the literature review was that visits from alternative forms of tourism were changing household's livelihood strategies from traditional subsistence activities to those, which produced monetary outcomes. This was true to some extent in the villages included in the field research although it is worth noting that these changes were already occurring well before Intrepid visits. Intrepid trips have contributed to this process of change by allowing households to diversify their livelihood options without having to leave their village. Women in all of the case studies have played a major role in this regard.

Some of the socio- cultural impacts identified in the literature review were also apparent in the three case studies. One of the most interesting outcomes from the case studies which reflected the findings of the literature review was the effect of Intrepid visits on the making of traditional arts and crafts. Research in two of the communities highlight that Intrepid trips have contributed to a revitalisation of traditional arts and crafts. This revitalisation, however, has also led to a commercialisation of craft production within these communities.

Excluding the effect of traditional arts and crafts, the other major socio -cultural impact of Intrepid visits appears to be on the roles of women within the communities. This also reflects the findings from the review of literature, which highlight that tourism visits are empowering women through the increased leadership and employment opportunities created. This was particularly the case in Skandis and Khun Puai where crafts produced by women are providing substantial outcomes to their households.

Correspondingly, the case studies also reflect the finding in the literature review that tourism visits are increasing the workload on women. However, the specific circumstances prevalent in each case study ensures that this increasing workload is only for very short periods of time and is not disruptive to the normal lifestyles led by women.

One of the positive outcomes of tourism visits identified in the literature review was the opportunity for local people to interact with travellers. This occurred to varying degrees in the three case studies, particularly in Skandis where local people and Intrepid travellers interact through a welcoming party.

One of the negative socio cultural findings in the literature review, which was not reflected in any of the three communities visited by Intrepid was the effect of tourism visits on youth. Quite surprisingly, youth have few roles to play in the three case studies although at Khun Puai they participate in singing activities with Intrepid travellers. Unlike examples from the literature review, there were no examples of young people copying or aspiring to material goods that tourists bought with them. Certainly there were no examples of young people begging from Intrepid travellers. The apparent respect and positive impression that local people have for Intrepid visits has limited this behaviour.

Other negative socio cultural outcomes identified in the literature review that were not reflected in the case studies were the disruptions to daily lifestyles of local people and the disquiet among some villagers due to the inappropriate dress or behaviour of tourists. Neither of these negative outcomes were apparent in any of the three case studies. There is no doubt that some of Intrepid's visits do cause some disruption to daily lifestyles although this disruption was very minor and confined to a small number of people directly involved. Intrepid's proactive stance on educating its travellers about appropriate dress and behaviour has limited any disquiet villagers may have in this regard.

A major criticism normally made of tourism development is that it creates substantial physical impacts. Some of these negative impacts, which were highlighted by the literature review,

included the pollution of water sources; accumulation of litter; erosion of soils and pollution created by waste disposal. This, however, was not an outcome observed in any of the case studies.

Certainly, aspects of Intrepid trips would have had environmental consequences such as, boating requirements, the building of toilets or the use of waterways for washing. These, however, were not directly measured and would most likely be very minor.

Conversely, the positive impacts highlighted by studies in the literature review such as the conservation and protection of landscapes and wildlife surrounding village communities was not apparent in any of the three case studies involving Intrepid visits. Intrepid trips have not contributed to raising awareness of environmental issues within the communities except for perhaps in Khun Puai. In this community, the local operator who runs Intrepid's trips has been involved in organising clean up activities within the village.

The review of literature and the case studies demonstrate that many factors determine the outcomes that village communities obtain from alternative forms of tourism. Like the literature review, the case studies highlight that the outcomes obtained by local people from tour group visits are determined by the specific characteristics of the communities and tour operators involved. The literature review and the case studies highlight that local village people are not simply passive recipients of visits by tour groups but are actively involved in determining the outcomes they receive.

While many factors are involved, the field research demonstrates that two factors are critical in determining the level and types of outcomes obtained by local people in village communities. These critical or 'core factors' include: 1) the level and type of activities undertaken by tour groups and 2) the level and type of local participation in these activities.

The level and type of core factors present in any situation are determined by the interplay of a host of secondary factors. These secondary factors are directly attributable to characteristics related to the communities visited and to how tour operators practically implement their trips. Important community characteristics include the roles played by influential members, existing

political and social systems, existence of material traditions, existing roles and status of groups such as women and young people and specific household factors such as wealth, education levels, size and infrastructure owned. External government policies can also be critical in determining the level and type of core factors.

Important secondary factors controlled by tour operators include the role of leaders and tour guides, level of planning involved prior to tour visits, size of tour groups, level and times of visitation, pre- visit information provided to travelers, use of local facilities and consumption of local products. In Intrepid's case, the choice of local tour operator used to run Intrepid's trips was critically important in determining their impacts as was the use of a consistent leader to run the tours.

The applied focus of this study should be of use to tour operators when planning or developing community based tours to remote village communities. The report demonstrates that the involvement of local people in tourism activities within their communities not only provides more positive impacts for local people but also provides better outcomes for tour operators through increased visitor satisfaction. It is only when tour operators meet the challenge of providing opportunities for local people to be meaningfully involved that they can justifiably promote their tours as being truly responsible.

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Appendix 1

Informal survey: Impacts of tourism – Skandis Longhouse Community.

- Who is the head of the household?
- How many people live in this household?
- What work do adult members of the house do (only those who live in the village)?
- Are any members of the household away studying or working in another place?
- Are any members of the household involved in any leadership positions within the village?
Which ones?
- What crops do you grow on your farmland?
- Which crops do you sell?
- How much would you sell in one year (amount in bags)
- Are there things beside crops and tourist visits that bring in money for your household?
- How much of the money that your family earns in one month would come from work with tourists who visit Skandis?
- The money your family earns from tourists what does it get used for?
- How has this family of members of this family been involved with tourist groups?
 - 1. Forest walk. 2. Go to welcoming party. 3. Boatman.
 - 4. Cook. 5. Sell things at Market. 6. Teach crafts.
- Which members of the family are involved?
- How many times in the last three months have members of this house been involved with tourist groups in the following activities.

	Never	1-3 times	3-5 times	5-10 times	All of the time
Forest walk					
Party					
Boatman					
Cook					
Market					
Teach crafts					
Sell rice wine					

- What things do you sell most at the market?

- How many things would you normally sell in one visit?
- Would you still make these things if tourists no longer came?
- What things do you like most about having tourists come and stay in your village?
(Ranking exercise)
 - Make some money.
 - Learn about other people.
 - Practice English.
 - Chance to play music and dance.
 - Make crafts.
 - Drink rice wine.
 - Play games.
 - Get some Presents.
 - Help with medicines/injuries.
 - Get some clothes.
- Which tourists do you like better those who come for one day or those who come for two nights?
- Why do you think tourists like to visit your village?
- When tourists stay in the village do they disrupt what you would normally do in your day?
- Do you think it is good or bad when tourists visit your village during Gawai?
- Are there other parts of your culture or village you would like to show to tourists?
- How often in one month would you like tourists to come to Skandis?
 - 1 time. 2 times. 3 times. 4 times.
- Are there any problems when tourists come to the longhouse?
- Are there things about tourist visits you would like to change?
- Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix 2

Estimating Intrepid tourism and household incomes in Skandis.

A key feature of identifying the economic impact of Intrepid’s trips in the village communities was developing an understanding of the proportion of income that households derived from Intrepid’s trips. Attempting to quantify just how much each household earned or made in one year was very difficult. People simply didn’t know and said they spent money as soon as they received it.

However as there were only two major cash earning activities in the village-Pepper and tourism- it wasn’t difficult for households to estimate the proportion that came from tourism activities. Those households whose members worked in other areas such as Brunei and Kuching found this task more difficult.

To help households in their estimations I devised a simple pictorial ranking system (A rapid Rural Assessment Technique) where households could estimate in a very basic way the proportion of their income that was derived from Intrepid’s visits.

Household heads were asked to rank how much of their income in one year would come from work with tourists who visit Skandis.

Money from Intrepid trips.



Money from other activities such as Pepper farming or work in other areas such as Kuching etc.



Respondents had the following options to choose from.

