9. Comparative Review of case studies.

9.1 Comparative Review of Outcomes obtained by village communities.

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 outcomes obtained by local people and the factors, which determined these outcomes.

9.1.1 Comparative Review of the economic outcomes obtained by village communities and the factors which determined these outcomes.

The comparative review of economic outcomes obtained by the village communities focused on four areas. These included:

- If the community as a whole benefited financially from Intrepid visits.
- The number of households in the community who obtained some financial benefit- even if it was irregular or minor.
- The level of economic benefit to households.
- The distribution of these benefits within the communities visited. Were the benefits shared equally around the community or did a minority obtain most of the benefits?
- The effect of this benefit on households involved.

Skandis is the only community to devote 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 four 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. In Kiau Nulu there is an indirect community benefit through the support for the church (which most people attend) and the village cooperative although again not all members of the community are part of the village cooperative.

Baka provides an interesting case in that as a community they have decided that Intrepid groups would stay in separately built accommodation. However the households in the community have decided not to pool this income and instead split the income between themselves. This is a reflection of the lack of management or organisational systems to bind the community together as a collective. A lack of recognised leadership and lack of historical or family ties has contributed to households not forming any defining ties between each other.

In comparison the key factors 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 any of 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 has not eventuated and would require some initiative on the part of the local operator.

The level of financial benefit to households from Intrepid trips also varied between communities. 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 obtain 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 the other three communities where Intrepid visits make only a minor financial contribution to the livelihood strategies adopted by the majority of households. In these cases, a very small minority of households are making significant financial benefits from Intrepid visits. For example in Baka and Van village one household is taking the majority of financial benefits available from Intrepid groups. These households generally have members who are directly involved with Intrepid groups who come to their communities.

Nevertheless, the majority of households in these communities have in the past or do at present obtain some financial benefit from Intrepid groups. It is just that the majority of the benefit obtained goes to a small

percentage of people within the community. Van is an exceptional case in that only one household obtains any benefit from Intrepid visits.

The level of economic benefits to households within the communities was dependent on various factors. Two of the most important of these were:

- the level of activities participated in by travellers which provided an opportunity to provide a financial benefit to local people
- The level of local participation in these activities.

In the two communities where the majority of households obtain the benefits from Intrepid visits; all households can participate in activities if they choose. The organisation of activities such as craft markets or traditional massages allow all households to obtain some financial benefit from Intrepid visits. In both these cases local people have been instrumental in developing these activities for Intrepid travellers.

In comparison, two of the other three communities do not have such activities organised for Intrepid groups. In Kiau Nulu this is because material traditions are no longer a feature of life in the community.

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 might explain their lack of motivation to become involved in such activities.

Baka however is different in that it does have a small craft market organised for Intrepid groups. However in this case the profit obtained from the market goes only to one household.

Several factors are apparent in the communities where the minority of households obtain the financial benefit from Intrepid trips. The major reason is that only a small number of households dominate activities with Intrepid groups. Specific household factors such as wealth, level of education, ability to speak English, size of household and infrastructure determined which households were involved.

In Kiau Nulu, for example the households chosen to host Intrepid groups were determined by a households size and ability to actually provide enough room to host twelve travellers. Van village provides a similar scenario, as one of the criteria used to identify the hosting household was the physical size of the household. In Skandis, those households who owned boats were at a distinct advantage financially as these boats were needed to transport Intrepid groups each time they visited the community. In many respects these

operational decisions perhaps perpetuate already existing wealth differences within the communities as those with the necessary level of infrastructure are from the wealthier parts of the village.

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 the households of those directly involved with Intrepid trips in Kiau Nulu 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 my research the primary school in Khun Puai was rarely open as the Thai teacher was never 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 9.1.1 provides a comparative review of the outcomes obtained by the village communities and the factors, which appeared to determine these outcomes.

Table 9.1.1 A comparative review of economic outcomes obtained by village communities and the key factors which determine these outcomes.

Economic outcomes to Households.	Scale used	Skandis	Kiau Nulu	Van	Baka	Khun Puai	Key factors, which appeared to determine outcome/s, obtained.
Collective economic benefits to the community.	Yes	4					 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	7	4	4	4	4	
Critical Factors deter	mining out	come: In	aigenous	organis	sationa	ıl systems wi	thin the community.
Number of households in the community who obtain some financial benefit from Intrepid's trips.	Majority	4	4		4	4	 existence of activities such as the craft market which allow all househol 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,
	Minority			4			No activities which allow all to participate if they choose.
C <mark>ritical Factors:</mark> <i>Type</i>	of activities	s complet	ed by Intr	epid gr	oups, i	level of local	participation in these activities.
Level of economic benefit to	Major	4				4	Existence of activities such as the craft market, massages, boat transport
the majority of households.	Minor		4	4	4	-	 Limited number of activities, which provide financial outcomes to local people.
Critical Factors: Type	of activities	s complet	ed by Intr	epid gr	oups.		
Distribution of economic benefits to households.	Majority obtain the financial benefits	4				4	Dependent on the participation of a broad number of households in extractivities such as craft markets, massages etc.
			4	4	4		Small number of households dominate activities with Intrepid groups.

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.

9.1.2 Comparative Review of the physical outcomes obtained by village communities.

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 five 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 etc. These however were not directly measured and would most likely be minor. Any physical impacts created by Intrepid groups are 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 of the communities, Intrepid use existing facilities or have contributed to the building of facilities which cater for their 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.

How Intrepid practically implements its trips determines to a great extent the physical impacts created by their visits. Key elements of intrepid's approach which limit their physical impacts include:

- group numbers for Intrepid groups don't exceed twelve people,
- facilities such as toilets are provided,
- excluding Baka the accommodation used by Intrepid groups is in existing households or facilities,
- the frequency of Intrepid trips to each community varies between once per week or in the case of Skandis
 and Kiau Nulu every couple of weeks,,
- pre visit information provided to travellers ensures they dress and behave appropriately,
- the limited activities and time Intrepid groups spend in the community,
- general confinement of Intrepid groups to a small section of the community,
- water bottles are recycled or water filters are used to reduce the use of plastic water bottles.

Table 9.1.2 provides a comparative review of the physical outcomes obtained by village communities and the factors, which determine these outcomes.

Table 9.1.2 A comparative review of physical outcomes obtained by village communities and the key factors which determine these outcomes.

Physical outcomes to Households.	Scale used	Skandis	Kiau Nulu	Van	Baka	Khun Puai
Disturbances to the physical environment within or surrounding community.	Major Moderate Minor					
	Not apparent	4	4	4	4	4

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.

9.1.3 Comparative Review of the socio-cultural outcomes obtained by village communities.

The comparative review of socio-cultural outcomes obtained by the village communities focused on the following areas.

- Household perceptions of Intrepid trips.
- Traditional arts and crafts within the community.
- Income and employment opportunities for women.
- Daily lifestyles.
- Knowledge and awareness of other cultures amongst local people.
- Political or management structures/groups within the community.
- Roles of youth.
- Relationships within the community.

The socio-cultural outcomes obtained by households from Intrepid groups were also mixed. In reality the socio-cultural outcomes for local people were very low, except in Kiau Nulu and 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, Baka 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.

Nevertheless the households of Kiau Nulu were still very positive about Intrepid groups even though most receive few economic benefits from Intrepid groups. In this case the opportunity to interact directly with Intrepid travellers was very important in determining a households perception of Intrepid trips. A households perception of Intrepid's trips were also determined by whether a member of that household had any sort of personal relationship with Intrepid or local leaders who visit the community.

In Baka the perception of Intrepid trips was mixed. In this community, the majority of households were happy to have groups come and stay in the community although they were unhappy that the financial benefits from Intrepid trips were not more evenly spread amongst the community. 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 suggest that Intrepid groups are creating very few 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 their local operator have 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 commodified the production of traditional crafts. This has not occurred in Baka, the other community that operates a craft market. This however is because all the products they sell are not made within the community but are actually bought from another community and resold- for a handy profit- to Intrepid travellers. Interestingly the development of craft markets for Intrepid groups have been driven by local people, not Intrepid or their 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 or Kiau Nulu. This is particularly surprising for Van, as traditional crafts are still a major feature of village life. Material traditions such as crafts and dress are no longer a major feature of life in Kiau Nulu.

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 three of the five communities. This is particularly the case in Skandis and Khun Puai were 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. Women in Baka are actively involved in Intrepid trips through activities such as traditional massages.

Excluding this activity they have few opportunities to be involved. Women are involved in cooking for Intrepid groups in Kiau Nulu although they have little direct interaction with Intrepid groups during the welcoming party. The major reason for this is that many women in the community do not speak English and are very shy. By comparison the men in the village overcome this shyness, by drinking large amounts of rice wine. The involvement of young men in tourism activities such as mountain guiding has allowed some of them to develop basic English skills, which encourages their interaction with Intrepid travellers.

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 perhaps 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.

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. A similar scenario exists in Kiau Nulu, where the responsibility for hosting Intrepid dinners is rotated amongst households within the community.

Other factors important in this regard are the times and day when Intrepid groups actually arrive in the communities. For example in Kiau Nulu, the disruption to a hosting household is limited as groups arrive on a Sunday afternoon when members of the household do not have other commitments such as work. They therefore have time to prepare meals for the Intrepid groups who visit their household for dinner and the welcoming party.

An increased awareness and knowledge of other cultures was an outcome identified in Kiau Nulu and Skandis. Activities completed in these communities provided opportunities for direct interaction between Intrepid travellers and local people. In particular the welcoming parties held in both of these communities were 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 of the 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 Baka and Skandis. In both these cases 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 any of the other three communities.

The disagreements between households was due to a lack of organisation by Intrepid or its local operator, or, in the case of Skandis, due to existing rivalries between dominant households within the community. The most serious tensions occurred in Baka where a dispute between households became extremely heated and bitter. In this case a complete lack of organisation on the part of the local operator and a lack of understanding of the internal dynamics of the community were the cause of the tension between households.

Table 9.1.3 provides a comparative review of socio-cultural outcomes obtained by village communities and the factors, which determined these outcomes.

Table 9.1.3 A comparative review of socio-cultural outcomes obtained by village communities and the key factors which determined these outcomes.

Social- Cultural outcomes for Households.	Scale used	Skandis	Kiau Nulu	Van	Baka	Khun Puai	Key factors, which appeared to determine outcome/s, obtained.
Household perceptions of Intrepid trips.	Positive	4	4			4	 If the household was able to obtain a financial benefit from Intrepid to the second relationship with the Intrepid or local leader. If they could identify a broader community benefit from Intrepid tripe. If they felt groups didn't cause any problems and respected local way. If there were opportunities for members of the household to participal activities with Intrepid travellers.
	Mixed				4		•
	Negative						
	Ambivalent			4			 Households with stable and prosperous livelihoods were not as motive be involved. Local people have few opinions of Intrepid visits, as they are not involved 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 rebenefit from Intrepid trips only flowing to one household.

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

Effect of Intrepid trips on traditional arts and crafts within the community.	Commoditisation	4				4
	Development of new styles	4				4
	Renewal or support	4				4
	Not apparent				4	
	Not applicable		4	4		

- 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

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.*

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

- 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.
- 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 in Intrepid trips.*

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

- 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.
- 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				4	
	Moderate					
	Minor	4				
	Not apparent		4	4		4

- 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.
- 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.

Table 9.1.4 A comparative review of outcomes obtained by travellers and the key factors which determine these outcomes.

Outcomes for travellers.	Scale used	Skandis	Kiau Nulu	Van	Baka	Khun Puai	Key factors, which appeared to determine outcome/s, obtained.
Feedback from travellers.	Positive	4	4		4	4	 Level of local involvement in activities. Opportunities for direct interaction with local people. Number of activities completed by travellers whilst in the community. Role of the local operator in developing activities. Enthusiasm and participation of Intrepid leader. Relationship between local people and Intrepid leader. Encourages interaction between local people and Intrepid travellers. Consistency of Intrepid leaders. Maximum group sizes of twelve. Role of an influential member of the community who acts as a cataly interaction between village members and Intrepid travellers.
	Mixed Negative			4			 Participation of travellers in a limited number of activities whilst in to community, Few opportunities for interaction between local people and Intrepid travellers, Leaders lack of knowledge about the community- related to their level visitation to the community,

Critical Factors: Level and type of interaction travellers were able to have with local people.

9.1.4 Outcomes for Travellers.

Questionnaires completed by Intrepid travellers who visited the communities during the field research highlight that most travellers felt that their village experience had met or exceeded their pre trip expectations. In some cases this was overwhelming. For example in Kiau Nulu, seventy five percent of travellers felt that their time in the community had exceeded their expectations. This however was only from a very small sample of travellers (n=12). Travellers' response to their experience in Baka provided similar responses, with no travellers feeling that their time in the community had not met their pre trip expectations.

It was only in Van village that a small proportion of travellers felt their pre trip expectations were not met by the experience they obtained. Only one participant out of the fifteen who completed a questionnaire on their expectations and experiences in Van felt that their time had exceeded their expectations. Thirteen believed that their experience met their pre trip expectations while four had not had their expectations met.

The most important determinant of a traveller's impression of their time in any of the five communities was the level of involvement or interaction they were able to have with local people. The most positive experiences for travellers occurred in Skandis, Khun Puai, Baka and Kiau Nulu. In these communities travellers valued the meaningful interaction they were able to have with local people through activities such as welcoming parties, craft markets, traditional massages or village walks. Van in comparison provided mixed outcomes for travellers, as there were few activities involved which enabled travellers to interact with local people.

Several factors determined the level of interaction that travellers could have with Intrepid groups.

These included:

- the type of activities completed by Intrepid travellers,
- level of participation of local people in activities with Intrepid groups,
- the role of the local operator in developing activities,
- enthusiasm and participation of the Intrepid leaders in activities,
- relationship between local people and Intrepid leader. Local people are more inclined to participate in activities with Intrepid travellers if they know and like the Intrepid leader involved.
- consistent visitation of Intrepid leaders. This not only increases leaders knowledge of the communities, which improves outcomes for travellers but also helps them develop relationships with local people.

•	role of an influential member of the community who gives travellers a local perspective of the history and
	culture of the village.