

Chapter 5:

Kiau Nulu Community and Intrepid Travel.

Contents.

5.1	<i>Background to the Research Setting.</i>	3
5.1.1	<i>Kiau Nulu community .</i>	3
5.1.2	<i>Livelihoods of village households.</i>	5
5.1.3	<i>Changes in the community.</i>	5
5.1.5.	<i>Intrepid Travellers.</i>	6
5.2	<i>Tourism in Kiau Nulu.</i>	6
5.2.1	<i>History of tourism in Kiau Nulu.</i>	6
5.2.2	<i>A description of an Intrepid trip to Kiau Nulu .</i>	8
5.3	<i>Economic Outcomes for Kiau Nulu.</i>	9
5.3.1	<i>Services provided by individual households and the community.</i>	9
5.3.2	<i>Total economic benefits to the community.</i>	10
5.3.3	<i>Distribution of economic outcomes within the community.</i>	11
5.3.4	<i>Intrepid trips and household incomes.</i>	12
5.3.5	<i>Effect on households of income obtained from Intrepid trips.</i>	14
5.4	<i>Socio-Cultural Outcomes for Kiau Nulu.</i>	15
5.4.1	<i>Household perceptions of Intrepid trips.</i>	15
5.4.2	<i>Role of youth in Intrepid trips.</i>	17
5.4.3	<i>Effect of Intrepid trips on daily lifestyles of people within the community.</i>	18
5.4.4	<i>Role of women in Intrepid trips.</i>	18
5.4.5	<i>Effect of Intrepid trips on village institutions.</i>	19
5.4.6	<i>Effect of Intrepid trips on village political or management structures..</i>	20
5.4.7	<i>Alcoholism in the community.</i>	21
5.5	<i>Physical Outcomes for Kiau Nulu.</i>	22
5.6	<i>Outcomes for Travellers.</i>	23
5.6.1	<i>Travellers expectations.</i>	23
5.6.2	<i>Factors that determined traveller's village experience.</i>	23
5.7	<i>Causal factors that determined the outcomes obtained by Kiau Nulu.</i>	24
5.7.1	<i>Factors determined by Intrepid Travel.</i>	24
5.7.2	<i>Factors determined by Kiau Nulu.</i>	26
5.8	<i>Impacts Matrix.</i>	28
5.9	<i>Recommendations.</i>	27

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 January, 2002, 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

5. Kiau Nulu and Intrepid Travel.

5.1 Background to the Research Setting.

5.1.1 The Kiau Nulu community.

Kiau Nulu is a picturesque Dusun village that Intrepid visits during its adventure trips, ‘Borneo Adventure’ and ‘Sabah . Travellers stay at Kiau Nulu for one night during which they enjoy a meal with one village household and then participate in a welcoming party. The next morning travellers complete a walk around the village before leaving for Kinabulu National Park Headquarters.

Kiau Nulu is one of three villages that are collectively known as Kiau. The others are Kiau Taburi and Kiau Bersatu. Although they originate from the same descendants, the villages have developed independently and are now administratively considered as separate entities by the Sabah State Government. Intrepid groups have only stayed in Kiau Nulu.

The village of Kiau Nulu comprises six areas, including Gorimpang, Hobut, Hongkung, Nuluhon, Kedungahan and Tobobhon. It has a population of 815 people, which belong to eighty-six households. The houses are scattered about the side of a very steep hill and have panoramic views of the monolithic Mount Kinabulu, and surrounding valleys and mountains.

There are two Christian churches in the village. The vast majority of people (680) are practicing Catholics while (120) are Protestants. Fifteen people in the village still retain their animist beliefs.

Traditional material culture such as dress, music, dance or handicrafts that could be identified as being distinct to the community or to the Dusun people of the Renau area are no longer features of life in Kiau Nulu. A program initiated by the World Wildlife Fund plans to revive some of the traditional knowledge that exists within the community.

Administratively Kiau Nulu is part of the Malaysian State of Sabah and falls within the district of Kota Belud. As part of the administrative structure the village has a committee called the

J.K.K.K., which is responsible for the development and security of the village. The J.K.K.K. is made up of six members-including the headman- which are chosen by the ruling State Political Party and meet on a regular basis to discuss village issues and other government directives or policies.

Like other hill rice producing communities Kiau Nulu is a loose collection of households bonded by family ties and shared histories. Each household operates as an independent economic unit and has their own farming area. The nuclear family is the most prominent social unit in the community and is responsible for its own well being. However, during rice planting (June/July) and rice harvesting (November / December) village households band together to help sow and harvest each others fields.

5.1.2 Livelihoods of village households.

The livelihoods of households in the village are very diverse. Most now rely on paid employment outside of the village.

Farming is still a major feature of life for those who live in the village, although it is mainly the older generation or the women of the household who tend the fields. Nevertheless, whenever they are not performing paid work such as mountain guiding on Mount Kinabulu, the men of the village also work in the fields.

Although some households do grow other crops such as spring onions, cucumber, bananas and corn for sale at nearby markets, the cultivation of rice is for household consumption alone. The majority of households grow dry rice although some wet rice fields also exist.

The tourism industry, or more specifically the employment created at Kinabulu National Park, accounts for a very high percentage of the paid work that residents of Kiau Nulu perform. Working as mountain guides on Mount Kinabulu provides thirty men in the village with consistent work while a further twelve work occasionally as guides.

Mount Kinabulu National Park directly employs fifteen members of Kiau Nulu as rangers, research and education officers, guards, receptionists and labourers. Both men and women from the village perform these roles. Wildlife Expeditions -another international company that runs tours to

Kinabalu National Park- employs five people from the village, as Tour Guides, Receptionists, Cleaners, Guards and Storekeepers. One man also works as a guide for a local tourism company called Borneo Tours.

While the majority of people work at Kinabalu National Park there are a minority who complete work not associated with the park. These include the six teachers who live in the village- five of whom work at the Kiau Primary School- and four people who work as surveyors for the many road works being completed in the area. Ten households in the village also have members who work in Kota Kinabalu and only return to the village on weekends or in some cases just on special occasions.

5.1.3 Changes in the community.

In the past thirty years Kiau Nulu has changed from a relatively isolated and independent community totally reliant on hill and wet rice production to one that is now directly involved –economically and socio-culturally- in the broader Malaysian community of Sabah.

One of the greatest changes to life in Kiau Nulu has been the introduction of Christianity in 1961 with the arrival of Dutch catholic missionaries. An Australian protestant missionary arrived shortly after. Both churches have had a profound effect on the beliefs and values of people in the community.

Another major change has been the administrative involvement of the village in the Sabah Government system. This has had ramifications on the political and management structures operating within the village and has now integrated the village into the dominant political and cultural systems of the state of Sabah.

Improved educational facilities has dramatically broadened the opportunities for young people. The establishment of the Kiau Primary School in the 1970's has given young people an opportunity to obtain a basic education. The fact that over fifty people from the village have now graduated from university and only return for special occasions is a reflection of how rising educational levels have dramatically altered the aspirations of young people in the community.

The introduction of electricity in 1993 and the building of the road into Kiau Nulu, has given community members direct access to nearby towns and allowed them to take advantage of educational and economic opportunities outside of the village.

The increasing involvement of local people in work opportunities outside of the village has also had enormous ramifications on the lives of people in Kiau Nulu. It has resulted in a gradual eroding of the subsistence lifestyle of previous generations and of the relevance of the animist beliefs linked with this lifestyle.

5.1.4 Intrepid travellers.

One hundred and forty four travellers visited Kiau Nulu in the first six months of 2001. The majority were female (65%), between the ages of twenty and forty (61%) and came predominantly from Australia (32%) and Great Britain (23%). Small numbers also came from the U.S.A, Canada and Europe. Almost all were professionally employed in areas such as administration, education, information technology, sales and marketing, health care and accounting services. Nearly 16% of travellers were university students.

Travellers motivations for participating in the Borneo trips were varied. All were attracted to the cultural and natural attractions of Borneo particularly its tropical rainforests and its unique wildlife including orangutans. Staying in a traditional village community was also an important motivating factor for travellers.

5.2 Tourism in Kiau Nulu.

5.2.1 History of tourism in Kiau Nulu.

Intrepid first began bringing groups to the village in June 1995. A Danish tour company also began visiting the village in 1998, however they have never bought any more than three or four groups per year.

Sopinggi Ladsou, an influential member of the Kiau Nulu community and Sally Goldstraw, the first Intrepid Leader to Borneo developed the idea of Intrepid trips visiting and staying in Kiau Nulu.

Although Sally Goldstraw initiated the development of trips to Kiau Nulu, another Intrepid Leader, Cath Lancaster worked out the practical arrangements with Sopinggi and the village community. Both Cath Lancaster and Sally Goldstraw had backgrounds in community development and social welfare and therefore developed a program that reflected the motivations and aspirations of the community as well as Intrepid's style of travel.

Before bringing the first groups, Cath Lancaster visited the village to meet with the headman and other village leaders. Furthermore, Sopinggi talked to the village headman and the JKKK (Village Development and Security Committee) about the proposal to have people come and stay in the village. He recalls that everyone in the village was very enthusiastic about groups coming.

Travellers on the very first trip into Kiau Nulu stayed in a local teacher's house. However by the second trip travellers were staying in a small hut located next to the church, which had been renovated especially to cater for Intrepid's trips.

In 1998 the small hut near the church was demolished and a new building was constructed in its place. Funding for this building had come from several sources, including payments made by Intrepid groups for accommodation, a 10 Ringgit levy on all households in the village and extra donations made by individuals within the community. Intrepid travellers continue to use this accommodation today. The price per passenger for accommodation has changed from 5MYR in 1995 to 10 MYR (2001).

The program designed for Intrepid travellers during these early trips has remained relatively unchanged. Although for about a year during 1996/7 Intrepid travellers spent an extra night in a nearby Dusun village called Lobong Lobong. English classes were also held for the community for a brief period between 1997/8 although they stopped once the Intrepid leader responsible for these (Daniel Mandell) finished leading in Borneo.

The frequency of trips to Kiau Nulu have increased from once a month in 1995 to up to three a month in 2001. Sopinggi continues to play a pivotal role in the practical implementation of Intrepid trips to Kiau Nulu by organising which households' host dinners, transport arrangements and mountain guides.

5.2.2 A description of an Intrepid trip to Kiau Nulu.

Before leaving Kota Kinabulu for Kiau Nulu travellers receive a thorough briefing including specific details on appropriate behaviour and dress standards. All travellers are given written documentation reinforcing the information provided in the briefing.

After a two hour bus ride from Kota Kinabulu the group arrive at a turn off where they are picked up by two four wheel drives and driven to the village of Kiau Nulu. The road into Kiau Nulu is spectacular, traversing steep ridges before plunging down into a narrow valley and then climbing up to reach the scattered houses that make up Kiau Nulu.

On arrival in the village travellers are driven towards the top of the village and their accommodation for the night, which is a house situated next to the most significant building in the village, the Roman Catholic church. The views from the accommodation building are extraordinary, particularly of Mt Kinabulu and the surrounding mountain ranges.

Once settled into their accommodation travellers then head down to a house in the village where they enjoy afternoon tea, followed by a meal with the family of the household. Sopinggi (Intrepid's contact in the village) attends this meal and tells travellers about his family, the village and the special relationship the village has with Mount Kinabulu.

After dinner travellers are offered the opportunity to try some rice wine. Generally all travellers sample the wine, although the rough texture of the drink and the rather distinctive smell puts many off from drinking very much. Once a few drinks have been passed around the group, self-introductions begin. At this stage the room is crowded with people from the village, who attend in order to play music and dance with the travellers.

The self-introductions are a very jovial occasion with people from the village and Intrepid travellers, introducing themselves and answering questions about their lives. Sopinggi acts as an interpreter for those in the village who cannot speak English. The process of introductions acts as an icebreaker between the village people and Intrepid travellers.

Further into the night interactions between village people and Intrepid travellers become more intense. More younger people from the village join in to talk with trip travellers or invite

them up to dance. Most of the village people at the party are men, particularly younger men. Some women are involved, although they tend to be more reserved and sit around the perimeter of the room.

Travellers return to their accommodation when they are ready, and are always accompanied by a local person.

The next morning Sopinggi or one of his sons, normally Henry, takes the group for a walk around the village. The walk basically takes the group all through the village and gives travellers a great perspective of the scattered distribution of houses that make up Kiau Nulu. From the top of the village the views are breathtaking of the valleys below and of the awesome granite flanks of Mount Kinabulu.

By 10.30 the group is packed up and ready for the rough ride back out of the village. On the way out some groups stop off at the village primary school, which is down in the narrow valley between Kiau Nulu and the main road. According to the teachers from the school, the children love to have visitors and enjoy introducing themselves to groups in their best English. Several Intrepid travellers have made donations to the school.

5.3 Economic Outcomes for Kiau Nulu.

The economic outcomes for the village community were determined by identifying:

- Services provided by individual households and the community.
- Total economic benefits to the community.
- Distribution of economic outcomes within the community.
- Intrepid trips and household incomes.
- Effects on families of incomes obtained from Intrepid trips.

5.3.1 Services provided by individual households and the community.

The economic outcomes that accrue to the village benefit both individual households and broader village institutions such as the Catholic Church. These benefits are for the following services:

- Cooks (2-4) depending on the size of the group,
- Accommodation,
- Lighting/gas for the accommodation,
- Food,
- Rice wine,
- Transport,
- Village walk,
- Mountain Guiding on Mt Kinabulu,
- Sopinggi's wage, and
- Cleaning of the accommodation.

The economic outcomes are consistent for all trips and only vary to a small degree with the number of travellers. Payments for accommodation, lighting and gas are made to the Catholic Church committee, who are responsible for the house used by Intrepid groups. The other payments for the cooks, food, rice wine, mountain guiding, transport and Sopinggi's wage all benefit individual households. None of these services provide economic outcomes that benefit the whole community.

5.3.2 Total economic benefits to the community.

The following table (5.3.2) highlights the total economic benefit to the community of Kiau Nulu for an Intrepid visit. The table also includes the direct costs incurred by individual households in the provision of particular services as estimated by members of the village. The calculation of intangible costs was not attempted as such a microanalysis is beyond the scope of this study.

Table 5.3.2 Economic benefits and costs to the households of Kiau Nulu. (N = 12)

Services provided	Beneficiary	Direct costs	Payment
Sopinggi's wage	Individual Household		25
Accom @ 10MYR/ pax	Catholic Church	20	120
Cooks	Individual Households		60
Lights/Gas	Catholic Church	5	15
Village Walk	Individual Households		15

Food	Individual Household	50	120
Transport into Kiau Nulu @ 30MYR/ vehicle.	Village Cooperative, Individual Household	5	60
Transport to Kinabulu Park Headquarters @ 50MYR/ vehicle	Village cooperative & Individual Household.	20	100
Mountain guides @ 60MYR/ guide.	Individual Households		120
Total payment to Kiau Nulu			655MYR

The only payments that are not included in the proceeding table are for the rice wine and the tips which travellers give to the two mountain guides from Kiau Nulu who guide them up Mount Kinabulu. These tips vary but generally involve a donation of 20MYR from each passenger.

According to Sopinggi the benefits accruing to the hosting household for rice wine also vary and are dependent on who produces the rice wine. If the household hosting the Intrepid groups produces the rice wine itself then the benefit is approximately 35MYR, however if the hosting household is required to buy the rice wine then the benefit drops to just 6MYR.

5.3.3 Distribution of economic outcomes within the community.

The distribution of economic outcomes from Intrepid's trips goes to both individual households and to various community institutions such as the village cooperative and to the Catholic Church.

The main activity that generates an income for households is the hosting of dinners for Intrepid travellers. Twenty-five out of the eighty-six households have hosted dinners for Intrepid groups. The decision of which household is to host the dinner is made exclusively by Sopinggi. The hosting household obtains a monetary benefit through the payments for food, cooking and rice wine. With a full group the economic benefit obtained by the household (discounting estimated costs) is 165MYR.

In addition to the income generated from hosting a group, the same household chosen also supplies the mountain guide to assist the Intrepid group in climbing Mount Kinabulu. If the hosting

household does not have a member who is a registered mountain guide then Sopinggi normally chooses another member of the village to help guide the Intrepid group up the mountain.

Another opportunity for individual households to benefit comes from the cleaning of the accommodation where Intrepid groups stay. Two households per month are responsible for the cleaning of this accommodation for which they are paid 20MYR each. Payment for this service comes from the money that Intrepid pays for accommodation.

Twenty-two of the twenty-four people rostered to do the cleaning are women and all are members of the Catholic Church. Interestingly, only two of the households rostered on to clean the accommodation in 2001 had hosted Intrepid groups.

Kiau Nulu also has a village cooperative, which is jointly owned and operated by a group of households in the village. Not all households are involved in this cooperative. The cooperative runs several shops and owns a four-wheel drive.

Although the four-wheel drive is predominantly used to transport mountain guides in the village up to the Kinabulu National Park headquarters, it is also used to transport Intrepid groups into Kiau Nulu and then onto Kinabulu National Park Headquarters. A driver from the village is employed on a full - time basis to manage this transport.

The other four-wheel drive vehicle required by Intrepid groups is privately owned and is supplied by various individuals within the village. The economic benefit (less discounting estimated costs) accruing to the village cooperative from one Intrepid trip is approximately 65MYR.

The Catholic Church also benefits financially from Intrepid's visits. For a full group of twelve travellers the economic benefit to the church (less discounting estimated costs for cleaning and utilities usage) is 110MYR. A church accommodation committee is responsible for the administration of these fees.

5.3.4 Intrepid trips and household incomes.

Due to the practical implementation of trips (rotation of households hosting dinners) in the

village there is very little disparity amongst households in relation to the economic benefit of their involvement with Intrepid groups. This excludes Sopinggi's household which is involved in each Intrepid trip. Not surprisingly the economic benefit obtained by a household was directly related to the level of involvement it had with visiting Intrepid groups.

The one household (Sopinggi's) that is directly involved on every visit, estimated that most of the income (over 80%) that the household earned in one year came from work with Intrepid groups.

In comparison to this, the households who have been indirectly involved (N = 15) estimated that very little (less than 10%) of their yearly income was derived from Intrepid groups. This is not surprising given that the major opportunity for households to obtain an economic benefit, by hosting Intrepid groups for dinner, is rotated amongst different households within the community.

Intrepid records show that 31 groups visited Kiau Nulu between July 2000 – July 2001. Given this frequency it is reasonable to assume that households would only be involved in hosting dinners perhaps one or two times per year. No records are kept-by Intrepid or the village- to monitor which households host Intrepid groups.

Obviously those households that did not have any involvement with Intrepid groups did not obtain any economic benefit from having Intrepid groups visit Kiau Nulu. As such the economic impact of Intrepid trips is very low and only one household benefits significantly from the income generated by Intrepid trips.

Furthermore, only households with a substantial level of infrastructure (ie-large house) benefit to any degree from Intrepid's visits. This is compounded by the fact that hosting households also supply the mountain guide who assists Intrepid groups climb Mt Kinabulu.

Perhaps inevitably, the required level of infrastructure for hosting groups excludes the poorer strata of Kiau Nulu, who simply don't have the necessary size house to be able to cope with Intrepid groups. In this sense, Intrepid visits merely reflect and reinforce the varying levels of wealth that already exist in the village.

5.3.5 Effects on households of income obtained from Intrepid trips.

The money earned by households indirectly involved with Intrepid's visits is spent predominantly on household goods or foodstuffs such as sugar, coffee, biscuits, dried milk, noodles or rice. Several houses spend the income from Intrepid groups on schooling for their children while one household uses this money to pay for electricity costs. Nevertheless given the infrequent economic benefit from Intrepid's trips the effect of this income on a household's livelihood is insignificant or very small.

In comparison, the effect of the income obtained by the household directly involved in Intrepid's trips has been pronounced. In this case the monetary gain from assisting Intrepid trips has been used to provide the household's children with schooling opportunities-particularly at the secondary level. It has also been used to help pay off a loan made by Intrepid. The loan enabled the household to invest in the development of a restaurant near Kinabulu Park Headquarters. Financial returns from the restaurant are expected to be substantial in the future. This income is also used to purchase household foodstuffs, such as sugar, coffee, etc.

Table 5.3.5 Household spending of money obtained from Intrepid trips.

Household spending of money obtained from Intrepid trips.	Household directly involved. (n=1)	Household indirectly Involved. (n=15)
Schooling fees & accommodation.	1	3
Loan repayment to Intrepid.	1	
Electricity Bills.		1
Put in the Bank.		1
Clothing		1
Foodstuffs ie. sugar, coffee, chocolate drinks, biscuits, noodles & rice.	1	9

5.4 Socio-cultural Outcomes for Kiau Nulu.

The socio-cultural outcomes for the village were assessed according to:

- Household perceptions of Intrepid trips
- The role of youth in Intrepid trips.
- Effect of Intrepid trips on daily lifestyles of people in the community.
- Role of women in Intrepid trips.
- Effect of Intrepid trips on village institutions.
- Effect of Intrepid trips on village political or management structures.
- Intrepid trips and alcoholism within the community.

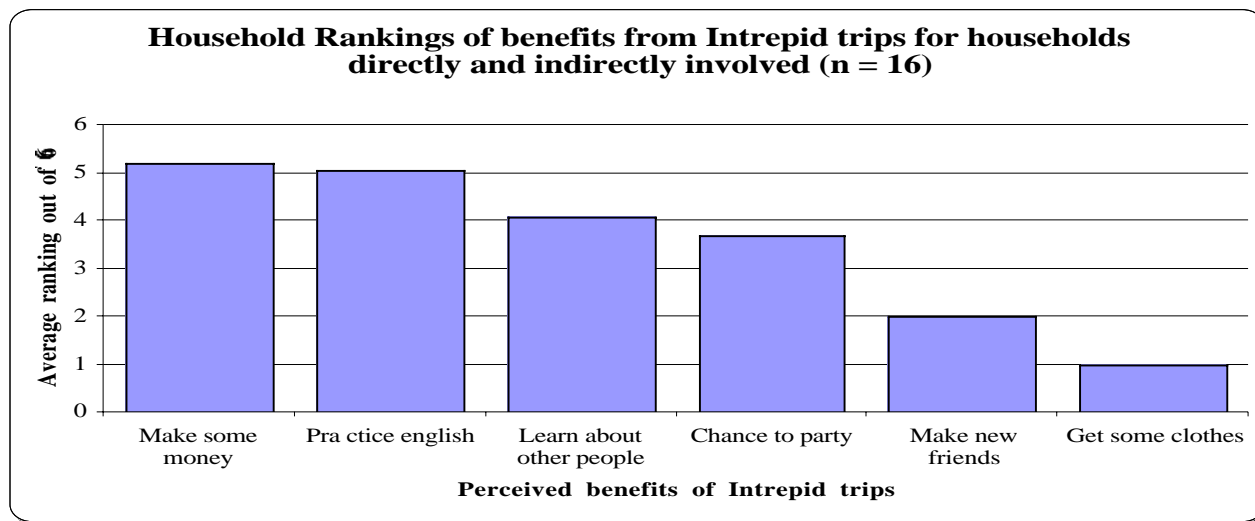
5.4.1 Household perceptions of Intrepid trips.

The level of involvement of local people in Intrepid trips determined to a large extent their perception of these trips. However, not one of the households interviewed as part of the study (N=28) were negative about Intrepid trips, even those who did not obtain any economic gain. This was reflected in the fact that twenty-four of the households interviewed would like to be more involved with Intrepid groups, mostly through hosting the dinners for groups.

As part of the semi structured interviews, all respondents in the households who were directly (N=1) and indirectly involved (N=15) were given a list of six possible benefits which their household obtained from Intrepid trips and asked to rank them in order of importance.

As suggested by key members of the village the list of benefits was kept very simple. The list was developed after a general discussion with people in the village regarding the things they liked about hosting Intrepid groups. Figure 1 highlights the results.

Figure 5.4.1 Household rankings of benefits from Intrepid trips.



The results demonstrate that households involved with Intrepid groups value the opportunity, not only to make some money but also to develop other skills such as English conversation. When questioned why learning English was so important, all households responded that the ability to speak English was very important for them if they wanted to take advantage of work opportunities available at Kinabulu National Park. This was particularly the case for men from the village who work as mountain guides on Mount Kinabulu.

The chance to meet and learn about other people was also an important benefit for households. This was particularly important for young men in the village.

The lack of English was the major impediment identified by people in the village in relation to their ability to interact with Intrepid travellers. This was identified as a major point by women in the village, especially older women who unlike younger women have not had the opportunities to work outside of the village and therefore learn English.

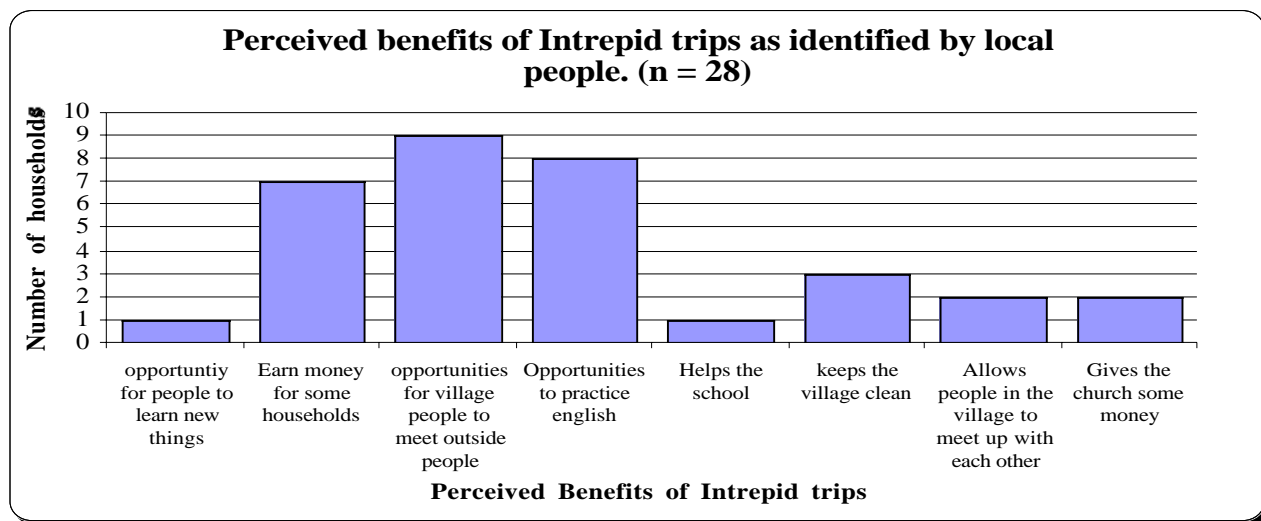
As part of the semi structured interviews all households were also asked what benefit they believed the village obtained from having visits from Intrepid groups. Though all of the respondents (N=28) were positive, some believed that changes could be made to make the program more beneficial to the community.

Three leading members of the village interviewed (Alfred, Jeffrey and Sintiah) would like to see more of a cultural element to the program that Intrepid travellers complete whilst in the village. Each member felt that the Intrepid travellers who come to the village are only seeing one aspect of Dusun culture which is the merriment and the drinking that occurs during the household dinner visit.

Each talked about the possibility of including elements of dance and music into the program.

Figure 5.4.1 highlights the perceived benefits of Intrepid trips as identified by the local people. Interestingly, most still identified household or individual benefits rather than broader communal ones even when prompted to consider the broader communal benefits.

Figure 5.4.1 Perceived benefits of Intrepid trips as identified by households.



5.4.2 The role of youth in Intrepid trips.

The involvement of young people in Intrepid’s trips to Kiau Nulu is significant, although it is only young men that are involved. The major forum for interaction between Intrepid travellers and young local men is the party that is held for Intrepid groups. My observation during one of these parties was that young men –generally under the age of twenty three, were the largest social grouping present.

Interviews with young women in the village highlight that they do not have the same culture of drinking that is prevalent amongst men in the village. Many younger and older female members of the community do not drink rice wine (except on special occasions) and as such have less interest in being involved.

In comparison interviews with young males revealed that the main reason they attend the parties is the opportunity to practice speaking English with Intrepid travellers. Many of the young men who attend the parties work as mountain guides on Mount Kinabulu or are involved in tourism activities associated with Kinabulu National Park. Learning to speak English greatly increases their employment opportunities.

Like any other young people, the young men also enjoy the opportunity to drink rice wine and meet new people- particularly the younger female members of the Intrepid groups. This was most evident amongst the young men in the village who could speak English reasonably well.

Interestingly the drinking of alcohol at the household parties was seen by all of the young people I spoke to as a necessary ingredient to overcome the natural shyness they felt when talking to Intrepid travellers.

More research would need to be conducted to determine how often young men drink in the village and to what degree their drinking habits are affected by Intrepid parties.

5.4.3 Effect of Intrepid trips on daily lifestyles of people in the community.

The impact of Intrepid trips on the daily lifestyles of people in the community is very minor. All Intrepid trips, excluding a small number of trips that Intrepid operates for a U.K. based operator, visit the village on Sunday. Excluding Sopinggi and the drivers that bring Intrepid groups to the village there are few local people involved with Intrepid groups during the day on Sundays. It is only during the evening program that a substantial number of local people are involved and of these only a small number (members of the hosting household) are involved in a major way.

5.4.4 Role of women in Intrepid trips.

The impact of Intrepid's trips on women in Kiau Nulu is very minor as few women have

direct involvement in the trips except for those that cook for Intrepid groups. Generally the women from the household that is hosting an Intrepid trip cook the meals for the visiting group, although for large groups they often need assistance from other ladies in the community.

Women of the hosting household are involved in the welcoming party although once the rice wine drinking begins, they do not interact as much with the group.

Comments by women highlight that many were not keen to attend the parties, because they did not like to drink rice wine and felt shy due to their lack of ability to speak English.

Paradoxically women that were interviewed did express an interest in learning more about the lives of female Intrepid travellers who come to the village. The challenge for Intrepid is to develop a forum that allows this interaction to occur.

Four women (Saunah, Mailum, Kinahim and Rita) who have leadership positions within the community- through their roles as committee members of the WWF project- would like to see more cultural activities introduced into the program for Intrepid groups. Like several other members of the community all four mentioned the possibility of including activities such as dancing or music, particularly if women are involved.

Surveys conducted with travellers suggested that some, particularly women, would like to have had more opportunities to interact with local women. The following statement by Gaye, an Australian passenger, highlights this, “although I understand culturally that women do not participate, it would have been good to have more contact and an opportunity to thank them for their meal directly.”

5.4.5 Effect of Intrepid trips on village institutions.

The major village institutions in Kiau Nulu are the Catholic and Protestant churches, the primary school and the village cooperative. All of these institutions, except the Protestant church, have had some involvement with Intrepid groups. While relatively minor this involvement has provided positive outcomes to all institutions.

The Catholic church derives an economic benefit from every Intrepid group that comes to the village. This income has been an important factor in allowing the church to develop the house where Intrepid groups stay. The community of Kiau Nulu have also benefited through this development as the kitchen and associated utensils within the building, have been used for village wide celebrations such as a weddings.

The Primary school has also benefited from Intrepid visits through donations received from Intrepid travellers who have visited the school as part of their trip to Kiau Nulu. The largest donation was made by an Australian passenger who contributed 4000 MYR to the school. This money was used by the school to buy an electric type writer, reference books, science books, mathematic books, dictionaries and various stationary items. A set of encyclopedias have also been donated to the school.

Taimin, a village leader and teacher at the school, said that students enjoy visits from Intrepid groups as it gives them a chance to practice English and adds an element of excitement to their daily program. Certainly the boisterous welcome given by students to the Intrepid group I observed, suggested this to be true.

The village cooperative has also benefited from Intrepid's visits. The economic benefit (less estimated costs) accruing to the village cooperative from one Intrepid trip is approximately 65MYR. While not substantial this money is used for various purposes including paying the driver's wage and maintenance work for the vehicle.

5.4.6 Effect of Intrepid trips on village political or management structures.

Intrepid's trips have had very little influence on the management structures used within Kiau Nulu. Intrepid's role could be more positive in this regard as plans developed by the J.K.K.K. to introduce a head tax for Intrepid groups would provide funds that the committee could use to benefit the whole Kiau Nulu community. The J.K.K.K. no longer receive funding from the state government to use towards village activities. In 2000 this lead to the cancellation of one village wide celebration, due to lack of funds.

The outcomes for the community from an introduced head tax or community support fund could be very positive. For example, a 5MYR charge for each Intrepid passenger that visited the village from July 2000 – July 2001 (290 travellers) would have provided the committee with 1450MYR to use on activities of benefit to the community.

5.4.7 Alcoholism in the community.

Martin Vogel, a former Intrepid leader to Kiau Nulu believes that Intrepid trips have contributed to a rise in alcoholism within the community. However as this was not a specific objective of my research, I did not conduct any research regarding the issue. The following points are drawn only from my observations while in the village.

Rice wine is a major feature of the household parties that Intrepid groups attend as part of their time in the village. This however has not always been the case and appears to have developed over the last few years. Cath Lancaster, the pioneer of trips to Kiau Nulu in 1995, cannot recall any alcohol being drunk on any of the original trips to the village.

According to Sopinggi, its introduction into the program evolved because local people wanted to provide Intrepid travellers with an authentic cultural experience, which during festive occasions and welcoming activities involves the sharing of rice wine.

Young men of the village and those directly involved in each trip (for example, Sopinggi), consumed large amounts of alcohol during the household party. From my observations, it was obvious that the level of interaction between village people and Intrepid travellers increased substantially as more alcohol was consumed.

Interestingly, pre-trip information given to travellers requests that travellers not take too seriously the words of local people when they are drunk.

The effects of this drinking on the lives of those heavily involved, such as Sopinggi, is very difficult to determine and would take more detailed research. Given his role at the dinners held for Intrepid groups, it is inevitable that Sopinggi consumes a large amount of alcohol during Intrepid visits.

Further studies that assessed the changes in drinking habits within Kiau Nulu over the past decade would need to be completed to fully understand the impact of Intrepid trips. It is beyond the scope of this research to suggest any link between the enthusiastic embrace of the household party by Intrepid (through its travellers) and the drinking habits of male residents of Kiau Nulu.

5.5 Physical Outcomes for Kiau Nulu.

The physical outcomes for Kiau Nulu were assessed according to:

- Waste and pollution related to visitation from Intrepid groups.
- Local resource use related to visitation from Intrepid groups.

The physical effects of Intrepid trips to Kiau Nulu are negligible and not apparent as facilities have been developed to cope with any waste generated by Intrepid groups and activities conducted within the village use local resources.

Intrepid groups only consume meals prepared by local people. These meals are similar to those consumed by local people and are made with fresh produce grown by people in their own gardens. If fresh produce is not available in the village it is obtained from local markets. As most of it is fresh there is little packaging involved and little waste is created.

A walk through the village of Kiau Nulu indicates that although little packaging waste is created from Intrepid groups, a considerable amount of waste, particularly papers and cans, litter the road and areas surrounding the shops in the village. Several people interviewed mentioned that a benefit of having Intrepid groups in the village was that it encouraged local people to keep the village clean.

The use of church infrastructure as accommodation means that there are not any problems with waste created by Intrepid groups. Intrepid travellers use toilets and other facilities developed by the church. Local people only use these facilities on Sunday, so there is not a clash with Intrepid groups.

The walk that Intrepid travellers complete on the Sunday morning could possibly erode some of the tracks throughout the village although this seems unlikely as the route followed varies each time.

5.6 Outcomes for Travellers.

5.6.1 Travellers' expectations.

Questionnaires completed by travellers who visited Kiau Nulu (n=12) reveal that nine travellers (75%) believed that their village experience exceeded their pre trip expectations. Three travellers (25%) said that their time in Kiau Nulu matched their pre trip expectations. The following comments highlight travellers' impressions of their time in Kiau Nulu.

“ I thought the family were exceptionally friendly and enjoyed seeing their happy family life”

Jan.

“It wasn't what I had expected. Instead of a stone age type village I saw a modern day community who interact with foreigners and other people- that lived in homes that have modcons and spoke little/ quite good English.”

Pauline.

“I was very pleased/ surprised to be part of villages life, not only going through the village and looking but also talking with the people and answering their questions- take and give.”

Stephanie.

“They were so friendly, warm, funny and generous.”

Johanna.

5.6.2 Factors that determined travellers' experience.

As part of their questionnaire response travellers were asked to rank in order of importance the factors they considered significant in determining their Kiau Nulu experience.

These factors were developed after discussions with travellers and Intrepid leaders.

Table. 5.6.2 Factors that travellers considered important in determining their

Kiau Nulu village experience (N = 12).

Factors.	Average Ranking	
	Most important 1	Least important 7
The role of local leaders	2.50	
The role of your Intrepid leader	3.17	
Interaction with local village people	2.42	
Activities conducted in the village	3.83	
Interaction with other travellers	5.17	
Weather	6.08	
Trip organisation	4.92	

The results highlight the key role the welcoming party has in determining a travellers enjoyment of their time in Kiau Nulu and the important roles played by local leaders such as Soppingi and Intrepid leaders.

5.7 Causal Factors that Determine the Outcomes

Obtained by Kiau Nulu.

Casual factors that determine the outcomes obtained by the community appear to be related to the political and socio-cultural structure of the community, and Intrepid Travel- including the motivations of its travellers. However it should be noted (as discussed in chapter 2- Research Design and Methods) that the causal statements and inferences made below are drawn from the researchers intimate knowledge of the data collected. Nevertheless it should be remembered that the statements are data based speculation and conjecture.

5.7.1 Factors determined by Intrepid Travel.

- Arrival day and time.

Intrepid groups arrive in the village on a Sunday afternoon. Sunday is a day of rest in the village when people do not have responsibilities such as work. This means they have both the time and the energy to host and entertain Intrepid groups. Intrepid groups arrive in the village at 3.30pm, when the church services and associated festivities are well and truly over.

- The role of Sally Goldstraw and Cath Lancaster.

The role played by both of these leaders has been pivotal to the development of Intrepid trips to Kiau Nulu. Leaders who have followed on from Cath Lancaster such as Daniel Mandell, Jane Crouch and Jacque Crossland have further reinforced the initial philosophy.

- Consistency of leaders.

Regular visitation from the same Intrepid leaders (only three Intrepid leaders operate in Borneo) has had a significant influence on the outcomes obtained by all involved in Intrepid's trips to Kiau Nulu. This has allowed leaders to develop personal relationships with people in the village, which is important in encouraging interaction between local people and travellers. Leaders' personal relationships with village people have also allowed them to monitor on a consistent basis the effects of Intrepid trips and to respond quickly if problems arise.

- Pre-trip information.

The pre-trip information given to travellers provides background information on Kiau Nulu as well as behavioural guidelines that travellers need to consider when visiting the community. This information is reinforced by all Intrepid Leaders. Some basic Dusun words and phrases are also included for travellers to consider.

- Time and activities of Intrepid groups in the community.

While Intrepid groups do stay one night, the amount of time they actually spend in the village is minor given their late arrival into the village and early departure the next day.

Coupled with the activities conducted while in the village means that Intrepid groups don't interact a great deal with the majority of people in the community.

- Frequency of trips.

Intrepid's records show that 31 groups visited Kiau Nulu between July 2000 and July 2001. Given this frequency, it is reasonable to assume that households would only be involved in hosting dinners perhaps once or twice per year. This level of involvement limits the impact Intrepid trips have on households within the community.

5.7.2 Factors determined by Kiau Nulu.

- The role of Sopinggi.

There is little doubt that the role played by Sopinggi has been pivotal to the development of Intrepid trips in Kiau Nulu. Sopinggi, because of his ability to speak English and his prominent mountain guiding role, has become the coordinator of Intrepid's trips within the community.

- Specific household factors.

The level of infrastructure owned by a household was a major factor in determining their involvement in Intrepid trips. Household size and infrastructure was an important consideration, according to Sopinggi when choosing households to host Intrepid groups for dinner.

- Number of people involved in each trip.

Although a substantial number of people attend the dinner party held for Intrepid groups, this would still represent a minority of people in the community. Besides this activity, there are few opportunities for local people to be involved with Intrepid travellers.

- Size of the community.

The large size of the community limits the opportunities that local people have to be involved with Intrepid groups, even given the rotation of dinners for Intrepid groups. This

inevitably limits the outcomes that local people can obtain from Intrepid trips and therefore the impact of these visits.

- Prosperous and stable nature of the community.

The relatively prosperous nature of households within the community, due to employment opportunities external to the village, has reduced the potential for conflict within the village over opportunities available from Intrepid trips. The attitude of all in the village towards those consistently involved in Intrepid trips is a reflection of this. While households are happy and keen to host dinners, there is not a pressing financial need for them to be involved.

- The personal standing of Sopinggi within the community.

The personal standing of Sopinggi within Kiau Nulu is such that not one person I spoke to resented his family obtaining a significant level of the benefits available from Intrepid's visits.

- Organisation of Intrepid trips within the community.

The decision by Sopinggi and Alfred to rotate Intrepid dinners within the community has broadly distributed the outcomes from Intrepid trips. Conversely this has also diluted the level of impact for the households involved.

5.8 Impacts matrix.

Table 5.8 highlights the relationship between causal factors, outcomes and impacts identified in sections 5.3- 5.7. The table shows that the outcomes and impacts of Intrepid trips for local people are a result of a combination of factors. Some of these are determined by the community themselves while others are directly related to how Intrepid practically implements its trips.

The table also highlights the relationship between outcomes and impacts. In particular it demonstrates that the impacts of Intrepid trips flow directly from the outcomes obtained by local people.

5.9 Recommendations.

The following recommendations are aimed at ensuring Intrepid's trips provide a broader benefit to the community of Kiau Nulu. Consistent monitoring of Intrepid trips to Kiau Nulu should be considered a priority.

- Develop a Community Support Fund.

This fund would be administered by the J.K.K.K. and would be spent on activities or projects that benefit the whole community. The community could apply for funding to undertake specific short term projects with set deadlines. Financial support for the fund would be based on the number of travellers visiting the community.

- Monitor which households host dinners for Intrepid groups.

This would give a more accurate indication of how broadly the benefits of Intrepid's trips are spread amongst the community. This could easily be done by leaders including such information on their trip report forms.

- Monitor which members of the community are used as mountain guides

Using mountain guides from non hosting households would further spread the benefit of Intrepid's trips around the community. Again this could easily be done by leaders including such information on their trip report forms.

- More opportunities for women.

Look at methods to provide more opportunities for women to be more actively involved in Intrepid trips. Plans to revive traditional dance within the community may offer opportunities for women to be involved.

- Trip specific feedback forms for travellers.

Trip specific feedback forms would allow for a more sophisticated method of appraising passenger enjoyment of trips. Questions specifically related to travellers time in Kiau Nulu could be included on passenger feedback forms. Update the trip notes on Kiau Nulu given to travellers.