

**SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES IN THAI BEACH
RESORTS: A CASE STUDY OF KOH SAMUI
ISLAND, THAILAND**

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Abstract

Apart from the obvious and visible effects on the economy and the physical environment, tourism can contribute to social and cultural changes in host societies. Many host communities put their hopes on tourism as an economic driver and development tool. However, it is still unclear whether tourism is more useful or harmful towards host destinations. It is obvious that international tourism would be a short pathway to make the transition from a traditional way of life to a modern form of society. Many studies show that destinations consider these changes positively in terms of modernisation and affluence. However, the interaction between two different cultures creates change processes over time, especially in an Eastern context where the modernisation process is Western in orientation.

Prior studies on residents' attitudes and perceptions toward socio-cultural impacts of tourism identify various relationships. However, much less analysis has focused on the influence of cultural factors. Additionally, most previous studies focus on residents' attitudes and perceptions towards tourism development through quantitative surveys with cluster or factor analysis based on a limited range of predetermined attributes. Few studies explore the changes from an indigenous culture perspective. The aim of this research is to develop a better understanding of the residents of a Thai beach resort's attitudes towards tourism, in particular their perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development and the associated behavioural changes in their society. Koh Samui was chosen for this investigation as it is a self-contained model of a beach resort development where there are socio-cultural impacts.

A constructivist paradigm approach was adopted. Consideration is given in the literature review and the methodology chapters to issues related to conducting research in the Thai context. Choosing qualitative research serves as a bridge, which can link theory, practice and deeper findings. This research employed participant observation and semi-structured interviews. The background of the local residents and local context in Koh Samui were explored as well as local residents' behaviour patterns and the interaction between them and tourists on a day to day

basis. Following a period of immersion in the community, residents' and local authorities' perceptions and attitudes toward the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in Koh Samui were investigated through semi-structured interviews.

Isan migrant workers emerged from the data analysis as a key issue due to the fact that local people believed these migrant workers were responsible for the majority of socio-cultural impacts in Koh Samui including demographic changes, rise in crime, drug abuse, prostitution and AIDS infection, demonstration effects, and increased poverty and slums. Consequently, local people were offended by and fearful of Isan migrant workers. In addition, the analysis suggests that Isan migrant workers had adapted to more readily to tourist culture. Acculturation and social identity theory are explored to explain this situation. Social identity suggests that Isan migrant workers were out-group of Koh Samui as well as sense of belongingness as a self-esteem was a key answer to this adaptation in Isan migrant workers.

Buddha's teaching and the Thai avoidance of confrontation are the main players in order to reflect on how Thai people cope with socio-cultural changes. The majority of local residents in Koh Samui are Buddhist and this has taught them to accept problems and learn how to live with them. A fundamental factor is an Eastern world view. In Koh Samui, it was necessary for local people to accept tourism and cope with socio-cultural changes in their community so as not to reject the apparent benefits of tourism. The findings illustrate many contexts in which local people are led by their cultural background to accept tourism. Following a crisis in local agriculture which was dependent on coconuts, tourism seemed to be the only way for local people to survive. It is, therefore, difficult for them to blame tourism as a cause of the main socio-cultural problems in their community. Therefore, they try to apportion blame elsewhere, in this case on the Isan migrants.

Buddhism is followed by ninety-five percent of Thai people. It is undoubted that Buddhism has a strong influence on everyday life of Thai people, their society and culture. The implications of Thai cultural conditions and responses in the everyday life that were emerged from the analysis are discussed including Thai loose social structure, cool heart behaviour, the concept of Choei, face-saving and avoidance of

confrontation, Boonkhun relationships, Kreng-jai value, Num-jai value, and brotherhood or helpful relationships. The importance of exploring an indigenous cultural perspective is discussed together with lessons that can be learned for tourism development and its socio-cultural impacts.

List of contents

	Page
List of contents	6
List of figures	12
List of tables	13
Acknowledgements	15
1.0 Introduction	16
1.1 Rationale	16
1.2 Research aim and objectives	17
1.2.1 Overall aim	17
1.2.2 Objectives	18
1.3 An overview of Koh Samui	18
1.3.1 Population	19
1.3.2 Tourist-dependent economies	19
1.3.3 Tourist arrivals	20
1.3.4 Source markets	29
1.3.5 Market profile	30
1.3.6 Accommodation sector	32
1.3.7 Destination image	35
1.3.8 Crime rate and drug abuse	35
1.4 Overview of the thesis	39
2.0 Thai culture	42
2.1 Religion, thought, and national development	42
2.2 Social customs	45
2.3.1 Thai attitudes	45
2.3.2 Body language	45
2.3.3 Smiles and laughter	46
2.3.4 Traditional roles of the sexes	47
2.3.5 The Thai family	48
2.3.6 Power and class	48

2.3	Social system and hierarchy	50
2.4	Avoidance of confrontation	51
2.5	Kreng-jai: Deference and consideration	53
2.6	Variations and tensions in Thai society	53
2.7	Difference between urban and rural	55
2.8	Cultural contact	56
3.0	Socio-cultural impacts of tourism development	58
3.1	The impacts of tourism	59
3.1.1	Environmental impact	59
3.1.2	Economic impact	62
3.2	Tourism and culture	64
3.3	Socio-cultural impacts of tourism development	68
3.3.1	Definition	70
3.4	Factors influencing socio-cultural changes	70
3.4.1	Characteristics of the visitors	71
3.4.2	Characteristics of the destination	72
3.4.3	Host-guest interactions	74
3.5	Demonstration effects and acculturation	76
3.6	Cultural drift and the commodification of culture	79
3.7	The theoretical background to measurement of socio-cultural impacts	81
3.7.1	Doxey's index of irritation.	81
3.7.2	Butler's product lifecycle	84
3.7.3	Social exchange theory	85
3.7.4	Culture change models: Culture change, acculturation and social identity theory	91
3.8	Tourism, mobility and migration	101
3.9	Coping mechanisms and socio-cultural changes	104
3.10	Socio-cultural impact studies in a Thai context	108
3.11	Lessons for this study	110

4.0	Methodological approach	112
4.1	Research paradigm	112
4.2	Research strategies	114
	- Why Koh Samui, Thailand as a case study	115
4.3	Issues researching Thai people	116
4.4	Methods of data collection and analysis	117
4.5	Participant observation	118
	4.5.1 Research design	118
	4.5.2 Roles for participant observer	120
	4.5.3 Participant observation design	121
4.6	Semi-structured interviews with five typologies of local residents	124
	4.6.1 Research design	124
	4.6.2 Interview design	126
	4.6.3 Interview protocol	128
4.7	Sampling technique	130
4.8	Data collection	133
4.9	Data analysis	134
4.10	Demonstrating credibility	135
4.11	Ethical considerations	137
4.12	Health and safety issues	138
4.13	Limitations of the research	139
5.0	En route	143
5.1	Part I: Happy memories	145
	5.1.1 Lifestyle and psychological attachment	146
	5.1.2 Ethnicity and the social system	148
	5.1.3 Marriage and family structure	149
	5.1.4 Political system	150
	5.1.5 Communication and transportation	151
5.2	Part II: Crisis and survival time	152
	5.2.1 The fall in the revenues from coconuts and the beginnings of tourism	152
	5.2.2 Low visitor numbers and low property prices	154

5.2.3	Departure from agriculture and emergence of small-scale enterprises	154
5.3	Part III: New journey of change	156
5.3.1	Tourists	156
-	Attitudes toward tourists	158
5.3.2	Social impact of tourism	159
-	The influx of labour	161
5.3.3	Physical impacts	162
-	Growth of airport and the fight for benefit	167
5.3.4	Cultural impacts	168
-	Attitudes toward tourism development	170
-	Community attachment and sense of ownership and belonging	171
-	Less willingness to share and more commercial relationships	172
-	Improved social status	174
-	Language	175
5.3.5	Politics	176
-	Weak local government	176
-	Corruption	177
-	Disenchantment with national politics and the decline in tourism	178
6.0	Socio-cultural impacts of tourism induced internal migration	181
6.1	Labour forces in Thai tourism sector	181
6.2	Ethnic identity of Isan people	182
6.3	Tensions in Isan migrant workers	184
6.4	Types and the motives of migration	186
6.5	Acculturation and adaptation in Isan migrant workers	189
6.6	Socio-cultural impacts of Isan migrant workers	196
6.6.1	Demographic changes	196
6.6.2	Rise in crime, prostitution, drug addiction, HIV infection	198

6.6.3	Demonstration effects	200
6.6.4	Increased poverty and slums	201
7.0	Thai cultural responses and Thais' coping with socio-cultural impacts	204
7.1	Thai cultural responses in daily life	205
7.1.1	Loose structure of Thai society	205
7.1.2	Chai-yen or cool heart behaviour	206
7.1.3	The concept value of Choei or non-involvement	208
7.1.4	Face-saving and uncertainty avoidance	209
7.1.5	Boonkhun relationships or gratitude	211
7.1.6	Kreng-jai value or consideration another person's feelings	212
7.1.7	Num-jai value or kindness and helpfulness	213
7.1.8	Brotherhood or helpful relationships	215
7.2	Thais' coping with socio-cultural impacts of tourism development	216
7.2.1	Living with problems	216
7.2.2	Avoidance of confrontation	218
7.2.3	Need to accept tourism and attributing responsibly elsewhere	220
7.2.4	Coping strategies	222
8.0	Conclusion	229
8.1	Reflections on the significance and wider implications of the research	229
8.2	Review of objectives	231
8.3	Tourism development in Koh Samui	233
8.4	Socio-cultural changes	234
8.5	Implication of Isan migrant workers in Thailand	236
8.6	Implication of Thai culture and coping with socio-cultural impacts	238
8.7	Evaluation of this study	239
8.7.1	Overall evaluation of the research	239
8.7.2	Theoretical evaluation	241
	- Butler's lifecycle model	242
	- Doxey's irridex model	242
	- Social exchange theory	243
	- Culture change theory	244

8.7.3	Methodological evaluation	246
8.8	Suggestions for the sustainable development and management of Thai beach resorts	247
8.8.1	Implications for the planning authorities	247
8.8.2	Implication for internal migration policies	248
8.9	Opportunities for further research	249
	Bibliography	251
	Appendices	296
	Glossary of Thai words	377

List of figures

		Page
Figure 1	Tourist arrival numbers of Koh Samui, 1997-2007	21
Figure 2	The components of five aspects of the environment	60
Figure 3	Economic impacts of tourism	63
Figure 4	Doxey's irritation index	82
Figure 5	Butler's lifecycle model	84
Figure 6	The model of the social exchange process	86
Figure 7	A framework for analysing the social impact of tourism	87
Figure 8	Ap's (1992) social exchange process model where cultural expressions are at the centre of the exchange	91
Figure 9	The cultural expression	92
Figure 10	Relationship between the individual, cultural expressions and culture change	94
Figure 11	The influence of tourism on host culture, tourist culture and culture change, psychological acculturation and adaption in the host community	95
Figure 12	En route	144
Figure 13	Inappropriate tourist's expression of love in a Thai cultural context	157
Figure 14	Many properties in beachfront areas	164
Figure 15	Reserved beachfront areas for tourists	165
Figure 16	Overcrowding of properties in mountainous areas	165
Figure 17	Small public beach access	166
Figure 18	Bad traffic	166
Figure 19	The influence of tourism on host culture, Isan migrant workers, tourist culture and cultural change, psychological acculturation and adaption in the host community	191

List of tables

		Page
Table 1	The summary of population numbers in Koh Samui from 1993 to 2007	19
Table 2	The summary of tourist arrivals from 2002-2007	23
Table 3	Tourism incomes in Koh Samui, 2001-2007	24
Table 4	Domestic visitor numbers of Koh Samui, 2002- 2007	25
Table 5	International visitor numbers of Koh Samui, 2002- 2007	26
Table 6	The summary of visitor numbers, Koh Samui, 2002-2007	27
Table 7	Guest arrivals in Koh Samui by country, 2002-2007	29
Table 8	Total of target market expectation	31
Table 9	Information of accommodation in Koh Samui, 2001-2007	33
Table 10	Occupancy rate of accommodation establishments in Koh Samui, 2002-2007	34
Table 11	The summary of crime rate and drug abuse in Koh Samui, 2004-July 2007	36
Table 12	Coping strategies employed by residents in Byron Bay	106
Table 13	Case study protocol design	123
Table 14	An interview protocol	128
Table 15	Participant information	145
Table 16	Impacts from the interaction between hosts and tourists consistent with other studies	157
Table 17	Social consequences of tourism development consistent with other studies	159
Table 18	The physical impacts of tourism development consistent with other studies	162

Table 19	The cultural impacts of tourism development consistent with other studies	169
Table 20	Politics in Koh Samui consistent with other studies	176

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Rationale

Tourism has been criticised for its uneven distribution of negative and positive impacts upon host destinations. Assessing the impacts of tourism to determine sustainable ways of development, for the benefit of both hosts and guests is a challenge for the tourism industry. A wide range of literature claims that tourism has played a positive role in the socio-economic development of many countries (Matheison and Wall, 2006). On the other hand, studies also show that tourism can cause negative impacts upon the environment, culture and society in many destinations (Sharpley, 1999). Many host communities place their hopes on tourism as an economic driver and a development tool. However, it is still unclear whether tourism is more useful or harmful in many host destinations. There is a perception that international tourism can provide a quick path to make the transition from a traditional way of life to a modern form of society. Many studies show that destinations consider these changes positively in terms of modernisation and economic affluence (Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Sharpley, 1999). However, the interaction between two different cultures creates change processes over time, especially in an Eastern context where the modernisation process is Western in orientation. Impacts typically include family and social structure ruptures; loss of tradition and cultural status; and increase in crime, prostitution and drug abuse.

Previous studies on residents' attitudes and perceptions toward socio-cultural impacts of tourism identify various relationships (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, and Vogt, 2005; Ap and Crompton, 1993; Carmichael, 2000; Davis, Allen, and Cosenza, 1988; Dogan, 1989; Doxey, 1975; Evan, 1993; Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Gjerald, 2005; Jackson and Inbakaran, 2006; Kuvan and Akan, 2004; Lee, Li, and Kim, 2007; Lepp, 2006; Madrigal, 1995; Ryan and Montgomery, 1994; Vargas-Sanchez, Plaza-Mejjia, and Porras-Bueno, 2009; Zamani-Farahani and Musa, 2008). According to Jackson and Inbakaran (2006), factors influencing residents'

attitudes and perceptions toward tourism development can be classified into demographic and socio-economic factors (e.g. age, gender, occupational situation, educational level, level of income and the place of residence), personal factors (e.g. family background, socialisation process, state of mental health), cultural factors (e.g. religion, local culture), and factors related to tourism development (e.g. economic dependence). The relationship between socio-demographic factors and the residents' attitudes toward tourism are not conclusive. Much less analysis has focused on the influence of cultural factors. Additionally, most of these studies focus on identifying residents' attitudes and perceptions towards tourism development through quantitative surveys often incorporating cluster or factor analysis using predetermined variables.

This study seeks to explore local residents' social construction of socio-cultural impacts of tourism development. Additionally, the thesis poses a challenge to the assumptions of current research and proposes an approach based on a Thai interpretation of western socio-cultural impact theories (e.g. social exchange theory and cultural change theory). A case study approach is employed to investigate in depth the socio-cultural issues in the tourism destination area of Koh Samui, Thailand. Since this study is based on one community only, the qualitative case study strategic approach is appropriate which includes both description and interpretation of cultural behaviour. Koh Samui provides a self-contained model of both beach resort development and tourism impacts in a Thai destination context.

1.2 Research aim and objectives

1.2.1 Overall aim

The aim of this research is to develop a better understanding of the residents of a Thai beach resort's attitudes towards tourism, in particular their perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development and the associated behavioural changes in their society.

1.2.2 Objectives

The primary objectives of this research have been established as follows:

- To evaluate the extent of socio-cultural changes and the process of tourism development in Koh Samui.
- To identify and analyse the problems perceived by residents related to tourism development and socio-cultural changes in Koh Samui.
- To identify and analyse residents' behavioural patterns and their responses to socio-cultural impacts of tourism development.
- To analyse residents' social construction of socio-cultural impacts.
- To critically evaluate models of socio-cultural impacts of tourism in terms of their application to a Thai context.

1.3 An overview of Koh Samui

Koh Samui is situated in the middle of the Gulf of Thailand, and is the largest of an island group of more than 80 islands in the Angthong Marine National Park which is part of Suratthani province. The distance between Koh Samui and the mainland of Suratthani is about 20 kilometres. The area of Koh Samui is 247 square kilometres; the island is 21 kilometres at its widest point and 25 kilometres long. More than half of Koh Samui is highland and mountains. Most of the flatland (about 73 square kilometres) is between the mountains and the seashore. In the past, most of the mountains were covered by forests and coconut farms; however, local people have recently transformed the forests by building resorts and guest houses.

Koh Samui is divided into seven "Tambon" or sub districts (administrative regions) and 39 villages: Maenam, Bophut, Maret, Taling Ngam, Namuang, Lipa Noi and Angthong. The harbour town on Samui is named Nathon where boats arrive from mainland, Suratthani. Famous beaches in Koh Samui include Chaweng, Lamai,

Maenum, and Bo Phut. Chaweng beach is a 7 kilometres long beach in the North-East of Koh Samui. Chaweng beach is the most well-known and developed. Lamai beach is not far from Chaweng beach but quieter. Lamai is located in South-East of Samui, about 10 kilometres South of Chaweng. Maenum and Bo Phut are in the North of Koh Samui and are not as crowded as Chaweng and Lamai.

1.3.1 Population

In 1993, Koh Samui had a population of 31,643 people with about 15,000 non-local people (tourists and migrant workers from other provinces and Thailand’s neighbours) living in the area (see Table 1). The population in Koh Samui had increased to 39,369 people excluding the number of tourists and migrant workers (about 50,000 people) in 2001. This figure for the local population represented 16,192 households, mainly Buddhists with a minority of Thai-Muslims. There is also a small Thai-Chinese population plus large numbers of foreign tourists and migrant workers from the Northeast (Isan) and other parts of Thailand living in Koh Samui who total about 3 times the size of the local population. By 2007 (see Table 1) the local population had increased to over 50,000 while the ‘non-local’ had jumped to 150,000 people in fourteen years from 1993.

Table 1: The summary of population numbers in Koh Samui from 1993 to 2007 (City Council of Koh Samui, 2007)

Year	Numbers of Local Population	Numbers of Non-local Population
1993	31,643	15,000
2001	39,369	50,000
2006	47,833	100,000
2007	51,117	100,000-150,000

1.3.2 Tourist-dependent economies

“Tourism is the heart of Koh Samui”, this sentence is claimed by the local authority of Koh Samui and on the government website (City Council of Koh Samui, 2007). Koh Samui has been a well-known tourist destination for over two decades and tourism has become a main player in the local economy creating the

main income for Koh Samui while income from agriculture that is the main occupation for local people is subsidiary. The tourism businesses create many different careers for local residents and people from other parts of Thailand as well.

Consequently, not only farmers but many local people have become business owners in tourism such as renting accommodation, restaurants, mini-marts, souvenir shops, laundry shops and car rental. Additionally, some local residents have become very rich by selling or renting their lands to foreigners and non-local Thai investors. Many occupations created by tourism have been very tempting to people who are in other parts of Thailand to migrate and work in Samui for over two decades. It is very tempting not only for non-local Thai people, but also foreigners, especially European people to move and settle down to do business in Koh Samui. Recently, it seems quite common for foreigners to marry Thai people and open their business in Koh Samui.

Although Koh Samui has become a tourism town and local residents earn the majority of their income from the expansion of tourism, local residents in Koh Samui can not avoid the negative impacts of tourism, both environmental and socio-cultural impacts. For example, the seashore and the coral reefs are damaged due to the expansion of hotels and resorts on the shore line and in the hills. Tourism has affected the local economy and created many poorly paid jobs, as a result, many local residents migrate to work outside Koh Samui and it is hard to see many local residents remaining in Koh Samui in the near future.

1.3.3 Tourist arrivals

Figure 1 shows that the number of tourists visiting Koh Samui gradually increased from 1999 to 2002 and dropped in 2003 because of SARS. However, the tourist arrival numbers of Koh Samui had been rising rapidly since 2003. The TAT survey in 2007 suggests there were 1,059,642 tourists travelling to Koh Samui with 160,877 of these being domestic tourists and 898,765 being international tourists

who were mostly from Europe (567,953 people). Predominantly, they travelled independently to Koh Samui on holiday and the average length of stay was about four and a half days (see Table 2 and 3). Compared to 2006, the overall tourist arrivals increased from 1,030,623 in 2006 to 1,059,642 in 2007 both domestic and international market; however, the number of tourist arrivals from Europe, the biggest market of Koh Samui, had decreased from 661,535 in 2006 to 567,953 in 2007 and the average of tourist staying in Koh Samui had gone down from 4.56 days per one visit in 2006 to 4.48 days in 2007. This circumstance might be explained in terms of the slowing down of the world economy as well as the increase of inflation and fuel price around the world had a domino affect on Koh Samui and Thailand as well.

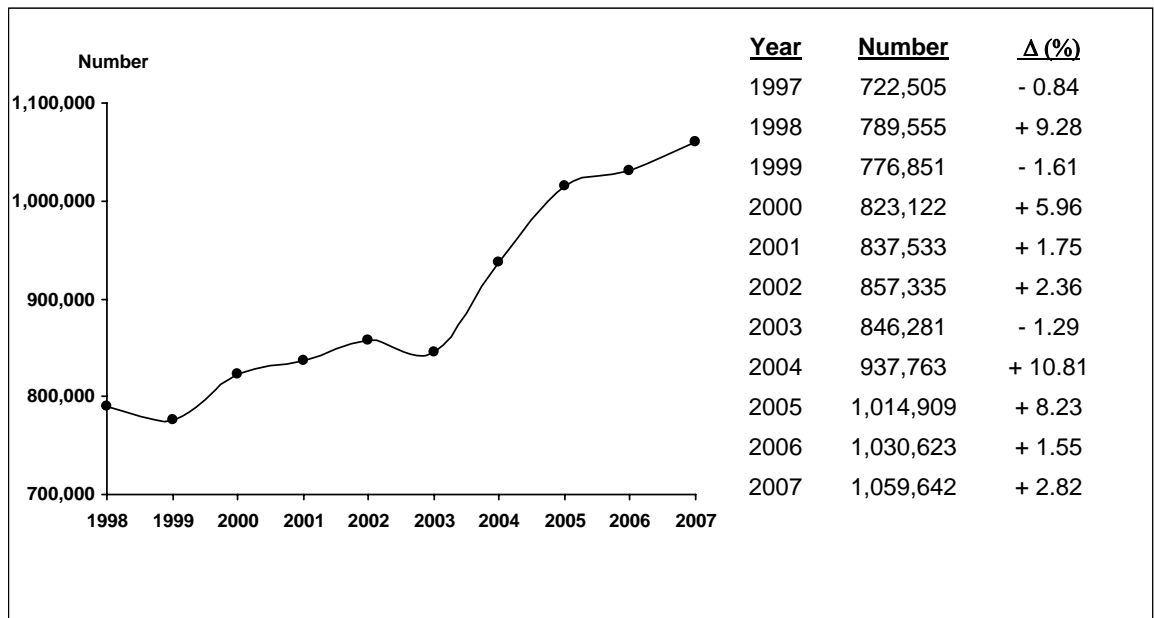


Figure 1: Tourist arrival numbers of Koh Samui, 1997-2007 (TAT, 2007).

Table 2 shows the summary of tourist arrivals on Koh Samui from 2002 to 2007. It shows that Koh Samui had attracted more foreign tourists than domestic ones. Tourist arrival numbers of Koh Samui had rapidly grown since 2003. There had been more male than female tourists since 2002, except in 2006. Since 2003, there had been more non-group tourists than group ones. From 2002-2005, tourists travelled to Koh Samui by private car or coach more than other types of vehicle. However, this trend had changed since 2006; when tourists had travelled by plane more than other types of vehicle. The number of tourists who travelled to Koh

Samui for the purpose of attending a convention had increased since 2005. Interestingly, the number of tourists from the Western, Northern and North-eastern part of Thailand had rapidly increased from 2006. For an international market, European, Asian and Oceania tourists had been the main target since 2002 respectively, except in 2005. In 2005, African tourists were the second highest number after European tourists.

Table 2: The summary of tourist arrivals from 2002-2007 (TAT, 2002-2007)

Profile	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Visitors						
Thai	126,807	162,037	161,998	162,335	158,312	160,877
Foreigners	730,528	684,244	775,765	852,574	872,311	898,765
Gender						
Male	490,625	490,090	553,820	552,723	511,933	655,192
Female	366,710	356,191	383,943	462,186	518,690	404,450
Travel arrangement						
Group tour	493,603	404,279	407,519	290,756	234,945	187,943
Non group tour	363,732	442,002	530,244	724,153	795,678	871,699
Age						
Under 25	151,983	150,692	163,757	283,610	82,389	244,008
25- 34	291,180	292,251	323,772	436,004	306,267	381,435
35- 44	207,644	203,636	221,765	171,449	336,148	285,612
45- 54	128,904	125,544	144,586	83,032	168,979	136,516
55 and over	77,624	74,158	83,883	40,814	136,840	12,071
Mode of transport						
Plane	203,960	233,891	292,760	295,392	379,730	429,917
Train	-	-	-	-	153,536	175,604
Bus	111,382	135,161	160,172	240,427	231,905	221,803
Automobile	528,064	462,239	463,093	412,413	237,511	212,722
Others	13,929	14,990	21,738	66,677	27,941	19,546
Purpose of Visit						
Holiday	790,163	768,948	852,200	970,095	950,865	907,193
Business	41,910	45,873	52,823	29,540	39,910	75,370
Official visit	7,976	9,815	10,408	6,627	15,274	15,389
Convention	5,181	6,295	7,032	7,865	20,881	49,932
Others	12,105	15,350	15,300	782	3,693	11,758
Region of residence						
<i>Thai</i>						
Bangkok	50,807	64,251	64,500	44,231	35,220	10,716
Central	9,304	11,537	11,137	9,656	12,038	19,858
Eastern	4,523	5,757	6,025	8,545	8,658	5,116
Western	9,173	11,929	12,372	11,062	3,179	31,245
Northern	11,074	14,483	14,845	16,726	8,177	20,372
Southern	36,859	47,681	46,763	55,266	88,088	49,913
North-eastern	5,067	6,399	6,356	16,849	2,952	23,657
<i>Foreigners</i>						
USA	39,827	33,056	65,036	40,882	38,704	41,955
Europe	473,203	455,882	511,396	577,171	661,535	567,953
Oceania	70,898	69,022	80,863	72,828	67,558	88,315
Asia	133,816	114,771	101,446	70,964	71,819	100,892
Middle East	7,639	6,834	12,902	7,364	28,334	25,354
Africa	5,145	4,679	4,122	83,365	4,361	74,296

Table 3 shows tourism incomes in Koh Samui from 2001 to 2007. It could be summarised that the tourist arrival numbers dropped in 2003 but it had rapidly grown ever since. There had been a greater number of foreign tourists than Thai

tourists visiting Koh Samui since 2002. Foreign tourists had 4-5 days of average stay but only 2-3 days of average stay for Thai tourists. For the average expenditure of tourists, foreign tourists had spent more than Thai travellers, about 2,900-3,100 baht per person per day. Tourists (2,800-3,000 baht per person per day) had spent more than excursionists (between 1,500 to 1,800 baht per person per day). Accommodation sector in Koh Samui had gradually grown since 2002.

Table 3: Tourism incomes in Koh Samui, 2001-2007 (TAT, 2001-2007)

Data	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Visitors	837,533	857,335	846,281	937,763	1,014,909	1,030,623	1,059,642
Thai	123,890	126,807	162,037	161,998	162,335	158,312	160,877
Foreigners	713,643	730,528	684,244	775,765	852,574	872,311	898,765
Average length of stay (day)	4.21	4.27	4.17	4.25	4.31	4.56	4.48
Thai	2.59	2.55	2.61	2.61	2.84	2.52	2.47
Foreigners	4.48	4.55	4.52	4.58	4.57	4.91	4.82
Average expenditure (baht/person/day) *							
<i>Visitor</i>	2,859.80	2,843.26	2,812.34	2,830.83	2,947.60	3,003.69	2,984.12
Thai	2,380.53	2,359.07	2,405.90	2,412.94	2,283.19	2,244.26	2,204.81
Foreigners	2,943.00	2,927.32	2,908.58	2,918.11	3,022.45	3,072.49	3,053.73
Revenue (Million baht) *	10,120.12	10,432.29	9954.80	11,314.59	12,758.00	14,016.29	14,069.16
Thai visitors	743.41	743.96	995.20	995.77	1,000.59	869.93	852.61
Foreign visitors	9,376.71	9,688.33	8959.30	10,318.82	11,757.41	13,146.36	13,216.55
Accommodation establishments							
Establishments	296	310	357	383	356	360	403
Rooms	9,256	9870	10,913	12,315	12,769	13,290	14,405
Occupancy rate (%)	56.78	60.51	55.01	62.04	66.42	68.29	64.23
Average length of stay (day)	5.06	5.50	5.62	6.13	6.77	7.42	7.42
Number of guest arrivals	736,657	754,789	724,193	809,206	837,495	840,076	853,475
Thai	69,238	70,322	89,345	90,597	87,037	84,310	77,960
Foreigners	667,419	684,467	634,848	718,609	750,458	755,766	775,515

*

Thai currency unit approximately one pound about 61 baht in 2001; 65 baht in 2002; 68 baht in 2003; 74 baht in 2004; 73 baht in 2005; 70 baht in 2006; and 69 baht in 2007 (Bank of Thailand, 2009).

Table 4 shows the domestic visitors numbers on Koh Samui from 2002 to 2007. Koh Samui had attracted tourists from Bangkok, the Southern and Northern parts of Thailand respectively from 2002-2004. However, the number of tourists from the Southern part of Thailand visiting Koh Samui had increased to the highest figure since 2005. In contrast, the number of tourists from the Southern part of Thailand and Bangkok had rapidly dropped from 88,088 and 35,220 in 2006 to 49,913 and 10,716 in 2007.

Table 4: Domestic visitor numbers of Koh Samui, 2002- 2007 (TAT, 2002-2007)

County	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Bangkok	50,807	64,251	64,500	44,231	35,220	10,716
South	36,859	47,681	46,763	55,266	88,088	49,913
North	11,074	14,483	14,845	16,726	8,177	20,372
Mid-land	9,304	11,537	11,137	9,656	12,038	19,858
West	9,173	11,929	12,372	8,545	8,658	5,116
North-east	5,067	6,399	6,356	16,849	2,952	23,657
East	4,523	5,757	6,025	11,062	3,179	31,245
Total	126,807	162,037	161,998	162,335	158,312	160,877

Table 5 shows the international visitor numbers on Koh Samui from 2002 to 2007. It can be summarised that Koh Samui had attracted more European, Asian and Oceania tourists than others since 2002 respectively. The table shows that African tourist arrival numbers rapidly increased from 4,122 in 2004 to 83,365 in 2005 and from 4,361 in 2006 to 74,296 in 2007. It is possible that TAT started heavily promoting a marketing campaign of ‘Amazing Thailand’ in Africa in 2004. Unluckily, the disaster of Tsunami suddenly happened in 2004 and there was a military coup in 2006 in Thailand and this might be a reason why the number of African tourists significantly dropped in 2004 and 2006.

Table 5: International visitor numbers of Koh Samui, 2002- 2007 (TAT, 2002-2007)

County	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Europe	473,203	465,822	511,396	577,171	661,535	567,953
Asia	133,816	119,310	101,446	70,964	71,819	100,892
Oceania	70,898	70,214	80,863	72,828	67,558	88,315
America	39,827	35,439	65,036	40,882	38,704	41,955
Middle-East	7,639	6,935	12,902	7,364	28,334	25,354
Africa	5,145	4,679	4,122	83,365	4,361	74,296
Total	730,528	702,399	775,765	852,574	872,311	898,765

Table 6 presents the summary of visitor numbers on Koh Samui from 2002 to 2007. Overall, tourist arrival numbers dropped in 2003 but increased after that. Tourists travelled by private car and coach more than other types of transport in 2002-2005. However, the number of tourists who travelled by plane had increased since 2006. Tourists had preferred to stay in hotels more than other types of accommodation in Koh Samui. In addition, Thai tourists had a travelling average of 2-4 times per year compared to 2 times a year for foreign tourists.

Table 6: The summary of visitor numbers, Koh Samui, 2002-2007 (TAT, 2002-2007)

Year		2002			2003			2004			2005			2006			2007		
		Thai	Intern ational	Total	Thai	Intern ational	Total	Thai	Intern ational	Total	Thai	Intern ational	Total	Thai	Intern ational	Total	Thai	Intern ational	Total
Visitor Numbers by vehicle		126,807	730,528	857,335	162,037	684,244	846,281	161,998	775,765	937,763	162,335	852,574	1,014,909	158,312	872,311	1,030,623	160,877	898,765	1,059,642
Sort of Travelling	Airplane	11,226	192,734	203,960	16,342	217,549	233,891	23,014	269,746	292,760	30,541	264,851	295,392	40,412	339,318	379,730	28,062	401,855	429,917
	Train	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,038	133,498	153,536	21,599	154,005	175,604
	Public Bus	33,600	77,782	111,382	47,507	87,654	135,161	46,818	113,354	160,172	45,273	195,154	240,427	37,000	194,905	231,905	44,440	177,363	212,772
	Private car and coach	74,004	454,060	528,064	88,952	373,287	462,239	83,935	379,158	463,093	79,029	333,384	412,413	59,916	177,595	237,511	66,064	146,708	212,772
	Other (Cruise and Ferry)	7,977	5,952	13,929	9,236	5,754	14,990	8,231	13,507	21,738	7,492	59,185	66,677	946	26,995	27,941	712	18,834	19,546
Visitor Numbers By Accommodations		119,134	725,405	844,539	153,304	679,247	832,551	152,874	770,384	923,258	149,949	850,827	1,000,776	150,483	870,961	1,021,444	153,538	897,779	1,051,337
Hotel		70,322	684,467	754,789	89,345	634,848	724,193	90,597	718,609	809,206	87,037	750,458	837,495	84,310	755,766	840,076	77,960	775,515	853,475
Guesthouse		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bungalows/Resorts		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Relative/Friends		47,083	40,725	87,808	61,558	44,229	105,787	59,927	51,601	111,528	60,035	99,546	159,581	60,488	108,236	168,724	50,968	76,667	127,635

Accommodation in National Park	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	971	445	1,416	24,315	45,617	69,932
Other (Apartment, Temple, etc...)	1,729	213	1,942	2,401	170	2,571	2,350	174	2,524	2,877	823	3,700	4,714	6,514	11,228	295	-	295
Average of Stay (Day)	2.55	4.55	4.27	2.61	4.52	4.17	2.61	4.58	4.25	2.84	4.57	4.31	2.52	4.91	4.56	2.47	4.82	4.48
Average of Expense (per person/day)	2,359.07	2,927.32	2,843.26	2,405.90	2,908.58	2,812.34	2,412.94	2,918.11	2,830.83	2,283.19	3,022.45	2,947.60	2,244.26	3,072.49	3,003.69	2,203.88	3,053.73	2,984.00
Income (Million Baht)*	743.96	9,688.33	10,432.29	995.20	8,959.30	9,954.50	995.77	10,318.82	11,314.59	1,000.59	11,757.41	12,758.00	869.93	13,146.36	14,016.29	852.61	13,216.55	14,069.16
Average of Travelling Per Year (Time)	2.37	2.23	2.25	2.35	2.27	2.28	2.40	2.31	2.33	4.09	2.45	2.71	1.65	1.75	1.73	2.78	1.53	1.72

*

Thai currency unit approximately one pound about 61 baht in 2001; 65 baht in 2002; 68 baht in 2003; 74 baht in 2004; 73 baht in 2005; 70 baht in 2006; and 69 baht in 2007 (Bank of Thailand, 2009).

1.3.4 Source markets

There are large numbers of visitors, both Thais and foreigners, travelling to Koh Samui each year. Trend over six years from 2002 to 2007, it could be summarised that the main market of Koh Samui was tourists from the United Kingdom and Germany. The secondary market was a domestic and Australia respectively. However, Table 7 shows that Koh Samui had attracted European tourists more than Asian ones since 2002. The number of Japanese tourists had been the highest since 2002 compared with other countries in Asia. However, the number of Japanese tourists had gradually decreased since 2002. It might explain that TAT had focused on the European market rather than the Asian one.

Table 7: Guest arrivals in Koh Samui by country, 2002-2007 (TAT, 2002-2007)

Nationality	January-December					
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Thai	70,322	89,345	90,597	87,037	84,310	77,960
Brunei	-	-	-	-	54,757	44
Cambodia	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indonesia	-	-	-	290	295	348
Laos	-	-	-	1	4	25
Malaysia	7,576	6,289	4,209	3,855	4,036	6,881
Myanmar	-	-	-	3	26	47
Philippines	-	-	-	327	379	493
Singapore	11,170	6,573	4,732	7,480	5,318	7,860
Vietnam	-	-	-	-	-	12
China	2,091	3,155	2,905	6,345	9,649	12,322
Hong Kong	2,353	1,937	2,023	4,808	6,898	8,038
Japan	43,414	32,900	33,230	27,051	22,327	24,002
Korea	4,101	2,222	2,643	5,517	6,146	13,746
Taiwan	2,429	2,572	2,478	2,139	2,163	4,068
Austria	19,904	15,913	24,020	18,810	25,193	18,335
Belgium	4,988	5,280	5,714	6,240	4,861	4,967
Denmark	8,068	12,588	14,111	18,569	19,222	17,776
Finland	-	-	-	4,437	6,787	8,577
France	17,559	22,515	22,054	24,217	29,245	28,531
Germany	142,371	117,596	154,936	134,208	140,071	113,282
Italy	27,966	20,117	25,282	26,468	30,365	28,288

Netherlands	16,159	19,141	29,373	17,986	21,543	19,376
Norway	-	-	-	6,474	13,563	13,012
Russia	-	-	-	12,080	22,567	28,352
Spain	-	-	-	3,488	4,605	6,997
Sweden	20,152	24,837	32,701	37,262	40,505	35,545
Switzerland	37,872	31,022	34,499	34,338	38,480	35,077
U.K	130,726	139,608	150,747	154,206	116,599	127,479
East Europe	-	-	-	2,533	5,484	5,654
U.S.A.	25,344	19,911	23,108	25,610	24,104	25,281
Canada	6,612	6,110	7,190	9,789	9,406	8,913
India	1,775	1,814	2,180	2,809	4,474	4,829
Australia	46,798	33,360	48,920	54,145	50,055	65,532
New Zealand	5,053	6,107	7,579	8,568	8,167	10,320
Israel	-	-	-	14,195	21,198	18,277
Middle East	7,253	5,873	6,178	3,457	3,508	3,667
Africa	-	-	-	1,784	3,766	4,135
Others	92,733	97,408	87,797	70,969	-	65,427
Total Foreigners	684,467	634,848	718,609	750,458	755,766	775,515
Grand Total	754,789	724,193	809,206	837,495	840,076	853,475

1.3.5 Market profile

According to the Koh Samui Tourism Marketing Road Map by TAT (2006), it claims that the number of tourists to Koh Samui will increase every year from 2005 (see the Table 8). TAT expected that there would be 13.38, 15.12, and 17.31 million international tourists in 2005-2007; however, Table 3 shows that there were 852,574; 872,311; and 898,765 international tourists in 2005-2007 respectively. Additionally, TAT expected to gain income from international tourists visiting Koh Samui of 450,000 million baht in 2005; 533,000 million baht in 2006; and 652,000 million baht in 2007^{*}. However, Table 6 shows that Koh Samui gained 11,757.41 million baht in 2005; 13,146.36 million baht in 2006; and 13,216.55 million baht in 2007 from international tourists. For the domestic market, TAT expected to get 76.25; 79.33; and 81.99 million tourists in 2005-2007 respectively; however, Table 3 shows that there were 162,335 tourists in 2005; 158,312 tourists in 2006; and

*

Thai currency unit approximately one pound about 61 baht in 2001; 65 baht in 2002; 68 baht in 2003; 74 baht in 2004; 73 baht in 2005; 70 baht in 2006; and 69 baht in 2007 (Bank of Thailand, 2009).

160,877 tourists in 2007. Additionally, Table 6 shows that Koh Samui gained income from domestic tourists of 852.61 million baht in 2005; 869.93 million baht in 2006; and 1,000.59 million baht in 2007. It can be said that TAT had set the target market expectation unrealistically.

Table 8: Total of target market expectation (TAT, 2006)

Target	2005	2006	2007	2008
<u>International Market</u>				
Number of Tourists (Million)	13.38	15.12	17.31	20.08
Income (Million Baht) *	450,000	533,000	652,000	789,000
<u>Domestic Market</u>				
Number of Tourists (Million)	76.25	79.33	81.99	85.35
Income (Million Baht) *	347,300	378,000	403,900	437,900

For the international target market, they intend to gain tourists from the following countries:

Asia

Main market: Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore

Secondary market: India, Indonesia and Philippians.

Emerging market: Vietnam.

Europe/Middle-east/Africa

Main market: United Kingdom, France, Sweden.

Secondary market: Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Belgian, Austria, East Europe, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, Israel, South Africa.

Emerging market: Russia, CIS & Baltic States, Finland, and Middle-east.

North America

Main market: America.

Secondary market: Latin America.

Emerging market: Canada

Oceania

Main market: Australia.

Emerging market: New Zealand

1.3.6 Accommodation sector

Tourism generates the main source of income to Koh Samui; therefore, it is apparent that the accommodation sector had grown up rapidly since 2002 (see Table 9 and 10). It is noted that hotels are categorised by pricing rate (TAT, 2007). During year 2005 and 2006, only four new hotels opened. Then, forty-three new hotels opened within a year (360 places in 2006 increased to 403 places in 2007). Koh Samui is not only famous for tourists but it is also well-known for investors who are interested to invest in accommodation sector including hotels, resorts or guesthouses. The number of rooms and the number of days tourists stayed in accommodation sector in Koh Samui had gradually increased since 2001. The average number of tourist staying had increased until 2007 and the number of tourist staying in hotels dropped in 2003 but had increased gradually after that. The number of guests per room had gradually decreased until 2004 and had increased to 1.90 persons in 2007.

It is noticed that a number of hotels were closed down in 2002. Belau (2003) states that the hotel and tourism industry suffered from the combined effects of an economic downturn that began in 2001 and the shock wave from the events on September 11th, 2001. Consequently, the number of high-end hotels in Group 1 declined from 39 hotels in 2001 to 29 hotels in 2002 but budget hotels in Group 5 (price lower than 500 baht) had grown up from 153 hotels in 2001 to 174 hotels in 2002. While hotels in Group 1 to 4 had kept growing since 2003, the number of hotels in Group 5 had declined. It is possible that a number of hotels in Group 5 were owned by local people and these people had less knowledge of business management so they could not survive in the competitive market. Cohen (1980b) mentions that the failure of local entrepreneurs in Koh Samui could be seen in the case when local residents realised the business opportunities in tourism industry after selling their beachfront property to non-local visitors and building resort on a rice field where was isolated and no tourists visited that area.

Table 9: Information of accommodation in Koh Samui, 2001-2007 (TAT, 2001-2007)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Number of Hotels (Place)	403	296	310	357	383	356	360
Group 1 *	39	29	44	51	53	64	93
Group 2 *	15	26	25	33	39	52	65
Group 3 *	17	20	30	36	42	46	51
Group 4 *	72	61	78	84	61	92	96
Group 5 *	153	174	180	179	161	106	98
Number of Rooms	14,405	9,256	9,870	10,913	12,315	12,769	13,290
Group 1	3,020	2,351	3,091	3,550	4,093	4,609	5,798
Group 2	733	1,479	969	1,461	1,690	2,402	2,352
Group 3	721	876	1,234	1,575	1,776	1,712	1,849
Group 4	2,080	1,786	2,005	2,119	1,642	2,353	2,334
Group 5	2,702	3,378	3,614	3,610	3,568	2,214	2,072
Average of Number of Staying	64.23	56.78	60.51	55.01	62.04	66.42	68.29
Group 1	66.46	72.53	60.44	69.83	72.16	74.74	68.63
Group 2	60.38	64.66	58.43	66.02	70.21	70.63	65.72
Group 3	56.36	62.07	58.18	63.52	66.34	66.99	62.63
Group 4	52.86	53.58	54.86	59.58	62.84	62.06	58.96
Group 5	48.10	53.59	48.46	53.56	59.74	59.95	57.61
Number of Tourists Staying in Hotels	853,475	736,657	754,789	724,193	809,206	837,495	840,076
Group 1	302,149	243,298	245,242	285,495	295,585	321,520	361,181
Group 2	58,437	127,314	75,317	107,107	119,128	157,602	156,651
Group 3	63,286	72,735	92,119	108,428	121,224	109,020	108,631
Group 4	155,961	129,648	135,818	132,093	106,699	132,236	123,124
Group 5	156,824	181,794	175,697	176,083	194,859	119,698	103,888
Number of Days Tourists Staying	7.42	5.06	5.50	5.62	6.13	6.77	7.42
Group 1	4.79	5.08	5.62	5.85	6.60	7.29	7.71
Group 2	5.21	5.19	5.31	6.05	6.76	7.45	6.98
Group 3	4.62	5.49	5.58	6.11	6.71	7.37	7.25
Group 4	5.24	5.39	5.58	6.15	6.66	7.59	7.27

*

Group 1: Price from 2,500 baht, Group 2: Price between 1,500 – 2,499 baht, Group 3: Price between 1,000 – 1,499 baht, Group 4: Price between 500 – 999 baht, and Group 5: Price lower than 500 baht (Thai currency unit approximately one pound about 61 baht in 2001; 65 baht in 2002; 68 baht in 2003; 74 baht in 2004; 73 baht in 2005; 70 baht in 2006; and 69 baht in 2007 (Bank of Thailand, 2009)).

Group 5	5.54	6.36	6.32	6.64	7.14	7.56	7.40
Number of Guests Per Room	1.90	1.97	1.93	1.88	1.79	1.84	1.90
Group 1	1.98	2.00	1.92	1.84	1.84	1.92	1.97
Group 2	1.94	1.93	1.94	1.84	1.86	1.90	1.95
Group 3	1.99	2.01	1.97	1.82	1.89	1.91	1.85
Group 4	2.01	2.00	1.89	1.76	1.88	1.86	1.78
Group 5	1.91	1.78	1.75	1.68	1.78	1.86	1.77

Table 10 shows occupancy rate of accommodation in group 1 to 5 in Koh Samui from 2002 to 2007. Year 2006 had the highest occupancy rate of 68.29 percent. In contrast, year 2003 had the lowest occupancy rate of 55.02 percent. Accommodation in group one had the highest occupancy rate in 2002-2007. In contrast, accommodation in group five had the lowest occupancy rate in 2002-2007, except 2004.

Table 10: Occupancy rate of accommodation establishments in Koh Samui, 2002-2007 (TAT, 2002-2007)

Year	Hotel in Koh Samui					Grand
	Group 1 [*]	Group 2 [*]	Group 3 [*]	Group 4 [*]	Group 5 [*]	Total
2002	72.53	64.66	62.07	53.58	53.59	60.51
2003	60.44	58.43	58.18	54.86	48.46	55.02
2004	69.83	66.02	63.52	59.58	53.56	62.04
2005	72.16	70.21	66.34	62.84	59.74	66.42
2006	74.74	70.63	66.99	62.06	59.95	68.29
2007	68.63	65.72	62.63	58.96	57.61	64.23

* Group 1: Price from 2,500 baht, Group 2: Price between 1,500 – 2,499 baht, Group 3: Price between 1,000 – 1,499 baht, Group 4: Price between 500 – 999 baht, and Group 5: Price lower than 500 baht (Thai currency unit approximately one pound about 61 baht in 2001; 65 baht in 2002; 68 baht in 2003; 74 baht in 2004; 73 baht in 2005; 70 baht in 2006; and 69 baht in 2007 (Bank of Thailand, 2009)).

1.3.7 Destination image

Koh Samui has a reputation of beautiful white sandy beaches and night life even though there are other cultural attractions for tourists on the island as well. The national resource areas in Koh Samui such as beaches and waterfalls are very well-known for both domestic and international tourists with its clean white sand and clear sea as well as coral reef for diving. Additionally, there are mountains in the middle of the island so tourists can go hiking and visit waterfalls and the national park area. The majority of local people are Buddhists so tourists will see many temples on the island as well.

For the night life and sandy beach, it is; therefore, famous for backpackers travelling to Koh Samui. There are many clubs and beer bars in Chaweng and Lamai Beach. It is a very lively place for night life in Koh Samui especially when it is a full moon party in Koh Panage which is not far from Koh Samui. There are many tourists from all over the world staying in Koh Samui and go to Koh Panage by boats at that time every year. It could be said that after overwhelming crimes happened with tourists a few years ago and being in the news all over the world would adversely affect the image of Koh Samui from very quiet and safe beach town to a dangerous area. However, the number of visitors to Koh Samui has been continuously growing each year.

1.3.8 Crime rate and drug abuse

It can be observed that drug abuse, criminal and homicide cases are serious problems in Koh Samui (see Table 11). According to a survey of police stations in Koh Samui, it was the highest figure of overall lawsuits in 2005; however, the number of drug abuse has been fluctuating since 2004 and it was possible that the overall figures of drug abuse in 2007 would be higher than 2005. According to TAT (2004), it shows that local people as well as non-local people including tourists and labourers feel insecure in their own place and have to watch out consciously all the time when they go out regardless of the increasing crime rate and drug abuse every year. The police station in Koh Samui (2007) claims that there were 1,361 criminal cases including drug abuse in 2005; however, the number had increased to 1,423

cases in 2006 and there had been a tendency that the crime rate and drug abuse numbers would increase every year in relation to the number of tourists and labours continuously rising in Koh Samui consistent with the prediction of TAT statistics on tourist arrival numbers (TAT, 2006).

Table 11: The summary of crime rate and drug abuse in Koh Samui, 2004-July 2007 (Police Station, Koh Samui, 2004-2007)

B.C.	2004			2005			2006			2007		
Type of lawsuits	Case	Arrest	Susped	Case	Arrest	Susped	Case	Arrest	Susped	Case	Arrest	Susped
Hard Drug	227	244	244	318	351	351	173	190	190	294	304	304
Serious Case	26	18	18	19	14	14	18	8	8	15	3	3
Homicide Case	126	59	59	128	39	39	77	33	33	71	21	21
Criminal Case	162	77	77	235	235	235	128	46	46	195	82	82
Interesting Case	79	21	21	173	23	23	35	7	7	51	4	4
Government Case	297	951	951	262	831	831	168	488	488	163	452	452

Bowes (2006) reports that a female tourist was the fifth murder in eight weeks on Koh Samui in 2005 and the increase in crimes are blamed on the booming tourism industry as it can be seen from the number of tourists increasing from four million to fourteen million over the past ten years. Levy and Clark (2006) add that the increase in crime in Koh Samui is a conclusion of a social and moral collapse in Thai society that has been transformed from the home of coconut farmers and fishermen into a tourist commodity. More than a million tourists visit Koh Samui every year (TAT, 2006) and a change in Thai property laws has led many foreigners to stay on longer (Levy and Clark, 2006). In the recent years, more than one third of properties in Koh Samui are invested in bars, hotels and restaurants and fewer than twenty percent of local people get benefits from tourism development in Koh Samui (Levy and Clark, 2006). The gap between rich and poor people has become wider and the tensions between them have increased. These tensions have generated a series of violent assaults, robberies and acts of harm in the society (Boonmathya, 2003). This shows that Koh Samui has transformed from a rural to more urban society.

However, crime is everywhere and no one can be guaranteed safety anywhere, especially in these days of international terrorism. In Thailand, it is no exception as

well but considering the numbers of annual tourist visiting Thailand, incidents of serious crime are relatively few. This is confirmed that there are only six British people who have been murdered in Thailand in the past ten years (Police Station, Koh Samui, 2007).

To sum up, a brief description and analysis of Koh Samui has set the context for this research. Geographically, Koh Samui as an island is an uncomplicated small scale society with limited population and unique culture. The development of tourism on Koh Samui is therefore likely to lead to more significant and obvious impacts than in large-scale societies (Holden, 2000; Mason, 2003). Obviously, as in other societies, small island tourism produces economic benefits but it also creates socio-cultural and environmental impacts (Hall and Page, 2002). Undesirable socio-cultural overflows include cheap commercialisation that tends to destroy island life; rising crime rates related to theft, drugs and prostitution; the invention of a fake local culture that is adopted to satisfy tourists; and the admiration of tourist's culture that weakens local culture (Matheison and Wall, 2006).

Environmental problems caused by tourism are concerned with the overload of tourist numbers and their attraction to beaches (Weaven, 2001a; Shaw, 2002). This style of tourism blurs the geographical differences between islands and forces each destination island to compete world-wide with others (William and Lawson, 2001). Additionally, focusing on beach tourism may limit opportunities for local people to have visual and physical access to the sea (Mason, 2003). Beach tourism also abandons the other attractions of an island where tourists may find historical, cultural and scenic resources of real interest (Weaver and Opperman, 2000).

Island tourism depends on environmental quality more than economic activity (Holden, 2000). Although natural qualities of wildlife, and clean sea should, in principle, be protected in order to safeguard the future of tourism, the development of tourism often leads to pollution of the sea and urbanisation of the coast (Mason, 2003). Uncontrolled tourism development can lead to environmental damage (Mason, 2003; Sharpley, 1999). As mentioned in many studies, mass tourism results

in an overload of infrastructure, destruction of environmental resources, and ruins island culture as well as leading to the attractiveness of low cost tourism based on affluent, low volume, long stay and repeat visitors (Hall and Page, 2002; Holden, 2000; Mason, 2003, Matheison and Wall, 2006).

It is one of the common biases of tourism that local people in islands often gain costs without receiving many of the benefits (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Additionally, by owning the local hotels, restaurants, and most of the other tourism infrastructure, foreign tour businesses, are able to control tourism processes as a whole and capture most of the revenues (Sharpley, 1999). Profits are often removed from host societies and sent to Western countries where most tourists originate (Sharpley, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006). Moreover, if powerful foreign tour businesses move into a local area, the independence of local people sometimes declines (Holden, 2000; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Shaw, 2002). It is often seen that the effect of tourism in an unindustrialised island leads to a weakened cultural system as well as placing them in a higher state of dependency on the outside world (Nash, 2007).

The conflict between kinship bonds and cash system is another consequence of tourism (Nash, 2007). These disruptions occur because tourism can increase money flowing into the local area and lead to more social differentiation (Macleod, 2004). Money can also decrease people's willingness to share, and some social conflicts have even emerged which contribute to the decline of many traditional institutions (Sharpley, 2003). Additionally, tourism can disrupt the functional and structural foundations of host communities (Macleod, 2004; Nash, 2007).

1.4 Overview of the thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters. The content of each chapter is summarised as follows:

Chapter 2: Thai culture

This chapter explores the general viewpoint of Thai culture relating to the research topic and the methodological approach. Thai Buddhism has played an important role in Thai culture, attitude and development since Thai people have a strong need to maintain harmony in society. Behind the Thai smile of yesteryear lies much face-saving and avoidance of confrontation.

Chapter 3: Socio-cultural impacts of tourism development

This chapter provides a review of the literature relating to socio-cultural impacts of tourism and offers an insight into the definition, types and particularities of socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Socio-cultural impacts of tourism typically arise through mass tourism development. This chapter closes with an analysis of the negative socio-cultural impacts and a critique of the theoretical frameworks measuring the socio-cultural impacts of tourism.

Chapter 4: Methodological approach

This chapter details the methodology adopted in conducting this thesis comprising of participant observation and semi-structured interviews with local residents and authorities in Koh Samui. It details the research process, research paradigm and strategies. Finally, difficulties encountered during the data collection and the ways they were overcome, as well as the limitations of the research, are presented.

Chapter 5: En route

This chapter consists of three parts: 'happy memories', 'crisis and survival time', and 'new journey of changes'. Part I, happy memories, presents how local people lived and what they did for a living in the pre-tourism period. Part II, crisis and survival time, explores the problems faced by local people following a drop in the price of coconut which formed the basis of the island's economy. At this time,

tourism emerged as a survival option. Part III, new journey of changes, presents five themes which represent the local people's construction of different experiences during the post-tourism period. This part shows a new journey of local people in order to adapt their lifestyle to tourism development and how tourism development impacted on their lives. The aim of this chapter is to analyse and interpret the findings of residents' perceptions and attitudes toward socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in Koh Samui through participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

The chapter objectives are:

1. To evaluate the extent of socio-cultural changes and the process of tourism development in Koh Samui.
2. To identify and analyse the problems perceived by residents related to tourism development and socio-cultural changes in Koh Samui.
3. To identify and analyse the residents' behavioural patterns and their responses to socio-cultural impacts of tourism development.

Chapter 6: Socio-cultural impacts of tourism induced internal migration.

This chapter discusses socio-cultural impacts of internal labour force migration as a consequence of tourism development that emerged in the data analysis. The analysis shows that local residents in Koh Samui believed that the majority of socio-cultural impacts are a result of labour migration from the Isan region of Thailand. Ethnic identity of Isan people, and types and the motives of migration are examined. Acculturation and adaptation in Isan migrant workers is explored to show how they have progressed further with adaptation to tourist culture than local residents.

The chapter objective is:

1. To identify and analyse the problems perceived by residents related to tourism development and socio-cultural changes in Koh Samui.

Chapter 7: Thai cultural responses and Thais' coping with socio-cultural impacts.

This chapter presents the implication of Thai cultural responses and an interpretation of how Thai people cope with socio-cultural changes. Buddha's

teaching has influenced Thai people's construction of impacts. The chapter also discusses why local people need to accept tourism as well as why they attribute blame elsewhere. By accepting and living with problems, avoidance of confrontation would be involved. In addition, this chapter presents strategies used to cope with tourism in a Thai context. The aim of this chapter is to interpret residents' social construction of how they cope with socio-cultural impacts of tourism and the cultural conditions and responses in a Thai context.

The chapter objectives are:

1. To identify and analyse the residents' behavioural patterns and their responses to socio-cultural impacts of tourism development.
2. To analyse the residents' social construction of socio-cultural impacts.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This chapter brings the findings together and reviews them in relation to the literature and socio-cultural impact theories. The evaluation of this research project is discussed. The implications for tourism planning within Koh Samui are considered and future development policies and strategies are suggested. This is followed by recommendations for future research. In addition, the final objective will be addressed in this chapter.

Chapter 2

Thai culture

This chapter explores and reviews Thai culture in order to better understand resident responses to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in a Thai context. The Western scholars who have researched the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in host societies have developed approaches to, and models for, measuring tourism impacts (e.g. Doxey's Irridex, 1975). However, given the nature of Thai culture, which is influenced strongly by Buddhism, Thai people may perceive tourism impacts differently. This chapter starts with an explanation of Thai Buddhism, the dominant religion in Thai society and how it influences Thais' thought and national development. Social custom, including Thai attitude and power and class, and the social system and hierarchy are also presented. This chapter examines Thais' avoidance of confrontation, Krong-jai, variations and tension in Thai society, difference between rural and urban Thais, and cultural contact with others.

According to Fare (1999), culture is perceived as a system that is learned, shared, and passed on in patterns of values, norms and customs within an individual group or as a national culture. However, he also adds that each individual culture is affected by religion, social system, political institutions, economic systems, technology and education; some of these factors will be discussed as they affect Thai culture and society.

2.1 Religion, thought and national development

The official religion of Thailand is represented by Theravada Buddhism also known as 'the teaching of the elders' (Ericker, 1995). Thai people see Buddhism as a philosophy or a way of life as well as a code of principles and practices that broaden their perception and compassion rather than being a religion in the traditional sense of the word (Ericker, 1995; Esterik, 2000). There are five 'precepts' or rules of Buddhist behaviour. First, is to avoid killing and harming people as well as animals. On this basis, some Thai people are vegetarians (Ericker,

1995; Klausner, 1993). Second, is to avoid stealing someone's belongings. Third, is to restrain from sexual immorality. Fourth, is to avoid lying and, last is to avoid taking drugs and intoxicants (Ekachai, 1990).

These precepts, or rules of behaviour, originated from the 'Perfections' including such characteristics as liberality, morality, serenity, bravery, meditation, wisdom, high merit, energy, truthfulness, kindness and constant temper. These characteristics encourage people not to be evil, rather to promote good and to purify the mind (Kislenko, 2004). As a result, Buddhists are generally against violence and have a great respect for all life including humans, animals, and plants. Humans strive to understand others and focus on developing kindness and compassion (Wyatt, 1984). Buddhism has also taught people to minimise a way of life dependent upon material possessions, the creation of harmony and peacefulness is the ultimate goal (Ericker, 1995). On the other hand, Western people believe in capitalism and when they come to visit Thailand, they carry this belief with them. This may lead to cultural conflict in the host community.

The majority of Thai people are Buddhists. They adhere to Buddhism as a fundamental part of their everyday life (Kislenko, 2004) and Buddhism was and remains a dominant force in Thai society. Buddhism in Thailand has been influenced by many different cultures and reflects the flexibility of Thai people's thoughts and expressions (Esterik, 2000). The 'Truth' is the basic teaching of Buddhism, which consists of three dimensions: the existence of all life in the universe including suffering or unhappiness; mortal or impermanence; and insubstantiality or the state of being without ego (Ericker, 1995). Even though every religion has a similar core philosophy, they have different guidelines and code of practices for people who follow them. Western tourists have a greater distance from religious belief compared to Thai people and this can cause socio-cultural changes.

Religious beliefs are a deeply personal matter for Thai people. However, it is not necessary for Thai people to believe in every aspect of Buddha's teachings as many Thai people do not necessarily follow every dimension of religion literally (Klausner, 1993). Instead, Thai people consider Buddhism as a practical guideline for their lives (Klausner, 1993). It can be observed that most Thai people believe in

rebirth in the next life and accept the concept of making merits by leading a better life in this life. In consequence, many Thai people perform good works regularly in order to gain merits in this life and with the hope of improving their living in this and the next life (Kislenko, 2004). Thai people see moral goodness as a means of spiritual growth which helps to achieve wisdom and inner peace (Ericker, 1995). To be morally good, one needs to follow the principle and practices of Buddhism which is in turn to support the tradition. Additionally, moral goodness is regarded as an ultimate measure of success in Thai society (Esterik, 2000).

Generally, harmony, respect and dignity are an immense concern for Thai people. Additionally, Thai people understand that it is inappropriate to display anger, temper, impolite behaviour and impatience in front of others (Ekachai, 1990). To maintain their composure is important for Thai people so they do not normally criticise openly or question each other while socialising (Browell, 2000). In contrast, Western people are more straight forward about their feelings and an openly criticism is acceptable for them. Conflict between two different cultures may therefore occur. Family life is also important for Thai people as well; particularly maintaining harmony and providing food and protection are all key issues (Kislenko, 2004). The teaching of Buddha is also clear in terms of respect for the elderly, not only within families but in wider society. Furthermore, Thai people have a very strong sense of national identity and faithfulness to their traditional values as well as the obvious pride in being Thai ruled by a king and royal family (Ericker, 1995).

In Thailand, the relationship between Buddhism, national identity and culture was, and is, very important. Furthermore, Buddhism has not only been a significant intellectual and cultural influence, but it is also a feature of development in Thailand (Ekachai, 1990). For example, a Buddhist perspective is to accept the world-wide social conditions of the modern day. As a result, the social purpose of modernising society and social reform has been influenced by the teachings of Buddhism (Esterik, 2000). However, Ericker (1995) mentions that the influence of Western capitalism on the social structure and values in Thailand is viewed with suspicion. Tourism brings encounters between host and tourist's culture and

Western tourists, as a dominant group, carry their culture with them while travelling. This may lead demonstration effects and acculturation in the host culture. Thai Buddhism has traditionally played both a social and religious leadership role in Thai society (Esterik, 2000). The Buddhist monks are important in this regard and have been intimately involved in the social, economic and educational development of their community especially in rural areas (Ericker, 1995). At the same time, monks have also provided religious and moral guidance and served as models of Buddha's principles and practices through their behaviour (Kislenko, 2004). The tension and conflict between the modernisation brought by tourism development and religious roles of Thai Buddhism has been the subject of some recent debates (Kislenko, 2004; Klausner, 1993). However, Thai Buddhism has an involvement in the material world in order to play a role in community services and development in response to the needs and expectations of local residents (Ekachai, 1990; Esterik, 2000).

2.2 Social customs

2.2.1 Thai attitudes

Thai culture has many social customs that rule Thai people's behaviour particularly in public settings (Kislenko, 2004). For the most part, Thai people are extremely open-minded regarding tourists who are unfamiliar with their customs so that they often forget they are in another country where people have different ideas about their personal manner (Esterik, 2000). For those tourists who take the time to learn and follow Thai customs, a greater insight into the culture is gained and most Thai people will respond with obvious appreciation (Klausner, 1993). Thai people would be more appreciated if tourists learnt their culture, what they should and should not do, before their journey to reduce damage to the host culture.

2.2.2 Body language

Physical acts are considered in the context of politeness and respect. Dating couples, who are holding hands and kissing in public, is very un-Thai, while hugging, touching and even dancing too close is also inappropriate (Esterik, 2000).

Physical contact is acceptable in the context of holding a small child or when dealing with close friends of the same sex. Seeing women or men holding hands in a public setting is not forbidden nor considered as sexual indecency but rather a common sign of friendship (Kislenko, 2004). Thai people are generally very reserved with respect to expressions of love and sexuality. Additionally, pre-marital relations are extremely rare especially in strictly traditional communities (Esterik, 2000). The relationships develop much more slowly and Thai people are far shyer in this matter than is usual in the West. Even holding hands is considered unacceptable in some communities (Kislenko, 2004). Tourists should be careful with their expression of love and their outfits in public settings as Thailand is a conservative country. Tourists holding hands is more acceptable nowadays but kissing in public is still unacceptable in Thai culture.

Dress and appearance of Thai people is also taken as a sign of respect not only for themselves but also for the society and culture (Kislenko, 2004). As discussed, this means that clothes must be worn properly with much greater care than in the West particularly in the Wat or royal palaces (Esterik, 2000). Nudity is considered as very offensive, therefore; Thai people will not appear topless in the way that Westerners do on Thailand's beaches (Kislenko, 2004). Even though it is more acceptable for tourists to wear bikinis in tourist sites, it is seen as culturally inappropriate in Thai culture. Many Thai people wear shirts and shorts when swimming or working in the heat rather than show their bodies. This is in keeping with politeness and respect to themselves as well as their society. In this context, it may involve the belief that dark skin is a sign of lower status and indicate someone who works outside in the sun (a labour for example) (Klausner, 1993). Therefore, it is common to see Thai women wearing a white sun protective cream on their bodies and faces or carrying umbrella to block out the sunlight when they are outside. This belief is also related to social class identification, not ethnic race as in the West (Kislenko, 2004).

2.2.3 Smiles and laughter

Thailand is known as the 'Land of Smiles'. The Thai smile is a real phenomenon with a genuine social purpose (Kislenko, 2004). It is used as a part of a greeting but also to comfort in difficult circumstances. When it comes to an aggressive or angry

situation, a smile is the first defence in the hope of preventing further problems (Klausner, 1993). It is also used to save someone from embarrassment when they do something unintentional or shameful in public. The smile is a way to ask forgiveness or to apologise and in return to forgive the mistake (Esterik, 2000). Where waving might be misread as insulting, a smile is a better means of saying thank you. Laughter is used in much the same way particularly in circumstances where the unintentional embarrassment is greater (Kislenko, 2004). It can be quite effective and charming although it is unusual for outsiders to see people around them laughing after they have walked into a pole or fallen into the river (Esterik, 2000). The Thai smile has attracted tourists to visit Thailand for decades as it provides an ideal welcome for visitors; however, Thai people hide their real feeling behind the smile that Western visitors might not interpret and it can lead to misunderstanding.

2.2.4 Traditional roles of the sexes

Many social and cultural anthropologists mention that women in Thailand enjoy more freedom and have more rights than in any other countries in Southeast Asia. This is due to the fact, that in part, Thai women have traditionally played a much greater role in social, economic and political affairs than elsewhere (Esterik, 2000). For instance, it has been common for women to inherit land as much as or more than men for almost two thousand years. It is also common throughout many provinces of the country for women to control family life, run businesses and household finances (Kislenko, 2004).

This is probably developed in part due to Buddhist practices which gave men the principal role in the monkhood (Kislenko, 2004; Klausner, 1993). Since only men can gain merit by joining the monkhood, women find other paths (Potter, 1976). Moreover, when husbands and sons are taking the robes and studying religious principals and practices as monks, it falls to women to manage family affairs (Mulder, 1996). In addition to this tradition, it goes further when men migrate to work and study far away (Kislenko, 2004). However, tourism has a reputation to bring modernisation to the host community but it sometimes brings a stressful life to local people as they have to work harder in order to fulfil the modern life.

Therefore, it is often seen that women in Thailand works outside more and some of them are forced to work in the sex trade.

2.2.5 The Thai family

Thai people value their family life very strongly both for themselves and as an important part of Thai society as a whole (Klausner, 1993). Typically Thai people live with their extended family which may include their parents and grandparents and even sometime aunts and uncles. This phenomenon is from Thai people having deep respect toward their elders (Esterik, 2000). Nursing homes or old-age homes, as widespread in the West, are considered highly disrespectful for their elders. Even though this may lead to crowded households, Thai people consider that extended families provide an important sense of community (Kislenko, 2004). This also shows that Thai people consider and support concepts of essential respect and compromise in the society. Childcare becomes a more shared responsibility between men and women and the arrangements of childcare may also be economically advantageous for parents. However, the main motivations of having children for Thai people are to maintain strong family bonds (Klausner, 1993). Tourism not only brings benefits to the host community but it also has an impact on family structure. Modernisation and capitalism, brought by tourism, makes local people more concerned about their financial status and they tend to work more hours and decrease the family size.

2.2.6 Power and class

Some scholars believe that Thai society is driven by power and social status in many ways (Supap, 1991). This may, in part, come from a respect for tradition especially when it comes to the monarchy and Buddhism, which have long served as the basic principles of Thai culture (Kislenko, 2004). It may also be based on respect for elders and the importance of masculinity in the traditional family and community. However, scholars believe that the pressure on power and class in Thai society is based in Buddhist thought more than anything in which the sense of duty and morality are deeply inherited through generations (Esterik, 2000). Because it is believed that Thai social power and class roots individuals depending on merit built

up from past existences and previous life, one is born to the advantages or disadvantages of a given social position, but one need not remain a lower rank until the end of his days.

In an earlier age, there were three classes in Thai society; government officials and nobles; freemen; and slaves. Later on, when King Rama V in 1905 emancipated all slaves to be freeman in Thailand (Ekachai, 1990), there were more classes due to numerous factors including lineage, political and government position, power in economies and politics, wealth, education level, and occupation that can be summarised below (Supap, 1991):

- Supreme class refers to the king, queen and royal family as well as the high level of the aristocrats;
- Elite class refers to the prime minister, the privy councillors, and the politicians in the government;
- Upper class includes high position in government office, generals, and the presidents of the universities;
- Upper-middle class includes the intellectual, leading businessmen, and famous writers;
- Middle class can refer to the general government officers, merchants, graduates and post graduates from abroad, and lawyers;
- Lower-middle class includes the lower education level from vocational schools;
- Upper-lower class refers to the clerks, the painters, employees, the mechanics, and the builders;
- Lower-lower class refers to unskilled labourers.

Taken together with respect, obedience, kinship and community, these values maintain and promote Thai societal structure (Embree, 1950). People in positions of power are considered to achieve a greater degree of moral goodness. Similarly, wealth is often seen as an extension of moral power (Kislenko, 2004). Although it may be odd to many Western people and outsiders, the class and power structures of Thai society is not so unique. It is obvious that most societies in the world,

including those in the West, have different societal ranks as well as the traditions and structures to support them both implicitly or explicitly (Klausner, 1993). Westerners might consider Thai people to be obedient or inactive toward authority. However, most Thai people see this behaviour as being part of a common order (Esterik, 2000). Some Thai people accept their lower position or rank with the belief that they may have abused their power in a previous life (Kislenko, 2004). It is important to note that power and class in Thailand might be disrupted by the dominant cash system brought by tourism development as money may be seen as a tool to improve the status of local people in society. Social class in Thai society, as described in this thesis, acknowledges Buddhism as a dominant factor in Thai society. Thai Buddhism has been influenced by many cultures as a result the Thai social class system is complex. In general terms, Thai social class values are based on respect for elders and seniority. However, Thai people also believe in equal rights and have a strong sense of brotherhood.

2.3 Social system and hierarchy

Embree (1950) characterised Thai society as having a loose social structure as indicated by: allowance of considerable variation in individual behaviour; relatively low levels of concern regarding the observation of common rights and duties; a lack of long-term obligations; no strong sense of duty and responsibility in family relations; and a lack of regularity and discipline in Thai life. In contrast, Suvannajata (1976) argues that Thai society is well patterned and predictable influenced by the idea of gratitude in social relationships. Nevertheless, there are obvious well defined behaviour patterns that are required for both parties in Thai relationships such as sponsor-client, teacher-pupil, elder-younger, boss-worker, master-servant (Ekachai, 1990).

The obligation and respect that people in the lower rank of Thai social hierarchy should have to those of higher ranks has previously been described. However, there are duties that the high ranks must perform in order that the relationship is meaningful and complete in exchange (Esterik, 2000). It is not only kindness that must be shown to those of lower rank in the form of moral but sometimes material support but also advice, protection and, if appropriate, interest in career

development should be arranged as well (Kislenko, 2004). The higher rank always needs to be aware of supporting and expanding the network of his faithful and reliable assistance (Klausner, 1993). Loyalty is maintained as long as the respective positions of power, status and rank remain stable. Certainly, Western societies have similar patterns (Kislenko, 2004). However, the relationships in Thailand appear more structured and its symbiosis is more complex. In Thai society, the simple presence of a high status person will often give *kamlang-jai* or strength of heart to somebody on the lower ranks of the social status and power ladder (Esterik, 2000). It is noted that the introduction of tourism and a cash system might disrupt brotherhood relationships and mutual aid. People become more selfish and rely on commercial relationships.

2.4 Avoidance of confrontation

The easy-going and mild-manner social atmosphere in Thailand with the avoidance of expressions of anger, displeasure and criticism is unique (Kislenko, 2004). This controlled balance of social stability is sometimes upset by an act of violence, which is confusing and unexpected for Thai society (Esterik, 2000). Thai people believe that life consists of many uncertainties that are out of human control (Knutson, 1998). Accordingly, Thai attitudes toward the unexpected shows through their inactive acceptant manner as they normally say ‘what will be, will be’. This also shows a connection between their avoidance of confrontation attitude and the Chai-yen concept taught by Buddhism. Chai-yen refers to the characteristic of a stable personality. Chai-yen means many things in the Thai context. Firstly, it involves a psychological quality control of not being worried when confronting problems. Secondly, it means not getting angry easily when one might normally be expected to do. Thirdly, it may refer to the ability to express emotion and not become easily excited or emotionally disturbed. To be a Chai-yen person, one must avoid expressing feelings and emotion directly.

A fundamental rule in Thai social interaction is to avoid open, face-to-face conflict. This is evident in how Thais handle conflict and criticism (Kislenko, 2004). Thais usually find indirect ways to soften negative messages and avoid public confrontation, regardless of whether that confrontation involves an inferior, an

equal, or at worst, a superior (Ekachai, 1990). Besides, maintaining Thais' composure is important to strengthen and smooth the interaction within relationships (Ekachai, 1990; Klausner, 1993).

Avoiding confrontation is a positive value in Thai society (Ekachai, 1990; Esterik, 2000). When conflicts arise in a Western society, Westerners have courts available for resolution (Kislenko, 2004). There is a bias towards pushing forward for compensation of wrongs committed against person or property. Such a bias is far less evident in Thai society where people will often withdraw gracefully rather than confront the wrongdoer and demand compensation or punishment (Ekachai, 1990; Esterik, 2000; Klausner, 1993).

For Thai people, one of the most effective methods in dealing with conflicts is to assure the conflicts do not occur at all (Ekachai, 1990; Ericker, 1995; Kislenko, 2004). However, despite the Thai fondness for avoidance of confrontation, conflicts do arise which demand a response. In such cases, Thai people will seek compromise (Klausner, 1993). For example, if an accident occurs on the crowded streets, the two parties may compromise on the spot, or if agreement is not reached, a compromise will be encouraged by the police (Esterik, 2000). The court will be the last resort. Even after the court procedure has begun, many cases will be settled in the judge's chambers on the basis of a compromise solution (Esterik, 2000; Kislenko, 2004; Klausner, 1993).

Conflict confrontation between the parties in the society is avoided (Esterik, 2000; Kislenko, 2004). Generally, Thai patterns of resolving conflict normally result in minimal criticism tension (Kislenko, 2004). If the tension is not kept to an acceptable level, future conflict will arise (Ericker, 1995). However, so far the techniques of negotiation and compromise of indirect blame and voluntary amendment of wrongs are successfully carried out for Thais (Esterik, 2000). Westerners must appreciate the bias of the Thai in using these techniques just as the Thai must appreciate the Western fondness for more direct confrontation, the use of the courts, and the forcing of punishment by the injured party (Kislenko, 2004). In a tourism context, tourists who visit Thailand would not understand this avoidance of confrontation and this might lead to a misunderstanding and cultural conflict. On

the other hand, the high value of avoidance of confrontation and *chai-yen* allows Thai people to cope with impacts of tourism and inappropriate behaviour of tourists. When a problem occurs, conflict and confrontation would be a last resource for Thai people (Konim, 1990). Therefore, the problem would be left unsolved and tension still remains underneath. This may subsequently result in violence (Ekachai, 1990; Kislenko, 2004; Konim, 1990).

2.5 Kreng-jai: Deference and consideration

One of the most difficult Thai concepts to understand is a behavioural pattern defined as *kreng-jai*. *Kreng-jai* refers to an attitude toward someone else (Ekachai, 1990). This quality is highly valued. In Thai society, *kreng-jai* is an attitude displayed towards one of higher rank, social status or age with its social importance expressed through elder-younger, subordinate-superior relationships (Kislenko, 2004). It is a complex combination between diffidence, deference and consideration with proper respect and appropriate behaviour. *Kreng-jai* is also observed in one's shyness to seek help or ask for something needed from a superior or one in the same social status unless it is absolutely necessary (Ekachai, 1990). However, the cultural trait of *Kreng-jai* might be upset with the system brought by tourism as people might have less consideration when money is involved.

2.6 Variations and tensions in Thai society

Sometimes, this avoidance of overt expressions of anger, displeasure and criticism that maintains a delicate balance of social stability is suddenly upset by an act of violence; this is unexpected (Esterik, 2000). Foreigners, with their gradually rising expressions of anger from the flushed face and harsh and heated words, to the slap on the face, the shove, and the punch would find it difficult to comprehend the dramatic change from the Thai smile to the knife thrust (Klausner, 1993). However, the smile marks a variety of indirect outlets for apparently reserved feelings of anger and annoyance. When these indirect methods are no longer psychologically satisfying or socially productive, violence may well result (Ekachai, 1990; Klausner, 1993).

It is not always the case that a Thai person is able to control his emotions. When one is very angry to the point that he does not care for the relationship anymore, he has a verbal range of insults with which to rebuke the offender (Embree, 1950; Konim, 1990). The strength of insults lie in the extreme negative connotation attributed to animals (e.g. dogs and buffalo) and the feet. If one resorts to the use of such strong insults, changes to compromise with the offended party are very small (Ekachai, 1990; Klausner, 1993). Thais have refined irony and mockery as indirect techniques of social expression to a fine art (Klausner, 1993). If a Thai is annoyed or angered, he does not express such feelings directly but turns them towards another object, either animate or inanimate (Kislenko, 2004). This is done consciously with the express purpose of alerting the object of displeasure and annoyance as to how the injured party feels. The Thai pattern of avoiding open social confrontation naturally influences the modes of resolving conflicts (Esterik, 2000).

In addition, the Thai fondness for gossip may be also explained in this context of tensions beneath Thai society with the avoidance of confrontation. A release is found in constant backbiting, scathing remarks and sometimes unfounded allegations (Kislenko, 2004). Foreigners would be surprised to hear that a polite, uncomplaining and smiling Thai turns into a cruel person delighting his/her friends with a story of displeasure and criticising openly and brutally (Kislenko, 2004; Klausner, 1993).

There are various values and customs in Thai society and many scholars state that these values and traditions in Thailand are influenced by Buddhism (Esterik, 2000; Kislenko; 2004; Klausner, 1993; Konim, 1990). Buddhism has been practiced in Thailand for more than three hundred years and Thai Buddhism is influenced by many cultures including Hindu from India and Tao from China (Esterik, 2000). It is noticed that Thai people do not follow every aspect of Buddha's teaching but they recognise Buddhism as a fundamental guideline in their everyday life (Kislenko; 2004; Konim, 1990). In addition, individuals in the society are different so some Thai people are aggressive and break the high value of cool heart (Ekachai, 1990; Klausner, 1993; Konim, 1990). Thai people through out the country are not uniform

as it depends on an individual's experiences and beliefs that construct his/her individual behaviour.

2.7 Difference between urban and rural

Rural Thai people are different from urban Thai people in the sense of different levels of values in education, superiority, merit making, superstition, gratitude and pride in their roots (Konim, 1990). From an educational perspective in rural communities, children are allowed to study in a compulsory educational system followed by helping their parents in the field (Ekachai, 1990). However, this tradition has changed recently. Thai farmers face more difficulties to provide the high levels of education to their children that are necessary if they are to be able to work in professions other than farming. Some families encourage their sons to become monks so they can have a good education at the temple (Eriker, 1995).

Rural Thais are more attached to Buddhism and merit making than urban Thais (Esterik, 2000). Additionally, rural Thais value security in life by respecting the rich with the perception that they work hard to earn money to provide financial security for their family (Konim, 1990). Many rural Thais migrate to work in the city; however, it is only temporary migration. After earning enough money for a living, they move back to live in their village in order to take care of their parents as paying a debt of gratitude (Kislenko, 2004). On the other hand, urban Thais have stronger values about time as their working time is quite clearly defined and strictly adhered to compare to the flexible work time in the fields in rural areas. Equally, Westernisation plays a more important role in urban society than it does in rural society (Ekachai, 1990; Kislenko, 2004) as urbanised areas are the principal contexts in which Western and Thai cultures meet. An introduction of tourism development might blur the sense of rural community and transform a rural society to become an urban one. Even although the number of rural Thais is greater than urban Thais and therefore could be seen as the more dominant group. However, urban Thais have been influenced by Western values and have more wealth and therefore power so it can be said that urban Thais are the dominant group in Thai society.

2.8 Cultural contact

Western people coming to work in Thailand with their own culture that is filled with concepts of equality, openness, and direct confrontation expect their Thai colleagues to show less deference, more inventiveness and argumentation (Browell, 2000). The Thai employees, who are adapting to the Western culture of business world, seems to have less guilt about openly expressing their opinions and criticism as well as standing up straight in front of the boss rather than slightly bowing with hands carefully folded and saying nothing in front of him (Browell, 2000; Mulder, 1996). Thai employees come to realise that their western boss is not reserved about showing his pleasure, friendliness or annoyance openly and with gestures (Kislenko, 2004). In a tourism context, local people would adapt to tourist's culture and this situation leads to acculturation process and cultural change eventually.

Both Western and Thai people have fixed their views of other cultures and their stereotypes. Unfortunately, the smiling Thai of yesteryear are less apparent as they fight with the pressures of modernisation and westernisation (Browell, 2000). The traffic, the crowded buses, inflation, the flooded streets, the strikes, and the demonstrations cause unavoidable damage. However, a sense of emotional balance and concentration enables Thai people to cope with day to day problems (Kislenko, 2004). Sometimes, the Thai hot hearted and emotional is mixed with an appreciation of their friendliness and openness. Thai people are able to treat westerners as fellow human beings without the emotional hang-ups of a former colonial people (Ekachai, 1990; Esterik, 2000). Fortunately, Thailand has never been colonised, therefore; there is a firm foundation, lacking anti-westerner complexes that enables a better understanding between the Thai and western communities (Kislenko, 2004). For this reason, Thailand is attractive as a destination and Thai people are willing to welcome Western tourists.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of Thai culture which is necessary to interpret the residents' social construction of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development. It allows the focus to move away from a purely Western socio-

cultural interpretation leading to a better understanding of resident responses to the impacts of tourism in a Thai context. Additionally, this study focuses on cultural factors and explores Thai psychological factors involved in explaining how behaviour changes (coping mechanisms) emerge. Therefore, it is important to understand what Thai culture truly is and how it reflects on Thais' thought.

Buddhism has played an important role in Thai culture and influence on Thais' thought. The main principle of Thai Buddhism is to maintain harmony in people's minds and between people in the society. Consequently, avoidance of conflict and social confrontation of Thai people becomes a significant value and it is inappropriate to express emotions such as anger, hate, and annoyance in Thai society. The most effective method of dealing with conflicts is to make sure that no conflict occurs at all. Additionally, Buddha's teaching reflects the Thai values of 'live with problems', *Kreng-jai*, and *Kalatesa* in order to maintain harmony in the society.

Previous studies of the behavioural responses of residents to tourism found that local residents adopt coping mechanisms to avoid competition with tourists when tourist numbers increase over time and the impacts of tourism occur (Boissevain, 1996; Brown and Giles, 1995; Burns and Holden 1995; Dickinson, 2004; Doxey, 1975). Avoidance of confrontation of Thai people seems to be more like entrenched behaviour rather than an occasional adaptation in order to cope with socio-cultural impacts of tourism. It is impossible to separate avoidance behaviour from Thai people. It is common for all cultures to avoid problems. However, what is unique in the Thai context is the need to be harmonious about this avoidance. In the Western context, people would complain about this avoidance but they still accept it. In contrast, there is much greater acceptance this avoidance in the way it is in the Thai context. Having reviewed the Thai socio-cultural context, the next chapter will review the literature concerning the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development.

Chapter 3

Socio-cultural impacts of tourism development

Tourism conceptual developments started from an advocacy platform in the post war period, when people viewed tourism uncritically and only perceived the economic benefits accruing from it, as a result, mass tourism was born (Jafari, 1983). In the 1960s, a cautionary platform developed and mass tourism was criticised for its negative impacts. It grew to challenge the advocacy platform in questioning the benefit claims of tourism in contrast to the realities of commercialisation. In the early 1980's, an adaptancy platform introduced the concept of sustainable tourism as a more socio-culturally and environmentally benign form of tourism. It is believed to be a sort of remedy but has yet to predominate over global mass tourism (Jafari, 1983).

Old tourism is characterised by mass, standardised and rigid packages. It boomed during the 1950s to 1970s alongside the developments such as the establishment of the group tour operator and travel agency, promotional and advanced booking fares, cheap oil, paid holiday allowance, the trend of psychocentric or sun-lust tourists, vertical and horizontal integrations and the increase of multinational corporations and international franchises (Jafari, 1983). Additionally, these circumstances lead to the mass tourism product, the degradation of a sense of community, and the minimisation of personal contacts later on (Mason, 2003). This chapter provides a review of the literature relating to socio-cultural impacts of tourism predominantly from a Western perspective. It strives to offer an insight into the definition, scope, types and particularities of socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Mass tourism is seen as being the main cause of impacts. Coping mechanisms and socio-cultural changes, socio-cultural impact studies in Thai context and lessons for this study are also presented.

3.1 The impacts of tourism

Tourism takes place in the environment which is made up of both human and natural features (Mason, 2003). The human environment comprises economic, social and cultural factors and processes (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Additionally, the natural environment is made up of plants and animals in their habitat. Mason (2003) mentions that it is possible to make a distinction between the human environment and the natural environment. This is particularly useful when discussing the impacts of tourism. However, it is important to note that, in reality, the human environment and the natural environment are interwoven. Additionally, human activity has effects on the natural environment (Hall and Page, 2002). Therefore, tourism as a significant form of human activity can have major impacts. These impacts are very visible in the destination where tourists interact with the local environment, economy, culture and society (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Hence, it is conventional to consider the impacts of tourism under the headings of socio-cultural, economic, and environmental impacts (Matheison and Wall, 2006).

The impacts of tourism can be positive and negative. Whether impacts are perceived as positive or negative depends on the value position and judgement of the observer of the impacts (Hall and Page, 2002). For instance, the building of a hotel in an area with currently little tourism activity can be observed to be both positive and negative for the local economy. Creating more jobs in the local area would be the positive one, on the other hand, although jobs would be created, they will only be part-time, semi-skilled and poorly paid which could be viewed as a negative impact on the local economy (Mason, 2003).

3.1.1 Environmental impact

The environment is being increasingly recognised as a key factor in tourism. In the last decade of the twentieth century, it was noted that tourism depends ultimately upon the environment, as it is a major tourism attraction itself, or is the context in which tourism activity takes place (Croall, 1995; Mason, 2003). Nevertheless,

tourism and environment relationships are complex. There is a mutual dependence between the two, which has been described as symbiotic. Holden (2000) supports that the relationship between tourism and environment is one in which tourism benefits from being in a good quality environment and this same environment should benefit from measures aimed at protecting and maintaining its value as a tourist resource. Nevertheless, five aspects of the environment are introduced by Swabrooke (2000) including the natural environment, wildlife, the farmed environment, the built environment and natural resources (see Figure 2). It is important to note that these aspects are linked and not separate entities.

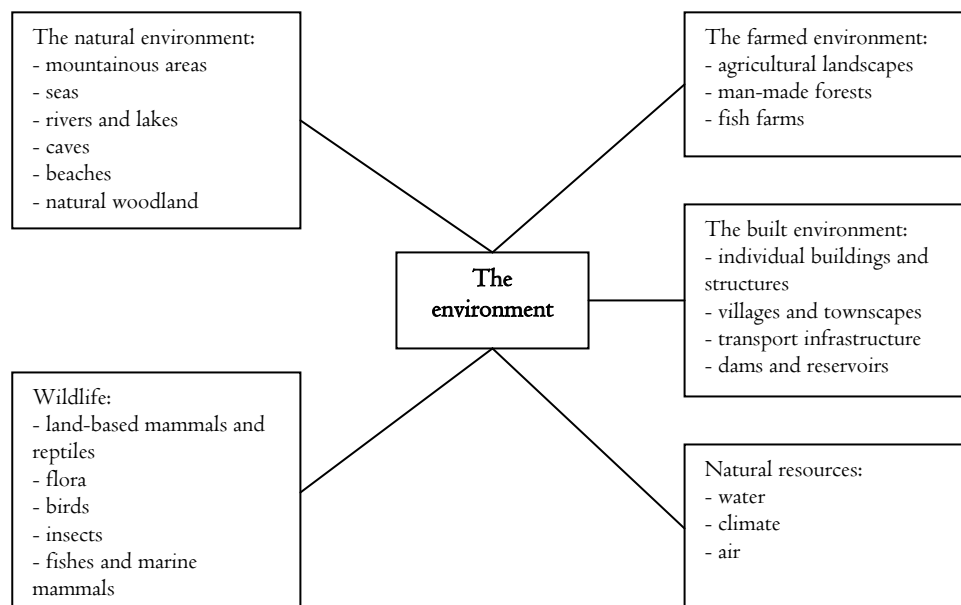


Figure 2: The components of five aspects of the environment (Swarbrooke, 2000)

There is a long history of the environment acting as a significant attraction for visitors, but there is also growing evidence of conflict between tourism activity and the wish to conserve landscapes and habitats (Loukissas and Skayannis, 2001). Additionally, it is possible to sub-divide environmental impacts under the headings positive and negative. Although, as with other impacts the value position of the observer or commentator on environmental impacts will affect their assessment of whether these impacts are classified as positive and negative (Archer and Cooper, 1994; Mason, 2003).

The nature of activities that tourists are engaged in will greatly influence the impacts they have. Some activities lead to minimal impact on the environment and are not resource consumptive (Holden, 2000). Sightseeing from a bus, for example, will have a little effect on the actual environment travelled through although the bus may contribute to pollution and traffic congestion. Off-road vehicles in a mountain will have far more direct impact. Tourism involving hunting and fishing can also be heavily resource consumptive if it is not carefully controlled. However, many scholars claim that tourism tends to over-consume resources (Holden, 2000; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; McKercher, 1993).

The nature of the infrastructure that exists for tourism is significant in relation to impacts (Weaver, 2001b). However, if mass tourism is well planned and the groups controlled, this can limit impacts to a minimum. Additionally, tourism is a seasonal activity in many parts of the world (Shaw, 2002). Tourism may affect the environment for part of the year under this circumstance and the damaged environment would be able to recover during the low season (Theobald, 1994; 1998). Conversely, in some areas, despite only seasonal tourism affecting the environment, this impact is so serious that there is little chance for recovery (Weaver, 2001a).

The positive environmental impacts may be regarded as follows: the stimulus to protect landscape and wildlife; the establishment of national parks or wildlife reserves; the promotion to preserve heritage sites; and contribution of money to maintain historical buildings, heritage sites and wildlife habitats (Mason, 2003). On the other hand, the negative environmental impacts may be regarded as the following: increasing of dropped litter; the contribution of congestion in terms of overcrowding of people; increasing water pollution; the creation of unsightly human structures and footpath erosion; damage and disturbance to wildlife habitats (Mason, 2003).

3.1.2 Economic impact

Economic impacts have been historically the most studied aspect of tourism impacts (Pearce, 1998). The importance of tourism in the global economy includes employment, contribution to balance of payment, and global gross domestic product (Matheison and Wall, 2006; Shaw, 2002). Additionally, many countries recognise positive economic impact as a major type of tourism impact to support tourism development (Weaver and Opperman, 2000). Many developing countries have selected tourism as a development strategy (Mason, 2003). However, these countries consider the positive economic benefits and have less awareness of negative economic impacts that may be brought as well (Theobald, 1994; 1998). In this circumstance, host destinations consider the success of tourism merchants in their countries as a main basis for evaluation; as a result, they believe that tourism plays an important role in term of economic impact contributing to local communities. Additionally, the nature of the tourism project and the characteristic of the destination are key factors contributing to the economic impact of tourism on local communities (Mason, 2003).

Many scholars suggest that tourism has benefited local communities as well as local businesses by direct and indirect channels (Hall and Page, 2002; Mason; 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Wall, 1997). Figure 3 provides a summary of the economic impact of tourism. It can explain that direct impacts are derived from money spent directly by tourists such as at restaurants. Indirect impacts occur, for example, when the restaurant purchases goods and services from other businesses and pays salaries to its employees, who can use their wages to buy other goods and services. However, if the restaurant obtains goods or services outside the local area, the money has no indirect impacts on the local community.

Scale is one of the significant factors when discussing economic impact of tourism. Mason (2003) suggests that although similar processes may be operating, effects can be different as a result of them operating at different scales. Nevertheless, many scholars consider tourism within a range of development tools which both developing and undeveloped countries should be using (Weaver and Opperman,

2000). Tourism can bring significant economic benefits to the areas seeking new development but with few choices, for example, the areas of old dying industries or in need of revitalisation, as well as un-exploited locations (Shaw, 2002).

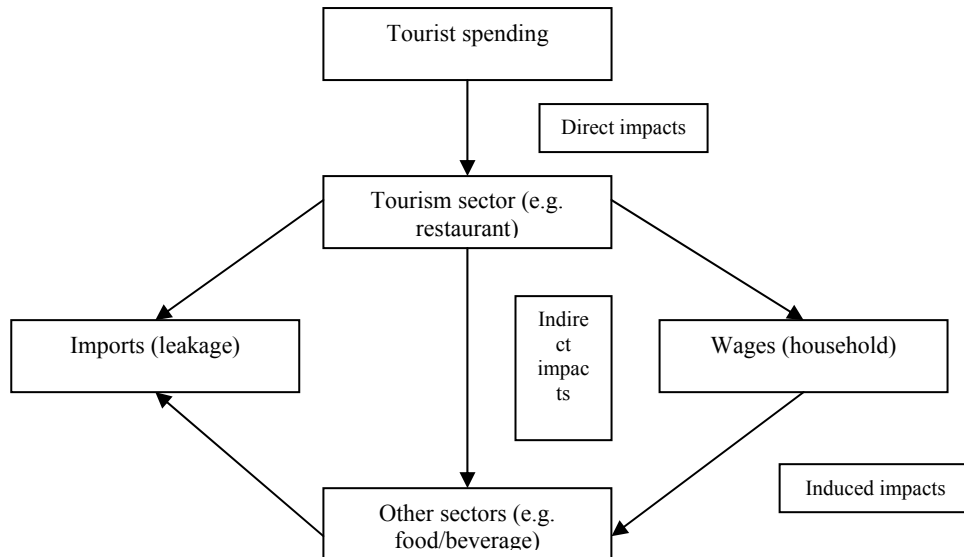


Figure 3: Economic impacts of tourism (UNEP, 2001)

As discussed, tourism impacts can be considered under the two headings, positive and negative. In relation to economic impacts of tourism, Matheison and Wall (2006) consider the following as positive impacts: generation of employment as well as contribution to foreign exchange earnings, government revenues and regional development. Additionally, the measurement of positive impacts can be either at the local or regional scale or a national level. On the other hand, Pearce (1998) and Mason (2003) mention inflation, opportunity costs and over-dependence on tourism as negative economic impacts of tourism.

Inflation including the increases in prices of land, houses and even food can be a result of tourism (Mason, 2003). Additionally, prices for these commodities can increase when tourists place extra demands on local services at a tourism destination (Archer and Cooper, 1994). Opportunity costs refer to the cost of engaging in tourism rather than another form of economic activity. Over-dependence on tourism can occur, for example, in small states where tourism is seen by the government as the best method of development (Matheison and Wall, 2006). In this scenario the importance of tourism grows and there is practically no

other approach to development. Consequently, the destination becomes dependent on tourism revenue to the extent that any change in demand is likely to lead to a major economic crisis (Krippendorf, 1987; Mason, 2003; Metheison and Wall, 2006).

3.2 Tourism and culture

The whole of culture is complex and humans obtain culture as a member of society and pass it through generations. In the past, it might have been said that culture was everything ranging from objectivity (e.g. art forms and clothes) to subjectivity (e.g. languages, behaviour patterns) (Jenks, 1993). However, there have been recently discussions from many scholars how cultures lose their deeper meaning (Burns, 1999). Hofstede (1991) also mentions that culture can explain the relationships within the society from the elements of culture such as knowledge, belief and values shared by people in a society. In addition, Konim (1990) adds that the culture makes a society distinct from others and also shapes and guides the thoughts, the actions, the practices, and the creativity of members in that society. Members in any society learn and internalise through socialisation as well as integrate the beliefs and values in a system which reflects the assumptions they hold about the world they live in (Jenks, 1993). Layers of culture are described in different levels including at national, regional, gender, generation, and social classes, as well as organisation and cooperation levels (Hofstede, 1991).

Many scholars have agreed that environment and technology can lead to socio-cultural changes and it is also clear that culture is dynamic and changes over time throughout the processes of passing on knowledge and behaviour through generations (Badone and Roseman, 2004; Eriksen, 2001; Honigmann, 1996; Jenks, 1993). The approach of tourism development systems is important by focusing on the relationship between the cultural dynamics, social systems and structures of communities and tourism (Badone and Roseman, 2004). According to Burns (1999), culture can be seen in two ways in the relationship between host and guest. Firstly, culture can be seen as a commercial resource especially when culture is unique and remarked by tourism marketing specialists. Secondly, an understanding

of the links between tourism systems and host culture may help minimise negative impacts on a host country.

It is clear that tourism and culture is interrelated. However, much of the literature on tourism impacts is lightweight and superficial with respect to socio-cultural impacts. The work tends to be based on objective analysis rather than a socio-culturally constructed interpretation. Thus, this study tends to focus on cultural factors in order to interpret the local residents' social construction of socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in a Thai context. A key to access the subjective interpretation of socio-cultural impacts of tourism development is to understand profoundly the elements of society and culture in the following:

Human culture

Culture is a fragile phenomenon as its characteristic is persistently changing and easily lost over time. Culture is subjective and exists only in people's minds (Honigmann, 2001). What humans have acknowledged through generations such as written languages, buildings and other man-made objectives are merely the cultural products (Eriksen, 2001). Therefore, broken pots and other artefacts of ancient people do not stand alone as culture but are only material remains reflecting skills and knowledge of culture (Smith, 1989). However, the concept of culture can be summarised into four categories: culture as a general state of mind, cultural as a moral development in a society, cultural as a descriptive and material type e.g. body of arts, language, specialist knowledge and training, and culture as the way of people's life through socialisation process (Jenks, 1993).

Language and culture

All languages have their own system of sounds, words, sentences and grammars (Eriksen, 2001; Jenks, 1993). Language is one of cultural knowledge passing through generations. Unsurprisingly, all languages change through time (Eriksen, 2001). However, there is no statistic on how often languages change. The change is normally at different rates and times in response to new social, cultural and environmental circumstances (Smith, 1989). Over time, every language creates new words to explain new objects and situations. It also has an incident that some

nations refuse or accept the gaining of new words from other languages (Eriksen, 2001; Jenks, 1993). Components of communication process can be divided into language and paralanguage. Paralanguage is referred as secondary communication devices, noticeable in communication and helps to prevent a misunderstanding or unintentionally message being passed on (Eriksen, 2001). Paralanguage can be observed through face to face contact including body language (kinesics), tone and voice characteristic and use of personal space (proxemics) (Eriksen, 2001).

Social organisation

One characteristic of human nature is they normally live in groups. It is a fact that human beings can be members of many groups at the same time. For example, they may be parents, other family members, employees of companies and residents of towns (Eriksen, 2001) and their behaviour patterns are adjusted and adapted to the groups of which they belong (Smith, 1989). However, two criteria create social groups, based on kinship and non-kinship, are important depending on the scale of society (Eriksen, 2001).

Sex and marriage

In the Thai context, marriage is accepted universally, as the correct state for heterosexual intercourse between two people and the process leading up to this legally binding union, also assists the selection and social acceptance by the communities of each sexual partner. Thai society is more conservative than Western society and pre-marital couples are normally unacceptable in a Thai context, especially in a conservative communities in rural areas. In some societies, selection of marriage partners is an important strategy to create economical and political empires between families (Eriksen, 2001).

Process of socialisation

People have learnt the language, belief and knowledge of culture since they were born as well as their roles in groups and society during socialisation (Eriksen, 2001). Furthermore, they also learn to adopt their culture's norms through socialisation process. Norms are the appropriate conceptions of behaviour that are expected and accepted by majority members of the society (Honigmann, 1973). The development and formation of a human's personality is an important process

through socialisation as well (Eriksen, 2001). Even though many scholars believe that a human's genes play an essential role in a human's personality, the socialisation process is equally important because it extends particular directions of specific beliefs and attitudes through selective experiences (Honigmann, 1973).

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a classification of people into groups by considering the significant different categories of selected cultural and physical characteristics of people from the others (Eriksen, 2001). Ethnic categorisation commonly involves a relationship between biological legacy and cultural inheritance as human beings believe that biological inheritance establishes cultural identity (Honigmann, 1973). Sometimes, ethnicity gets involvement with a loose group, identity which has no cultural traditions in common. Nevertheless, most ethnic groups can consist of many sub-cultures sharing language and tradition.

Social control

Social control is a necessity for all societies to manage and rule their residents to some degree. Social norms are the key to understanding a cultural system of social control. Social control e.g. law or regulations is normally based on social norms shared and accepted by the majority of people in a society. Although norms change over time, norms hold the common conceptions of appropriate and expected behaviour by people in a society in a period of time (Eriksen, 2001). Subsequently, what was accepted in the past may be unacceptable today. It is a difficulty and likely to cause conflict if a number of people in a society have not modified their norms but other people have (Honigmann, 1973). It is not a necessity that society's norms change but the laws have to change relating to the norms. Most of the time laws have an extended delay in following up society's norms (Eriksen, 2001). Furthermore, sometimes the laws change before the norms do. The most effective form of social control is not laws, regulations or policemen but it is the moral internalisation by the members in a society (Eriksen, 2001).

Religion

Religious beliefs provide a meaning of life and the universe to human's perception (Eriksen, 2001). Religions also complete psychological needs as they help human

beings to confront and explain birth, illness and death. They also relieve human's fears and anxieties about unpredictable and unknown future. Supernatural powers may be encompassed in some religions to comfort human beings in times of crisis (Honigmann, 1973). Furthermore, religions help humans to confront and deal with the stress during their life crises (Eriksen, 2001). Religions also have a significant impact on human morality. Humans normally get psychological relief and lift the wrong decision making from their shoulders in complicated situations as religions tell them what is right and wrong. Religions also perform social needs because they can be influential, dynamic forces in society (Eriksen, 2001). They provide a basis of values that can assist to maintain social harmony within group norms (Honigmann, 1973). A formation of beliefs attaches people in a society together and underpins social group identity. In most societies, especially Thailand, religions have a significant role in a part of social control by teaching and defining what is precise and mistaken manners. It means that if individuals behave precisely, they may receive a better life but if they act poorly, they may suffer with unforeseen circumstances (Eriksen, 2001).

To sum up, this part introduces the relationship between tourism and culture. However, previous studies on socio-cultural impacts of tourism development tend to be based on objective analysis rather than a socially constructed interpretation and have focused less on cultural factors. Culture is fragile and changes, it is also easily lost over time. Humans learn culture through the process of socialisation and their social organisation. Social control and religion is necessary for human in order to maintain harmony in a certain level in the society. It is clear how tourism and culture is interrelated. The next part will present the literature of socio-cultural impacts including its definition, factors influencing socio-cultural changes and types and effects of socio-cultural impacts.

3.3 Socio-cultural impacts of tourism development

The unique nature of tourism is an export industry in which consumers travel to collect the goods (Nash, 2007). This circumstance creates an interaction between host communities and tourists and a process of cultural exchange and cultural damage (Bramwell, 2004). Many scholars state that socio-cultural impacts can

occur to both host community and visitors (Dowling, 2000; Mason, 2003; Sharpley, 1999). However, it is difficult to distinguish the difference between social and cultural impacts because the true socio-cultural impacts of tourism development are far reaching and encompasses direct and indirect effects in a manner similar to economic impacts (Dredge, 2001). Tourism can bring positive economic development, and change the social structure of the host destination in the socio-cultural perspectives. The changes can be seen as general, social-wide improvements in income, education, health care, employment opportunities and local infrastructure and services (Mason, 2003). On the other hand, unwelcome changes can take place such as the challenge of modernity to traditional social values, change in cultural practices to attract tourists or emergence of a new economically powerful group (Getz, 1983). However, it is noticeable that social impacts have more sudden effect on both host destinations and visitors on their quality of life while cultural impacts lead to a long term and steady change in host society, residents' values, beliefs and cultural practices (De Kadt, 1979).

The nature of both visitors and host communities is particularly important in relation to socio-cultural impacts of tourism. As Burns and Holden (1995) mention, when there is an enormous difference between the visitors' culture and host community's culture, it is consequent that impacts will be greatest. Tourism can encourage and bring social mobility in developing countries through changes in employment from traditional agriculture to modernisation and may particularly result in higher incomes and better job prospects (Archer and Cooper, 1994). However, tourism has a reputation for unbeneficial impacts in the socio-cultural of host communities (Apostolopoulos et al., 2001).

Overcrowding of resorts and properties is caused by tourism development and this overcrowding can also affect both local residents and tourists. In some host communities, where tourism takes over as a major employer, traditional activities including farming may decline (Sharpley, 1999). Moreover, some host communities can become over-dependent on tourism. In this case, local residents may find it difficult to welcome and live with tourists who have very different values from

them (Agarwal, 2002). This situation may be worse when local residents have to adjust their life to tourism seasonal activity for a part of the year.

3.3.1 Definition

Wolf (1978) stated that socio-cultural impacts are people impacts concerning effects on the host populations by their direct and indirect contact with the tourists. Hence, in studying people impacts understanding the host-guest relationship is the first priority. In addition, according to Fox (1977), the social and cultural impacts of tourism refer to the ways in which tourism is perceived to contribute to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family relations, collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organisations.

3.4 Factors influencing socio-cultural changes

While tourism plays a role in socio-cultural changes, not all of the changes are blamed on the results of tourism (Reisinger, 2003; Robinson et al., 1996; Theobald, 1998). There are also the other possible causes of socio-cultural changes including rapid growth of population, mobility, modernisation and urbanisation (Teo, 1994). The three components of population change are birth, death, and the movement of people (Dumond, 1965). Growth in population is the result of the balance between these three basic demographic processes referred to as fertility, mortality, and migration (Eriksen, 2001). It is possible to consider population size as an independent factor to determine the socio-cultural impacts of tourism developments. However, population growth is not only a simple effect of socio-cultural changes in the host areas but is also both a cause and effect of that change (Eriksen, 2001).

The socio-cultural impacts of tourism development are likely more complex. In some destinations, tourism development may generate social and cultural conflicts

between people in the areas because of socio-cultural differences and economic welfare distances between host communities and tourists (Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996; Richter and Waugh 1986). From many studies, it can be concluded that economic impact is perceived by most scholars are positive while socio-cultural and environmental impacts are considered as negative (Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Ryan 1991)

The degree of socio-cultural impacts on host communities depends on factors associated with tourists and characteristics of destination (Urry, 2002). According to Butler (1975), there are five factors associated with tourists that influence their interactions with residents: number of visitors, length of stay of visitors, ethnic characteristics of visitors, economic and socio-cultural characteristics of visitors, and activities of visitors. Furthermore, he also proposes five factors related to the characteristics of destination area influencing the nature of perceived socio-cultural impacts of tourism in the following: host community's capacity, economic state of the area, degree of local involvement in tourism, spatial characteristics of tourism development, viability of host culture, the conflicts between local residents and the emergent of tourism industry, the effects of tourism upon the existing agricultural activities, and other characteristics e.g. political attitudes toward the local population.

3.4.1 Characteristics of the visitors

Type, activities and number of tourists: The type of tourists reflects their purposes, determinations as well as motivation for their travel. These affect the way they interact with local residents (Sharpley, 1999). The explorer-type independent traveller is small in number and more willing to experience and understand local culture. Therefore, they have less impact than large numbers of mass tourists who demand facilities and amenities. However, it is still debatable whether the independent travellers who travel in small number to an exotic destination might cause more socio-cultural impacts on the local communities than the large group of mass tourists who stay in an enclave resort (Madrigal, 1995). The activities of tourists also indicate the level of contact with local people. For instance, mass

tourists look for familiarity and tend to stay in their comfortable bubble, while alternative tourists love to experience other cultures and mingle with the local lifestyle (Matheison and Wall, 2006).

Length of stay: The longer the tourists stay; the greater level of contact with local residents and deeper socio-cultural transmission (Sharpley, 1999).

Cultural and economic distances to the hosts: The greater the differences of characteristics, appearance, culture, and language between the local residents and visitors, the more evidences of social and cultural impacts (Butler, 1980; Pearce, 1982).

3.4.2 Characteristics of the destination

Rural and urban communities: Many scholars propose that the impacts of tourism are more obviously observed in small communities where tourism often plays a major part in the local economy (Sharpley, 1999). Conversely, the impacts in urban areas can be much less as tourism is small compared to other forces of social change. Additionally, it is possible that local residents in an urban area may not rely on tourism because of other economic activities. Therefore, local residents who live in urban areas have concerns with tourism that differ from residents in rural areas (Long et al., 1990; Snepenger et al., 1998).

The importance of the tourism industry in the communities: If local communities have an economic dependence on tourism, the impacts seem to be greater (Korca, 1996). Contrastingly, if local destinations have a mixed economy, the impacts seem slightly less. The growth of tourism businesses will provide positive socio-economic impacts on generating local products, increasing more employment for local residents and decreasing imports and outflows (Chon, 2000).

Degree of strength and nationalism of local culture: The tougher the local cultural backgrounds of the host communities as well as the longer co-existence historical settings, the better local residents can handle the impact of alien culture (Mathieson and Wall, 2006).

Pace of tourism development: Destinations that have experienced rapid growth of tourism with unplanned development would suffer greater impacts than controlled and slow-developing destinations (Sharpley, 1999). In slow growing destinations, local residents may well accept changes and gradually adapt themselves to the development. Subsequently, the socio-cultural impacts seem to be less (Pearce, 1998). In addition, tourism development process is an important role influencing socio-cultural impacts. If tourism grows rapidly, the changed economy would create a new power structure. Contrastingly, if tourism develops gradually, associated with small, locally owned developments, less change to the power structure would be apparent (King, Pizam and Milman, 1993). The development process normally pursues the pattern of tourism evolution cycle that starts from the discovery stage, then development stage by local ownerships and public involvement, and lastly the institutionalisation of mass tourism (Cooper et al., 1998). Nevertheless, if the development plans follow the leap directly to the final stage, socio-cultural impacts would be greater and cause social stress (Sharpley, 1999).

Spatial characteristics and the development stage of tourism: The size of the destinations as well as local residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourist arrivals are key factors. The proportion of residents, visitors and carrying capacity of host areas must be balanced (Mathieson and Wall, 2006). The socio-cultural impacts will be very obvious when overcrowding of facilities and the number of tourists is more than the local populations. Furthermore, the development stage of tourism also demonstrates the degree of socio-cultural impacts, for examples, early established tourist attractions will impact less than older ones (Butler, 1975).

Local attitudes towards tourism and degree of involvement: Local residents' attitudes towards tourism are a very important key to measure impacts in the host

communities. Impacts rise when there are degrees of unacceptability toward tourism in host communities (Sharpley, 1999). Additionally, there are fewer impacts and a stronger local economy when most of tourism businesses in host communities are owned by local residents rather than outside investors.

3.4.3 Host-guest interactions

Host-guest relationships have been the subject of much debate and research in a variety of disciplines such as anthropology and sociology as well as tourism studies. Many scholars debate the difficulty of disassociating the impacts of tourism from the broader context of social and cultural development in many ways. Tourism is merely one of a number of factors that impact globally upon host traditions as well as native residents' lifestyle. Therefore, it is important to note that the measurement of tourism impacts, especially social, cultural and environmental impacts is difficult and tourism management in host communities needs to be viewed holistically (Ritchie and Zins, 1978).

It is considered that the relationships between hosts and visitors were more direct in the past than they are in modern times (Pearce, 1998). Additionally, the conditions of travel in the past were determined to a greater extent by the conventions of hospitality in a given a region than they were by the norms and expectations of the traveller. Aramberri (2001) also argues that the host-guest relationship becomes superficial. The increase of Western airlines, hotel chains and resorts in host destinations enhances the number of tourists as Western tourists always seek Western facilities (Chon, 2000).

Some popular tourist sites might now be thought of as tourist cultures because of the prevalent cultural influences of visitors, so it is possible to consider the inventions of tourist communities that have little relationship to either the local populations among which they arise or to the normal life experiences of the tourists (Chambers, 1997; Pearce, 1998). These sorts of communities are normally based on

recreation lifestyles e.g. beach and ski resorts. Additionally, sex tourism contributes the development of host communities in many parts of the world especially in developing and undeveloped countries (Teo et al., 2001). Tourism has brought a fragile culture and in many cases, these various tourist communities have become powerful cultural images in their own right (Urry, 2002).

This reduction of the host-guest relationship is not inevitable. It is largely the consequence of an approach to tourism that has become almost entirely guest-centred (Shaw, 2002; Smith, 2003). Whether the assessment of particular instances of tourism development is positive or negative or somewhere in between, the focus of most of our observations and inquiries has been upon the tourists. However, anthropologists and sociologists have recently developed a greater descriptive detail of how host destinations have responded to tourism (Robinson and Boniface, 1999).

Host-guest encounters can occur in various situations mainly in three contexts: at the point where tourists are purchasing goods and services from hosts, where the hosts and tourists are side by side, and where the tourists and hosts are directly exchanging information (Sharpley, 1999). Direct contacts do not necessarily create impacts while just the sight of tourists can sometimes induce behavioural change to the host community (MacCannell, 1989). In whatever kind of contact, social processes are at work and determine the nature of relationships as well as denote the potential positive and negative impacts to the hosts (Pearce, 1998).

Pizam (1978) finds that the residents' perceptions towards tourism and tourists are dependent on their economic dependency on tourism. The more dependent the person is on the tourism industry, the more positive his attitudes are towards tourists. In addition, Belisle and Hoy (1980) discover that the local perceptions' towards tourism is in relation to their location of the residence. Those living closer to the tourist zone and with high daily contact with tourists have more negative attitudes towards tourism. Matheison and Wall (2006) also mention that local residents, who have close contact with popular tourist areas, often have less participation in any meaningful way with tourists. Logically, when tourist numbers

increase, the foodstuffs and amenities are required more by the visitors. This leads to a subsequent labour flooding into tourist destinations or host areas and it may be difficult for local residents to cope with it on daily basis (Crick, 1989).

However, Ap (1992a; 1992b) claimed that the host-guest relationships are built upon social exchange theory. Both the tourists and hosts experience a process of negotiation that is agreed and acted upon for benefits. Once the costs outweigh the benefits, the residents' attitudes towards tourism will become increasingly negative. The social exchange of host and guest must be equal. If both sides feel they have equitable outcome, they will have a positive perception of the encounter (Sharpley, 1994). The balanced relationships between host and guest are obstructed by the tourists' lack of knowledge of the visited culture combined with their perceptions and stereotypical images towards host communities (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). In addition, the host-guest relationship is also dominated by other factors as well, such as tourists' motivation and the way the destinations are marketed and advertised in the media (Weaver and Opperman, 2000).

It can be summarised that the level of impacts depends on many factors such as the characteristics of visitors, the characteristics of destinations and host-guest interactions. Nevertheless, it must be understood that all destinations are different so the factors influencing the degree of socio-cultural impacts must be viewed case by case (Cooper et al., 1998; Sharpley, 1999).

3.5 Demonstration effects and acculturation

Demonstration effects and acculturation can arise through tourism development. Local values and mode of behaviour of local residents may be changed if other cultures or alien values are introduced to the host culture. The introduction of alien culture may encourage local people to work for new skills; however, it commonly increases the moral and financial gap between local people (Matheison and Wall, 2006; Sharpley, 1999). Additionally, local communities may develop an inaccurate, stereo-typical attitude towards tourists (Sharpley, 1999). Cooper et al (1998) as well

as Metheison and Wall (2006) state that demonstration effects are a type of direct socio-cultural impact of tourism. The indirect socio-cultural impacts will occur when local residents influence other people in their community. Furthermore, induced socio-cultural impacts will happen when those new behaviours affect social change.

Demonstration effects are one of the most significant effects in relation to socio-cultural impacts of tourism and most likely to happen where there is relatively superficial and short lived contact between hosts and guests (William, 1998). This matter is dependent on the visible differences between hosts and guests and this situation normally happens in many developing countries where tourism plays an important role in development. In the demonstration effect, behaviour changes in the host residents occur when they observe tourists' behaviours (William, 1998). Local residents notice the better material belongings of visitors and desire to have the same.

This may lead to positive aspects which encourage local residents to adopt more creative behaviour patterns. However, it is more frequent to observe that this circumstance is more disruptive in which local residents become resentful because they are unable to obtain the goods and lifestyle demonstrated by the visitors (Mason, 2003). This may, in fact, mean that local residents feel obliged to learn the language of the tourist in order to converse, but it may also mean the consumption of non-local food or drink, the wearing of non-traditional fashions, and the desire to indulge in the same forms of entertainment as tourists (Cater, 2000). In non-traditional societies, this creates few problems, but in societies which are strictly religious and close-knit such as Thailand, this can impact adversely upon the social fabric (Smith, 2003).

Young people are particularly vulnerable to demonstration effects. Tourism may then be blamed for societal divisions between the young and older members. The demonstration effects may also encourage the more able younger members of a society to migrate from rural areas in search of the demonstrated lifestyle in urban areas or even overseas (Mason, 2003). Additionally, the conflicts between young

and old generations can become problematic especially in traditional societies. For example, the younger generations desire to Western lifestyles but the older generations are keen to protect their tradition and old way of life (Matheison and Wall, 2006). The changing role of women can be rapid but it can be in a positive way which leads to the further emancipation of females within the host communities; however, it may cause conflict in traditional societies if women become the ones who work for the family living (Cater, 2000; Ward and Kennedy, 1994).

Acculturation is another type of socio-cultural impact of tourism which is different from the demonstration effect as it may occur when the contact between hosts and guests is for a deeper and longer period. The theory of acculturation is explained when two cultures come into contact for any period of time, an exchange of ideas and products will occur. Consequently, this produces varying levels of convergence between the cultures through time. However, this process will not necessarily be balanced as one culture is likely to be stronger than the other. One of the perceived negative effects of this acculturation process is the reduction in the diversity of global cultures (Seaton, 1999). To compare, the demonstration effect process is more likely to occur than acculturation in developed and developing world relationships (Ward and Kennedy, 1994).

Correspondingly, Sharpley (1999) suggests that there are two main cultural impacts of tourism: acculturation and cultural dependency. The process of acculturation occurs when two different cultures meet each other and the stronger culture will influence the weaker one. The degree of acculturation depends on many factors such as types of tourists, nature of tourist- host encounter, level, type and duration of contact and moderators. Additionally, cultural dependency is an involuntary condition. It occurs where the host culture is so conditioned by, and so reflects the expansion of, an external culture that there is a subdominant relationship between the cultural centre and the cultural border (Erisman, 1983; Sharpley, 1999). Cultural dependency indicates the final stage in tourism process and the final abdication of the control of a tourism destination's economic, social and cultural future into the hands of foreign country (Sharpley, 1999). In a Thai context, for example, mutual

bond has been recently disrupted by the cash system of westernisation. By the currency exchange, Western investors have more advantage than domestic ones. As a result, Western investors control the process of tourism in a destination.

A number of scholars in the early 1960s viewed the relationships between guests from developed countries and host residents in developing countries as potentially positive at the beginning age of mass tourism (Mason, 2003; Tomlejinovic and Faulkner, 2000). Even though it was noted that acculturation became an important process towards the end of the twentieth century, the desire of many tourists to experience a different culture is still a major motivation for tourist visits (Ryan, 1991). It is not only natural resources but the first hand manifestation of cultural phenomenon including art, music, dance and handicrafts that attracts tourists to experience the host communities (Mason 2003). The interaction between local residents and tourists in destinations has been previously discussed and emphasised the effects on the residents in the host communities (Mason, 2003). However, it is clear that the host-guest encounters also have an impact on tourists as well. The impacts of experiences on both sides can result not only changes in their attitudes and perceptions, but also lead to behaviour changes (Burns and Holden, 1995).

3.6 Cultural drift and the commodification of culture

The previous part discussed the significant effects related to socio-cultural impacts: demonstration effects and acculturation, and the difference between them. However, there are some more effects related to socio-cultural impacts of tourism introduced by anthropologists including cultural drift and the commodification of culture. This part tends to identify what these effects are about and how they relate to socio-cultural changes in the host community.

It is a predictable fact that tourism and culture changes are interconnected (Seaton, 1999). Generally, culture changes occur primarily to the host cultures including traditions, customs and values rather than to tourists' cultures (Seaton, 1999). Due to the fact in the majority of cases, tourists go to various destinations with ever changing frequency while local residents in host communities are subjected to a

steady stream of changing faces of visitors (McElroy and De Albuquerque, 1986). Although tourism in some destinations may be seasonal and intermittent, the constant levels of visitation over time can cause the socio-cultural impacts on the host communities (Smith, 2003). In some destinations where tourism is seasonal, local people may split their life by working in a tourist resort during the summer and returning home during the winter. This means that culture changes that appear to take place within the society constitute a kind of cultural drift rather than acculturation (Seaton, 1999).

Acculturation has been studied by anthropologists for decades. They also recognise that tourism is one of many factors can lead to permanent culture change (Smith, 2003). Matheison and Wall (2006) explain the difference between acculturation and cultural drift. Cultural drift is a non-permanent change to the local residents' behaviour in the host communities and occurs only when they are in contact with tourists but the behaviour may revert back to normal when the tourists leave. In contrast, acculturation is a more permanent phenomenon in relation to culture changes that are passed down from one generation to another. Acculturation is most likely to take place when non-seasonal tourism and persistence influence local people who are in a favour of being disposed towards tourism development (Smith, 2003).

Tourists not only seek Western facilities but also the exotic and authentic experiences sought by Western tourists (Smith, 2003). Therefore, host destinations are forced to supply fast food, alcohol and cigarettes related to the tastes of tourists. This incidence not only creates economic leakages but it also threatens the local production, especially if local people abandon the traditional goods in favour of Western-style products (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Conversely, the extreme tourist demand for local products can lead to the mass production of traditional goods, which can have the effect of commercialising or commodifying culture (Cater, 2000).

Authenticity is a key issue for this circumstance, especially when ceremonial performances are separated from their traditional context. Consequently, staged authenticity in the form of displaced ceremonies, activities and events has become widespread (Cater, 2000). Although the authenticity of the tourist experience is of some importance, it is more crucial to ensure that local communities feel comfortable with their role as performers and entertainers. This includes the degree to which they are prepared to allow the commodification of their culture for touristic purposes (Seaton, 1999; Smith and Graburn, 2004). Of course, it should be understood that some religious or spiritual cultural practices might not be appropriate spectacles for tourist gaze (Cater, 2000).

It can be summarised that acculturation and cultural drift occur when local people are in contact with tourist's culture but cultural drift is a non-permanent change to local people's behaviour as they may go back to normal once apart from tourists, while acculturation is more permanent change to local people's behaviour. In addition, commodification of culture involves local people changing or faking their cultural performance to satisfy tourists. The next part will explore and criticise the theoretical background of socio-cultural impacts including the industry focused models of Doxey's irridex, Butler's tourism lifecycle, social exchange theory and the cultural change model.

3.7 The theoretical background to measurement of socio-cultural impacts

3.7.1 Doxey's index of irritation.

The assessment of socio-cultural impacts is difficult. Firstly, it is complex and hard to separate socio-cultural impacts from other impacts. Secondly, it is difficult to measure them (Cooper et al., 1998; Matheison and Wall, 2006). A number of theories introduced by many scholars have been proposed. Doxey's Irritation Index is one of the earliest models that has been extensively employed and tested. The irridex model explains the relationship between local residents and visitors over time (Doxey, 1975). In short, when the number of tourists has increased over time,

a greater resentment of local residents towards visitors would appear. The local residents would change their attitudes towards visitors over time going through several stages. Local residents welcome tourists when they first visit in the euphoria stage but when the visitor numbers grow over time, local residents' attitudes and perceptions towards tourists will move to stages of apathy, annoyance and antagonism respectively (Figure 4). However, it is important to note that this model is predominantly a measure of social impact rather than cultural impacts. In addition, this model is a measure of residents' attitudes; therefore, Doxey's model is not a great tool for looking at cultural impacts.

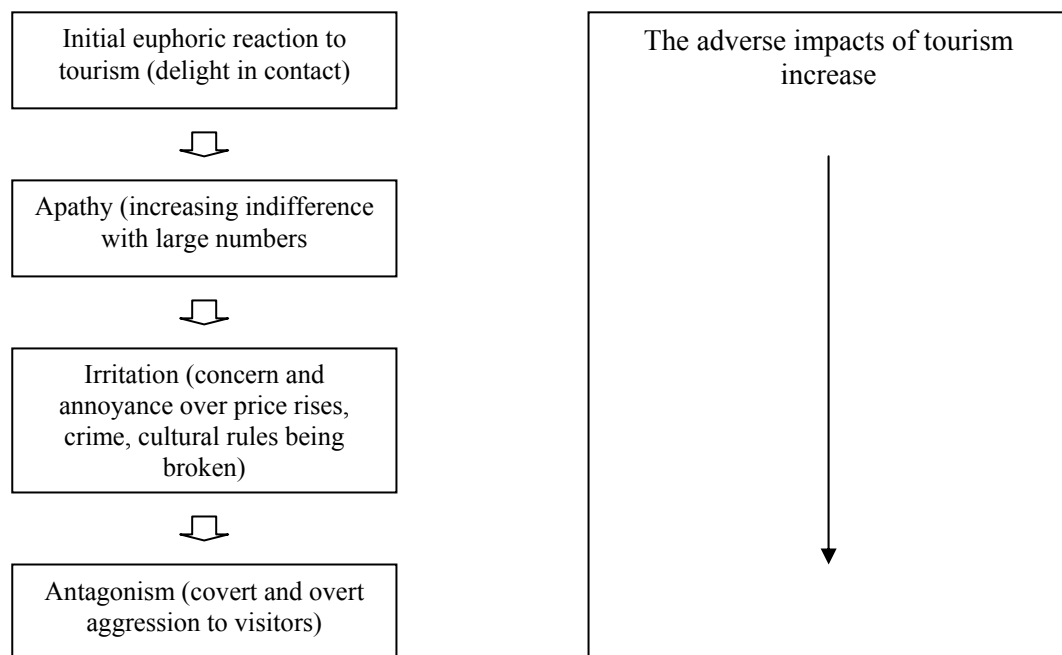


Figure 4: Doxey's irritation index (1975)

Although the stages in Doxey's Irridex (1975) would be encountered in some destinations, it has received numerous criticisms. The directional quality of the model suggests only a predictable incident of decline of host-guest relationships (Getz, 1994). Practically, the relationships between host and guest are more complex than that proposed in the model. Many scholars claim that the attitudes of local residents who are involved and get benefits from the tourism industry will have different attitudes from those who are not (Cohen, 1979; Guyson et al., 2002; Johnson et al., 1994; Teo, 1994). Furthermore, it is a general phenomenon that

people move in and out of tourism sections depending on the conditions of the industry as it develops or changes.

Many scholars have applied and tested Doxey's model to study host communities' attitudes towards tourism. Many studies on residents' attitudes towards tourism development and its impacts show that the residents willingly welcome and accept tourists on arrivals and the only fact to support Doxey's model is that local residents increase negative attitudes towards tourism development due to the fact that there is lack of alternatives to tourism (Guyson et al., 2002; William and Lawson, 2001). Furthermore, it demonstrates that economic, social, cultural and environmental factors influence residents' attitudes towards tourism development but it is more likely to have an effect at the group level rather than at the community and nation levels (William and Lawson, 2001).

The limitations of Doxey's model are its measurement based on only a macro view and the residents' attitudes towards tourism development point out and steadily developed to negative prospects only (William and Lawson, 2001). However, Doxey's theory is considered that destinations may not be able to grow without justification (Getz, 1994). The model proposes that local residents become negative towards tourists when the visitor numbers rise over time, however; tourist arrival numbers will not continually grow at the same rate over time and they may decline as well (Butler, 1975).

Although Doxey's categories are useful and have proven valuable in understanding the range of perceptions exhibited within a community, recent tourism studies suggest that there are differences among attitudes based on different resident typologies depending on many factors such as socio-economic factors (Andereck et al., 2005 ; Carmichael, 2000; Evan, 1993; Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Gjerald, 2005; Jackson and Inbakaran, 2006; Kuvan and Akan, 2004; Lee, Li, and Kim, 2007; Lepp, 2006; Madrigal, 1995; Vargas-Sanchez, Plaza-Mejjia, and Porrás-Bueno, 2009; William and Lawson, 2001; Zamani- Farahani and Musa, 2008), stage of the development (Allen et al., 1988; Ap and Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1975; Dogan, 1989), distance of local residents (Belisle and Hoy, 1980; Long, Perdue and

Allen, 1990; Pearce, 1980) and socio-demographic factors (Fredline and Faulkner; 2000; Lankford, 1991; Ritchie, 1988).

3.7.2 Butler's product lifecycle

Butler's product lifecycle has been well-known as a strategic development tool and a conceptual framework for assessing tourism impacts and analysing an area development (Buhalis, 2000; Hunter, 1995; Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001; Moss, 2003; Shaw and Williams, 2002). Butler's model proposes that the change of visitor numbers over time responds to the growth and decline of tourism destination areas. He claims that there are six stages of lifecycle including exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline or rejuvenation (see Figure 5).

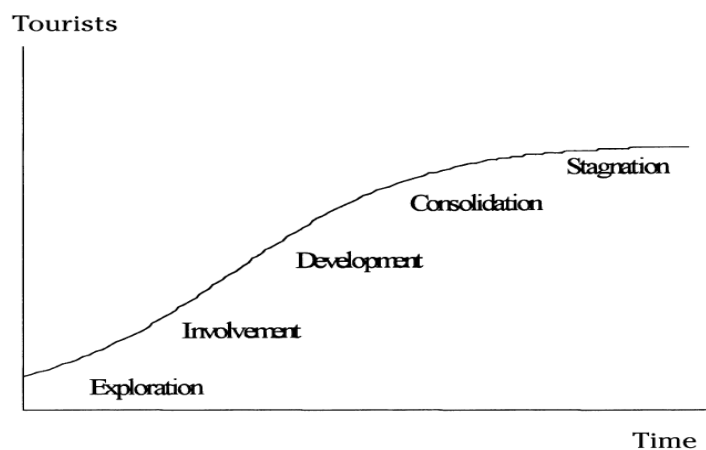


Figure 5: Butler's lifecycle model (1980)

Since the emergence of Butler's model, its limitations have been critiqued on its concept and applications. The model assumes that stages of development emerge over time depending on the visitor numbers but it is in fact that the development of a destination involves more than visitor numbers (Getz, 1994). Additionally, it seems the theory does not allow for intermediary stages of development outside those identified in the model. It also claims that a community develops from one stage to another only. Many researchers have shown that this is not necessarily the case, developing one step to another or step by step as it depends on the socio-economic conditions in the area. There has been a circumstance that some

destinations may not, in fact, stand at any one stage of development, but it can be at a mix of the different stages (Russell and Faulkner, 1998).

However, a number of scholars (Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Di Benedetto and Bojanic, 1993; Douglas, 1997) have tested the model and their findings have also pursued the path of stages on the lifecycle curve. From many literatures, it can conclude that the model is a useful but descriptive tool. Butler's model is suited to test the descriptive aspects of development rather than predict the circumstance by theory (Agarwal, 1994; Waldrop, 1992).

Butler's theory assumes a destination area has a mere single product rather than being complex offering different components e.g. hotels, resorts, etc. Each of these different components have their own lifecycle and some may show development and growth and others may demonstrate stagnation at a point in time (Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001; Oppermann, 1995; Prideaux, 2000; 2004; Tooman, 1997). It is possible that these components impact on each other; therefore, the unit of analytical scale is of importance. Butler's theory (1980) proposes the final stage as rejuvenation. A reinvention stage in the model allows an extension of exit and re-entry process through lifecycle (Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001).

Essentially, Butler's model is a model of tourism development. Like Doxey's model (1975), it represents extrinsic tourism development stage that might affect socio-cultural impacts. Both Doxey and Butler's models are industry focused and do not focus on the host community. Therefore, both Doxey and Butler's models are not useful to measure socio-cultural impacts but Ap (1992a; 1992b) states that social exchange theory is more relevant to socio-cultural changes.

3.7.3 Social exchange theory

Social exchange theory was developed by Emerson (1962) and has been applied to various research contexts. Figure 6 shows the model of the social exchange process. The principle of social exchange theory suggests that exchanges will occur if the

process creates valued rewards as well as offering more benefits than costs (Guyson et al., 2002; Skidmore, 1975; William and Lawson, 2001). One of the most often quoted studies in a tourism context is that of Ap (1992a; 1992 b). He applied social exchange theory to explain the changes in a host destination in response to tourism.

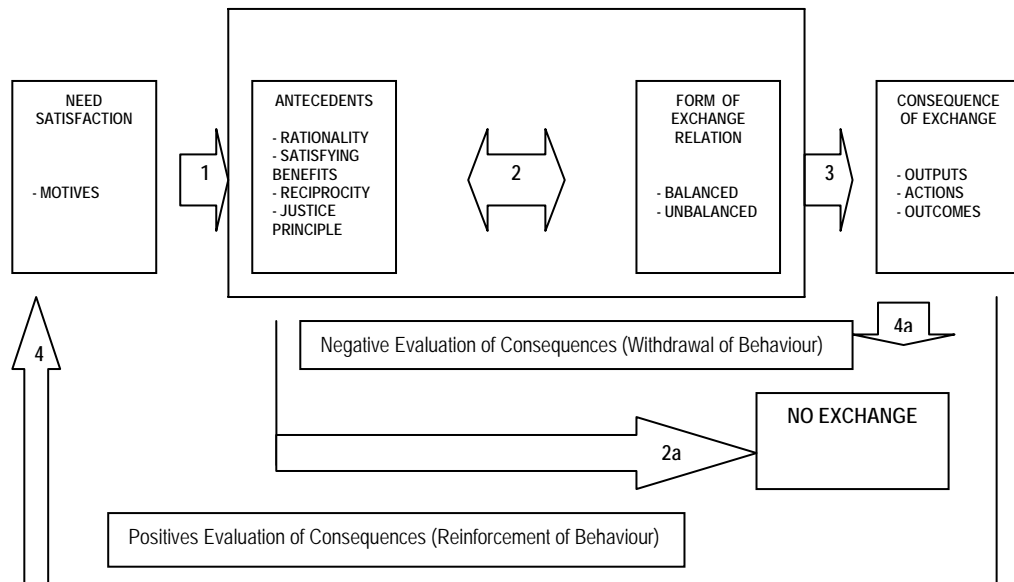


Figure 6: The model of the social exchange process (Ap, 1992)

The theory involves the exchange of resources between individuals or groups when interacting; for instance, there is the exchange during the processes of interaction between host residents and visitors (Ap, 1992a; 1992 b). The theory explains the variability in response to tourism by individuals and various groups in the social exchange process which engage at the individual and community stage (Homan, 1961; Madrigal, 1995; Snaith and Haley, 1999; Tuner, 1986). The theory suggests that individuals or groups decide exchanges after weighing benefits and costs. Individuals' attitudes depend on the perceptions of exchange they are making. Subsequently, individuals who evaluate and perceive beneficial rewards in the exchange, have different perceptions from those who perceive the exchange as harmful (Matheison and Wall, 2006). In the tourism prospect, these principles suggest that residents are willing to enter into an exchange with tourists if they can collect some benefits without incurring unacceptable cost. If local residents theoretically believe tourism is a valuable source, and the costs they gain do not exceed the benefits, the exchange will support tourism development (Snepenger and Akis, 1994).

Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) suggest a step towards synthesising the different perspectives of local residents who get into a social exchange with tourists by classifying two characteristics of broad dimensions of tourism development and community interface: (1) the extrinsic dimension and (2) the intrinsic dimension (see Figure 7). The extrinsic dimension demonstrates the characteristics of the location as a tourist destination including the nature and stage of tourism development, the level of tourist activity, and the type of tourists in the area. On the other hand, the intrinsic dimension refers to the characteristics of local residents in the host destinations that influence the various sorts of tourism impacts in the communities.

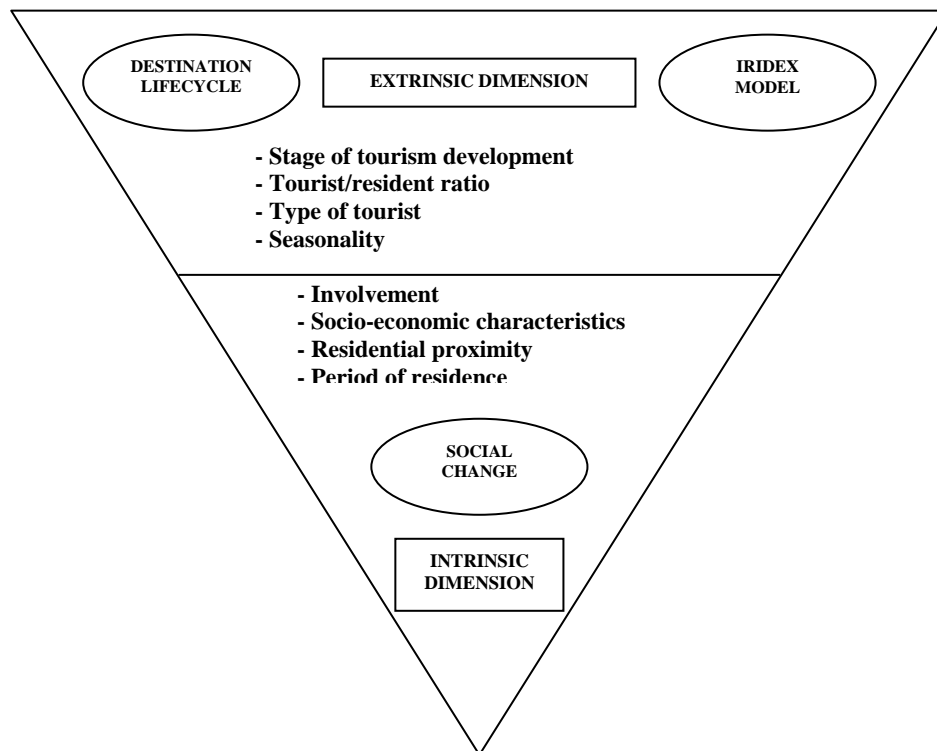


Figure 7: A framework for analysing the social impact of tourism (Faulkner and Tideswell, 1997)

The framework (Figure 7) suggests that negative impacts of tourism are significant at a mature stage of tourism development in destinations as this stage involves high tourist ratio, an emphasis on international tourism and high seasonality (Robbinson et al., 1996). If the variable impact of the intrinsic dimension is ignored, it would result in a negative reaction of local residents in a community (Faulkner and

Tideswall, 1997). Contrastingly, an early stage of tourism development in a destination with low tourist numbers, domestic visitors and low seasonality would result in a more positive response from local residents. However, in conjunction with these effects, local residents' perceptions towards tourism development within communities vary when the dynamics of the intrinsic elements are considered. These intrinsic elements include level of involvement in tourism, the distance of local residents' habitats to the centre of tourist activity, and duration of residence in the areas (Faulkner and Tideswall, 1997).

It is an observation from earlier research that elements are not only economic but also social and cultural factors that are exchanged by the communities (Ap, 1992a; Pizam, 1978). It appears that local residents are willing to have social intercourse with tourists if they gain more benefits than costs. Additionally, there are many prior studies that support economical gains, along with socio-cultural and environmental factors. These affect local residents' perceptions and attitudes, as well as their standing point towards tourism (William and Lawson, 2001).

Moreover, the evaluation of an exchange value in social exchange theory is dynamic and complex. Individuals or groups who enter the exchange are likely to make decisions by evaluating a variety of cooperating beneficial rewards and costs (Jurowski et al., 1997). The complexity of exchange process also suggests that it would increase an understanding of residents' reactions towards tourism if the relationship between the exchange elements of value and residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts is analysed (Guyson et al., 2002; William and Lawson, 2001).

Many prior research findings provide sufficient evidence and suggest that social exchange theory is a suitable framework for assessing residents' attitudes and perceptions towards tourism development as well as exploring why residents may have a wide range of different attitudes within the same community (Ap, 1992a, b; Hovinen, 2002; Jurowski et al., 1997). The processes of the exchange factors interaction affect not only attitudes of residents about tourism but also their

perceptions of tourism impacts as well. This shows that the perceptions of economic, socio-cultural and environment impacts combine with the residents' original attitudes towards tourism which are influenced by numerous elements of exchange (William and Lawson, 2001).

The theory also explains that individuals, who receive benefit economically from tourism, view the tourism impacts more positively and are more supportive to tourism (Pearce, 1998). Additionally, individuals or groups, who share the same resources with tourists, may perceive positive attitudes towards tourism in cases where the resources are improved; but gain negative attitude when visitors encroach on those resources to such an extent that residents suffer (William and Lawson, 2001). Subsequently, residents' perceptions of tourism impacts will differ with individuals' criticism of how their resources are affected and the level of attachment to community also influences how individuals view the tourism impacts. Tourism also affects many elements that create a community's characteristics (Cheyne and Mason, 2000).

Social exchange theory is supported by plenty of research evidences that suggest the exchange system is useful for the evaluation of tourism impacts. It also suggests that if a deeper investigation takes place, a more complex relationship is apparent (William and Lawson, 2001). Consequently, there are numerous reports that residents who perceive benefits from tourism are more likely to support tourism (Fredline, 2004). Nevertheless, there are also several studies that report these residents have a more negative attitude towards tourism than others (William and Lawson, 2001). This means those residents who benefit from tourism have positive perceptions of the tourism impacts; but with some reservations of the impacts of tourism (Guyson et al., 2002; Perace, 1998).

Social exchange theory has interested tourism scholars based on the assumption that tourism development comes with economic benefits in exchange for social and environmental impacts (Ap, 1992a, b; Caneday and Zeiger, 1991; Getz, 1994; Glasson et. al., 1992; Madrigal, 1995; Martin, 1996; Murphy, 1981; Pizam and

Pokela, 1985; Snaith and Haley, 1999). Following exchange logic suggested by Ap (1992a), Getz (1994) studies residents' perceptions of tourism in Spey Valley, Scotland and finds that negative attitudes towards tourism are heightened as residents believe that benefits are in decline and do not match their expectations. Mardrigal (1995) finds that residents in Arizona communities, who have positive perceptions of tourism, believe that they can influence tourism decisions. In contrast, individuals who have negative perceptions believe that tourism businesses have too much influence. Hernandez et al. (1996) find that residents are ambivalent towards future development of tourism in Isabela, Puerto Rico, due to uncertainty regarding the terms of exchange. However, all these previous studies are more descriptive and seem to adopt social exchange theory by only considering socio-demographic and economic exchange related tourism factors (Gursoy et al., 2002; William and Lawson, 2001).

According to Ap's application of social exchange theory (1992a), it confirms that the model is useful for accessing attitudinal outcomes in host destinations. However, previous application has not involved culture change processes that might be associated with social exchange where cultural expressions are the basis of the exchange. However, Carter (2000) proposed an adapted model of social exchange in order to represent culture change process (Figure 8). In the adaptation, the main variations are the removal of some antecedents and the replacement of form of exchange with elements relating to rate of change. However, this model appears to have some superficial validity which assumes the following: traditional changes are observable and able to be evaluated; owners of the culture have a power either to withdraw, adapt or replace a trade of cultural tradition item; the cultural traditions are being either traded or changed which are not linked to others; or the links between the traded cultural traditions and other parties are predictable so that the consideration of flow-on effects and other choices are possible (Carter, 2000). It is unlikely that all of these statements will be valid to any specific cases and it does not sufficiently explain the exchange where benefits are neutral or insignificant (Carter, 2000).

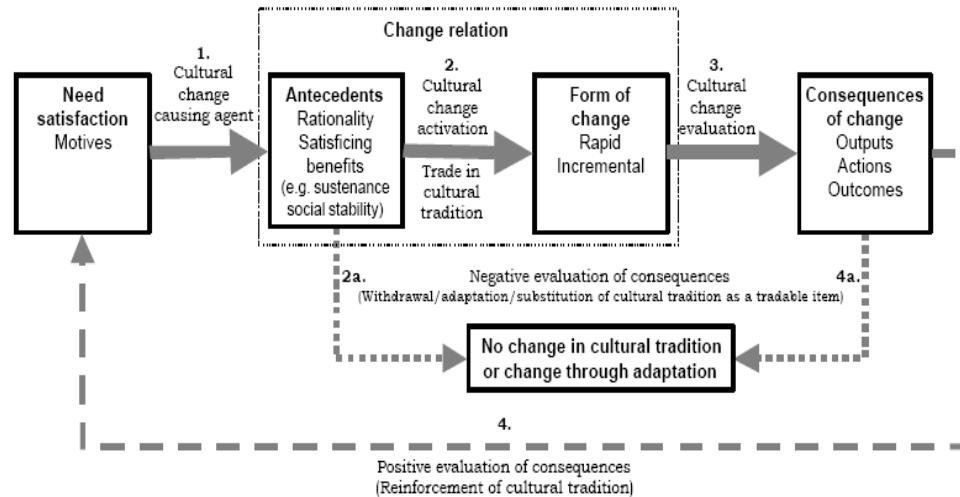


Figure 8: Ap's (1992) social exchange process model where cultural expressions are at the centre of the exchange

It can be concluded that many scholars have agreed that residents who are the most involved and gain most with tourists, have the most positive attitudes towards tourism development (Guyson et al., 2002). Additionally, residents who receive financial benefit from tourism are more positive towards it. It also shows that individuals or groups with higher levels of financial dependence on tourism feel that tourism is good for the economy but they are also concerned and aware of the negative impacts of tourism (William and Lawson, 2001).

3.7.4 Culture change models: Culture change, acculturation and social identity theory

The model of culture change based on 'cultural expressions' is introduced by Carter (2000). He identifies how the model can be used to provide insight into the likely culture changes that tourism development might bring to a community. The model proposes that cultural expressions, or specific behaviours, are linked and change as one affects the other (see Figure 9). The level of change to a cultural expression depends on a number of factors including the importance of the cultural expression to that culture; the frequency and the strength of practices of those cultural expressions; and the contribution of that cultural expression to maintaining social structure and providing benefits to both the individual and community. The model

of the culture change process in cultural expressions is presented as an analytical tool for cultural impact assessment (Carter, 2000; Carter and Beeton, 2004). The model suggests that culture is evident in cultural expressions, which strengthen social identity and protect it from change (Carter, 2000; Carter and Beeton, 2004). Some cultural expressions are more significant than others in order to protect a change in culture.

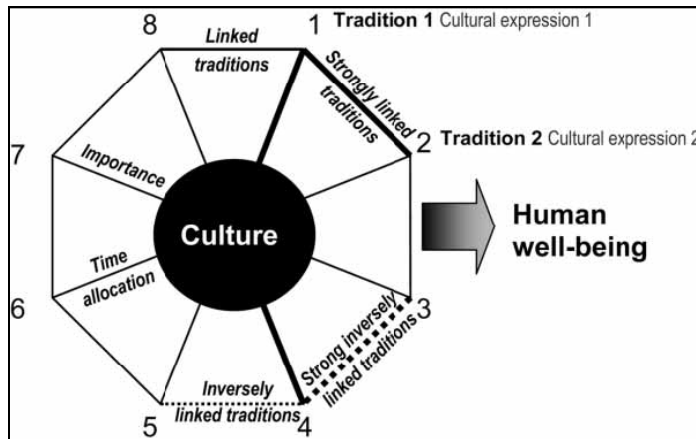


Figure 9: The cultural expression (Carter, 2000)

A number of host communities trade cultural expressions for benefits in the tourism process. In this circumstance, cultural expressions are seen as a link between a host culture and the tourist. Tourism may act on one or more cultural expressions to effect change in the host culture (Carter, 2000; Carter and Beeton, 2004). Changes in cultural expressions require exchanges between individuals, the community and tourists. In addition, change can lead to a reduction in the strength of the cultural expressions which leads to culture change and this is observed by a variety of altered traditions and expressions (Carter, 2000; Carter and Beeton, 2004). However, the more people practice the tradition, the greater will be the strength of cultural expressions.

Cultural expressions have a function in a community and provide benefits to a host community such as healing, spiritual benefits, and creation and maintenance of social order (Carter, 2000). The protection of culture relates to the value of tradition in the community. Tourism may reinforce some features of culture and weaken others or even lead to the point of culture loss in the host community. For example,

the host community would increase time spent on practice and the number of local residents participating in cultural performances for tourists. Consequently, this leads to cultural enhancement in terms of new forms of culture evolving and the quality of performance is improved. In addition, traditional dress might be worn only for special events or for performances by local residents and this circumstance leads to acculturation.

The application of the cultural expression model demonstrates the pattern of change to relationships in tourist culture and other tourism parties (see Figure 10 and 11). Figure 10 clarifies the relationship between the individual, cultural expressions and the structure of culture change process in tourist group. It explains that tourists are considered as a distinct cultural group in the model. Firstly, an individual tourist's predisposition (1) to practice a cultural expression depends on their cultural knowledge and the perceived physical or spiritual benefits that grow from practice. A change in an individual tourist's cultural knowledge through a particular holiday experience affects his/her predisposition. This change influences tourist group culture (2) and their cultural expressions (3) that lead to culture change (4) eventually. With a power of group purchasing, a tourist group can influence the type of experiences that are provided to exploit personal and group satisfaction.

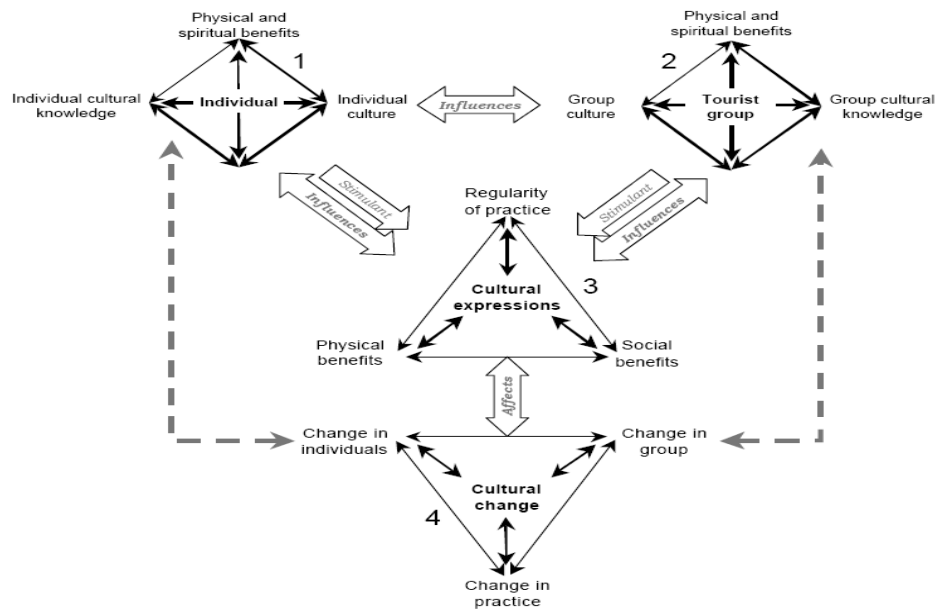


Figure 10: Relationship between the individual, cultural expressions and culture change (Carter, 2000; Dann, 1992)

Even though figure 10 explains that tourists are considered as a distinct cultural group, the model can also be applied to local residents as well. By implication, local residents are also seen as a host culture. In host culture context, an individual local resident undertakes specific behaviours or cultural expressions depending on their cultural knowledge and the perceived spiritual benefits that grow from cultural practice. A change in an individual local resident's cultural knowledge through expressing a preference for a particular tourism experience affects his/her predisposition. Consequently, this change influences the local or host culture and local residents' perceptions of tourism development. This change also leads to culture change that occurs as a result of contact with tourist culture including demonstration effects, diffusion, and acculturation (see Figure 11). However, it is important to note that all cultures change over time and there are many factors influencing culture change such as economy, environment, and technology (Burns, 1999; Honigmann, 1973; Jenks, 1993; Nash, 2007). In addition, tourism is considered as a factor or a link to bring the host and the tourist culture together (Smith, 1989).

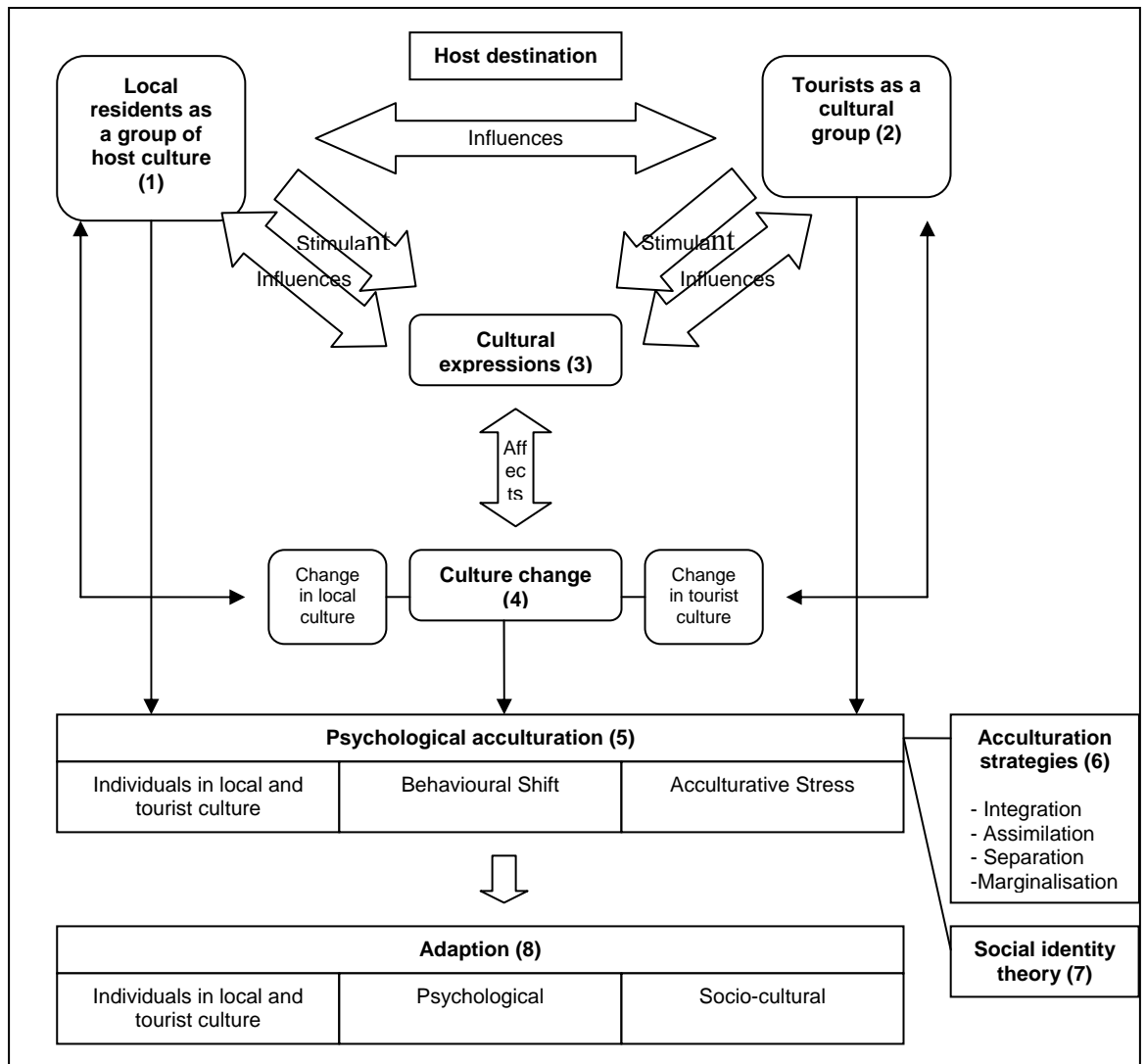


Figure 11: The influence of tourism on host culture, tourist culture and culture change, psychological acculturation and adaption in the host community (Adapted from Berry, 1997; Carter, 2000 and Dann, 1992)

Figure 11 shows the process of cultural change and acculturation as a consequence of host-guest interaction. First, if tourists (2) are considered as a cultural group and act as an alien culture in a host community (1), then the nature of tourism is seen as an agent of change in relation to deliver tourist culture to meet the host culture (Carter, 2000). However, tourism is different to other agents of change, because it trades in cultural expressions (3) of host communities (Smith, 2003). As a result, it can be the exchange of a traditional source of culture and well-being through sale of cultural expressions, modification of traditional expressions or adoption of contemporary cultural forms derived from other cultures. Such exchange results in a

change in cultural practice, which in turn affects culture change in individuals and ultimately the host community (4) (Robbinson et al., 1996). However, these changes in the host culture (4) can be minor and range from being easily accomplished to being a source of major cultural disruption during the process of acculturation (5) (Berry, 1997; Ward et al., 2001).

Berry (1997) suggests that acculturation (5) leads to psychological changes, including individuals in local and tourist culture, behaviour shifts and acculturative stress, and psychological and socio-cultural adaptation in local residents and tourists. These psychological changes can be observed as a set of easily accomplished behavioural changes such as ways of speaking, dressing and eating, and acculturative stress (Berry, 1997). Adaptations can be psychological adaptations that affect the sense of esteem or socio-cultural adaptations that link individuals to others in the new culture. However, psychological and socio-cultural adaptations exhibit different patterns over time (Ward et al., 2001).

It is clear that individuals and groups in the host and tourist cultures engage in the process of acculturation in different ways (see Figure 11). However, there are number different concepts of acculturation strategies (6) that are used depending on a variety of factors and there are various consequences of these different strategies (Berry, 1997). Additionally, these strategies, including assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation are usually related to attitudes and behaviours of individuals that are demonstrated in daily intercultural encounters (Berry, 1997).

When people do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interactions with other cultures, they use the *assimilation* strategy. In contrast, when people hold on to their original culture and wish to avoid interacting with other cultures at the same time, they use the *separation* strategy. In addition, when individuals have an interest in maintaining their original culture during daily interactions with other cultural groups, they are likely to use the *integration* strategy. Finally, when people have little interest in having cultural maintenance and relationships with other cultural groups, the *marginalisation* strategy is used. Even though marginalisation can be considered as a strategy that people choose as a way of dealing with the acculturative situation, it can result in a failure at adaptation

and participation in the society. It is important to note that the interpretation of acculturation strategies is based on the assumption that non-dominant groups and their members have freedom to choose how they want to acculturate. However, this is not always the case (Berry, 1997). For example, integration strategy can only be freely and successfully adopted by non-dominant groups when the dominant society has an open and inclusive orientation towards cultural diversity (Berry, 1997). In this case, the local or host community as Thai is the dominant cultural group but the tourist is not. However, it can be argued that tourists are more dominant as they belong to Western cultural groups.

Even though there is evidence that integration is the most frequently selected strategy in many studies (Berry and Sabatier, 1996; Donna and Berry, 1994; Ward et al., 2001), there are differences in how people go through their adaptation (Berry, 1997). It is because no one has the same goals and the same path. It is suggested that people in voluntary contact are more likely to seek greater participation, choosing either assimilation or integration strategy, than those who are not in voluntary contact (Berry, 1997). However, factors influencing the selected strategies can be summarised including the contact situation and psychological factors such as intercultural experiences, and ethnic and cultural identity.

Many scholars suggest that social identity theory (7) provides an explanation of how individuals adapt to the other cultures (Ward et al., 2001). Social identity theory can be defined as: (1) being a part of self concept; (2) requiring awareness of membership in a group; and (3) having evaluative and emotional significance (Tajfel, 1981). Social identification depends on social categorisation and social comparison. The theory suggests that the various comparisons between in-groups and out-groups are recognised and have consequences on self-esteem (Ward et al., 2001). It is also pointed out that the relationship between the components of ethnic identity and self-esteem are likely to be moderated by the overall input of ethnicity to self-identity. It means a relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem only occurs when an individual perceives ethnicity or culture as a central feature of identity (Ward et al., 2001). Some scholars state that a sense of belongingness is enough to enhance self-esteem in members of groups. In addition, the theory is involved with the strategies that individuals use to maintain their self-esteem in the

face of an unfavourable group identity (Tajfel, 1981). It is also explained that migrant groups, like other minorities in the host culture, often experience both negative stereotyping and attitudes by local residents as the majority. If migrant groups perceive this as threatening, they may adopt a variety of responses to change their social identities and to repair their self-esteem (Tajfel, 1981). In a Thai context, migrant workers play a key role in the tourism industry and thus this concept is important to this study.

It is noted that ethnic identity becomes significant as a part of the acculturation process that occurs when migrants come to a new society (Phinney et al., 2001). However, Liebkind (2001) stated that the difference between the constructs of ethnic identity and acculturation is unclear and the concepts of ethnic identity and acculturation are often used interchangeably. It is considered that acculturation is a broader construct with a wide range of behavioural, attitude and value change when migrants come to contact between cultures. In addition, ethnic identity is considered as an aspect of acculturation that focuses on the sense of belonging to a group or culture (Phinney et al., 2001). However, it is noted that ethnic identity can be used to access and understand acculturation as many studies (Berry, 1997; Nguyen et al., 1999; Phinney et al., 2001; Tajfel, 1981; Ward et al., 2001) highlight a two dimension process that acculturation is a process of change involving giving up own heritage and culture and assimilating to a new one.

The model of acculturation is largely based on Berry's study (1997) and the two aspects of acculturation are recognised from his research including preservation of own original culture and adaptation to others. Liebkind (2001) notices that these two aspects of Berry's acculturation model (1997) are conceptually distinct and can vary independently. In addition, Berry (1997) suggests two questions as resources of identifying strategies used by migrations in order to deal with acculturation and adaptation: one considers maintaining the value of cultural heritage and one considers developing relationships to others in the new culture. Therefore, Berry's four acculturation strategies mentioned earlier can be obtained from yes or no answers to these two questions. Berry's model (1997) also emphasises that acculturation proceeds in various ways and it is not necessary for migrants to give up their own culture in order to adapt to the new society. In addition, Berry's study

(1997) also suggests that earlier studies recognising only assimilation and marginalisation are limited (Phinney et al., 2001). The concept of acculturation and adaptation in migrant groups is important for this research as the research findings suggest that migrant workers play a significant role in the cultural transformation in the host community. It is also suggested that migrant workers develop a deeper relationship with tourists than local people. Therefore, there is a chance that migrant workers would adapt more to tourist's culture than local residents. The analysis of findings in relation to migrant workers will be explored in Chapter 6.

Ethnic identity refers to one's sense of membership in a particular ethnic group (Liebkind, 2001). Ethnic identity as a member of a new society can be seen as two broader dimensions of group identity: each identity can be either strong or weak (Phinney et al., 2001). An individual, who maintains a strong ethnic identity while also adapting to the new society, is considered to have a bicultural identity, in contrast, an individual, who has a strong ethnic identity and does not want to adapt to the new culture, is considered to have a separated identity. An individual, who gives up an ethnic identity and adopts only with the new culture, is considered to have an assimilated identity whereas, one who identifies with neither own heritage culture and the new culture is considered to have a marginalised identity (Phinney et al., 2001). It can be noticed that these various sorts of identity proposed by Phinney et al. (2001) are similar to Berry's acculturation strategies (1997). However, these identity categories are presented a broad theoretical view that may be evident among migrants, not as strategies (Phinney et al., 2001). Furthermore, it is suggested that actual identity categories depend on a number of factors including characteristics of migrant groups and places where they settle.

Ethnic identity is a dynamic construct that develops and changes in order to respond to developmental and contextual factors (Phinney, et al., 2001). The process of ethnic identity has been basically conceptualised in terms of a progression due to the fact that an individual moves from an origin culture through a period of exploration the new culture and secures ethnic identity (Phinney et al., 2001). This process can lead to constructive actions such as feelings of insecurity, confusion, and resentment (Tajfel, 1981). However, the process is not inevitable as it depends on socialisation experiences of an individual, the ethnic community and the large

setting. In addition, it is important to note that not all individuals are able to reach the stage of ethnic identity achievement (Phinney et al., 2001). Many studies (Berry, 1997; Liebkind, 2001; Phinney et al., 2001; Tajfel, 1981; Ward et al., 2001) also show that ethnic identity changes in response to social psychological factors over time and it can be observed in the images that individuals construct of behaviours, beliefs and values that characterise their ethnic group, together with how these features are or are not reflected in themselves (Berry, 1997; Phinney et al., 2001).

When acculturation experiences are judged as having no problems for individuals, behavioural changes are likely to follow smoothly leading to the processes of adaptations (8) including culture shedding, culture learning, and culture conflict. It is noted that culture shedding and culture learning involve the loss of individuals' original behaviours and the replacement by other behaviours that allows individuals to have a better fit with the new culture, usually called adjustment (Ward et al., 2001). For behavioural changes related to acculturation strategies; however, it is demonstrated that the fewest behavioural changes result from the separation strategy. In contrast, the most behavioural changes result from the assimilation strategy. Integration strategy normally involves the carefully selective adoption of new behaviours from the new culture and the preservation of valued features of individuals' original culture. On the other hand, marginalisation strategy is frequently associated with the major loss of an individual's original culture and the appearance of many unusual behaviours (Berry, 1997).

Psychological and socio-cultural adaptations (8) are relatively stable changes; however, these adaptations may or may not be positive. Psychological adaptation involves an individual's psychological well-being, whereas socio-cultural adaptation involves how an acculturating individual is able to manage his/her daily life in the new cultural context. Psychological adaptation is predicted by an individual's personality, life change events, and social support (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). In addition, socio-cultural adaptation are more dependent on factors such as the length of residence in the new culture, the language ability, the cultural distance, cultural knowledge, degree of contact, the quantity of contact with host cultures, and positive intergroup attitudes (Berry, 1997; Ward and Kennedy,

1993a, 1993b, 1995; Ward et al., 2001). In addition, a third aspect of adaptation is proposed as economic adaptation that is conceptualised as the sense of achievement and full participation in the economic life (Aycan and Berry, 1996; Berry, 1997).

3.8 Tourism, mobility and migration

Recently, many scholars have shown interest in aspects of tourism research related to the study of migration, circulation and mobility (Larsen et al., 2006, 2007; Sheller and Urry, 2004; Urry, 2000, 2002, 2007; Williams and Hall, 2002). Urry (2000, 2002, 2007) states that tourism should not be marginalised as a discipline and activity but rather seen as social life conducted at a distance. He argues that tourism does not only involve connections with the concept of escaping from one place to another but it also involves social relations and the multiple obligations of everyday in social life. The concept of tourism, mobility and migration is important for this study as the research findings suggest that migrant workers play a significant role in the cultural transformation in the host community. The analysis of findings in relation to migrant workers will be explored in Chapter 6.

Mobility is one of the concepts in understanding a globalised world (Duval, 2004). Human mobility includes tourism, migration, and the movement of refugees (Urry, 2007). Tourism represents a form of mobility, circulation and temporary population movement. In turn, temporary movements and migration form a part of population mobility in time and space (Larsen et al., 2006). Society has experienced a time and space compression as people can travel to and connect with absent others faster, and more conveniently and cheaply than before. Time and space compression can also involve time and space distancing or the extending of social networks (Hall, 2005; Tucker, 1998). The practices of tourism move into other aspects of mobility and social life through business tourism, migration, and friendship. In addition, tourism stretches out social networks that result from time and space compressing, technologies and the mobilities of labour markets, migration, higher education, friendships, and family life (Hall, 2003, 2005; Urry, 2002; 2007).

In a tourism context, the concept of mobility is engaged with the movements of people and objects including planes, suitcases and information across the world

(Sheller and Urry, 2004). Mobilities can be divided into five categories: physical travel; physical movement, imaginative travel, virtual travel and communicative travel (Urry, 2002). Physical travel refers to people who travel for work, leisure, family life, pleasure, migration and escape that result in irregular moments of physical closeness to particular peoples, places and events, while physical movement refers to a movement of objects to producers, consumers and retailers. Imaginative travel refers to memories, texts, images, TV and films that produce desires for travel to tourist destinations. For example, the film 'The Beach' caused large tourist flows to the South of Thailand where the film was made. In addition, virtual travel refers to the ability of internet users are to access global networks of information without their bodies having to travel physically. Communicative travel refers to person-to-person message via letters, postcards, telephones, faxes, emails and videoconferences. The characteristic of tourism is a flow and network (Borocz, 1996; Urry, 2000). The flows in global space consist of goods, services, people and information (Urry, 2000; 2002)

Tourism is considered as a temporary mobility (Hall, 2005; Urry, 2002). However, tourism can be of varying duration and individual travels can be motivated by a combination of tourism and economic purposes that can change over time (Larsen et al., 2006). Movement in a tourism context can be a source of status and power for some tourists. In contrast, mobility can generate withdrawal if the movement is forced as it can be seen from refugees' life around the world (Jansson and Muller, 2004; Sheller and Urry, 2004). Therefore, analysing mobility involves examining many consequences for different peoples from different places in social life. The large number of places and technologies increase the mobility of some people but they also strengthen the immobility of other people at the same time (Urry, 2000; 2002).

Many tourists travel due to business, second-homes, their friends and families, being exchange students, migrants and refugees (Hall, 2005; Larsen et al., 2007; Urry, 2002, 2007). Tourists are no longer found only in hotels, museums and beaches but also homes in uptown and local supermarkets (Borocz, 1996). In addition, tourists travel to places that do not represents only an escape from home but also a search for homes. Tourism is also consider as essential to the lives of

migrants as Williams and Hall (2002) state that many forms of migration generate tourism flows in particular through the geographical extension of friendship and kinship networks.

Migrants may become tourists themselves in returning to visit friends and relations in their areas of origin. Sometimes migration and tourism are more complexly related to each other (Duval, 2004). O'Reilly (2001) study of British homeowners on the Costa del Sol in Spain and the analysis suggests that retirement migration from Northern Europe generates much tourist travel to destinations in Southern Europe and these retired immigrants receive seven visits in a year from the UK with two out of three of these migrants return home at least once a year. This shows how tourism is a major facilitator of consequent migration. Migration is not only far from one-way journey of leaving an individual's origin behind, but also a two-way journey between two sets of homes (Williams and Hall, 2002). Larsen et al. (2006) state that the migration process appears to require a journey back to the point departure.

Mobility combines objects, technologies, people and social network together (Muller et al., 2004). In a migration context, migrants often carry parts of their origin with them in the form of food, souvenirs, sounds and scents when they leave their homeland (Williams et al., 2004). Tourists, including migrants, do not only encounter other people and places but also significant others (Larsen et al., 2006). Migrants are increasingly torn between the desire to preserve their own culture and to adapt to the customs of the host society (Lew and Wong, 2002).

The mobility of labour from other sectors of the economy into tourism is a characteristic phenomenon in many different types of economic systems in different parts of the world (Urry, 2000). Williams and Hall (2000, 2002) mention that the tourism related migration connection consists of two distinctive migration flows: (1) production led or labour migration which is generated by the requirement to service tourism activities and can generate flows of both skilled and unskilled labour migrants and; (2) consumption led migration systems which include seasonal migration and second home ownership, permanent migration and non-tourism led lifestyle migration.

However, Williams and Hall (2002) mention that there have been several changes in tourism, mobility and migration. Mobility related to the fragmentation of work and leisure is changing with more opportunities for short visits to places due to the fact that the continuing cost and time restrictions on international travel (Larsen et al., 2006). In addition, there is a shift from migration to circulation. Increasing numbers of people have impacts on lifestyles while people circulate between different places for consumption and production reasons (Larsen et al., 2006; Muller et al., 2004). For instance, skilled labour migrants engaging in long distance commuting are driven by lifestyle and consumption goals. Furthermore, the consumption related migrants seek out valued environments for temporary or permanent residence (Larsen et al., 2006; Muller et al., 2004).

3.9 Coping mechanisms and socio-cultural changes

When local residents in host communities experience some degree of socio-cultural impacts e.g. crowding or prospect of crowding of tourists in a certain area, they may undertake a variety of coping mechanisms to overcome the effects. Therefore, local residents who feel harm from tourism impacts may employ a number of approaches to cope with the effects or so called behavioural coping mechanisms (Hammit and Patterson, 1991). There are a number of studies that examine local people's attitudes towards tourism development and the behavioural coping with tourists (Andriotis, 2004; Brown and Gile, 1994; Dickinson, 2004). It is suggested that residents' perceptions of tourism impacts should be linked to adopted behavioural strategies and an instrument should be developed for measuring the strategies described (Andriotis, 2004). Andriotis (2004) points out that such studies (Ap and Crompton, 1993; Dogan, 1989; Doxey, 1975) are compatible with Butler's tourist area lifecycle theory for as the growth and demand for tourism increases in an area the impacts of tourism upon the community become more apparent (Gjerald, 2005). Allen et al. (1993) also support that resident responses to tourism may be directly related to the stage of tourism development. However, Hernandez et al (1996) and Johnson et al (1994) argue that local communities can be ambivalent towards tourism in the development stage.

Several studies (Davis et al, 1988; Evans, 1993; Ryan and Montgomery, 1994) show that social, economic and demographic factors such as community attachment, length of residence in an area, and economic dependency on tourism are factors influencing residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism. However, it is found that length of stay of residence does not have a significant effect on attitudes towards tourism development (Allen et al, 1993). Additionally, it is mentioned that residents, who are strongly attached to their community, are more concerned about tourism impacts than those less attached and newer residents favour further development while long-term residents do not (McCool and Martin, 1994). However, it is argued that residents, who are dependent on tourism, can clearly distinguish between its economic benefits and the social costs (King et al, 1993; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Milman and Pizam, 1988).

Many scholars suggest that even though the socio-cultural impacts of tourism have been extensively studied, it should be further investigated in other geographical locations in order to form the foundations and development of some new theories of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism (King et al, 1993; McCool and Martin, 1994; Tosun, 2002). To study socio-cultural impacts of tourism in a Thai perspective, it is important that religion and cultural factors are given attention. Buddhism is a basic foundation of culture and society for Thais.

Studies of residents' behavioural responses to tourism are more limited than those studies of residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism (Dickinson, 2004). Additionally, previous studies on residents' attitudes towards tourism (Ap and Crompton, 1993; Davis et al, 1988; Dogan, 1989; Doxey, 1975; Evans, 1993; Ryan and Montgomery, 1994) and the tourist area lifecycle theory developed by Butler (1980) are unidirectional approaches in order to take into account behavioural adaptation (Brown and Gile, 1994). In Brown and Giles' study (1994), they use focus group to explore coping mechanisms in order to gain response to the social impacts of tourism in Byron Bay, Australia. Their study suggests that local people reorganise their daily activities in order to respond to tourism impacts (Table 12) by changing times, routes, and locations. Some people would temporarily retreat from

their normal life and they may need to plan ahead for what they had to do in order to avoid certain places and activities. Additionally, local people need to reaffirm one's identity as a resident of the community.

Table 12: Coping strategies employed by residents in Byron Bay (Brown and Giles, 1994)

Coping strategies for shopping behaviour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Avoid regular supermarket - Use corner store more - Plan ahead by bulk-buying - Early-morning/late-night grocery shopping - Buying the 'bare minimum' - Stocking up (before Xmas) when prices lower - Shopping at times when shelves are fully stocked - Get to the bakery early - Become more organised with shopping
Coping strategies for recreation behaviour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consciously choose times to go to the beach - Go to different beaches - Stop eating out - Dine out in another town - Change fishing spot - Walk in streets to see tourists
Coping strategies for travel behaviour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Take alternative route - Walk rather than drive - Leave home earlier - Avoid certain road - Travel south but not north - Don't travel, if I can get out of it - Avoid particular places - Don't travel out of town - Avoid cycling in main streets
Coping strategies for other behaviours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discourage friends from visiting town - Work longer hours - More conscious of locking house, shed, etc. - Stay inside house - Avoid town - Collect mail at different time.

In addition to Brown and Giles's study, Boissevain (1996) mentions that local residents have developed strategies to protect themselves from unpleasant and harmful impacts of tourism including covert resistance, hiding, fencing (fenced off private areas), ritual (recovery of public celebrations), organised protest, and aggression (threatening visitors). However, coping strategies would entail temporary changes in behaviour when local residents do things differently to how they would be done in normal state (Brown and Giles, 1994).

In a psychological context, coping refers to the things that people do to avoid being harmed. The concept of coping is a fundamental assumption that people are actively responsive to forces that interrupt them (Pearlin and Schooler, 1978). If many interrupting forces are social in their basis, the understanding of coping strategies is necessary to understand the impacts that a society comes to apply to its members (Lazarus, 1974). According to Schuler (1984), coping is a process of analysis and evaluation to decide how to protect oneself against the effects of any stress and negative outcomes.

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) proposed a model of psychological stress response in individuals including three main elements: the source of stress (the event); cognitive appraisal (e.g. threatening or positive event, assessment of available coping resources within individuals, and the environment) and coping mechanisms; and outcomes. Commitment and beliefs are two important moderating characteristics. Appraising change is an ongoing process and availability of coping resources and coping ability of mechanisms may change as the event clarifies.

Pearlin and Schooler (1978) proposed a set of broader dimensions of the coping mechanisms concept including social resource, psychological resources, and specific coping responses. Social resources refer to the interpersonal networks which people are part of and can be draw upon to help an individual cope with issues. The general psychological resources of people are the personality characteristics that people draw upon to help them when threats are posed by events. These psychological resources can be barriers to the stressful consequences of social damage and can be the specific coping responses (perceptions) in which

people engage when actually confronting problems. Coping responses symbolise the things that people do to deal with life strains. Such responses may be influenced by the psychological and social resources.

In a tourism context, residents adopt coping mechanisms to avoid competition with tourists including avoiding areas used by tourists and adapting behavioural expectations to the tourism impacts (Keogh, 1990; Perdue et al, 1987). A number of previous studies of tourism impacts from an anthropological background explore residents' coping behaviours. In Burn and Holden's study (1995), they state that host residents develop coping behaviours and avoid contact with tourists. Dickinson (2004) also points out that local residents accept tourism impacts such as traffic congestion and overcrowding as a 'fact of life' and deal with it by avoiding particular places, staying home more on certain days, and reaffirming one's identity as a resident and not being confused with tourists.

However, it is important to note that tourism is one of many sources of change interrupting local people's behaviour and lifestyle. Even though host communities are in fact victimised by acculturation and the affluence of mass tourism, it is something that they have to deal with (Boissevain, 1996). Residents' responsive behaviour also involves other factors including local culture, religion, and the socialisation process of each individual.

3.10 Socio-cultural impact studies in a Thai context

There is limited research of socio-cultural impacts in a Thai context. It is noticeable that Cohen (1982a; 1982b; 1988; 1989; 1993; 2000) and Dearden and Harron (1992) have a special interest in doing research on socio-cultural impacts using Thailand as a case study but none of their studies have adopted any socio-cultural impact theories. However, there is an interesting study of community perceptions of environmental and social changes and tourism development in Koh Samui by Ray Green (2005). His study examines responses of inhabitants of Koh Samui to dramatic changes in their surroundings as a consequence of tourism development. A range of settings are assessed including places which have been part of local

landscape for a very long time and others which exhibit changes related to the rapid growth of tourism on the island.

Green (2005) adopts quantitative and qualitative methods in his study. He photographs those places that have most dramatically changed compared to those that have remained relatively unchanged. Then he uses those photos as stimuli in two photographic sorting tasks (multiple-sort and Q-sort). Additionally, he interviews participants in order to conduct project mapping and photo sorting. However, there is no sign that he adopted any socio-cultural impact theories in his research. A description of each of six neighbourhood groups are gleaned through the combined photo sorting results in order to examine responses of inhabitants of Koh Samui to dramatic changes in their surroundings that have resulted from tourism development including (1) non-tourist buildings with local cultural and social significance; (2) tourist facilities and accommodation; (3) socio-environmental problems associated with tourism development; (4) tourism facilities associated with social problems; (5) water features important to the local community; and (6) nature and natural features. It is found that these changes are perceived as negative impacts on both the lives of the inhabitants and their everyday environments.

In his findings, Green (2005) also mentions that discrimination between local people and migrant workers especially ones from the Isan region of Thailand, is found. Changes are attributed to Isan migrants as well as the cause of a variety of social impacts including increases in prostitution as evident by the presence of massage parlours and bars that have opened in town. Additionally, local residents find it difficult to access the main beach as the beach itself is now completely dominated by hotels and other tourist activities. Social impact is also reflected in how fresh water features have been changed by tourism development at the expense of local residents.

While there are numerous tourism impact studies on models of residents' attitudes, Doxey's Irritation Index (1975) is one of the best known and has been extensively applied. In a Thai context, it is possible that the annoyance point may not be

reached. Because there is a connection between the weak uncertainty and avoidance of confrontation being a characteristic of Chai-Yen taught by Buddhism appearing in Thai attitudes toward unexpected things, shown in the quote ‘what will be, will be’ (Knutson, 1998). Initially, Thais welcome visitors and investors in the euphoria stage. Over time, the visitor numbers increase and the relationships between local residents and visitors are more commercial in apathy stage. From this point, the impacts of tourism occur such as heavy traffic, overcrowding of properties and infrastructure, and higher crime rate. Thais with the high value of Chai-yen are obliged to not express annoyance; instead, Thais avoid confronting a circumstance that leads to break Chai-yen value.

3.11 Lessons for this study

Western studies assume there are clear negative and positive impacts of tourism development. These socio-cultural impacts of tourism in the Western literature are applicable in a Thai context. However, most previous studies on socio-cultural impacts of tourism look from the outside but it is crucial that nobody looks from an inside Thai perspective. Prior studies on residents’ attitudes towards socio-cultural impacts of tourism which have analysed the influence of socio-demographic factors on the residents’ attitudes towards tourism are not conclusive. It is necessary to consider cultural factors in order to understand how participants construct the world and socio-cultural impacts of tourism.

Studies of residents’ behavioural response to tourism are more limited and those studies of residents’ attitudes have not focused on coping behaviour of residents. In order to study residents’ attitudes and perceptions, the responses of local people to the impacts of tourism development should be included to explain these behaviour changes (coping mechanisms). Thus, this research studies a Thai setting from a Thai perspective. This study explores behaviour changes and how residents negotiate negative impacts of tourism development.

In terms of theoretical application, this study attempts to focus on cultural factors in order to analyse and interpret the residents’ social construction of socio-cultural

impacts of tourism development as well as to explore the relevance of western socio-cultural theories in a Thai context. In order to explore these aspects, a more holistic study of resident responses to socio-cultural impacts was required. This study also moves the focus away from Western socio-cultural impact models to a better understanding of residents' responses to impacts of tourism in a Thai context. A destination was sought in order for the study to be of value outside the study area. Koh Samui was chosen for this investigation as it is a self-contained model of both beach resort development and tourism impact destination. The research process, paradigm and strategy as well as experiences encountered during the fieldwork will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

Methodological approach

Previous studies on residents' attitudes toward socio-cultural impacts of tourism have focused on socio-demographic factors. In a Thai context, religion is seen as a philosophy that broadens the perception of Thai people and has been a significant cultural influence for them. Therefore, it is significantly important that religion and cultural factors are given attention. In addition, studies of residents' behavioural response to tourism are limited. Thus, this research studies in a Thai setting from a Thai perspective. This study interprets local people's social construction of socio-cultural impacts as well as exploring residents' behaviour changes and how they are able to cope with negative impacts of tourism development. A more holistic study of resident responses to socio-cultural impacts was required.

The nature and complexity of this study suggested that a constructivist paradigm was appropriate primarily due to the fact that local residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in the case study were to be investigated. The data thus took the form of multiple mental constructions provided by individual local people based on the specific Thai society, local and experience dependent on the form and content of the persons who hold them. Additionally, due to all the problems in doing a socio-cultural impact study with Thai people, the constructivist paradigm using a qualitative methodology allows the researcher to have a more flexible choice of method to commit much deeper data than a quantitative methodological approach.

4.1 Research paradigm

Guba (1990, p.17) notes that a paradigm is "a basic set of beliefs that guides action, whether of the everyday garden variety or action taken in connection with a disciplined inquiry". Additionally, Cohen, et al (2000) define paradigm as a contextual framework of perception, understanding, belief within theories and practices for comprehension and interpretation of social reality. There are many different paradigms but the most commonly known paradigms are: positivism, post-

positivism, critical theory and constructivism (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Guba, 1990). Paradigms offer distinctively different methodological approaches. There are advantages and disadvantages associated with different paradigms, but the paradigm adopted should suit the nature of the research topic being studied.

A constructivist paradigm was adopted for this study using qualitative techniques as the most suitable methodology. The nature and complexity of this study suggested that constructivist paradigm was appropriate primarily due to the fact that human perceptions, values, and beliefs were to be explored and subjectivity was also clearly recognised in a reality. It was also very important to take an emic perspective or a view from inside as an insider in order to understand the local Thai perspective and actively articulate a potentially new Thai point of view in respect to tourism impacts. The constructivist paradigm believes that each individual creates their own view of the world based on experiences and perceptions (Guba, 1990). Research gathers subjective accounts that reveal how the world is experienced and constructed by people. For epistemological perspective, the constructivist paradigm suggests that the researcher and those being researched are not independent. The researcher is likely to have some influence on findings due to the fact that the researcher is involved in the subjective constructions of those being researched.

The confrontation of a host of research approaches and a reflection of the subjectivity and preferences of the researcher through the study is unavoidable in qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Additionally, the element of serendipity was welcomed as the themes that would emerge from the study were unknown. Qualitative researchers usually begin fieldwork with curiosity and questions in their mind. An orientation concerned with the study of natural real life setting is denoted in qualitative study and participants should feel comfortable, natural and spontaneous during the interview and participant observation (Brewer, 2000; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

4.2 Research strategies

Decisions around the most suitable strategy were not easy. Having come across a wide range of research strategies, a case study approach was considered to be the most suitable strategy for this research. Ethnography proposes the description and interpretation of cultural behaviours and social groups primarily through observation and interviews. In contrast, the strength of case studies is to describe and develop in-depth analysis on a subject through multiple sources including observation and interviews on a case or cases. Thus, this research aims to investigate the impacts of tourism development upon socio-cultural changes in Thai beach resort from the perspective of local people.

There are examples of a number of successful studies using a case study approach introduced by many scholars including Cohen's study on socio-cultural impacts in a tribe hill, Thailand (1989); Kariel and Kariel's research on socio-cultural impacts in the Austrian Alps (1982); Korca's study on residents' perceptions of tourism in Antalya, Turkey (1998); Ratz's investigation of residents' perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism at Lake Balaton, Hungary (2000); Ritchie and Inkari's study on host community attitudes towards tourism: the case of Lewes District, Southern England (2006); and Tosun's research on host perceptions of impacts in Nadi, Fiji and Central Florida (2002).

Boxill and Severin (2004) studied socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in the Caribs of Dominica in 2001. They applied an interpretive perspective and exploratory study using qualitative case study approach through seven in-depth interviews over a period of a month in the Territory and non-participant observation for two weeks. Additionally, Gjerald (2005) proposed a good example of using a case study approach as a research strategy as well. He studied socio-cultural impacts of tourism development using a case in North Cape community in Norway. He conducted the data through in-depth interviews with twenty-two permanent local residents.

Since this study is based on one community only, a decision was taken that the qualitative case study strategy would be appropriate. A case study suited the purposes of this research in a way that it is the best approach available when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed. Using a case study approach ensures that the participants' perspectives will be observed and analysed by using multiple sources of data. According to Yin (1994, p.13), "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". As Stake (1995, p.177) defines a case study as: "the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances".

Challenges that the researcher has to acknowledge and take into account included: the complexity of the conceptualisation of tourism development and awareness of the complexity of the potential demonstration effects toward socio-cultural impacts of tourism associated with local people. Additionally, acknowledgement was required of the fact that the factors mentioned above are frequently subjective. Consequently, the importance of individual experiences and relationships has to be recognised.

Why Koh Samui, Thailand as a case study

The researcher selected Koh Samui as a case study because of its popularity as a leading sun, sand, and sea tourist attraction. Koh Samui also provides a self-contained destination in which to examine both tourism development and tourism impacts. Explorer type tourists found Koh Samui in the late 1970's, and ever since then tourism has been the main income in Koh Samui.

When tourism development took place in Koh Samui, high demand for labour occurred. However, there are a number of original local residents who have not abandoned agriculture and moved to the tourism industry. Koh Samui is not only a famous tourist destination but it also represents a combination of an agricultural society with a tourism industry. There are also original local residents still living

and carrying on their tradition and culture through generations. Therefore, it is very interesting to investigate how they have adapted themselves to the tourism industry, and how it impacts on their society and culture. Additionally, studies on the impacts of tourism in this area have so far been restricted to economic analysis, and the subject of socio-cultural impacts of tourism has been under-researched.

Two methods were adopted in gathering primary data from the case study: participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Interviews carried out in a case study approach aim to explore and probe in depth the particular circumstances of a community and to analyse the perceptions and attitudes of local residents in the community in a specific context. Snowballing techniques were applied to find participants for interviews with local people.

4.3 Issues researching Thai people

Prior research in this subject has employed a variety of methodologies ranging from questionnaires with Likert scales, group discussions and semi-structured interviews. It is obvious that group discussions could be useful for exploring the social construction of tourism; however, Thais' avoidance of confrontation is a problem. Avoiding public confrontation and inconsistency, Thai people would act with a degree of insincerity and reticence in group discussions. Even though the group leader is the elevated expert and maintains control, Thai people in the group discussions would avoid a dominant stance.

Buddhism has an immense influence on Thais' principle ways of life- harmony. Being a participant in a group discussion, Thais have to demonstrate their views on a particular subject. According to Browell (2000, p.110), "there is a strong sense of loyalty, with a desire for harmony rather than conflict in family, work and society. There is strong uncertainty avoidance". In other words, Thais conceal their personal expression while socialising with unfamiliar faces. This issue also goes beyond the Thais' reputation of avoidance of confrontation and high power distance but also embraces Kalatesa (suitable manner, time and space) and Kreng-Jai (consideration another person's feeling) syndrome of Thais as well.

On the other hand, individual interviews are more suitable for Thais. A difficulty of conducting individual interviews with Thais was considered as the interviewer had never been personally acquainted with the interviewees. However, if the interviewer gradually assembles affiliation and trust with the interviewees during the participant observation and oral history process, later on, the interviewees would liberally express their opinions especially when there was only the interviewer and an interviewee in the room, the discussion was preserved at a private level.

In addition, the interviewer informed the interviewees that the conversation was confidential and for research purposes only and soliciting permission was required to reveal their personal details in the research. Furthermore, the interviewer was aware the interviewees came from different backgrounds such as family structure and education and accessing the information from them had to be extensive as well. The researcher was also aware that she was an outsider but had a connection to the case study area. Therefore, the researcher was able to establish herself in the community building up trust and relationships.

4.4 Methods of data collection and analysis

Choosing qualitative research serves as a bridge, which can link theory, practice and deeper findings. This research also employs Yin's six sources of evidence including documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts (Yin, 1994). However, it is important to be aware that no single source has a complete advantage over others and their strengths and weaknesses must be considered. Furthermore, Yin (1994) suggests that the various sources mentioned above are highly complementary and a good case study will want to include as many sources as possible.

This research adopted participant observation and semi-structured interviews as the primary methods that were undertaken as complimentary data collection strategies. First, an oral history of Koh Samui was undertaken. The background of the local residents and local context in Koh Samui were explored as well as the local residents' behaviour patterns and the interaction between them and tourists on a day

to day basis were examined through participant observation. Building connections, trust and relationships between the researcher and local residents were a secondary purpose. Then, residents' and local authorities' perceptions and attitudes towards socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in Koh Samui were investigated through semi-structured interviews.

4.5 Participant observation

Participant observation is a useful technique when carrying out a case study, especially when it is utilised with other methods. It can provide first-hand data on various ideas or theories the researchers wish to study, especially socio-cultural impacts of tourism, while allowing access to participants who might not be represented in a survey. According to Patton (1990, p.67), participant observation involves “intensive fieldwork in which the investigator is immersed in the culture under study”. Participant observation uses a perceptive approach (Ritchie and Goeldner, 1994). The researcher, either overtly or covertly, observes a social and cultural system in order to explore the culture and society to look for possible predetermined socio-cultural impacts. There are advantages and disadvantages of this method as well as ethical issues.

4.5.1 Research design

The participant observer immerses herself in a social setting to observe the behaviour of participants, to listen to what they say in conversation with others over an extended period of time. In practice, participant observers do more than simply observe. They gather further data through interviews and the collection of documents. Therefore, the method entails a wide range of methods of data collection and sources which is related to the case study strategy approach (Yin, 1994).

Participant observation is also the prevalent research method which has a specific focus on the culture of the group in which the participant observer is immersed

(Bryman, 2004). Through participant observations, the participants' general point of view was sought as well as conceptualisations of Koh Samui, tourism development and socio-cultural impacts. The aim was to participate and observe an insider's view including local residents' behaviour patterns, the interaction between local people and tourists as well as the background of local residents. This emersion develops an analytical description of an insider's views which may challenge the traditional view of tourism development and socio-cultural impacts set in a Thai context.

Participant observation was taken to mean a research method in which the researcher was immersed in a social setting of Koh Samui for an extended period of time and made regular observations of the behaviour of local residents in Koh Samui. The researcher also listened to and engaged in conversations, as well as informally interviewed informants on issues that were not directly amenable to observation or that the participant observer was unclear about and collected documents about participants. Importantly, the participant observer had to develop an understanding of the culture of the participants' and local people's behaviour within the context of Thai culture and wrote up field notes, jotted or full field notes, depending on the opportunity and situation.

However, Sarsby (1984) states that every field situation is different depending on initial luck in meeting good participants and informants as well as being in the right place at the right time. Hitting the right note in relationships may be also important. Many successes in field work come about through good luck as much as good planning. One of the most difficult steps in participant observation is accessing a social setting that is relevant to the research problem in which the researcher is interested in (Bryman, 2004). The social setting of this research is an open/public one which is research involving the community of Koh Samui.

One way to ease the access to social setting in this research was to assume both an overt and covert role which was dependant on the situation. Accessing public settings was beset with problems; however, the participant observation procedure

was smoothed by both sponsor and gatekeeper. A range of tactics were developed as follows:

- Friends, contacts and academics were sought to help gain access and provide the details of the case study relevant to the research questions.
- Support of someone within the case study who acted as a sponsor was sought.
- Something was offered in return as it helped to create a sense of being trustworthy.
- A clear explanation of the research aims and methods was provided as well as being prepared to deal with concerns.
- Being honest about the time of people the researcher was likely to take up.

However, access does not finish when the researcher has made contact and gained an entry to the case study as access is needed to people in the case study. Gaining access to a case study does not mean that the researcher has easy access through people in the case study. In this case, the researcher had to make sure that she had thought about ways in which people's suspicions can be reduced by simply saying that the researcher was doing research on a particular subject. One aspect of having sponsors or gatekeepers, who smooth access for the participant observer, is that they may become key informants in the fieldwork. The key informants for this research were a big local family and local authority in Koh Samui. The researcher knew this local family through her father. They have been friends since they were children. In relation to the social organisation of Koh Samui, kinship is a biological string to attach people in Koh Samui together. This family consists of local people who live in many parts of Koh Samui including Chaweng, Lamai, Mae Num, Nathon, Lipa, Bang Poo, Hua Thanon.

4.5.2 Roles for participant observer

Gold (1958) classifies four types of participant observer roles which can be dependant on the degrees of involvement and detachment from members of the

social setting including complete participant, participant-as-observer, and complete observer. However, participant as observer role was applied in this research stage. This role was as a fully functioning member of the social setting but members of the social setting were aware of the participant observer's status as a researcher. The participant observer was engaged in regular interaction with participants in their daily lives.

The participant observer was more like an actor rather than an onlooker in a situation with participants that allowed her to be taken into the world of the participants and become a part of that world through participation. The participant observer had to immerse herself in the social contexts and minds of the participants willingly interacting with them to learn about their experiences and the meanings given to those experiences within the participants' local and cultural context rather than acting as an expert. It was hard to come across as neutral and without emotional involvement with the participants as well as developing rapport.

4.5.3 Participant observation design

The fundamental reason to select participant observation over other research techniques related to the significance of Thai cultural context in answering the research questions. Bryman (2004) mentions if the focus of interest is on how the interactions of a setting give meaning to certain behaviours in a cultural context, participant observation is the method of choice. Additionally, participant observation can see real behaviour, as information obtained from interviews and questionnaires may not reflect actual behaviour of informants (Bogdewic, 1992). The aim was therefore to explore the interactions between people and their life grounded in the realities of daily existence in a Thai context.

The participant observation started with a situational analysis, then gaining access to the social setting followed by an oral history project. Pre-contact was made with the local authorities in Koh Samui City Council as well as one of the key informants

in the social setting. On the first visit, a general perspective of the social setting was gained from local authorities and observations of the area around Koh Samui with a key informant. This step investigated the following topics:

- Background of social setting and local people in the area.
- The importance of tourism in the area as well as the economic dependence of tourism
- The effects they might have from tourism.

Six sources of evidence were used to explore theory and practice as follows:

- Tourism policy documents;
- Development plans;
- Agendas, reports of events, and progress reports;
- Local City Council;
- Newspaper articles;
- Research reports including crime rates, drug used numbers, population, tourist arrival numbers and the growth of tourism and town.

All of the above evidence provided essential background information to support the participant observation and interviews.

Data was collected during July to October 2007 and the case study site was revisited for two weeks in October 2008. The researcher entered the case study site and lived with local residents. Key informants, who were born, had been living in the case study site and were known to the researcher made introductions to local residents. Local residents' behaviour patterns and the interaction between local residents and tourists were observed on a day-to-day basis. The researcher also participated and conversed with the local residents in order to build trust and rapport as well as tracking and doing research on the history of Koh Samui and the confirmation of local residents' background before undertaking interviews. The researcher also observed and gathered data that could not be collected by interviews such as dress code, languages and the imitation of tourists' behaviours. Being part of the community enabled the researcher to get to know other participants which

facilitated further interviews later on. On the return visit to the case study, the ongoing tourism development, local residents' behavioural patterns and their perceptions toward socio-cultural impacts of tourism development were reflected on through participant observation.

Table 13 shows the case study protocol design of this study.

Table 13: Case study protocol design

Research objectives	Approach	What tried to achieve/ Why
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pre-contact key informants (local authorities and local residents) - Situational analysis and gain access to the setting. 	First, it was important to get key informants in the local setting to help the researcher to gain access to the setting as well as to gain a general information about the setting and local people in the setting. Then, the researcher could prepare herself for what she would have to encounter.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To evaluate the direction of socio-cultural changes and the process of tourism development in Koh Samui 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Go to many places in Koh Samui with a key informant in order to gain a general view of Koh Samui. 	After gaining access to the setting, the researcher tried to develop general background about Koh Samui, the importance of tourism and the affects from tourism in the setting. Most importantly, the researcher wanted to get to know local people in the setting better and built trust and connection with them.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To identify and analyse the problems encountered by residents related to tourism development and socio-cultural changes in Koh Samui. - To identify and analyse residents' behavioural patterns and their responses to socio-cultural impacts of tourism development. - To analyse residents' social construction of socio-cultural impacts. - To evaluate the direction of socio-cultural changes and process of tourism development in Koh Samui. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Oral history project. - Participate and talk with local people on daily basis until data saturation was achieved. 	<p>The researcher tended to gain a deeper perspective about the history of Koh Samui from local people and an insider's view about tourism development and its socio-cultural impacts, how local people felt about it, and how much of the difference took place between Koh Samui in the past and present. The most important thing was to try to understand what was inside local people's mind and what their behaviour was like.</p> <p>The researcher tended to participate with local people and key informants in order to observe their behaviour patterns on daily basis, their interaction with tourists and with local people, their reaction with problems associated with socio-cultural impacts of tourism, how they coped or responded with</p>

		those problems. The researcher tried to understand local people's perceptions toward socio-cultural impacts of tourism.
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4.6 Semi-structured interviews with five typologies of local residents

The semi-structured interviewer’s aim is to minimise the conception of the unbalanced relationships between interviewees and themselves by sharing experiences and giving personal details to the interviewees (Seale, 2004). Limitations are that it is time-consuming, requires interviewing skills and is prone to bias generated by the interviewer’s comments, tones or non-verbal behaviour (Clark et al., 1998; Johns and Lee-Ross, 1998; Ryan, 1995; Seaton and Bennett, 1996; Veal, 1995).

Individual interviews are also used to gather more in depth material (Finn et al., 2000). Furthermore, Bryman (2004) supports that individual interviews can be precious when potentially sensitive issues are involved. According to Krippendorff (1987), it is possible that opinions and expectations toward tourism can be very different depending on many factors such as occupations, cultural groups, and age. On this basis, the requirement of sampling for a qualitative survey is different for quantitative studies. In fact, this is difficult as the term of sampling is related to a logic gained from statistics (Mason, 2002). Additionally, it is important to recognise a major weakness of Doxey’s theory (1975) which is that residents are not a homogeneous group.

4.6.1 Research design

Semi-structured interviews have specified questions but allow more freedom than structured interviews to seek clarification and explanation. In other words, semi-structured interviews combine the flexibility of the unstructured interviews with comparability of key questions (Jennings, 2001). Additionally, semi-structured interview allows the research to have a checklist of questions or specific topic to be covered that acts as an interview guide (Jennings, 2001). It is not necessary to

follow exactly the questions outlined on the schedule. Furthermore, the interviewers are allowed to ask questions to explore what interviewees have said but these are not included in the guide (Finn et al., 2000). This method is appropriate for searching in-depth information from key respondents including detailed information, facts, and opinions. The advantages of this method are the freedom for the interviewees to express their opinion in-depth and talk from their own frames of reference (May, 1993). Furthermore, it provides a rich set of data and interaction between the interviewer and interviewee and establishes trust and personal contact with interviewee that may lead discussion into significant areas (Saunders et al., 1997; 2000).

The principal behind the individual interviews with the emic approach adopted in this study is the avoidance of confrontation of Thai culture. Thai people are willing to have an open-minded discussion about sensitive topics when they feel safe and trust the interviewer. Consequently, this interview focused on the participants' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in Koh Samui as well as its impacts upon socio-cultural changes. The aim was to gain the local people's perspective and develop an analytical description of their view that may challenge traditional views on the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in a Thai context, as well as to investigate a broader perspective of local authorities on socio-cultural impacts and the policy, planning and management of socio-cultural changes. Semi-structured interviews were suited to this study as "the researcher is beginning the investigation with a fairly clear focus, rather than a general notion of wanting to do research on a topic" (Bryman, 2004 p.323).

The researcher should be steering and prepared to be challenged by the interviewees. Clarification and extension meanings of interviewees' statements are also important as well as the conversation between the researcher and interviewee has to be balanced. Even though the interviews are being recorded, the researcher as an interviewer must, in fact, be very responsive to what the interviewee is saying or as body language may indicate something (Bryman, 2004). Therefore, the researcher also had a duty to observe the interviewee's interaction including eye contact, hands' level, gesture and the clear of voice while interviewing. Notes were

taken in addition to confirming evidence of date, time, locations, feelings, and participant's paralanguage throughout the interviews.

4.6.2 Interview design

The form of a natural conversation was taken in the interviews following an interview guide. This sort of approach allows interviewees to show their point of view and feelings but it still gives some control for the interviewer. It is used when the researcher has a clear focus of investigation on a phenomenon (Bryman, 2004). In this study, five resident types were identified which appeared to offer a classification system which facilitated the conceptualisation of certain characteristics, themes and experiences linked with theory:

- Type one or 'extensive contact' included local people who had regular direct contact with tourists and depended on tourism. They might be unemployed if there was no tourism.
- Type two or 'partial contact' covered local residents who had regular contact with tourists, as well, but they were not reliant on tourism for work.
- Type three or 'neutral concerned with tourism' represent local residents who had indirect or no frequent contact with tourists but received only a part of their income from tourism.
- Type four or 'no contact with tourism' included local people who had no contact with tourists or saw them only in passing.
- Type five or 'local authorities' represents local authorities who worked in Koh Samui City Council, Koh Samui Tourism Authority, and Koh Samui Tourism Trade Organisation.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with local authorities for their general information and points of view as well as details of the area of local administration (e.g. policy, management and planning), only after the participant observation and interviews with local people in the following groups: 'extensive contact'; 'partial

contact’; ‘neutral concerned with tourism’; and ‘no contact with tourism’ were completed. The researcher addressed problems arising from data gathered from participant observation and the interviews with these four groups by using the appropriate method of semi-structured interviews to glean the necessary information from the local authorities. The interviews also followed a set of questions obtained from a case study protocol as well as a way to confirm certain facts rather than inquire into a broader topic (Yin, 1994). Certain key persons in local authorities of the tourism industry were interviewed in the following agencies:

1. Koh Samui Tourism Authority
2. Koh Samui City Council
3. Koh Samui Tourism Trade Organisation

Specific members of each typology were sought. Following initial consultation with local administrators in Koh Samui City Council and key informants, as well as a period living within the community during participant observational period, various people were chosen. Pre-contact was made with each individual to see if they were willing and available for an interview. Three respondents from each resident group and four participants from local authorities were selected for interview. The first step was an investigation of the current situation of tourism development in Koh Samui to cover a broad range of general topics and an evaluation of change comparing the past and current situation in relation to the following:

- Awareness of socio-cultural changes
- Agriculture, tourism and modernisation
- Political issues
- Social system and structure changed
- Behaviour and lifestyle changed
- Adaptation
- Demographic change (labour flooding)
- Strength of Buddha’s taught (basic value, belief and custom)

The final step was to explore their feelings and attitudes toward tourism development as well as the impacts of tourism upon socio-cultural changes in their community. The tourism policy and planning and the management perspective was

also explored along with socio-cultural problems of tourism development that emerged from participant observation and the interviews with four groups (extensive contact; partial contact; neutral concerned with tourism; and no contact with tourism). The same general areas were covered in all interviews but the same questions were not followed in every interview. However, all interviews contained some more or less structured questions and a participant was allowed to require a more or less structured approach. The use of semi-structured interview in this research allowed the researcher to explore the perspectives and attitudes of local residents in order to uncover a more detailed understanding of how ongoing tourism development and socio-cultural changes in their community affected their lives. As such, this method enabled the researcher to better understand the participants from their own point of view.

4.6.3 Interview protocol

An interview protocol was designed as a checklist of the topics and issues that needed to be covered including the main questions in Table 14 as follows (see Appendix 1 for an example of the completed interview protocol):

Table 14: An interview protocol

Research objectives	Question asked	What tried to achieve/Why asked in this way
	- Background questions of participant e.g. how old are you and how long have you been in this area?	General background to confirm if they fit with resident typology in the sample. Building connection and rapport with participants (Thai's high power of distance).
- To evaluate the direction of socio-cultural changes and the process of tourism development in Koh Samui	- How do you feel about the growth of the tourism in your town?	An open, neutral question leading to develop other questions on participants' perceptions towards tourism in their community.
- To identify and analyse the problems encountered by residents related to tourism development and socio-cultural changes in Koh Samui. - To identify and analyse residents' behavioural patterns and their responses to socio-cultural impacts of tourism	- What do you like best about the tourism activities taking place in your town? - What do you dislike most about	In Thai context, it was better to ask a simple positive question, and then when participants felt comfortable and were more willing to speak, sensitive questions would be achieved easily. Thai people normally avoid open

<p>development.</p> <p>- To analyse residents' social construction of socio-cultural impacts.</p>	<p>the tourism activities taking place in your town?</p> <p>- Tell me about any socio-cultural impacts of tourism in your town?</p> <p>- If any- What do you think what are the most advantageous impacts of tourism on your social and culture in your town?</p> <p>- If any- Which is the worst impacts of tourism on your social and culture in your town?</p>	<p>face to face questions which lead to conflict or negative point. For Thai people, the word 'dislike' is far softer than 'hate' and it is acceptable for Thais to be asked this sort of thing.</p> <p>Asked an open question before getting to the details to avoid Thai's avoidance of confrontation.</p> <p>When talking about socio-cultural impacts of tourism, people normally only think about the negative side.</p> <p>This question was asked of participants towards the end of the interviews because they had got to know the interviewer more, then they would feel free to answer sensitive questions which could lead to conflict.</p>
<p>- To evaluate the direction of socio-cultural changes and process of tourism development in Koh Samui.</p>	<p>- If any- What changes would you like to see take place?</p> <p>- How to solve problems mentioned earlier? (for local authorities)</p> <p>- Policy, planning and managerial perspective towards socio-cultural impacts (for local authorities)</p>	<p>An open ended question what participants wished for their community.</p> <p>To gain local authorities' view if they had some principles to solve these mentioned problems on socio-cultural changes.</p> <p>To gain local authorities' perspective if they had a planning and policy to prevent socio-cultural changes.</p>

The idea of an interview protocol is a much less specific notion but refers to the brief list of questions to be asked which allows the researcher to collect participants' views of their social world. Besides questions in the original interview protocol, further questions developed following each interview. Therefore, the protocol was modified after each interview as the study evolved.

Even though the researcher had pre-investigated each individual participant's background, some background questions were asked to establish their opinion on tourism development and socio-cultural impacts of tourism in their community. The interview started with questions to gather a broader general point of view on tourism in Koh Samui. After that, the participants were asked about their feelings on the current situation and potential direction of change in relation to tourism development in their community. This was followed by questions on their attitudes and perspectives towards tourism development and the impacts of tourism upon

socio-cultural changes in Koh Samui. In addition, local authorities were asked about policy, planning and management of socio-cultural changes in the past, present and future.

Interviews applied all nine types of questions introduced by Kvale (1996) including introducing, follow-up, probing, specifying, direct, indirect, structuring, silence, and interpreting questions depending on a circumstance. In some cases, the researcher used the mix of introducing and follow-up questions in leading to more specific answers. For instance, participants were asked if there were socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in their area and they answered 'yes' without more explanation. The researcher followed up the questions by introducing 'Please tell me how tourism affects on society and culture?' Additionally, silence was sometimes a useful method to allow pauses to signal that the researcher wanted the participants to amplify an answer.

Interviews are a personal context and although the interview protocol is only a guideline of questions to be covered and not necessarily followed leading questions, long questions, biased questions and technical term questions should be avoided. Additionally, the researcher should avoid the establishment of an unbalanced relationship with participants as it may result in minimising sharing experiences from participants. It is important to see the interview as an open, democratic, informal, free flowing and two way process of negotiation to gain a particular personal experience in social context.

4.7 Sampling technique

Sampling reduces the data collection needs and in a qualitative study, information rich cases are selected for in-depth study (Saunders et al., 1997; 2000). Purposeful sampling was applied to initially identify key informants from a contact based across a range of different locations in Koh Samui. Following this, snowball sampling was applied to identify further participants. The participants met the following criteria:

- They were knowledgeable about tourism and the background of Koh Samui;
- They were willing to participate and talk;
- They presented a range of different views (e.g. age, gender, education, and financial background).

Snowball sampling is a form of convenience sample and one type of non-probability sampling as well as one that is available to the researcher by the good quality of its accessibility (Bryman, 2004). With this approach to sampling, the researcher made initial contact with a small group of informants who were relevant to the research questions and used these people to establish contacts with other informants. When the researcher needs to focus upon the relationships between people, tracing connections through the snowball process may be the most suitable approach (Coleman, 1958). The advantages of this technique are that it is less costly and can be set up quickly. The disadvantage is its prone to bias, as a participant observer tends to choose the respondents who are approachable and willing to answer. The initial group of informants was a small local family in Koh Samui and members of this family led to contact with others (e.g. their relatives, cousins, and friends).

A snowballing technique was also used for selection of appropriation respondents in the interview process. Local authorities such as Tourism Authority of Thailand, Koh Samui City Council and Koh Samui Tourism Organisation helped to identify a diverse sample of resident typology one to four. The respondents had to be Thai, Koh Samui's residents, aged over 25 year's old and have lived in the case study area over at least 15-20 years. Krippendorf (1987) supports the idea of residents' categories that the respondents' different backgrounds, which are centred on type of resident classification system, reflect the various spatial, organisational, social and cultural dimensions in a period of time. These categories represented meaningful classifications to facilitate useful themes, experiences and illustrations from the data.

Some local administrators in the following authorities such as Tourism Authority of Thailand, Koh Samui City Council and Koh Samui Tourism Organisation were invited to interviews. The headquarter of TAT in Bangkok gave the researcher the information of TAT in Suratthani where Koh Samui was under their management and suggested who were the key management of tourism in Koh Samui as well as who to contact. The sixteen respondents cover a wide range of backgrounds that is more important than an attempt to represent the traditional characteristics of population such as age, gender, social class and ethnicity, which are more distinctive of a quantitative examination (Mason, 1996; 2002).

A theoretical sampling strategy was also employed in the interview process. Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory where the analyst equally collects, codes and analyses the data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop the theory as it emerges (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In this case, it is not just people who were sampled but also social settings as well. Participants were selected on the basis of emerging theoretical focus as well as were recruited with a range of different experiences and perspectives until the data achieved theoretical saturation point (Bryman, 2004). Being a good Buddhist, a Thai has to be able to live with problems, remain harmonious and avoid conflict or a face-to-face confrontation; however, the way a Thai perceives socio-cultural impacts was still a mystery e.g. they were welcome, annoyed or avoided tourist areas; the increase of crime rate, drug abuses and prostitutions as well as local socio-cultural changes were blamed on labour flooding of northeast people; and their avoidance of confrontation was upset by the protest of Tesco and silence against Bangkok airways. The same information was received when eight interviews were gathered; however, sixteen interviews were gathered in order to make sure that the data achieved a saturation point. [In addition, the 16 interviews were supported by the rich data gathered from the participant observation \(Bryman, 2004\).](#)

In participant observation research, sampling is not just about people but also other things (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Time and context as units need to be considered (Bryman, 2004). Time means that the participant observer must make sure that people or events are observed at different times of a day and on different days of a

week. However, it is impossible to act as a participant observer all the time. The term of context is also important to sample (Bryman, 2004). People's behaviour is influenced by several contextual factors; therefore, it is important that such behaviour is observed in a variety of locations. The participant observer had to ensure that local people interact with others not just around the time of exchanging costs and benefits with tourists but also in a variety of contexts at different times.

4.8 Data collection

The participant observation was undertaken in many locations of Koh Samui. Due to the weaknesses of human memory, the participant observer has to take notes based on their observations. The notes should be detailed summaries of events or behaviour and need to specify key dimensions of whatever is observed or heard (Bryman, 2004). The researcher wrote field notes briefly and as quickly as possible after seeing or hearing something interesting. In addition to brief field notes, the researcher also wrote up full notes, at the very latest, at the end of the day and included details such as locations, who were involved, date and time of day.

To some extent, strategies for taking field notes will be affected by the degree to which the participant observer enters the field. The participant observer has to familiarise her observations to the research focus; however, she has to maintain a fairly open-mind at the same time. The researcher used the combination of mental, jotted and full field note strategies. The researcher frequently tried to narrow down her focus of interest and to match observations to the emerging research focus as well as to formulate specific research questions. Additionally, the participant observer took photos which could be additional sources of data and helped to stir the researcher's memory.

The sixteen interviews were undertaken in a social setting of either the participant's place of work or home. Local authorities including the director of research and planning division of Koh Samui City Council, a secretary of the research and

planning division director, a secretary of Koh Samui Tourism Trade Organisation, an officer from Tourism Authority of Thailand, Suratthani were invited to the interview. Appointments were made with participants at convenient places and times. A pilot study is not applicable in qualitative research; however, the researcher performed a preliminary investigation for testing the interview design. In addition, the interview protocol was amended to suit each interviewee's circumstance.

The interviews were recorded with a digital audio recorder to improve reliability and accuracy as well as to enable the researcher to pay attention to what the participant was saying and be able to observe the participant's paralanguage. The average interview was about one and a half hours. Notes were also taken to support the recorder as well as to confirm the following after each interview:

- How the interview went.
- Where it took place.
- The feeling about the interview.
- The participant's body language including their anxiety in response to specific questions.

4.9 Data analysis

During the fieldwork, the data was reliant on memories but it was recorded by notes and diary which were written up as soon as possible. Content analysis is generally a quantitative approach to unstructured data; however, it can be applied more qualitatively. A qualitative thematic content analysis was used to analyse the data. Bryman (2004) states that content analysis is probably the most prevalent approach to the qualitative analysis of documents as it comprises a searching out of underlying themes in the materials being analysed. The analysis of data began as soon as the data collection started. Thematic analysis involves primarily analysing the transcript and breaking it down and then rebuilding the data into themes and categories. With qualitative thematic content analysis, there is much more

movement between conceptualisation, data analysis and interpretation than is the case with the kind of content analysis in quantitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Even though content analysis is a term commonly used in quantitative research as techniques for reducing texts to a unit by counting the frequency and analysing the matrix quantitatively to test hypotheses, the researcher can use content analysis with qualitative data to produce a matrix by applying a set of codes to a set of qualitative data including written texts as well as audio and video media (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Following immersion in the data involving reading and re-reading of notes and interviews, the next step was to code each unit for each of the themes. The interviews were recorded and transcribed (see Appendix 2 for an example of interview transcription) and data from field notes were initially organised by themes into categories in the Thai language to avoid losing the real meaning of the context by translating data to English. New categories and sub-categories were developed from the data (emergent categories). The researcher got to know the data that led to a process of theme generation. The data were categorised into themes and copied into new files under the theme headings. Thus data were categorised in qualitative content analysis, some blocks of text were used more than once as they related to more than one theme.

4.10 Demonstrating credibility

Validity

The issue of ‘validity’ in qualitative research should not be dismissed even though the term is used differently between qualitative and quantitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). In qualitative research, validity often refers to ‘trustworthiness’ or that the real world of participants is presented and those studies must recognise the social reality (Bryman, 2004). Therefore, participant checks are valuable for this circumstance (Brewer, 2000). It means the summary of the data from the interviews is taken back to the informants. In this case, each individual interview transcript

was shown to each informant when he/she asked due to the promise of confidentiality as the topic was sensitive.

In qualitative research, 'generalisability' refers to external validity. Fielding (1993) states that generalisability is likely to be irrelevant to qualitative research due to the focus on a single case or small sample. However, qualitative researchers feel that similar settings are likely to produce similar data (Bryman, 2004). Additionally, theory-based generalisation can be achieved involving the transfer of theoretical concepts from one to other settings (Brewer, 2000). Seal (2004) explains this circumstance as a theoretical implication. It draws conclusions from the characteristics and descriptive of events by identifying generic features. The setting of this research was chosen for the findings to be transferable to similar settings and actors e.g. socio-cultural impacts of tourism elsewhere in Thailand and Thai local residents. It is possible to understand that such local residents elsewhere in Thai context may face a similar experience to informants in this study with modifications of different external circumstances and personality differences. Additionally, it is possible that the findings of this study might also be relevant in other countries with a strongly Buddhist tradition.

Reliability

Reliability refers to the consistency, repeatability, replicability or stability of research findings (Guba, 1990). Guba and Lincoln (1985) propose 'the concept of auditability' to measure the consistency in qualitative research as a study may be judged as 'auditable' or 'reliable' if the reader can follow the 'decision trail' of the research process. The participant observation and interview was adopted in this study in order to explore in depth the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in Thai beach resorts. The interview protocol and schedule was standardised in order to increase the consistency of the data collected (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Reliability was also addressed in terms of equipment employed in the interview. A tape recorder was used to record all interviews to increase reliability.

However, Brewer (2000) suggests that reliability is an invalid criterion in qualitative research as social situations are not replicable and it would be

impossible to generate the same findings if another study was conducted in the same conditions as different people with different personalities from different situations and circumstances would be involved. Furthermore, as this study adopted a constructivist paradigm, it was a subjective undertaking. It is possible that research findings could be replicated to another; however, it is likely that their analysis and interpretation would differ (Guba and Lincoln, 1985).

Neutrality: free from bias resulting from the researcher in the research process

Brewer (2000) proposes that conformability in qualitative research is achieved by establishing reliability and validity. However, Guba and Lincoln (1985) argue that 'auditability' or 'reliability' is achieved when the 'decision trail' is clear from the beginning to the end of the study. In this study, auditability was attempted by clearly describing the research process, explaining and justifying what, how, and why everything was done. The confrontation of a host of research approaches and a reflection of the subjectivity and preferences of the researcher through the study is unavoidable in qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). However, using quotations from the transcripts of informant's in the analysis provides the fact and helps to avoid the bias (Bryman, 2004).

4.11 Ethical considerations

Close attention to ethical considerations have been taken into account, especially since the research is carried out in real-life circumstances, involving open communication among the participants involved. The need and moral duty of researchers to protect participants in the research process is well discussed in the literature (Bulmer, 1982; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Mason, 2002). For obvious reasons confidentiality and anonymity is crucial to this study.

It was important to ensure flexibility so that other participants are able to influence the research and collective decisions made about direction of the research. At the same time, it was important to keep focus and ensure that the study was not going off track. It was a balance of being open and explicit about the nature of research

process (personal biases and interests) as well as ensuring that opportunities were maximised for involvement of participants at all times. Furthermore, as the researcher's views are often reflected in the interpretive research process, personal subjectivity may inherently bias the research conclusions.

Interviewees were informed that the information of the interview was used for the research purpose only and the researcher's details were provided prior to participants taking part in interviews (see Appendix 3 for information sheet for interviewees). Additionally, the researcher also advised participants of the nature and purpose of the research and how the findings were detailed. Participants were able to withdraw their consent at anytime and at any stage of the interview and advised the average of the range of time to interview and the permission to record their interviews as well as to use their personal details in the research. Importantly, the researcher has to bear in mind participants have the right to disagree to reveal their personal details and refuse to answer any particular questions if the topic is sensitive in their point of view (Robson, 1993; 2002). This conforms to guidance issued by the Institute of Health and Community Studies at Bournemouth University (see Appendix 4).

4.12 Health and safety issues

A risk assessment was completed prior to the field work taking place (see Appendix 5). The social setting of participant observation was an open one. The researcher was invited to stay with local families in many locations in Koh Samui to observe their behaviour patterns as well as the interaction among local residents and between them and tourists. Additionally, the interviews were set in social settings such as the participant's home and office. Therefore, there was a small risk of cruel intention. However, the snowball sampling technique helped to minimising some risks as informants were introduced by people known to the participant observer and interview participants were introduced from reliable people known to the researcher and her family. To minimise further risk, the appointments were made in advance and the dates, time, and locations of interviews, as well as the informants'

details including name, address, home telephone number and mobile phone number were left with friends and family before the researcher went to the interview each time.

4.13 Limitations of the research

During collecting data for this research, a number of limitations commonly associated with projects of this nature were apparent. The findings of this study will not be relevant to other countries especially Western countries due to the cultural and ethnical differences. English speaking countries tend to have individualist cultures, while Asian countries are more orientated by collectivist culture (Goodwin and Seow, 2004). Cultural characteristics of Thai people may influence the methodological choices, the findings and limit it to other jurisdictions. Thai people are likely to respond with non controversial answers. Thus they tend not to present strong feelings like strongly agreeing or strongly disagreeing. As Browell (2000, p.110) states 'there is a strong sense of loyalty, with a desire for harmony rather than conflict in family, work and society. There is high Power Distance and strong Uncertainty Avoidance'. This characteristic is derived from Buddhism beliefs (Browell, 2000).

The methodological design in this research is the most suitable for doing research in a Thai context. Remaining in harmony and avoiding face to face conflicts and criticism is important for Thai people (Browell, 2000; Konim, 1990). The researcher emerged herself in the setting in order to build connections and trust with the local residents through participant observation. Following a period of time local residents became willing to talk more and revealed their true feelings in the interviews. However, avoidance of confrontation remains strong in a Thai context and it is considered as Thai people's normal behaviour. It was still difficult to make Thai people talk in the interviews. Local residents avoided answering when they were asked about their attitudes and perceptions towards tourism development in their community. It was also clear that interviewees experienced some internal conflict when they tried to discuss their dilemmas about tourism. In addition, the

interviewees would not want to make conflicts with others in the community if they had different opinions.

The limitations were also the potential bias of the sampling process and the researcher herself. It was clear that the participant observer had an over-reliance on gaining access to key informants and participant observed with only willing informants who were introduced by a gatekeeper. However, a balance of informants representing the different perspectives within the area of study was approached. In addition, interviews relied on the accessibility of informants and only willing participants were interviewed. However, the five typologies of residents were a balanced choice of participants due to their backgrounds and made to represent different points in the area of study. Even though the interviews in this stage intended to explore local people and authorities' perspectives, it was led by the researcher through semi-structured interviews with a list of questions. Additionally, it was possible that the researcher would have a bias in her own perceptions; however, Robson (1993; 2002) states that qualitative research refers to the trustworthiness of data rather than validity and reliability employed in quantitative study.

The participant observer is forced to rely more exclusively on his/her own perception and without the analyses of informants. Therefore, it is possible to be more inclined to bias from the researcher's subjectivity interpretations of situations (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). A second main criticism of participation observational research suggests that it lacks reliability as it is without statistical analysis to confirm the patterns and trends of participant observation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Therefore, the researcher cannot ensure that the findings are real. However, qualitative research refers to the trustworthiness of data rather than validity and reliability employed in quantitative study (Robson, 1993; 2002). Additionally, naturalistic observation yields insights that are more likely to be accurate for the group under study.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the aim and objectives of the research as well as justified the research design and methods undertaken for data collection and analysis. This research aims to interpret local residents' social constructions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism development and to develop a better understanding of local residents' attitudes and perceptions toward socio-cultural changes in their society and their associated behavioural changes in a Thai context. A constructivist paradigm with a qualitative approach was adopted for this research due to the fact that multiple human constructions were explored subjectivity and an emic perspective was taken in order to understand local residents' perceptions in a Thai context.

A case study strategy with participant observation and semi-structured interviews were adopted. Local history, background of local residents, local residents' behavioural patterns and their interaction between them and tourists were examined through participant observation on a daily basis. In addition, it is important that the researcher also built trust and connections with local people through participant observation because of the influence of Thai avoidance of confrontation. The researcher participated with and observed a local family and took part with them in their daily life around many places in Koh Samui.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with sixteen local people from five resident typologies including 'Extensive contact', 'Partial contact', 'Neutral concerned with tourism', 'No contact with tourism' and 'Local authorities'. The interviews aimed to investigate residents and local authorities' attitudes and perceptions toward socio-cultural impacts with tourism development. Snowball and theoretical sampling were employed to identify participants in participant observation and in the interview process. The respondents in the interview had to be Thai, resident in Koh Samui, aged over 25 year and lived in the case study at least 15-20 years. In addition, participants were selected on the basis of emerging theoretical focus until the data achieved the saturation point.

Notes were taken during participant observation. The interviews were recorded with a digital audio recorder. A thematic content analysis was used to analyse the data. Interviews were transcribed. Notes and interviews were read and re-read; the next step was to code data into themes and categories. The research limitations have been identified and discussed. The next chapter will present the analysis and interpretation of primary data findings.

Chapter 5

En route

The analysis for this study is set out over three chapters. This chapter explores the journey of local people in Koh Samui from the pre-tourism period, the emergence of crisis and tourism, and the post-tourism period and socio-cultural changes. Chapter 6 presents the analysis of socio-cultural impacts induced through internal migration. The analysis suggests local residents believe that internal migration is a major cause of socio-cultural changes. Finally, Chapter 7 discusses how Thai people respond culturally in their daily life and how they cope with the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development. The analysis suggests that Buddhism has a strong influence on Thai people's social construction of and response to problems or unexpected events.

This chapter consists of three parts: happy memories, crisis and survival time, and new journey of changes. It reviews local people's perceptions of the pre and post-tourism period in a Thai context (Figure 12). Part I, happy memories, reviews how local people lived, their occupation, their social relationships, the prevailing social and political system in the pre-tourism period. Part II, crisis and survival time, explores the period when local people encountered a crisis due to the drop in the price of coconut, and tourism emerged as a survival option. Most residents, who relied on coconut plantation, sold their land to foreign investors and set up their own small tourism related businesses. Subsequently, while many survived in the tourism industry, many failed and the reasons behind these failures are discussed. Part III, new journey of changes, reviews the five themes which represent the local people's construction of their different experiences during the post-tourism period. This illustrates the new 'journey' undertaken by local people in order to adapt their lifestyle to tourism development and how this development impacted upon their life. A variety of local people's perceptions will be presented as discursive themes.

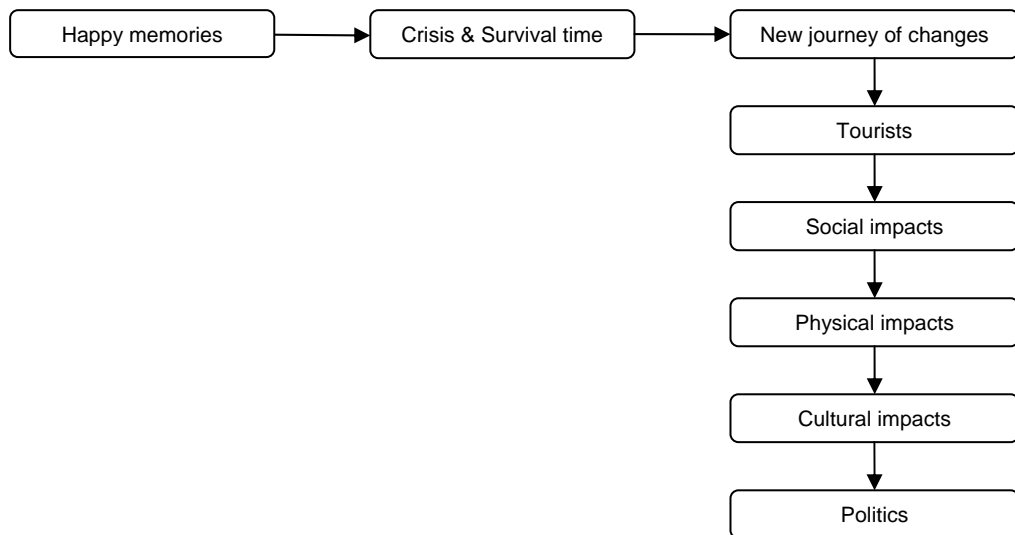


Figure 12: En route

The conversations analysed in this chapter are engaged with sensitive topics so the participants are given pseudonyms as shown in Table 15. In this study, the five resident types offered a classification system which facilitated the conceptualisation of certain characteristics and experiences linked with social exchange theory.

- Type one or ‘Extensive contact’ included local people who had regular direct contact with tourists and depended on tourism. They might be unemployed if there was no tourism.
- Type two or ‘Partial contact’ covered local residents who had regular contact with tourists, as well, but they were not reliant on tourism for work.
- Type three or ‘Neutral concerned with tourism’ represents local residents who had indirect or no frequent contact with tourists and received only a part of their income from tourism.
- Type four or ‘No contact with tourism’ included local people who had no contact with tourists or saw them only in passing.
- Type five or ‘Local authorities’ represents local authorities who worked in Koh Samui City Council, Koh Samui Tourism Authority, and Koh Samui Tourism Trade Organisation.

Table 15: Participant information

Participant (names are pseudonyms)	Sex	Age	Occupation	Living/Duty area	Typology
Lek	Female	38	Travel agency	Mae-num	Extensive contact
Jib	Female	28	Travel agency	Mae-num	Extensive contact
Nut	Male	42	Travel agency	Nathon	Extensive contact
Suay	Female	53	Officer in a bank	Lamai	Partial contact
Kae	Female	32	Cashier in Tesco	Chaweng	Partial contact
Bom	Male	48	Customer care in Tesco	Chaweng	Partial contact
Wow	Female	39	Local restaurant owner	Mae-num	Neutral concerned with tourism
Pom	Male	33	Fruit seller	Lipa-noi/yai	Neutral concerned with tourism
Pop	Male	36	Food seller in local market	Hua-thanon	Neutral concerned with tourism
Poo	Female	54	Housewife	Nathon	No contact with tourism
Jew	Male	75	Retired	Lamai	No contact with tourism
Art	Male	56	Teacher	Bangpoo	No contact with tourism
Kaew	Female	55	Director of research and planning division	City Council	Local authorities
Gift	Female	40	Secretary	Tourism Trade	Local authorities
Man	Male	38	Secretary of the research and planning director	City Council	Local authorities
Mac	Male	38	Officer	Tourism Authority	Local authorities

5.1 Part I: Happy memories

The initial part of this research primarily comprised the compilation of an oral history and observation. Historical experiences of participants were gathered in relation to their lifestyle, quality of life, social relationships and social systems, and political structure in the pre-tourism period. Trust and a strong relationship with local residents in the community were gradually established.

The direct access to Koh Samui community, spending time on-site with participants, as well as observing and interacting with them, was most beneficial. From this participation, it was established that all local residents had a similar general background and shared the same history of Koh Samui. Local people claimed that before their community had become a tourist destination, their social relationships were more like brothers and sisters. There was a native quote to say *'Loved child gets lands on the hill; unloved child gets lands by the beach'*. This shows the importance of coconut plantations to local people as Koh Samui depended on coconut plantations for a living; therefore, lands by the beach could not grow coconuts but lands on the mountain were much better.

Before tourism emerged in Koh Samui, participants indicated that they had a good time with other people in their community, even though they had no basic facilities such as electricity, roads and telephones. It was very different from the post tourism period, but they were happy. The journey/enquires began with an exploration of how local people lived before the modernisation prior to tourism taking place; how they travelled within and outside the island; what their social relationships and system were like; the occupation of the most people in the island; what their family structure was like; and so on.

5.1.1 Lifestyle and psychological attachment

Koh Samui had a reputation for coconut plantations so most local people relied on coconut plantations in the pre-tourism period. Their lifestyle was simple. The family rose early at about four o'clock in the morning and the husband worked on the coconut farm until late at night. The wife remained at home to do housework and look after her children and waited for her husband to come home. People recall a peaceful life. Poo and Kaew explained:

'We lived in a small community and extended family. Women worked at home as a housewife has to look after their children. We knew everyone in our community very well...So Samui people had a very good quality of life at this stage. I mean we had plenty of green areas, plenty of food and a good environment'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

'In the past, it is about fifty years ago. People in Koh Samui had a very simply lifestyle. They relied on coconut plantation. It was a small community. People were so close and lived in a very big family. In that time, there was no road. People woke up very early as they had to commute on foot to work. Men worked in the field all day while women remained home with children'. (Kaew, Local authorities)

Poo and Art also recalled their happy memories when they were children.

'All Samui people had their own coconut gardens. If you compared the price of coconuts in the past with the present, it was totally different. That time, it was one baht per coconut or it reached three baht per coconut but you have to understand that one baht in the past was so valuable or it was about one hundred baht in the present...We got paid from selling coconuts every forty-five days; however, the yield was unstable'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

'If comparing between the past before tourism emerged and the present, I was happier in the past. It was so peaceful and there were not many people like in the present. I remember that I followed my dad to the coconut field. Even though it was really tiring as we had to walk, it was really happy and the weather was not that hot like in the present... I inherited a coconut field from my dad but I never do anything with the field as the coconut price has dramatically dropped for the past fifteen years. It is not worth to rely on coconut plantation anymore'. (Art, No contact with tourism)

Art shows the look back with 'rose tinted spectacles' by saying 'not that hot like in the present'. It could not have been less hot in the past so he is remembering the past in a better light. Many researchers report on the impacts of tourism on the transformation of the quality of life and lifestyle within host communities (Cohen, 1982b; Sharpley, 1999; Mason, 2003). Doxey (1975) states such changes often lead to increased level of local resident dissatisfaction and sense of alienation from their everyday life. Disruptions to psychological attachments that local residents have established with local areas may occur (Matheison and Wall, 2006). However, this

was not evident among local people in Koh Samui due to the fact that they have a strong sense of belonging and place attachment. Additionally, rural communities in Thailand were more of a 'sufficiency' economy in the pre-tourism period (Ericker, 1995; Kislenko, 2004). That is why local people in the past were more positive about the pre-tourism days even though they had to work long hours on the coconut farm and lacked basic facilities.

5.1.2 Ethnicity and the social system

Koh Samui is situated on the South coast of Thailand. Thailand is a small country so people in every part of Thailand share a similar background. All Thai people, not only the ones who live in other parts of Thailand, as well as the people in Koh Samui, share common beliefs, norms, traditions, cultures and customs based on Buddhism. However, there is a small ethnic group of Muslims in Koh Samui living in the fisherman village in Lamai beach and one third of the population in Koh Samui are descended from Chinese migrants. This group normally lives in the city centre as they are keen to work in the commercial sector whereas the ethnic Thai people lived from farming. Local people in the past lived in a small community and there were not many people so they knew each other well. There was also less crime and other social problems. The social system in Koh Samui was one of mutual aid and local people were willing to share, be helpful and looked out for each other.

'In daily life, it was a helpful society. People looked after each other... Our local social system was set by mutual aid but it, recently, has become capitalist'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

A field note while doing oral history and situation analysis in the first few days confirms Poo statement and demonstrates ethnicity and social system in Koh Samui before tourism emerged.

Local people tell me a story about the past that there were so many ethnicities in Koh Samui including Thai-Muslim, Thai-Chinese and Thai. They mention that Thai-Muslim normally lived by the sea and worked as fishermen, Thai-Chinese lived in the centre of town as they were good at commercialisation, and Thai lived by the hills as

they counted on coconut plantation. Actually, I still can see the evidence about Thai-Muslim people in Koh Samui. There still remains a fisherman village in the north of Lamai beach.

28 July 2007

I meet a number of old local people in Maenum area. They are so lovely but they tell me that people in the past in Koh Samui were lovelier as people in the past were so close, like brother-sister. People were so helpful, generous and kind... These old people look so happy when they talk about their childhood.

30 July 2007

Migrants from southern China and the Thai mainland first settled Koh Samui in the nineteenth century (Green, 2005). Cohen (1982b) also said that the island population of Koh Samui is composed of Southern Thais, Chinese, and Kaek (Muslim). Island society is still to a high degree self regulated. As is common in small societies, the native population maintains a strong sense of identity (Ekachai, 1990).

5.1.3 Marriage and family structure

Marriage for Koh Samui people is a socially distinguished union of two people. It might be normal for the Thai men who married to have more than one wife in the family as having many wives demonstrated social status and wealth but this stereotype has been changing in recent decades. Additionally, marriage functioned as glue in the organisation of Koh Samui's society as it established social relationship between people in the community and it is also a foundation for families and households. This statement was confirmed by Poo and Jew.

'We lived in a small community and extended family. Women worked at home as a housewife has to look after their children. We knew everyone in our community very well... Additionally, all Samui people had their own coconut gardens'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

'In the past, it was a small community with not many people in Koh Samui. People married people in Koh Samui and this is the reason

why I have so many cousins and relatives in Koh Samui. In the past, we knew everyone. I have 5 sisters and 2 brothers. Just imagine, how crowded the house was and this did not include my grandfather and grandmother yet'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)

For Thai people, family life is very important and they believe that extended families provide a strong sense of Thai community. Additionally, it is important to pay deep respect towards elders in Thai society (Esterik, 2000; Kislenko, 2004). In rural areas, where most of the population lives, families often develop strengthened relationships and bonds of Thais in a community (Klausner, 1993). Nevertheless, Thai cultural practices with respect to the sexes have been recently changing (Esterik, 2000) as it can be noticed that binding arrangements without individual consent are increasingly unexceptional (Ekachai, 1990). For considerations of marriage and parenthood, people in rural Thailand tend to come earlier than those Thais who go on to university and have other experiences in the urban cities, owing mostly to different educational levels and employment priorities (Konim, 1990).

5.1.4 Political system

In Koh Samui, the village headmen played a central role in defining their society's goals and public policy as well as often allowing access to, and control over, the society's important resources. In the past, there were not many people in the society and village headmen were selected by their popularity among local people in each community. As the field note shows:

I notice that elder people respect Kam-nan and Pu-yai-ban so much. Someone tells me it is because Kam-nan and Pu-yai-ban were so powerful and had psychological control over the whole village. When somebody had a problem, Pu-yai-ban would take care of it and this is the reason why elder people still believe in them and respect them.

The relationship between Pu-yai-ban (headmen of village) and local people was more like father and children and local people paid the headmen respect. They were normally the leader who set up many essential events in the community as Cohen

(1982b) confirms in his research ‘Marginal paradises: Bungalow tourism on the islands of Southern Thailand’. He mentions in his research that the first bungalow resort on Koh Samui is set up by Pu-yai-ban of a village but later on other villagers start to establish new resorts. It shows that Pu-yai-ban had an influence on local residents at that time.

5.1.5 Communication and transportation

Originally, it was hard for local residents of Koh Samui to make contact with people from outside the village or indeed to travel outside, Koh Samui. The communication within and outside the island was only by post. At first, there was no road in Koh Samui. Art and Jew recall the communication and transportation in the pre-tourism period.

‘When I was a child, it was very difficult to visit my cousins even from Lamai to Nathon, my father and I had to go by foot for a day. Also, my father and I had to stay over night at my cousins before heading back home’. (Art, No contact with tourism)

‘Later on, there was a road built up between Lamai and Hua Thanon. After that, the road was built up bit by bit until we had a road around Koh Samui to commute in the present. It had taken many years to have road cover around Koh Samui as we had to ask for the budget from the government. At first, the road around Koh Samui was very small and later on, we had cars so there was the magnification of the round road around Koh Samui to be a bit wider but as we have seen, it is not wide enough but we could not ask for more land to build a wider road from the locals’. (Jew, No contact with tourism)

Cooper et al. (1998) explain that the basis of tourism development can be sub-divided into the social phenomenon of tourism and the socio-economic basis underlying tourism development. Growth in communications and change in mobility and accessibility are important factors to indicate tourism development (Mason, 2003). Cohen (1982b) states in his research during the early 1980s that the infrastructure of Koh Samui was little developed: no airport and connections to the

mainland depend on slow, infrequent, and uncomfortable ferries. The main road around the island was not paved and there was no supply of electricity to large areas of the island.

In conclusion to part I, local people in the pre-tourism period felt they had a decent quality of life. They lived on a coconut plantation and their social relationships were like brothers and sisters. There was strong mutual aid between local people and they looked out for each other. Local people lived in extended families. In that time, village headmen also had an important role to lead the community. They were chosen by their popularity among local residents in the community.

5.2 Part II: Crisis and survival time

This part will tell the story of the coconut crisis and survival time that local people had to encounter before their journey to a new modern world. In the 1980s, the first tourist group came to explore Koh Samui and some local people saw an opportunity to earn more money as the price of coconut started dropping. However, most local people still relied upon their coconut plantations. When the real crisis occurred, local people started getting desperate to try to find a survival path. Tourism was then seen as a light at the end of the tunnel.

5.2.1 The fall in the revenues from coconuts and the beginnings of tourism

Originally, local people and the local economy depended on coconut plantations. Later on, the coconut price fell but in the meanwhile, tourism emerged through the arrival of ‘explorers’ as Bom expresses. Thus tourism began playing an important role in the local economy and as a result many people left agriculture to work in the tourism industry. Additionally, the majority of local people started selling land especially in the beachfront areas. This was the poorest land for coconut production. Consequently, the land price suddenly went up. Kaew states this problem below.

‘Since the coconut price fell down, we would have starved to death. Luckily, tourism emerged in our community. At least, we have way to go’. (Bom, Partial contact)

'Many of them earn money by selling their land and building guesthouses and hotels. However, some local people are still continuing with their coconut plantations. We can say that the local economy of Koh Samui relies on tourism'. (Kaew, Local authorities)

Tourism in Koh Samui actually began in 1976-7 and it has continued to develop ever since. Since the Tsunami disaster in 2004, tourism in Koh Samui has become highly developed as investors looked for new investments and Koh Samui was chosen. Here Poo detailed the situation and characteristic of tourism in an earlier age.

'When tourism emerged in Koh Samui and especially when land price was getting higher, agriculturalists needed to find a way to survive so most of them sold their lands. Especially after the Tsunami disaster, foreign investors, tourists, hotel owners looked for a new place and they have seen tourism in Koh Samui as their new opportunity. Consequently, land price has been even higher as it has been needed. Therefore, most local people have seen this opportunity to sell their lands and lands in Koh Samui have been changed from local people's hands to others'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

In an agricultural society, the concept of unemployment is barely known, since everyone who lives on a farm in a small society had work to do before the era of tourism development (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Having recognised the potential contribution of tourism to economic diversification and overcoming developmental inconsistencies, island communities have long been trying to introduce tourism as a major economic alternative (Oppermann and Chon, 1997). However, with the acceptance of tourism and modernisation, farming has become a part-time occupation (Sharpley, 1999). Cohen (1982b) states that the principal branch of Koh Samui's economy was coconut plantations in the pre-tourism period. At that time, local residents were preoccupied with daily agriculture until the construction of the road to the beach they were isolated from tourism development.

5.2.2 Low visitor numbers and low property prices

After local people tried to earn more money by growing other fruit on their farms but it did not work out for them, tourism was seen as a survival path. At that time, there were not many properties and the land price was low. Investors both, domestic and international, were excited about Koh Samui and saw it as a new source of income. They started buying up land from local people. Since there was a rumour that a local resident earned two million baht by selling his beachfront land in Chaweng, other local people started selling their land too and the land price in Koh Samui has been going up ever since. Here Poo gives details about land in Koh Samui during the early introduction age of tourism.

'Additionally, lands in that time were massive and huge and it was not divided into pieces for their children and grandchildren... I meant we had plenty of green areas, plenty of food and good environment'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

Cohen (1982b) describes the first bungalow resort in Koh Samui as initially having five huts until 1978. In 1978, there were two resorts with twelve huts and it increased to six resorts with eighty huts in 1979. At that time, resorts were owned by local residents. Later on, when urban businessmen proposed to rent or buy the beachland, local residents enthusiastically accepted it. Initially, beachlands were sold or rented on a long-term basis. However, when tourism development literally boomed, the beachland had already been in the possession of non-local investors.

5.2.3 Departure from agriculture and emergence of small-scale enterprises

Since many local people turned their back on agriculture and headed to the tourism industry, many small scale enterprises have emerged without knowledge of business. As a result, many of them became bankrupt. Poo highlights the agricultural background of Koh Samui people. In addition, Pom, Lek, and Bom showed their concern that local people were unsuccessful in their businesses.

'...These behaviours have been passing from generation to generation so that's another reason why we have heard that a number of Koh Samui's people have been unsuccessful in doing

business as they were in agriculture before and never had experiences in trading'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

'When tourism booms, many people turned to open their own business, one is successful but one is not. They don't have experience about doing business before in their life, they are only farmers. They do not even have knowledge about businesses'. (Pom, Neutral concerned with tourism)

'Somebody see others succeed in their business so they imitate and get a loan from the bank to open their own business. Then they go bankrupt as they don't know how to run the businesses'. (Lek, Extensive contact)

'I have heard someone in Chaweng, they borrow money from the bank and open their hotels. Then they lose all their money from selling their lands as well as bankrupt at the end of the day. How come they can run a hotel better than a professional one who runs a western hotel chain'. (Bom, Partial contact)

In some host communities, where tourism takes over as the major income, the invasion impacts on traditional livelihoods is to the detriment of activities including farming (Shapley, 1999). Moreover, some host communities can become over-dependent on tourism. Small scale tourism in some cases is presented in a more positive light as providing opportunities for local entrepreneurship (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Hail (1979) states that tourism in Koh Samui was initially in the hands of a small entrepreneurial class who owned the breathtakingly beautiful beachfront property and the bungalow business remained mainly a family affair until foreign investors expressed an interest in tourist potential in Koh Samui. Cohen (1982b) mentions the failure of local entrepreneurs in Koh Samui, most illuminating is the case of a local resident who realises the opportunities of tourism only after having sold his beachfront property to non-local investors, built a bungalow resort on a rice field behind the local school. The location was isolated and inappropriate so no tourists have yet visited there. This shows local residents' lack of knowledge in how to run a tourism business.

5.3 Part III: New journeys of change

The previous parts show happy memories of local people before the introduction of tourism to their community, the encounter of local people with the crisis of coconut price, as well as the occurrence of tourism at the right time as a survival path for local people. Psychologically, people normally romanticise their past when they grow up and are getting older and this may be a reason to explain why local people in Koh Samui had good memories when they looked back to their childhood experiences. However, changes have been taking place when tourism was fully introduced to their community and the local economy now relies on it. This part analyses and interprets these changes made by tourism from the primary research of participant observation and semi-structured interviews with local residents to evaluate their attitudes and perceptions toward socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in Koh Samui. Additionally, the local authorities' points of view are analysed and interpreted and the results of this analysis are presented under themes and categories in order to aid understanding of the Thai context.

After local people encountered the crisis of the coconut price drop, many of them turned to the tourism industry. Consequently, the local economy in Koh Samui has been driven by tourism. From this point, development started and local people experienced a new journey of change in their society. Five themes are explored: tourists, social impacts, physical impacts, cultural impacts, and politics. Each is analysed through local people's interpretation of different experiences. The Thai perspective is compared to the typical western interpretation of tourism impacts.

5.3.1 Tourists

This section presents the first theme that was emerged from the analysis. As many of the impacts are consistent with those found in other studies, and there is no new interpretation from a Thai perspective, these are itemised in Table 16 (see Appendix 6 for the completed version of interview and literature support). However, those impacts, more unique to a Thai context, are discussed in detail in the following text.

Table 16: Impacts from the interaction between hosts and tourists consistent with other studies

Impacts	Evidence in Koh Samui	Literature
Culturally inappropriate tourist behaviour to Thai culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local people are concerned about the way tourists dress and go topless when sunbathing which is not appropriate to Thai culture. - Drunken behaviour of tourists - Tourists should be careful the way to express love as Thai culture is a conservative one (see Figure 13). 	<p>Archer and Cooper, 1994; Boissevain, 1996; Burns and Holden, 1995; Burton, 1995; Cooper et al, 1998; De Kadt, 1979; Getz, 1983; Hall and Page, 2002; Inskoop, 1999; Lea, 1988; Macleod, 2004; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Page et al, 2001; Pearce, 1998; Sharpely, 1999; Wearing, 2001.</p>
Attitudes towards the increased number of tourists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Residents in 'Extensive contact' and 'Partial contact' want to have more tourists. - Residents in 'Neutral concerned with tourism' are not interested in tourist numbers. - Residents in 'No contact with tourism' do not want to have more tourists. 	<p>Ap, 1992; Carter, 2000; De Kadt, 1979; Faulkner and Tideswall, 1997; Getz, 1983; Hall and Page, 2002; Inskoop, 1999; Lea, 1988; Macleod, 2004; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Page et al, 2001; Pearce, 1998; Sharpely, 1999; William and Lawson, 2001.</p>



Figure 13: Inappropriate tourist's expression of love in a Thai cultural context.

- **Attitudes toward tourists**

Overall, local people welcome tourists and they blame the impacts of tourism development on something else. Even though some residents demonstrated that they did not want more tourists in their community and wanted Koh Samui to be back in the past, they admitted that tourism brought development forward for their society and had a good attitude towards tourists. Even though sometimes local people expressed that they did not like some tourist's behaviour; they still have good feelings about them. Poo and Lek showed their attitudes towards tourists and attribute all negative impacts to something else:

'I don't hate tourists. Who to blame is our people and government really. I do believe that traditional way can go along with tourism and modernisation very well if they don't concern only their benefit and recognise only positive side of economic flow'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

'I like tourists, most of them are nice but there are many of them that...However, I am not afraid of them, I am afraid of Isan labourers'. (Lek, Extensive contact)

However, Kae and Pop demonstrated a different opinion as they tried to understand tourist's behaviour. Here, it can be seen that Buddhism has a strong influence on Thais' thought in order to try to understand other people in order for harmony in the society.

'I think most of tourists are really nice. There would be a few of them dodgy but it is a nature of human, isn't it?! There are both good and bad persons in the society everywhere and every country'. (Kae, Partial contact)

'I cannot judge really as sometimes I don't like them but most of them are okay. It is human, what I can do? I might do something inappropriate but it is because of cultural difference'. (Pop, Neutral concerned with tourism)

Theoretically, if local residents believe that tourism is a valuable source in order to bring development to their community and its costs do not exceed the benefits, they

will support tourism (Snaith and Haley, 1999). Furthermore, Thai culture has several social customs ruling their behaviour particularly in public settings. Some are very common to Western cultures as well (Kislenko, 2004). For the most part, Thais are extremely open-minded of foreigners who are unfamiliar with their customs (Esterik, 2000). Most Thais will appreciate those tourists who learn and respect their customs (Klausner, 1993).

5.3.2 Social impact of tourism

Table 17 outlines the social impacts of tourism emerging in Koh Samui that are closely aligned with other impact studies (see Appendix 7 for the completed version of interview and literature support). The influx of labour is discussed in more detail in order to focus on a more unique Thai culture and Koh Samui interpretation.

Table 17: Social consequences of tourism development consistent with other studies

Impacts	Evidence in Koh Samui	Literature
Better quality of life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The electricity, water and communication system is brought with the development of tourism - Traditional wooden houses are replaced by modern concrete ones. - An increased number of western facilities are built in order to serve tourists and local people get the advantage of these facilities as well. 	Aronsson, 2000; Bodle, 1991; Burns and Holden, 1995; Burton, 1995; Chambers, 1997; Chon, 2000; Cooper et al, 1998; Crandall, 1994; De Kadt, 1979; Getz, 1983; Hall and Page, 2002; Inskip, 1999; Jafari, 1983; Kariel, 1989; Krippendorf, 1987; Lea, 1988; MacCannell, 1989; Macleod, 2004; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Murphy, 1985; Page et al, 2001; Pearce, 1998; Robinson and Boniface, 1999; Ryan, 1991; Sharpley, 1999; Teo et al, 2001.
Tourism as a factor to push the development forward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Koh Samui would have not been developed without tourism. - Since the coconut price went down, luckily, tourism emerged so local people have a way to survive. 	Archer and Cooper, 1994; Boissevain, 1996; Burns and Holden, 1995; Cooper et al, 1998; De Kadt, 1979; Hall and Page, 2002; Inskip, 1999; Kariel, 1989; Lea, 1988; Macleod, 2004; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Murphy, 1985; Page et al, 2001; Pearce, 1998; Ryan,

		1991.
Local economy depends on tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local people sell their lands to investors and leave agriculture for tourism. - If local people still counted on agriculture, they would be staying to death. Tourism has become boom in Koh Samui so they have way out. 	Agarwal, 1994; Beirman, 2003; Burns and Holden, 1995; Chon, 2000; Cooper et al, 1998; Crandall, 1994; De Kadt, 1979; Getz, 1983; Hall and Page, 2002; King, Pizam, and Milman, 1993; Lea, 1988; - MacCannell, 1989; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Murphy, 1985; Pearce, 1998; Sharpley, 1999.
Rise of property price	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - After Tsunami disaster, foreign investors, and hotel owners have seen tourism in Koh Samui as their new opportunity for new investments. - Most local people have seen this opportunity to sell their land. 	Burns and Holden, 1995; Burton, 1995; Cooper et al, 1998; De Kadt, 1979; Diem, 1980; Getz, 1983; Glasson, 1995; Hall and Page, 2002; Hanna and Del Casino, 2003; Lea, 1988; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Murphy, 1985; Pearce, 1998; Sharpley, 1999; Theobald, 1994; Wearing, 2001.
Inflation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Food and everything in Koh Samui is more expensive than in other provinces. - Once the price of pork reached up to 100 baht per kilo. - A portion of chicken fried rice costs 60 baht in Koh Samui but in Bangkok costs 40 baht. 	Archer and Cooper, 1994; Burton, 1995; Cooper et al, 1998; De Kadt, 1979; Hall and Page, 2002; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Pearce, 1998; Sharpley, 1999; Shaw and William , 2002; Teo et al, 2001; Theobald, 1994; Urry, 2002; Wearing, 2001.
Big brands replace local stores	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An increasing number of Tesco. - If there are more Tesco opened in Lamai, local groceries must die soon. 	Chon, 2000; Getz, 1983; Krippendorf, 1987; Ryan, 1991.
Foreign ownership of beachfront	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Majority of land in Koh Samui, especially in Chaweng beach, is bought by Western investors. - Majority of houses, resorts, hotels and condominium for sale are owned by Western investors 	Agarwal, 1994; Archer and Cooper, 1994; Beirman, 2003; Boissevain, 1996; Burns and Holden, 1995; Burton, 1995; Chambers, 1997; Chon, 2000; Cooper et al, 1998; Crandall, 1994; De Kadt, 1979; Hall and Page, 2002; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Page et al, 2001; Sharpley, 1999.

- **The influx of labour**

Two major types of local residents

Local people in Koh Samui can be divided into two major types from the participant observation: (1) the local residents who were born and raised in Koh Samui; and (2) the residents who moved to Koh Samui to work in the tourism industry for more than fifteen years e.g. being the business owner and married to a Samui person for almost twenty years. Many in the indigenous group have owned large amounts of land and property on the island; some rent out houses, businesses and properties, and others run small internet cafes, restaurants etc. The second group is fully employed in the tourist industry. The researcher has interacted with both groups. The second group, which includes travel agents, speedboat hirers and pub and restaurant owners, get on well with the local residents in the first groups. Additionally, there is evidence that there were a number of Isan workers migrating to work in Koh Samui.

Influx of Isan migrant workers

Local people also believed that there were a number of workers who have moved to Koh Samui from the nearby and other provinces, especially the Isan part of Thailand. In addition, local residents mentioned that these Isan migrant workers lived in Koh Samui in a large number; as a consequence, they were able to set up their own communities in Koh Samui. Furthermore, local people also believed that these Isan migrant workers cause a number of serious social problems in Koh Samui. Jew demonstrated her irritation due to the migration of Isan workers into her community. However, Gift confirmed about the community of Isan migrant workers in Koh Samui and also argued that these Isan migrant workers were a part of physical development in Koh Samui as no local people preferred manual work.

'These days, we, Samui people, nearly lost our sovereignty and independence to labours from Isan people. Huge numbers of them have moved here for working'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)

'We have to admit that if there are no Isan people, there will not be buildings or somebody to cook noodles for us. Their work is mainly

labour jobs. No local people will do that kind of jobs anyway. Somehow, it is too many of them. They have their own set up communities: upper and lower Isan communities'. (Gift, Local authorities)

Tourism development may create positive social changes as a consequence of improved economic prospects to host communities e.g. increased employment, reduction in migration of labour out of the developed area (Matheison and Wall, 2006). However, community organisation is disturbed by the migration of young generations and labour flooding in from traditional agriculture areas to work in the tourism industry (Croall, 1995). Over the past two decades in some sections of the population in Thailand, especially Isan, migration for work has become more common for a range of reasons relating to socio-economic changes (Malam, 2003). However, these Isan migrant workers are positioned as possible dangers to the local community for numerous reasons e.g. being an outsider or fear of strangers (Malam, 2003). Isan migrants are considered in more details in chapter 6.

5.3.3 Physical impacts

Table 18 sets out the physical impacts as a consequence of tourism development which emerged from the findings in Koh Samui and are consistent with other studies in the literature (see Appendix 8 for the completed version of interview and literature support). The fight for benefits from the growth of the airport is discussed in more detail as it is more specific and unique to a Thai context.

Table 18: The physical impacts of tourism development consistent with other studies

Impacts	Evidence in Koh Samui	Literature
Growth in communications and information technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Telephones, televisions, mobile phones and internet have come after the boom of tourism. - Telephone is widely used in every household in Koh Samui. 	Butler, 1975; 1980; Chambers, 1997; Cooper et al, 1998; Crandall, 1994; De Kadt, 1979; Getz, 1983; Hall and Page, 2002; Hanna and Del Casino, 2003; Hitchcock, King, and Parwell, 1993; Krippendorf, 1987; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall,

		2006; Sharpley, 1999; William and Lawson, 2001.
Growth in infrastructure and facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Road was built around Koh Samui. - Airport was built by Bangkok Airways. 	Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Murphy, 1985; Page et al, 2001; Pearce, 1998; Sharpley, 1999.
Overcrowding of properties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are too many properties especially in the beachfront in Koh Samui (see Figure 14). - It is overcrowding of properties and it blocks all the good views. - Beachfront areas are reserved for tourists (see Figure 15). - It is also overcrowding of properties in mountainous areas (see Figure 16). 	Apostolopoulos, Loukissas and Leontidou, 2001; Archer and Cooper, 1994; Bodle, 1991; Boissevain, 1996; Burns and Holden, 1995; Cooper et al, 1998; Crandall, 1994; De Kadt, 1979; Getz, 1983; Hall and Page, 2002; Kariel, 1989; Lea, 1988; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Murphy, 1985; Page et al, 2001; Pearce, 1998; Ryan, 1991; Sharpley, 1999.
Urban development in natural areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Many resorts are built on mountainous hill. - Tourists who have more money rent or buy houses on the hill rather than by the beach. - There is a new trend that people escape the overcrowding beachfront to stay in the mountainous resorts. 	Cooper et al, 1998; Getz, 1983; Hall and Page, 2002; Inskip, 1999; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Page et al, 2001; Sharpley, 1999; Wearing, 2001.
Most lands belong to Western investors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Western investors have bought beautiful pieces of land for building houses, resorts, hotels and condominium for sale. - Koh Samui will be controlled by foreigners like Phuket. - Majority of land especially in Chaweng beach are bought by Western investors. 	Archer and Cooper, 1994; Cooper et al, 1998; De Kadt, 1979; Inskip, 1999; Lea, 1988; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Murphy, 1985; Pearce, 1998; Sharpley, 1999; William and Shaw, 2002.
Limited beach access	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local people rarely go to the beach as most of beachfront areas are reserved for tourists. - Public access to the beach is very small and crowded with tourists (see Figure 17). 	Agarwal, 1994; Burns and Holden, 1995; Burton, 1995; Chambers, 1997; Cooper et al, 1998; Crandall, 1994; De Kadt, 1979; Dredge, 2001; Getz, 1983; Hall and Page, 2002; Hanna and Del Casino, 2003; Hitchcock, King, and Parwell, 1993; King, Pizam, and Milman, 1993; Macleod, 2004; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Page et al, 2001; Pearce, 1998; Ryan, 1991; Sharpley, 1999; Teo et al, 2001; Theobald,

		1994; Weaver and Opperman, 2000.
Poorly maintained infrastructure	- Ring road always broken.	Aronsson, 2000; Badone and Roseman, 2004; Beirman, 2003; Cooper et al, 1998; De Kadt, 1979; Kariel, 1989.
Bad traffic (see Figure 18)	- Local people have to wake up early if they have to go out. - Local people normally do business in the morning as the traffic is normally horrible in the afternoon.	Andereek et al, 2005; King et al, 1993; Lindberg and Johnson, 1997; Liu et al, 1987; McCool and Martin, 1994; Perdue et al, 1990; Shapley, 1999.
Poor development control	- There is no proper regulation to control big department stores in Thailand. - There is only city planning and land zoning in order to control the building of big properties. - Big department stores should not be built in the city area.	Burns and Holden, 1995; Cooper et al, 1998; Kariel, 1989; Macleod, 2004; Nimmonratana, 2000; Ryan, 1991; Teo et al, 2001.



Figure 14: Many properties in beachfront areas



Figure 15: Reserved beachfront areas for tourists



Figure 16: Overcrowding of properties in mountainous areas



Figure 17: Small public beach access



Figure 18: Bad traffic

• Growth of airport and the fight for benefit

There is only one small private airport in Koh Samui which belongs to Bangkok Airways. Bangkok Airways does not only own the airport in Koh Samui but also owns many resorts and hotels. Therefore, it seems Bangkok Airways monopolises tourism in Koh Samui in that if tourists buy a plane ticket on its own, it is very expensive, about 5,500 Bath (£1 is about 56 Bath in June 2009) but if tourists buy a package from Bangkok Airways including the fare, accommodation and food, the price will be cheaper. Lek summarised the local feeling of discontent.

'People in Koh Samui, now, have a silent fight against Bangkok Airways as they do not spread income to us. It is very disgusting of them. They have their own airport, airline and resorts and hotels from 2-5 stars. Tourists know that if they want to travel to Koh Samui, they have to buy the ticket from Bangkok Airways as they are the only airline to fly direct to Koh Samui. Bangkok Airways offers tourists a cheaper package tour with all-inclusive to them. It is a very good offer and convenient, who don't buy it! That's why other resorts and hotels in Koh Samui have less income and nearly broke now. Bangkok Airways builds up their network and they are the front of the house of Koh Samui and they keep all the tourists for their empire only. Then other businesses will die. They thought they own Koh Samui and thought that people in Koh Samui still love them but they are under estimate us. What is it like if they are against all the people in Koh Samui? I wonder if they can survive when all the people hate them'. (Lek, No contact with tourism)

Local business owners in the tourism section, most of whom are members of Koh Samui Tourism Trade Organisation, are dissatisfied with what Bangkok Airways has done and this starts a conflict between them. Therefore, Koh Samui Tourism Trade Organisation and City Council lobbied the Airport Authority of Thailand to build another airport in Koh Samui. It reported that, subsequently, a survey for building a new airport in Koh Samui led to a proposal to build a new airport in the area of swampy forest. If this is true and it happens soon, this will be more convenient for tourists as there will be many airlines, not only Bangkok Airways to

serve Koh Samui and the fares will be cheaper as well. Nut expressed his pleasure at the news of the second airport.

'It is very good and I am looking forward to have a new airport. Now we are nearly dried out because we have no tourists left for my business'. (Nut, Extensive contact)

On the return visit to the case study for two weeks in October 2008, there was not much change in Koh Samui; except Bangkok Airways expanded their airport with a shopping mall and the second airport operated by Airport Authority of Thailand was under construction. Local residents were excited about the second airport but they still kept avoiding tourist areas. One of the factors to indicate tourism development in the host community is a change in communication structure, transportation and mobility (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Macleod (2004) and Nash (2007) argue tourism can disrupt the functional and structural foundations of host communities. It is often seen that the effect of tourism on an unindustrialised island is to weaken the cultural values of local people (Aramberri, 2001; Nash, 2007) and that changing the value system from mutual aid to a cash system may lead to conflict in a host community (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Even though most Thais are expected to be cool-heart as a highest value in Thai culture and remain harmonious in society at all times, it is sometimes upset by hot-heart and disruption of alien culture (Browell, 2000).

5.3.4 Cultural impacts

This section presents the analysis of the cultural impact of tourism that emerged from the findings. Table 19 categorises the impacts that are described in other tourism studies (see Appendix 9 for the completed version of interview and literature support). Some themes, specially emerged in a Thai culture, are discussed such as community attachment and sense of belongings, less willingness to share and more commercial relationships, and improved social status.

Table 19: The cultural impacts of tourism development consistent with other studies

Impacts	Evidence in Koh Samui	Literature
Adapted to Western lifestyle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local people have rebuilt their houses with concretes and cement with a big screen television as well as air-conditioning and mobile phone. - Local people consume more McDonalds and KFC and some kids wear tank-tops. - Mobile phones seem to be a must have for the kids as they want to show their friends. 	Agarwal, 1994; Apostolopoulos, Loukissas and Leontidou, 2001; Aronsson, 2000; Badone and Roseman, 2004; Beirman, 2003; Bodle, 1991; Boissevain, 1996; Briguglio, 1996; Cooper et al, 1998; De Kadt, 1979; Kariel, 1989; MacCannell, 1989; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Nimmonratana, 2000; Ritchie and Zins, 1978; Sharpley, 1999; Urry, 2002; Wearing, 2001; Weaver and Opperman, 2000.
Changes to basic values, customs, and traditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Don't expect Num-Jai without money. - Money is a matter now. - People have less compromise these days when it comes to a conflict. - People lose their temper easily. - Respects people with money, not their goodness anymore. - Many poor women look for rich companions. 	Embree, 1950; Esterik, 2000; Kislenko, 2004; MacCannell, 1989; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Murphy, 1985; Nash, 2007; Page et al, 2001; Pearce, 1998; Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996; Ryan, 1991; Sharpley, 1999; Urry, 2002; Wearing, 2001; Weaver and Opperman, 2000; William and Shaw, 2002.
Family structure changes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Become more nuclear family. 	Archer and Cooper, 1994; Boissevain, 1996; Burns and Holden, 1995; Cooper et al, 1998; Crandall, 1994; De Kadt, 1979; Hall and Page, 2002; Inskeep, 1999; Kariel, 1989; MacCannell, 1989; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Page et al, 2001; Sharpley, 1999.
Change in consumption behaviour among the young generation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children now do not buy things from local convenience stores anymore but from Seven-Eleven. - New generations consume more McDonalds and KFC. 	Burns and Holden, 1995; Cooper et al, 1998; De Kadt, 1979; Hitchcock, King, and Parwell, 1993; Macleod, 2004; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Pearce, 1998; Sharpley, 1999; Teo et al, 2001.
Teenage adapt to the change better than older generation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children consume more McDonalds and KFC. - Children give more attention to English language than their own local language. 	Agarwal, 1994; Chambers, 1997; Cooper et al, 1998; MacCannell, 1989; Robinson and Boniface, 1999; Weaver and Opperman, 2000; William,

		1998.
Community cohesion	- Money is a matter now. - No money, no help.	Matheison and Wall, 2006; Shaw and William, 2002; Stem et al., 2003; Teo et al, 2001; Theobald, 1994; Urry, 2002; Wearing, 2001; Weaver and Opperman, 2000.
Disruption to place attachment	- Many places in Koh Samui are full of memories but tourists reserve all these places. - Too dangerous to go to the beach now.	Boissevain, 1996; Briguglio, 1996; Cooper et al, 1998; Hall and Page, 2002; King, Pizam, and Milman, 1993; Mason, 2003; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Murphy, 1985; Teo et al, 2001.
Demise of religious practice	- There are too many pubs and beer bars. - There are too many karaoke bars in Koh Samui and they sell alcoholic drinks.	Cooper et al, 1998; Hall and Page, 2002; Macleod, 2004; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Ryan, 1991; Theobald, 1994; William and Shaw, 2002.

• Attitudes toward tourism development

Lek and Pom both admitted that they were aware tourism development brought negative impacts in aspects such as crime, culture change, and pollution. It appears that Lek and Pom overlook these problems brought by tourism as they would like to accept the benefits of tourism. Residents in all resident typologies had positive attitudes towards tourism development but they were also aware of the negative impacts of tourism development in their community. As Lek stated, tourism brought benefits to her business but also ruined natural resources. Wow also detailed that tourism brought development but also brought crime.

'I would like tourism in Koh Samui to keep growing bigger as it is good for my business but tourism has brought the destruction of environment as well...I believe that tourism doesn't only bring the positive impact but also negative impact especially to environment, society and culture...Tourism brings crime, drugs and prostitution to Koh Samui'. (Lek, Extensive contact)

'I like it because tourism has brought the development to Koh Samui such as electricity, internet, hospital and airports, but...I believe that tourism has brought crime and drugs to my community'. (Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)

'I feel tourism destroys natural resources, values and beliefs of local people as well as social relationship, family structure and behaviour changes'. (Pom, Neutral concerned with tourism)

Art, in the 'no contact with tourism' group, stated that he did not like tourism but he accepted tourism at the end of the day as tourism brought a better quality of life and the development to his community so far.

'If it's possible, I would like Koh Samui to be back the same as when I was a child before tourism occurred in Koh Samui. Even though there was no road and electricity, I was happy'. (Art, No contact with tourism)

It has been found that the host communities' attitudes and perceptions towards development and tourists fluctuate continuously between the negative and positive (King, Pizam and Milman, 1993; Pizam, 1978). In Koh Samui, it was necessary for local people to accept tourism in order to cope with socio-cultural changes in their community. Since the coconut crisis, tourism seemed to be the only way for local people to survive. From this point, it could be said that the local economy would not be able to move forward without tourism and this may be the reason why local people need to accept tourism as their local economy has counted on it. However, the values and beliefs of local people in Koh Samui involve Buddhism, and through this, a need to live with problems.

• **Community attachment and sense of ownership and belonging**

From the participant observation, it was found that local people in Koh Samui had a very strong sense of community attachment, especially the older generation. They claimed even though their kids were living in Bangkok and they visited their kids from time to time or had to stay with them for a while, they would definitely come back to Koh Samui as they were born and lived there for more than a half of their lives. They would like to live here until the end of their life as their mother land. Additionally, it was acknowledged that community attachment could be considered as several attributions but the concept of community attachment in Koh Samui was noted as the sense of belonging to the community of local residents as Poo, Wow

and Art expressed below. Even though some of them were exasperated with tourism development in order to transform their social system to materialism and cash system, they still had a strong sense of belonging to their mother land.

'I was born here. There was a while that I went to study in Bangkok but at the end of the day, I want to be here where I was born. Even though things have changed a lot because of tourism, I still want to live and die here, will not definitely move to other town'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

'My son is studying in Bangkok right now and I go up to see him from time to time. If he still prefers to continually live in Bangkok after graduation, I will not move there as I want to be here. I love Samui, it is my home. But I will visit him sometimes'. (Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)

'I am proud to tell everyone that I come from Samui. It is my home and where I was born'. (Art, No contact with tourism)

The stronger the local culture and the longer the existence and historical backgrounds of the host destination, the better they can cope with the impacts of alien culture (Butler, 1975). Ericker (1995) states that there is a very strong sense of Thai national identity and faithfulness to traditional values, with obvious pride in being Thai. In a Thai Buddhism context, Boon-khun (feeling grateful) is a high value (Ekachai, 1990); therefore, being appreciative towards someone's Boon-Khun, including the land where one was born, is important.

• Less willingness to share and more commercial relationships

The traditions of willingness to share and being helpful among local people were changed as they encountered inflation, modernisation and materialism. This tradition might not be strongly changed but local people believed if there was money concerned, it would make their life easier. As an old tradition, when asking someone to do something, something should be given in return as Num-Jai, e.g. fruit in the garden, even if they did not ask for. It was forbidden to give money as a return as it meant insulting them in the past. However, no one takes offence for

being given money as a return for their helpfulness these days. Additionally, the person who asked someone to do something for them should realise that money would be expected as a return. Money should actually be prepared before asking for help. Here Poo, Kae and Lek showed their concern towards this traditional change.

'Don't expect Num-Jai without money. In other words, we should think about money before we ask someone to do something for us. Anyway, this matter doesn't apply to my brothers and sisters. They are sincerely helpful'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

'Money is a matter now. If we don't have money, we will be in trouble. If you have no money, I don't think anyone will be hanging out with you as friends'. (Kae, Partial contact)

'Of course, money is very important but I don't think that it can buy everything, do you?!'. (Lek, Extensive contact)

Local people have developed more commercial relationships even with their relatives. In the past, the relationship between local people was like brother-sister, caring, helpful and compassionate but everyone was more likely to be concerned for their own benefits and treat money as God these days. Art and Kae detailed how upset they were by their experiences of this commercial relationship between local people.

'The other day, my tap was broke and I asked my cousin to fix it. We had to have a price agreement before he decided to do it. Unbelievable, isn't it! In the past, we were more helpful – we helped each other without hoping for anything in return even money'. (Art, No contact with tourism)

'Forget the word NUM-JAI – helpful! Most of people here seem to transform themselves and see money as more important than relationships between people'. (Kae, Partial contact)

Tourism can increase money flowing into the local area and lead to more social differentiation (Macleod, 2004). An introduction of a cash system with tourism development often breaks a mutual aid system in the society especially in developing countries (Weaven, 2001b). Money can also decrease people's willingness to share and some social conflicts have even emerged which contribute

to the decline of many traditional institutions (Sharpley, 2003). Nevertheless, Thai traditional patterns of behaviour may break down in the modernised, technological world of business (Ekachai, 1990).

- **Improved social status**

Local people believed that getting involved with tourism would give them a better quality of life by earning more money, making them more secure in their life. Having more money meant that they would improve their social status as well. Jew and Bom show their concern that local people tried to attract attention and impress other people in a wrong way.

'In the past, our houses were made from wood regarding to Thai tradition and architecture but after they have turned to tourism industry and get more income, they have rebuilt their houses with concrete and cement. Also, they have to have a big screen television as well as air-conditioning and mobile phone. All these things are just like something to show that they are rich or have money. It is just like competition really. If one house in an area was rebuilt with concrete and decorated in western style, it means that the other houses will have to rebuild too'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)

'It hardly saw any houses with having air-conditioning many years ago but now we can see almost all houses in Koh Samui having air-conditioning. It has become something we need to have. Also, motorbike and mobile phone is something that we need to have too. We can see from teenagers, they try to have an expensive mobile phone to show their friends'. (Bom, Partial contact)

In developing countries, tourism usually disrupts social values in order to generate cash flow which may create social differentiation in the society (Nash, 2007). The relationships in Thailand appear more structured and the symbiosis more complicated (Kislenko, 2004). In Thai society, social hierarchy is also important in order to indicate personal status and relationships between them (Ekachai, 1990). Individual's morality has been a factor to point out personal status in Thai society for decades (Esterik, 2000). However, social value in Thailand has been recently

influenced by other cultures as money and power have become symbols of high status in the social hierarchy.

• Language

Even though Thailand has its own language, Thai, each region has different dialects. Like in Koh Samui, local people used Thai as an official written language, same as other parts of Thailand, but they had their own dialect. Sadly, there were not many new generations in Koh Samui able to speak Pasa-Samui nowadays as Art was concerned. New generations in Koh Samui had a more Bangkok dialect than a Samui one. Additionally, the English language has become more important for local people in Koh Samui in order to communicate with tourists. Pom was concerned about the over-importance of English language in Koh Samui.

'We have our own dialect called PASA-SAMUI. Children give more attention to English language than their own local language and I am afraid that the local language will disappear soon'. (Art, No contact with tourism)

'You know most restaurants in Koh Samui have produced menus in English language only. Even food trolley on the street; they present the menu in English language as well'. (Pom, Neutral concerned with tourism)

White (1974) found that the language change, on the part of local residents, is influenced by tourists' demonstration effects, direct social contact with them or the influence of non-local labourers. As a result, local languages are dying out. Jafari (1973) and Shaw and William (2002) describe the adoption of foreign values as a premature departure to modernisation, producing rapid and disruptive changes in the host society. In order to communicate and trade with tourists, most local people have to adopt a foreign language. This may result in the diminishing use of a local language (Sharpley, 1999; 2003) but it can also result in more job opportunities for people who can speak a second language.

5.3.5 Politics

This section illustrates the analysis of findings concerned with local and national politics. Table 20 shows the results from the findings related to politics in Koh Samui which are similar to other tourist destinations in developing countries (see Appendix 10 for the completed version of interview and literature support). Local people's attitudes towards politics are explored in relation to weak local government, corruption, and disenchantment with national politics in a specific Thai context.

Table 20: Politics in Koh Samui consistent with other studies

Impacts	Evidence in Koh Samui	Literature
More involvement of government	- Local people would like local authorities and government have more involvement in aspect of managing, planning, and promoting tourism to outside world.	Lankford, 1994; Madrigal, 1995.
Unsuccessful city plan	- Had city plan last year but no one followed the plan and it was cancelled - Resorts and hotels or personal properties are built in green areas. - Have no city plan in Koh Samui.	Mason, 2003.
Desire to be involve in making decisions	- Local people want to have more involvement in the decisions. - Local authorities and government should have public hearing or do surveys before they make decisions that affect the community.	Getz, 1994; William and Lawson, 2001.

• Weak local government

For decades, local politics have been involved with national politics. Poo showed that she was concerned about the corruption and the system of local and national politics. It was an obstacle to driving the local community and country forward. However, Kae believed that it was difficult to get rid of corruption from local authorities. In contrast, Nut was concerned only with his income.

'We have to admit that we have a very weak local as well as national political system'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

'I am not interested in what local authorities do as they are all the same. I do believe that there would be decent persons working among them but they can do nothing and it does not help to be that way'. (Kae, Partial contact)

'I don't care what local authorities do as long as tourist numbers visiting us are not going to drop down'. (Nut, Extensive contact)

In Thai history, the internal political environment is dependent on three main forces: the monarchy, the military, and bureaucracy (Elliott, 1983). Since 1932, the military have been involved in the system of movement towards democracy both in and out of the public eye (Ockey, 1994). Recently, there is evidence of coups in Thailand. This shows the vulnerability of the internal political situation in Thailand.

• **Corruption**

Wow showed her distress and revealed that the current Mayor of Koh Samui had the same background as Thuksin Chinnawat (a previous Thai Prime Minister who is escaping from being guilty of corruption) as a businessman. The Mayor's wife owned many tourism businesses in Koh Samui such as hotels, tour operations and guest houses as by Thai law, the politicians were not allowed to own businesses or get involved in any business so the mayor transferred his fortunes to his wife before standing for election. She believed he used his political power to benefit his family's businesses.

'We have regulations about the extension of properties or any infrastructures to lands by the sea or stilted communities in the sea are unacceptable, but we all know that the Mayor did it to expand his wife's hotel into the land by the sea and he has done many things to benefit his businesses. He intentionally overlooked the invisible power of the controlling village men'. (Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)

The national government has taken the opportunity to use political posts and authority dynamically and extraordinary to seek benefit for themselves and companions. It has become normal practice for most of the ministers to seek money to build up their status and wealth in order to support their political power base (Ockey, 1994). Corruption has risen quickly and strongly, beyond anyone's ability to stop its spread.

• **Disenchantment with national politics and the decline in tourism**

Here, it can be seen that Lek was quite upset about the current politic situation which she thought led to a decline in tourism. Poo was also unhappy about the decline tourism in this current situation but she was more concerned about the damage to natural resources.

'I think it is very quiet this year. Not as many tourists as last year visit Koh Samui. I don't think that Koh Samui is any less attractive for tourists. I think it is because of the instablility of our politics as well as the drop of world economic such as USA and European country. I think after the coming election, the situation in Koh Samui will be better. As we know, there was recently a coup in Thailand and the army rules the country. If I were a tourist, I would not go to visit any countries which have an unstable situation within their countries though'. (Lek, Extensive contact)

'The situation in Koh Samui now, I think, it is on the way down as people destroy the natural resources a lot. If you look around, you can hardly find forest or empty land. It is all covered with properties and the attraction of Koh Samui is natural resources such as sun, sand, and sea'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

In Thailand, the set of political parties and groups create a system where corruption is an essential part of the political process (Ockey, 1994). In addition to the fact that the military chose to use the corruption issue to rationalise the coup to indicate the uncontrolled corruption within the political system but it did not solve the problems at all, instead, it was an obstacle for the national economy to survive in this world economic crash down.

Conclusion

It could be summarised that local people in the pre tourism period felt they had a good quality of life even if they did not have basic facilities and infrastructure including roads, electricity, and telephones. They lived on a coconut plantation and when they had to travel inside Koh Samui, they had to travel by foot or boat. However, they had a tradition to support their children to have higher education. Their social relationships were more like brothers and sisters.

There was strong mutual aid between local people and they looked out for each other as their society was small scale. They had kinship links to each other in the society so it meant that they knew each other very well. Local people lived in extended families and their marriage had to be agreed by the two family parties. In that time, local people strictly believed and practiced Buddha's teaching. Village headmen also had an important role to lead the community. They were chosen by their popularity among local residents in the community.

Koh Samui people experience happy memories of the pre tourism period. It was hard for them when the major income from coconut plantations they relied on seemed to be gone. Local people in Koh Samui had to confront the truth that they could not live their life from coconut plantations as their ancestors did and had passed on to them for decades. The only way they appeared to be able to turn to was tourism. It was seen to be lucky for them as in the meantime the coconut price dropped.

Investors turned their interest to Koh Samui as a new source of income and with the rumour that somebody earned a massive amount of money by selling land. As a result, local people sold their land, especially land in beachfront areas. Most local people sold their land and used that money earned from selling their land to set up a small business related to tourism industry including guesthouses, resorts, and hotels. Local people, therefore, officially abandoned agriculture for the tourism industry. Some local people saw others succeed in their tourism businesses so they borrowed money from a bank and then became bankrupt.

Part III presented the situation after the majority of the local population turned to the tourism industry and the economy of Koh Samui has relied on tourism ever since. Subsequently, a new journey of change began for local people in Koh Samui. The findings in this chapter are influenced by the literature framework but within this, local people's construction of tourism impacts was explored. The participants' perceptions were explored together with their attitudes towards the positive and negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism development. The next chapter will present the socio-cultural impacts of internal labour migration as a consequence of tourism development that emerged from the data analysis.

Chapter 6

Socio-cultural impacts of tourism induced internal migration

This chapter presents the socio-cultural impacts of the internal migration of labour seeking employment in the developing tourism industry in Koh Samui. In the analysis of findings, it became clear that local residents perceived that the majority of socio-cultural impacts are a result of labour migration from the Isan region of Northeastern Thailand. This chapter starts with the explanation of labour migration in Thai and the Koh Samui tourism sectors. It also discusses how tourism and labour migration is interrelated. The main group of internal migrants in Koh Samui is the Isan people from the Northeast region of Thailand. The chapter discusses the ethnic identity of Isan people, and the types and motives of migration. Acculturation and adaptation of Isan migrant workers is also explored in term of how they may have adapted more to the tourist culture than local residents. Finally, the socio-cultural impacts of Isan migrant workers in Koh Samui constructed by local people are discussed.

6.1 Labour forces in the Thai tourism sector

Many scholars state that tourism and migration are interrelated (Williams and Hall, 2000). Migration is defined as movement across the boundary of an area (Boyle et al., 1998). Tourism generates migration flows through new employment opportunities (Williams and Hall, 2000) but many forms of migration also generate tourism flows through friendship and kinship networks as well. These labour migration flows also contribute to the formation and reconstruction of national, local and ethnic identities. A number of factors related to labour migration flows including the scale of demand for labour and the stage of tourism development.

In Thailand, migration flows are generally from the northern areas to the south (Fuller, 1981). Temporary moves including seasonal migrations have been estimated for one-third of all migrations in Thailand (Chalamwong, 2001). Although accurate statistics are lacking, it can not deny the truth that the number of persons leaving their place of residence in rural Thailand has increased since the

1940s (Chalamwong, 2001). People are moving over greater distances as more people move to a different province (Coxhead and Plangpraphan, 1999). Over time, migration for work has become common for a range of reasons relating to social and economic changes in some sections of the population in Thailand (Dang et. al., 1997; Malam, 2003).

The analysis shows that tourism in Koh Samui has grown rapidly after the Tsunami disaster on 26 December 2004. As a result, the accommodation sector and other sectors related to tourism in Koh Samui are expanding rapidly. This has attracted workers from many regions of Thailand as well as neighbouring countries including Malaysia, Laos and Myanmar. It is evident that there are many migrant workers from different regions of Thailand working in the tourism industry in Koh Samui but most noticeable are the Isan migrants from Northeast Thailand. Furthermore, Isan migrant workers were the subject of much debate among local residents regarding socio-cultural changes in Koh Samui.

6.2 Ethnic identity of Isan people

The Northeast region of Thailand was and is viewed as a crucial factor in the determination of Thailand's future due to the region's economic problems (Keyes, 1967). People in the Northeast region cover the one-third of the kingdom's population (Hesse-Swain, 2006). In Thailand, it is believed that people in the Northeast region have ethnic ties and share a common ethnic identity with Laos which differs from central Thai (Coxhead and Plangprephan, 1999). Villagers' identification of the Northeast is represented in the use of word 'Isan' to refer to their ethnic identity. Kinship ties connect Isan people to the two kingdoms, Thailand and Laos. Even though some Isan people refer themselves as 'Lao', it is because 'being Lao' distinguishes Isan people from the Central Thai (Keyes, 1967). Sometimes, they are recognised as 'Lao Isan'. However, it might be said that Laotians are considered to be like Isan people rather than Isan people consider to be like them.

In Thailand, especially the Isan region, migration is often seen simply as an escape from poverty: there are no opportunities available locally so people migrate in order

to survive (Fuller, 1981). Isan is the largest and most populous region in Thailand, comprising almost one-third of the state's total land area. An estimated 20 million people live in the region with 19 provinces (Hesse-Swain, 2006) which has been characterised by significant out-migration for decades. Many of them depart directly toward big cities and tourist attractions. While enjoying some of the significant growth that Thailand has experienced in the last decades, Isan still remains far behind the rest of the country economically and has a reputation for underdevelopment (Fuller et al., 1985).

The Isan region is the country's poorest region and is subject to frequent droughts. Most village households engage primarily in small scale agriculture rice is the primary crop grown, with planting around June and harvesting in November to January (Coxhead and Plangraphan, 1999). During the off-season, a few households engage in small-scale gardening, but most either engage in non-agricultural income generating activities or remain at rest (Chalamwong, 2001). The more common activities include pig raising, travelling wage labour, especially to work in construction in the provincial capital or Bangkok, and small business activities such as minor trading, driving a motorcycle and taxi, and operating small food stands.

Isan regional identity is the result of the temporary migration and cheap unskilled labour (Hesse-Swain, 2006). For decades, farmers in Isan have been locked in a cycle of debt due to the low fertility of the land and low crop prices. Labour migration has become a regular feature of Isan life (Coxhead and Plangraphan, 1999). Traditional social values of the Isan people have been popularly captured in the folk saying 'Trouble of not having rice to eat, trouble of not having land to live on, trouble of not having a marriage partner' (Hesse-Swain, 2006). When people from other parts of Thailand mention Isan people, they might be referring to: lower education, hard labour, poor and doing anything for money (e.g. selling daughters to be prostitutes for money to buy a house).

Isan Thailand has been observed to have a reputation on the ease of women entering and leaving many urban occupations as well as circulating between rural and urban areas (Fuller, 1981). Isan women can combine agricultural work with a variety of

urban occupations, particularly minor trading and work in the construction industry. The employment of Isan women is greatest in the five major export-oriented, labour-intensive industries, which are (1) electrical machinery, electronics and computer parts; (2) textiles and ready-made garments; (3) chilled, frozen and canned food; (4) precious stones and jewellery; and (5) footwear (Chalamwong, 2001).

6.3 Tension in Isan migrant workers

Traditionally, Isan people lived on their family-owned rice fields under the influence of ancient beliefs and traditions that passed down through generations (Boonmathya, 2003; Coxhead and Plangprephan, 1999). However, the force for change increased as Thailand modernised and turned from being a primarily agricultural-based economy to an industrialised exporting economy in the late 1990s (Coxhead and Plangprephan, 1999). Living standards in the Isan region have begun to rise as Isan people have sought work to support their wants, new tastes and accompanying lifestyles (Grunbuhel et al., 2003). Many Isan people migrated to other provinces seeking work to support their new lifestyles (Chalamwong, 2001; Fuller, 1985). So far, labour migration fulfills an important function for the local economy in the Isan region and should not be seen as separate from the village life (Chalamwong, 2001; Kitiarsa, 2006).

However, most Isan villagers complain that they have insufficient money for home expenses, farm investment, and debts (Coxhead and Plangprephan, 1999; Fuller, 1985). Many poor and middle income family farms have debts charged by neighbours and merchants with excessive rates of interests. They have less access to credit loans from the government banks when compared to wealthier farmers, as they have no proper land titles and no guarantee (Boonmathya, 2003; Coxhead and Plangprephan, 1999). In addition, they perceive that they are excluded from the fertiliser quotas subsidised by the government as the quota is too limited (Boonmathya, 2003; Grunbuhel et al., 2003). These villagers found it difficult to readjust as economic hardships set in the Isan region. In addition, Isan families have come to rely on their newly acquired economic freedom (Chalamwong, 2001;

Fuller, 1985; Hesse-Swain, 2006). Consequently, many of them were forced to make difficult choices (Boonmathya, 2003).

To improve their poor circumstances, Isan people traveled to nearby cities to seek employment and income to meet family needs back home (Grunbuhel et al., 2003). Subsequently, a substantial number of taxi drivers in other cities, especially Bangkok are from the Northeastern provinces (Boonmathya, 2003; Grunbuhel et al., 2003). In addition, most jobs that require low skills and hired help in shop, factory and construction work are all from the Isan region (Coxhead and Plangprephan, 1999; Fuller, 1985). Many people who want employment in the expanding tourist industry in various locations around Thailand were also from the Northeast region (Boonmathya, 2003). Migrants are highly respected by the village community. At the same time, migrants have to fulfill certain commitments to gain status among their friends, relatives and villagers (Boonmathya, 2003; Grunbuhel et al., 2003). These Isan migrant workers have a commitment to the influx of luxury goods that are often status symbols to their families. City values and experiences are also brought to the village (Boonmathya, 2003; Coxhead and Plangprephan, 1999).

Isan migrant workers all have to bear very heavy pressure. With their average daily wage of eighty to a hundred twenty baht a day, they have to handle bondage debts which they borrow from relatives or private moneylenders to pay for their travel and living while they migrate to seek for a job and also send money to support their families back home (Grunbuhel et al., 2003; Kitiarsa, 2006). They also have to live with the harsh realities of other provinces where they are often looked down upon as workers who work in unskilled, dirty, and dangerous jobs and cannot even speak a proper Thai language (Boonmathya, 2003; Kitiarsa, 2006). In addition, Isan migrant workers have to fully obey employers as their lives totally depend on them (Kitiarsa, 2006). They have no rights and no voice in their workplace even though their work could be harmful to their health and their lives (Kitiarsa, 2006). Furthermore, Isan migrant workers have been forced towards and cope with overpopulation in the ever-growing slum areas of the cities where they live while they are working away from their rural villages (Boonmathya, 2003).

From the employers' perspective, Isan identities have been attached to male workers' drinking sprees and other illegal activities (Kitiarsa, 2006). People in the cities remind their relatives and friends to avoid places where there are a lot of Isan people (Boonmathya, 2003; Grunbuhel et al., 2003). Isan migrant workers are widely regarded as diligent, hard-working, and obedient people but they can become real trouble-makers when they get drunk (Kitiarsa, 2003). Most employers share this stereo-typicalised perception on the quality of Isan migrant workers but are also aware of their prohibited and aggressive behaviour (Boonmathya, 2003). It is important to note that everyone is different and it is not every Isan person that makes trouble and gets drunk, or works hard, being polite and obedient in Thai society. However, even though the Isan population is about one third of Thai population, they are considered a non-dominant group in Thai society and an underclass.

6.4 Types and the motives of migration

In terms of migration, 'why do they move' is perhaps the question most asked. Jansen (1969) suggests that migration is due to socio-economic imbalances between regions, certain factors pushing people away from the area of origin and pulling them to the area of destination. Jansen (1969) also found that there are two forms of population movement: (1) moves caused by necessity or duty; and (2) moves caused by needs, mostly economic, of receiving destinations. Many scholars believe that the economic factors remain a paramount motive of migration as migrants tend to achieve a higher social class than they had in their place of origin (Jansen, 1969). Even though Jansen's study was the view in 1960s, his research has been cited by many recent studies such as Decrop, 2006; Kaur, 1996; King, 2002; Malik et al., 2000; Redman, 2007; and Schroll, 2001. In Thai context, these two forms of migration defined by Jansen (1969) can occur. Thai people move from their original homeland to a new destination for many purposes as it depends on their personal reasons such as marriage, job transfers, and seeking for employment (Chalamwong, 2001). However, the second form of the population movement classified by Jansen (1969) would be more appropriate to describe Isan migrant workers.

Hobbs (1942) identifies two types of migrant, resultant and epiphenomenal. *Resultant* represents people who migrate as a result of socio-economic conditions implying some degree of choice, whereas *epiphenomenal* refers to individuals who migrate as a consequent of personal factors such as illness, divorce, marriage, argument etc. Subsequently, Goss and Lindquist (1995) developed Hobbs's two types of migration (1942) and identify three types of decisions regarding migration including *déplacement*, *départ* from *dépalcement*, and *mobilité*. *Déplacement* represents a type of migration that is a result of an unexpected set of circumstances rather than personal intention, for example, an industrial enterprise moves into an agricultural society and offers the agricultural workers with the employment opportunity without the necessity of leaving the village. The feature of this situation is that an opportunity gives to an intention rather than the initiative coming from the individual.

Départ from *déplacement* takes place where the personal intention exists at a conscious level. This situation explains that individuals migrate to an industrial centre due to the fact that they make a definite choice to leave their village and become industrial workers. This demonstrates an act of conscious and deliberate choice. *Mobilité* is demonstrated where migration is motivated by deliberate aspirations. This circumstance is explained when villagers leave their community to try their luck without having a particular job or even type of work in mind, but with a personal and economic desire. However, it is important to note that these three types are not separate social realities, but analytical tools. It is also highlighted that it is necessary to look for the social conditions which accompany the appearance of each of these three types such as migration forced due to wars, natural disasters (e.g. drought, famine, flooding), businesses and educations. For Thailand, the internal movement of people due to employment purposes is common. While more people are moving permanently from rural to urban areas, a number of people, who migrate temporarily between villages and other destinations, are also growing. In a Thai context, migration appears to be emerging as the dominant pattern of movement of poorer groups as migrants usually come from poor regions (Chalamwong, 2001). Therefore, three types of migration proposed by Goss and Lindquist (1995) would be more related to Thai migrants.

Wentholt (1961) introduces the concept of motivational structure as the basis of four categories of migration. His structure develops from the varied characteristics of migrant decision making including (1) followers' migration; (2) freedom migration; (3) wife's initiative and impetus; (4) economic and other factors; (5) social and other factors; (6) agrarian migration; (7) psychological factors predominate; (8) liberation from responsibilities; and (9) combination of a large number of factors. However, it is noted that there are a number of problems involving these structure. For example, Taylor (1969) suggests that 'freedom migration' category and 'liberation from responsibilities' category should be combined. Similarly, individual categories defined as 'economic and other factors' and 'social and other factors' are also widely defined. In Thai context, it is possible that all characteristics of migrant decision making identified by Wentholt (1961) are related to Thai internal migration; however, the characteristics of freedom migration and economic and other factors classified by Wentholt (1961) are more suitable to illustrate the migration in Isan people.

Even though many studies define a number of categories of motivational structure regarding migration, the reasons for migration are still various and depend on the migrant themselves. However, many recent studies demonstrate that most people migrate mainly for economic purposes. Even though Thailand is a predominantly agricultural country and one of the world's major rice exporting countries, the agricultural economy is mainly a subsistence one (Chalamwong, 2001). During 1988 to 1991, General Chatchai Choonhavan, who was the Prime Minister of Thailand, made an announcement that Thailand was going to transform to be one of New Industrial Countries (NIC) and expected that Thailand would become the fifth Asian Tiger. As a result, rice fields were transformed to manufacturing factories. The era of major internal migration seeking employment has begun.

To sum up, in the case of Isan migrant workers in Thailand, most of them are poor and rely on agricultural work but this Isan part of Thailand has a reputation of drought. This circumstance leads to migration from villages in Isan. While the Thai economy keeps growing and the government has focused on national development plan for decades, the Isan part of Thailand still experiences poor economic prospects. In fact, all categories of motivational structure for migration could in all

probability be identified not only in an Isan context but also in other poor rural areas. However, resultant migration defined by Hobbs (1942) and mobility migration identified by Goss and Lindquist (1995) are the most appropriate categories.

6.5 Acculturation and adaptation of Isan migrant workers

Figure 19 demonstrates how tourism influences local culture, the culture of Isan migrant workers and tourist culture and it also shows the process of acculturation and adaptation in Isan migrant workers. First of all, Isan workers migrate from their homeland to big cities. In Koh Samui, there has been evidence that thousands of jobs have been created which attract the Isan migrants due to their low skill requirements. In the tourism context, these Isan migrant workers are considered as an ethnic cultural group and position themselves at the interface between host culture and tourist culture.

The hectic scenery of tourist-worker encounters were observed while doing the location survey on the first few days in Lamai area, as the field notes show:

Finally, I find a small alley to access to the sea but what a shame is, it is full of restaurants and pubs on both side of the alley. Bar girls try to persuade male foreigners to visit their bars. Some of them are teasing a group of male foreigners in the bar. I keep walking to the end of the alley. I find that I have to walk through a restaurant to access the beach. Anyway, I have lost my mind and forgotten for a moment that I am in Koh Samui, but still in Bangkok. OMG Isan workers are every where. I can see at least five of them working in the restaurant excluding bar girls, freelance massagers and food seller walking along the beach.

August 1, 2007

It can explain that relationships of workers in the tourism industry are tied up with tourist experience (Sharpley, 1999; Urry, 2002). Consequently, this situation puts these Isan migrant workers into a position that they experience other cultures more than local residents in Koh Samui and it is clear that these Isan migrant workers

have an important role in the cultural transformation in local society. There is evidence that Isan migrant workers in the tourism industry frequently draw themselves into wider and deeper relationship with tourists than, on the surface at least, their work would seem to require, and there is developing a space of interaction between the Isan migrant workers' culture and a general tourist culture (Nash, 2007; Shapley, 1999).

The deep relationships between Isan migrant workers and tourists were palpable while gathering document from local administrative in Nathon on the second week, as the participant observation shows:

While I am waiting for a copy of crime records from the police station, I walk around to find a good restaurant for lunch. On the way, I see many couples, mostly Thai girls and male foreigners, walking around holding hands. Some of them are having lunch in the restaurant. I should be familiar with this scene but it, somehow, gets my attention. It is something you can tell from your senses. It occurs to me that these are the Isan girls the local people in Koh Samui mention who are looking for foreign husbands to escape from poverty.

August 14, 2007

The motive of Isan people to migrate is primarily related to economic purposes in order to improve their quality of life. Some Isan people, especially women find a short-pathway by adapting themselves to tourist culture due to the fact that they would like to be attractive to Westerners as some Isan migrant workers see Western tourists as wealthy icons. Many young girls and boys in the sex business are from desperately poor homes in Isan. For them, prostitution is an escape from poverty, no matter what the sacrifice (Klausner, 1993).

Social exchange theory demonstrates that people willingly get into an exchange process if they believe that they gain benefits more than costs (Ap, 1992a; b). This exchange theory does not only apply to local residents in Koh Samui, but it is also relevant with Isan migrant workers (see Figure 19). In a tourism context, the interaction with tourists offers opportunities for Isan migrant workers in terms of

new skills such as information technology skills and foreign languages. Furthermore, most Isan migrant workers were used to the experience of having little food to eat and no land to live on. In a psychological context, it is possible for them to see that tourism can bring economic benefits to them; as a consequence, they would improve their social status and quality of life.

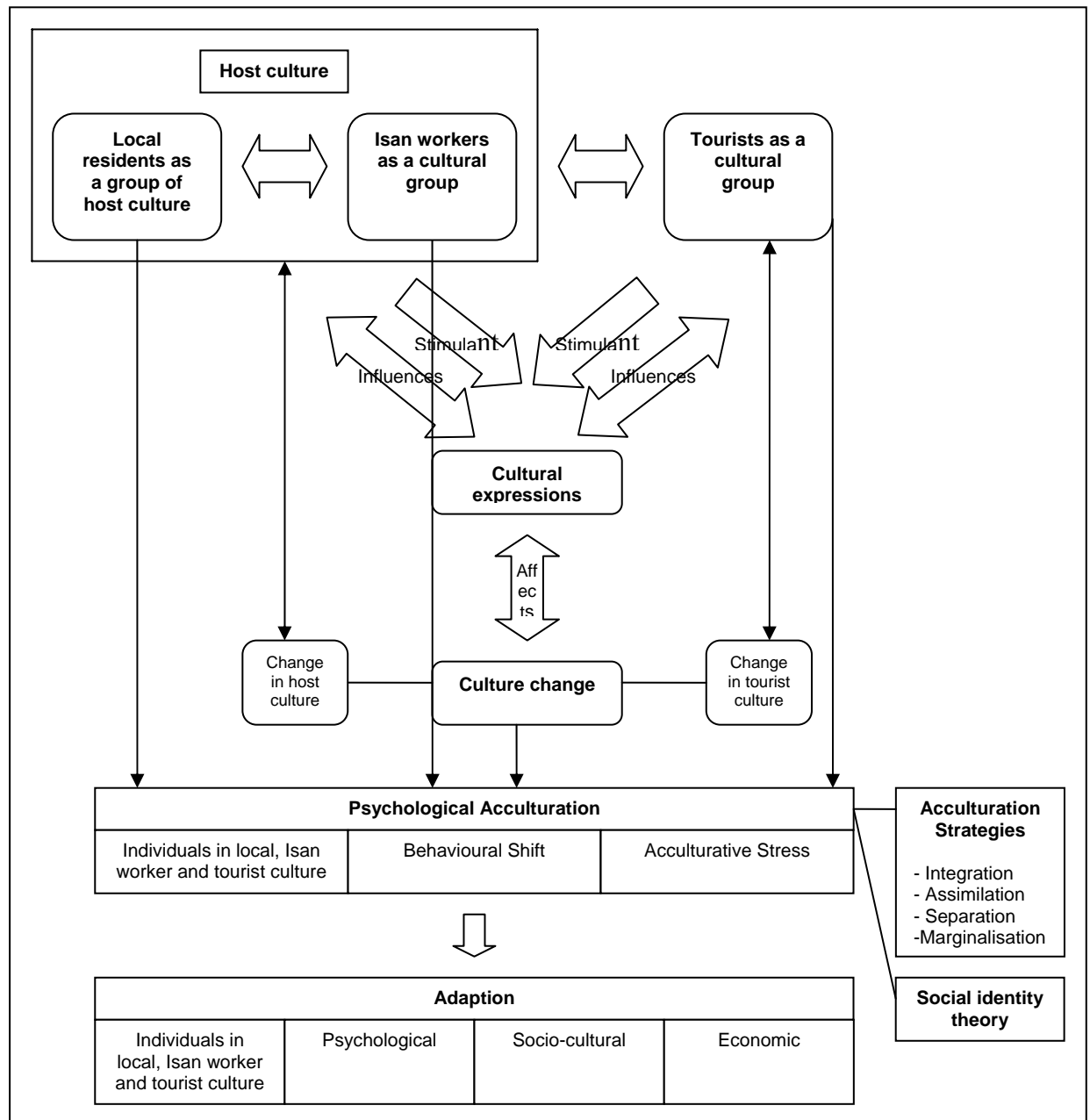


Figure 19: The influence of tourism on host culture, Isan migrant workers, tourist culture and culture change, psychological acculturation and adaption in the host community.

When these Isan migrant workers get into an exchange circle with tourists, it is evident that they adopt some specific tourist behaviours for instance in terms of their appearance, alcohol abuse and drug taking. The cultural change model suggests that there have been changes in cultural expressions in Isan migrant workers and that this situation leads ultimately to cultural change in their ethnic group and host community. These changes in Isan migrant workers also lead to an acculturation process and eventually adaptation (see Figure 19).

The acculturation process involves interactions between dominant and non-dominant groups (Berry, 1997). In this situation, Thai people as a host community are a dominant group including Isan migrant workers who share the same basic values with local people in Koh Samui. Tourists as visitors are the non-dominant group. However, it can be argued that tourists are in reality more dominant in this circumstance as they belong to Western cultural groups from developed countries. In addition, in most cases, scholars apply acculturation theory and social identity to migrant workers who move into a different culture (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006, Tajfel, 1981; Ward et al., 2001). However, this is not always the case. Given that acculturation involves non-dominant and dominant groups, acculturation theory may be applied to Isan workers who migrate to the same culture but where they are exposed to a different visiting and dominant tourist culture.

Berry (1997) proposes four acculturation strategies (Figure 19). In an Isan migrant worker context, it is possible that they adopted both integration and assimilation strategies to acculturate to tourist culture. From the interviews, the study demonstrates that Isan migrant workers set up their own community in Koh Samui. In short, it means that they still want to maintain their ethnic identity by participating with people who have a similar ethnic background. However, it was observed that Isan migrant workers who adopted the assimilation strategies sought to interact with tourists for work related reasons and for personal and economic purposes. Furthermore, observation suggests that some Isan migrant workers tried to separate themselves from others who had a similar ethnic background due to the fact that they perceived themselves as being of a different social status as they had acquired an education and well paid skilled jobs.

While participating with residents, including a travel agency in Maenum area, the assimilation strategies that were adopted by some Isan migrant workers in order to seek the interaction with both tourists and local people in their daily were evident, as the filed notes demonstrate:

I meet an Isan migrant worker who works as a marketing officer in a travel agency in Maenum. It surprised me as he looks different from other Isan migrant workers in Koh Samui. I notice that he participates less with other Isan migrant workers who work with him. I understand that he has a bachelor degree and works in the office but other Isan migrant workers do not and work in labouring. He gets along better with local residents and tourists rather than people who come from a similar background to him. It is relatively unusual but understandable.

August 17, 2007

However, Berry (1997) states that when individuals judge acculturation experiences as smooth and without problems, these behavioural changes lead to the process of adaptation. The study suggests that Isan migrant workers may have already gone through this acculturation process and may have judged that they have had a good experience from it, at least gaining an economic benefit from tourism. Consequently, Isan migrant workers adapt their behaviour to tourist culture. However, these changes require a length of stay in the destination. In terms of adaptation to host culture, the study demonstrates that even though Isan people are considered as an ethnic cultural group as Lao Isan, they could not escape the fact that they are a part of being Thai and share similar values, traditions and beliefs with local residents in Koh Samui as Thais.

In terms of psychological and socio-cultural adaptation to host destinations, it is tempting to assume that it is not difficult for Isan migrant workers as they have similar cultural background. However, they might experience stress as they are far away from home and have to adapt to new economic circumstances. Ward et al. (2001) point out that migrants encounter more obstacles to economic success than natives. In this case, Isan migrant workers who are poorly educated almost always

seek unskilled jobs. Many of them may end up working on construction sites, or as bar girls or prostitutes.

Observation indicates that Isan migrant workers have experienced a greater sense of adaptation to the tourist culture than local residents, as field notes show. In terms of social exchange theory, Isan migrant workers may consider that benefits from tourism are more important than local residents' consideration in the exchange process as Isan migrant workers generally have led difficult lives and have experienced poverty for decades. For this reason, it can be said that Isan migrant workers may be trapped in the exchange process easily as they may consider only economic benefits that tourism brings to them and overlook its negative impacts. As a result, this situation leads to acculturation and adaptation in Isan migrant workers to tourist culture.

Isan migrant workers seem to get on well with tourists, especially Isan women and Western men. The way they act is more Western in the way that they are holding hands, hugging, and kissing in the public settings – inappropriate manners as Thais are more conservative than Western culture.

September 17, 2007

Furthermore, social identity theory can be used to explain this acculturation and adaptation in Isan migrant workers. The theory proposes that individuals maintain their ethnic identity at many different levels to support the self-esteem of each individual. In this case, a sense of belongingness and attachment is a key factor. Conversely in regard to local residents, the findings show that they had high sense of attachment and belonging to their community. Even though they see tourism as beneficial and rely on it, they are willing to adapt to tourist culture but only to a certain degree due to their strong sense of community attachment and belongingness which are fundamental to their values.

Social identity theory also suggests that social identification of each ethnic group depends on social categorisation and social comparisons, in-groups and out-groups (Ward et al., 2001). In this case, Isan migrant workers are considered as a distinct group and there are clearly in-groups and out-groups in Koh Samui. Isan migrant

workers as out-groups are identified as a lower social status and are looked down by others as their characteristics of hard labouring and low education. For example, Isan women in general do not look beautiful to central Thai people and they are identified as 'Na Lao' so when central Thai people see a girl who does not look beautiful, she may be identified as 'Na Lao' (Hesse-Swain, 2006). Consequently, this may be the reason why Isan people have such a low self-esteem and sense of belongingness in general. Kislenko (2004) also suggests that less educated Thais, such as Isan people, are more grateful, caring-considerate, helpful, forgiving, obedient, and respectful, as well as having a greater sense of religion but less self-esteem than the highly educated Thais. However, Isan people migrate from home to seek an employment in order to fulfil their family and personal needs of economical support to improve their social status as well as to increase their self-esteem.

Isan migrant workers may well have less sense of belonging than local residents. It can also imply that they may willingly adapt and change their behaviour that leads to culture change and acculturation process. However, social identity theory also explains the strategies to maintain self-esteem in order to face with an unfavourable group identity. Tajfel (1981) suggests that migrant groups, as a minority group in the host community, generally experience negative attitudes from local residents, the majority group, and this might be a push factor to drive Isan migrant workers to adopt a variety of responses to change their ethnic identity. Due to the lack of education and background of poverty, they might assume that money is an answer for everything. In this case, they would be willing to adapt to tourist culture in order to gain money from them to improve their social status to reach the same level as local residents.

In addition, the adaptation and acculturation in Isan migrant workers may also be explained by Carter's cultural expression web or culture change theory. He states that cultural expressions or specific behaviours link to each other. The strength of a cultural expression depends on the frequency of practice and the strength of cultural expressions help to protect culture change (Carter, 2000). In this sense, a sense of belongingness and community attachment in local residents is considered as a strong cultural expression that links to other specific behaviours. As a consequence, the sense of belongingness and community attachment in original Koh Samui

residents is considered as a barrier to their adapting the tourist culture resulting in the host culture appearing resistant to change.

6.6 Socio-cultural impacts of Isan migrant workers

This section discusses local residents' social construction regarding the socio-cultural impacts that they link to Isan migrant workers as a consequence of tourism development. Local people believed that Isan migrant workers are responsible for demographic changes; increases in crime, prostitution, drug abuse, and HIV infection; demonstration effects; and increased poverty and the appearance of slum areas in Koh Samui.

6.6.1 Demographic changes

Local people in Koh Samui also believed that demographic changes in Koh Samui were caused by the influx of Isan labourers. Even though there has been no proper survey on the number of migrant workers in Koh Samui, the City Council of Koh Samui (2007) estimated the number of migrant workers from other parts of Thailand living in Koh Samui, especially the Isan region, was about 3 times the size of the local population. The City Council also estimated that the number of non-local population including tourists and migrant workers had significantly increased from 15,000 in 1993 to 100,000-150,000 in 2007. Man, a representative from the City Council of Koh Samui, verbally confirmed this.

'There are numerous people from other parts of Thailand especially from the Isan part migrating to Koh Samui for work. You know Isan people are everywhere in Thailand and we cannot control it anyway'. (Man, Local authorities)

During participant observation, it was noticeable that most labourers in Koh Samui were migrant workers and most of them were from the Isan region of Thailand but these Isan migrant workers have never been surveyed by the City Council as Pop who expressed his sarcastically concern earlier also noted.

'There are so many Isan labourers in Koh Samui and they have their own communities here... I wonder if anyone of them can register to be one of candidates for Mayor of Koh Samui. They could win and rule people of Koh Samui. Then it is going to be mad!'. (Pop, Neutral concerned with tourism)

The current population figure from the City Council surveyed on August 2007 was 50,117 people in total. However, local people believed that the real figures of the population number in Koh Samui higher. Jib, Jew and Art were irritated with these unrealistic population numbers published by the City Council of Koh Samui as it caused many problems including crime which made local people feel insecure.

'The City Council claimed that the population number in Koh Samui was just only fifty thousand something people but, apparently, we know that the real figures of population numbers have reached more than a hundred thousand people or even more than that'. (Jib, Extensive contact)

'Oiii...Now there are too many people in Koh Samui. It may be more than a hundred fifty thousand people or nearly two hundred thousand people in Koh Samui. I hardly recognised each individual's face or who they are'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)

'In the past, we knew each other in our community, in Koh Samui. At least, we recognised their faces and knew which community they came from but the current situation is there are too many people in Koh Samui and I never know and recognise those people at all'. (Art, No contact with tourism)

Uncontrolled tourism may lead to social and demographic structure changes (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Jib, Jew and Art repeatedly said that there were too many people in Koh Samui – “hardly recognise” and “never know and recognise”. Additionally, it has to be admitted that there are ethnic issues in Thailand as there are in many countries in the world and the migration of Isan labourers is seen to cause many problems in many communities (Malam, 2003).

6.6.2 Increases in crime, prostitution, drug addiction and HIV infection

The police station in Koh Samui (2007) reported that the number of crimes and level of drug related abuse had increased since 2005 (1,361 cases in 2005 and 1,423 cases in 2006). Tourism Authority of Thailand (2006) also reported that there had been a tendency that the crime rate and drug abuses in Koh Samui would increase every year in relation to the increasing numbers of tourists and labourers which appears to be continuously rising. This statement is supported by the participant observation. Local people believed that before tourism boomed and there were not many migrant labourers in Koh Samui, local people lived together with trust. In short, they never locked their house door as they trust each other in the community as well as they knew each other's background very well. After the introduction of tourism, local people have started to be careful themselves all the time after they first step out of their house. Local people were worried about the security of their life so it was very rare to see local people outside their homes after sunset.

In addition, local people also believed that the number of crimes, prostitution, drug abuse and related diseases increased due to the influx of Isan migrant workers in Koh Samui. It was clear that the higher rate of crime, prostitution, drug abuses, and AIDS infection were indirect impacts of tourism development. However, Nut and Art were irritated and blamed these social problems on Isan migrant workers. Poo was also offended by Isan migrant workers and defended local people as she believed that they would not commit this shameful behaviour.

'Most crime and drug abuse in Koh Samui are committed by Isan migrant workers, at least that's what I believe. You see, most of prostitutes in Koh Samui are Isan'. (Nut, Extensive contact)

'If you go to Chaweng and Lamai beach, you will see many pubs and bars. You also see many bar girls and prostitutes and they seem to do drugs. I am sure majority of them are from the Isan part of Thailand'. (Art, No contact with tourism)

'I do believe that crime and drug abuse are committed by labourers who move here or travel here to work in our tourism section. You heard the news about the rape of a young English tourist years ago, it was not one of our people but it was labourers working in the

fisherman village. No local people are involved in prostitution, you see only Isan people would do that here'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

However, host communities generally experience socio-cultural impacts of tourism development as: the increase of crime, prostitution and drugs, the language change, loss of religious value and the demonstration effects (Brougham and Butler, 1981; Jafari, 1973; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Sharpley, 1994; 1999; Shaw and William, 2002; White, 1974). In addition, there is evidence that Isan migrant workers often form relationships with tourists and some of them may get bad habits that may result in violence including drunken behaviour (Malam, 2003). For this reason, Isan migrant workers have an indecent image from other people's point of view.

In addition, residents in all resident typologies believed that they felt insecure in their own home, especially at night, as they believed the crime rate was rising up and they thought that Isan migrant workers were the main cause of increased crime rates in Koh Samui as Kae and Jib detailed below.

'It is very dangerous at night as you can see from the higher rate of crime and drug abuse in Koh Samui. I also fear strangers. You see there are so many Isan migrant workers here and most of them have a drunken habit and they love drinking after work at night. What is going to happen then? I cannot imagine if any girls walk alone at night and meet those drunken Isan workers'. (Kae, Partial contact)

'I never locked my house in the past as I knew everyone in my area in Koh Samui. But there are too many strangers especially Isan workers in Koh Samui these days so I am better to be careful and I have to make sure that I lock my house every time I go out'. (Jib, Extensive contact)

Kae and Jib frequently stated that they were insecure of crime – “very dangerous”, “fear stranger”, “too many strangers”, “better to be careful”, and “lock my house”. Malam's study (2003) supports this circumstance that Isan migrant workers are seen as more harmful to local communities. It is found that many Isan migrant workers

are involved in the sex trade and end up with violence, drug, and AIDS infection due to the fact that most of them have low education. (Cameron, 2007; Korenek et al., 2005; Tovanabutra et al., 2007). Konim (1990) mentions that Thai labourers are more anxious and pay more attention to themselves and their day to day lives. Even though Thai labourers have high values of being kind and helpful, they are careless about self-control and being polite (Kislenko, 2004; Konim, 1990).

6.6.3 Demonstration effects

Local people believed that most demonstration effects or imitation of tourist's behaviour that occurred, especially among the younger generation, were among Isan migrant workers rather than local people. Here Lek and Pom showed they were concerned by this matter and defended local people.

*'I am sure you will never see one local child wearing inappropriate outfits such as tank tops, mini-skirts, shorts. If you see one, it is not our descendants; it is labourers' children from Northeast Thailand'.
(Lek, Extensive contact)*

*'You see many girls who wearing tartly outfits walking with foreign tourists. Most of them are prostitutes and most of them migrate from the Isan region really...I am sure you will never see any of us or our children behave like that. I quite understand that those Isan workers would like to improve their quality of life but it is not a right thing to do so'.
(Pom, Neutral concerned with tourism)*

Currently, there has been evidence in many provinces in Thailand about acquiring foreign spouses. Lek and Pom repeatedly stated that it was not local children who behave inappropriately – “never see one local child”, “not our descendants”, and “never see any of us”. While local people were ashamed to discuss it, they admitted that some in their community actively sought to find a foreign spouse due to the prevailing stereotype that all the foreigners were richer. However, they believed that none of their local people would be after Western spouses to improve their life but that it often occurred among Isan labourers who were working in Koh Samui, especially bar girls and prostitutes. This behaviour while true of only a minority was believed to ruin the host culture and image.

6.6.4 Increased poverty and slums

When tourism emerged in Koh Samui, it was likely to increase jobs and employment in the community. However, most jobs in the area were taken by migrant labours from outside Koh Samui. In fact, many local people were richer from selling their lands or renting their guest houses. However, local people believed that poverty and slum areas were increasing in Koh Samui and these trends characterised Isan migrant worker areas as they were low skilled with low pay, and as a result slums developed as Jew and Pop irritably explained.

'There are a lot of Northeast people who migrate here to work in the tourism sector. We never had slums here but now we can see what they call Isan Bon and Larn communities as slums'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)

'I understand that tourism attracts workers to come in Koh Samui. However, it is a shame that most jobs in Koh Samui require low skilled workers and offer low pay. So this might be the reason why we see so many Isan migrant workers in Koh Samui. As a result, they have set up their community in Koh Samui but it is more like a slum for me really'. (Pop, Neutral concerned with tourism)

Labour migration not only causes demographic changes in host community but it sometimes brings poor employment conditions with less income which may lead to increases in poverty and slums in the host community (Mason, 2003; Sharpley, 1999). Jew and Pop frequently mentioned that slums were a result of Isan migrant workers – “Isan communities as slums” and “more likely slum”. As most Isan workers have low education, they take manual work with low pay as a result slums are introduced.

Conclusion

Migration and tourism are complexly interlinked (Duval, 2004). Tourism represents a form of mobility, circulation and temporary population movement. In turn, migration forms a part of population mobility (Larsen et al., 2006). In practice, people move into other aspects of social life through business tourism, migration,

and friendships (Hall, 2003). Individual travel can be motivated by a combination of tourism and economic purposes that can change over time (Hall, 2005; Larsen et al., 2006; Urry, 2002). Movement can be a source of status and power for some people (Hall, 2005; Larsen et al., 2007; Urry, 2002, 2007). However, migration is a two-way journey between two sets of homes (Williams and Hall, 2002). Tourism, as shown here, is essential to the lives of migrants (Williams and Hall, 2002).

Tourism in Koh Samui has expanded considerably following the Tsunami disaster. As a result, this attracted workers from many regions of Thailand as well as neighbouring countries. However, Isan migrant workers were the most frequent subject of debate among local residents regarding socio-cultural changes in Koh Samui. Isan regional identity is the result of the dual phenomena of economic underdevelopment and migration of Isan people to other provinces as cheap, unskilled labour (Hesse-Swain, 2006). When people from other parts of Thailand mention Isan people, they might be referring to: lower education, hard labour, poor, and doing anything for money.

Many recent studies demonstrate that the reason most people migrate relates mainly to economic purposes. Most of Isan people are poor and rely on agricultural work but this Isan part of Thailand has a reputation for drought. This circumstance leads to migration from villages in Isan. This can be described as resultant migration defined by Hobbs (1942) and *mobilité* type of migration identified by Goss and Lindquist (1995). Isan migrant workers were seen negatively by local residents as they believed that Isan migrant workers were responsible for socio-cultural changes in their community including demographic changes; rise in crime, prostitution, drug abuses and HIV infection; demonstration effects; increased poverty and slums; and insecurity in their lives.

Isan workers migrate from their homeland to find job opportunities in big cities and at tourist sites. In a tourism context, these Isan migrant workers position themselves at the interface between the host culture and tourist culture. This is because they are more involved in providing the tourist experience. Consequently, this situation puts Isan migrant workers into a position that experiences other cultures more than local residents in Koh Samui.

It is evident that Isan migrant workers adopted some specific tourist behaviours when they got into an exchange circle with tourists. In culture change model, it suggests that there have been changes in cultural expressions in Isan migrant workers and this situation leads to culture change in their ethnic group and host community. These changes in Isan migrant workers also lead to acculturation process and adaptation. In an Isan migrant worker context, it is possible that they adopted both integration and assimilation strategies to acculturate to tourist culture (Berry, 1997).

The study found that Isan migrant workers have gone through more adaptation to tourist culture than local residents. A sense of belongingness and attachment is the key. In this circumstance, Isan migrant workers may have less sense of belongingness than local residents. Isan migrant workers willingly enter into the exchange process with tourists as they believe that they gain benefits more than costs from them. It can also imply that they are willing to adapt their behaviour that leads to culture change and acculturation process. In contrast, local residents had a high sense of attachment and belonging to their community. The next chapter will present the analysis and interpretation of Thai cultural responses in their daily life and residents' social construction how they cope with socio-cultural impacts of tourism in a Thai context.

Chapter 7

Thai cultural responses and Thais' coping with socio-cultural impacts

This chapter discusses how Thai people respond culturally in daily life and how they cope with the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Theravada Buddhism is the religion of Thailand and is acknowledged by a majority of population underpinning the values of the dominant group and tending to effect non-dominant groups. Therefore, it is undoubted that Buddhism has a strong influence on the everyday life of Thai people and their society and culture. In addition, Buddhism has influenced Thai society for centuries in terms of acceptance and kindness towards fellow people in order to maintain harmony in the human race. However, how much the influence of Buddhism is actually perceived and functioned in the everyday life of Thai people and the difference of Thai culture from other cultural groups is little understood.

This chapter discusses the implications of Thai cultural responses in everyday life and in response to tourism issues. Avoidance of confrontation is one of the characteristics of the Thai personality that is different to Western societies as Thai people avoid expressions of anger, displeasure and criticism while Westerners are perceived as more confrontational. These mild-manners of Thai people bring a certain degree of harmony to their society. In this chapter, Buddha's teaching and the Thai personality, not least avoidance of confrontation, underpins the reflection on how Thai people respond to socio-cultural changes. This chapter will also discuss why local people accept tourism as well as why they apparently attribute blame elsewhere. Additionally, coping strategies, in terms of Thai psychology, how they respond to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism will be examined at the end of this part.

7.1 Thai cultural responses in daily life

7.1.1 Loose structure of Thai society

The characteristic of Thai social structure is a loose one. The study found evidence that Thai people sometimes refused to comply with social regulations. Kaew mentioned about land zoning in Koh Samui. It was set in order to preserve natural resources. However, Poo revealed that people disobeyed the regulation and it involved local politics and the exchange of benefits between them.

*'We have set land zoning into green, brown, and red zone. We set the zoning because we would like to reserve our natural resources as we have national park in Koh Samui. One must not build any property in Green area but the town can be expanded into Brown zone. However, there are massive numbers of new properties built in Koh Samui, consequently, there is an overcrowding of properties'.
(Kaew, Local authorities)*

*'They all did build loads of properties in the green zone and we can not use or apply any regulations in order to get rid of or control them. We have to see this way. Firstly, it is about common sense and morals of Thai government officers. They still see their own benefits more important than public benefits. Secondly, when the politics are weak, people seem to have no morals at all. People do not respect the law and the people who take the law into their own hands make law invalid. People are more selfish and find an opportunity for their companions including foreign capitalists to seek benefits for them'.
(Poo, No contact with tourism)*

There is a saying 'doing as you please is a Thai original habit'. Poo frequently stated that Thai people lack discipline – “weak”, “no morals”, “not respect”, “law invalid”, “more selfish” and “seek benefits”. This suggests an easy lifestyle and freedom of Thai people that they like to do everything as they please (Ekachai, 1990). This habit of Thai people sometimes goes out of control and they become a problem. As a result, regulations are unintentionally disobeyed. Embree (1950) supports this idea that Thailand is a culture with a loosely structured social system.

He suggests the characteristics of Thai people concerning the looseness of the Thai social structure include: (1) allowing considerable variations in individual behaviours; (2) little concern regarding rights and duties; (3) undertake no long-term obligations; (4) have no strong sense of duty or obligations; and (5) lack regularity, discipline and regimentation in life (Embree, 1950).

Phillips (1965) also explains that this loose structure of Thai social relationships may be because Thai people have relative freedom of choice in social action. Thai people are highly individualistic in the sense that they are free and independent souls in terms of maintaining a friendly and genial relationship with others but with little personal commitment or involvement. In addition, they hide their feelings and intentions behind polite face-to-face social encounters as their 'social cosmetic'. However, there are some scholars who argue that the Thai social system is well-patterned and 'not-so-loosely-structured' (Potter, 1976; Suvannajata, 1976).

In Thailand, Buddhism has played a significant role in social control and the social and cultural development in Thai society (Embree, 1950; Kislenko, 2004). There is no doubt that Buddhism has persistently influenced Thai social and cultural life and the loosely structured characteristic of Thai relationships can also be explained by Buddhism. The open-mindedness, non-violent, tolerant and limited involvement characteristics of Thai social behaviour and attitudes are seen as primarily deriving from the Buddhist concepts of individual's working for one's own karma. Therefore, it can be interpreted that Thai people are not group-oriented, non-committal, indifferent, smiling, emotionless because of the Buddhist emphasis of working for one's own karma and detachment (Konim, 1990). Additionally, Thai people are less interested in material gains because Buddhism supports detachment from material goods and goals in life (Konim, 1990).

7.1.2 Chai-yen or cool heart behaviour

Konim (1990) explains that Chai-yen is the ability to calm oneself and calmly control situations by taking a slow, calm and careful step. This value is activated when a person faces problems or conflicts but wants to maintain a good social relation. This social smoothing value of being cool heart is observed as 'a surface

harmony' and it is necessary to function successfully in Thai society. However, it is important to note that respect for another person's ego and dignity and the core concern is not to hurt others by maintaining smooth and polite interactions between people (Ekachai, 1990). It is the balance between preserving one's own personal ego and the other person's ego in order to keep the smooth interactions and maintain harmony in the society. However, the value of social smoothness and being cool hearted may be disrupted by technology, modernisation and other factors (Kislenko, 2004).

There was evidence that local residents were upset with Bangkok Airways due to the fact that they monopolised tourism in Koh Samui and this led to conflict. However, the findings demonstrate that local residents protested against Bangkok Airways in a harmonious way as Thais normally do. Lek demonstrated this matter.

'People in Koh Samui, now, have a silent fight against Bangkok Airways as they do not spread the income to us. It is very disgusting of them...They thought they own Koh Samui and thought that people in Koh Samui still love them but they under estimate us. What is it like if they are against all the people in Koh Samui? I wonder if they can survive when all the people hate them'. (Lek, Extensive contact)

Even though the Thai value of cool heart may sometimes be disturbed and compromise can not be achieved, harmony in the society is still a major concern for Thai people (Konim, 1990). This silent protest against Bangkok Airways was also observed while participating with local people in tourism businesses, as field notes show:

Bangkok Airways monopolise direct travel to Koh Samui so travel agencies are by passing Bangkok Airways by booking tourists onto ferries.

This suggests that maintaining harmony is the most important social norm for Thai people. Unlike Westerners whose top values tend to focus on self-actualisation, ambition and achievement, Thai people tend to focus on self-control and politeness in order to create smooth, kind, pleasant, no-conflict interpersonal interactions or the 'surface harmony' (Konim, 1990). Harmony, respect and dignity are immense

concerns for Thai people; as a result, they understand that it is inappropriate to display anger, temper, or impolite behaviour in public settings (Ekachai, 1990). The Thai characteristic of Chai-yen or cool heart can be explained by the Buddhist teaching of the ‘Middle Path’, ‘Detachment’, and ‘Equanimity’.

7.1.3 The concept value of Choei or non-involvement

Choei means non-involvement and keeping cool under all circumstances, which explains the high levels of tolerance observed. Thai people show Choei in respect of unexpected behaviour, non-conformity and failure to live up to expectations (Embree, 1950). In addition, Choei indicates the broad category of behaviour of ‘no response’ or ‘not wanting to give any response’ as a means to avoid making negative answers for making your positions clear (Embree, 1950; Konim, 1990). The value of Choei is demonstrated in this research. The study suggests that residents in ‘Neutral concerned with tourism’ group had neutral attitudes and perceptions towards many subjects that may contribute conflicts in the society. This can be seen from Wow’s attitude towards tourism development in Koh Samui and Pop’s perception of tourists.

‘I like it because tourism has brought the development to Koh Samui such as electricity, internet, hospital and airports, but...I believe that tourism has also brought crime and drugs to my community’. (Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)

‘I cannot judge really as sometimes I don’t like tourists but most of them are okay. It is human, what I can do? I might do something inappropriate but it is because of cultural difference’. (Pop, Neutral concerned with tourism)

Wow and Pop confirmed the concept of Choei by showing hesitation – “like it...but”, “cannot judge” and “don’t like...but okay”. From this circumstance, residents in ‘Neutral concerned with tourism’ group believed that Koh Samui relied on tourism industry. However, they also realised that some local people did not like tourism and yet some of them relied on it. It can be interpreted that residents in this typology, ‘Neutral concerned with tourism’, were trying to compromise with different perspectives of residents in other groups and avoid contributing any

conflicts by expressing Choei and giving neutral responses to sensitive subjects. This concept of Choei is similar to Chai-yen or cool heart value and these two values are interconnected in order to maintain social smoothing interactions and harmony in the society (Embree, 1950; Kislenko, 2004; Konim, 1990).

7.1.4 Face-saving and uncertainty avoidance

Sometimes, the face saving of Thai people might actually involve uncertainty avoidance. It is actually interconnected and is sometimes difficult to separate one from another (Kislenko, 2004). Uncertainty avoidance of confrontation is a Thai cultural characteristic and refers to the degree when a person or a society feels threatened by uncertain and unclear situations and tries to avoid them (Konim, 1990). While feeling threatened has taken the place of uncertainty in society, mechanisms are created to provide security and reduce risk. Sometimes, uncertainty avoidance of confrontation links with Thai's problem encounters (Konim, 1990).

Local residents believe that tourism brought them a better quality of life and improved their social status as well. However, the findings show that it was likely to be a situation that local residents deliberately behave in such a way as to attract attention and display their ego to others. It can imply that this circumstance involves the Thai's face-saving phenomenon in the way that local people might feel 'loss of face' if they saw their neighbours were wealthier than them. Consequently, they had to 'secure face' by earning more money to improve their social status as Jew explained.

'In the past, our houses were made from wood in accordance with Thai tradition but after they have turned to tourism industry and get more income, they have rebuilt their houses with concretes and cement. Also, they have to have a big screen television, air-conditioning and mobile phone. All these things are just like something to show that they are rich or have money to afford it really. It is just like competition really. If one house in an area was rebuilt with concrete, it means that the other houses will have to be rebuilt too'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)

Konim (1990) suggests that Thai people have a very big ego and a deep sense of independence, pride and dignity. Jew constantly mentioned that face saving was significant for Thai people – “something to show” and “like competition”. In Thailand, the ‘face’ is identical with ego and is very sensitive. Since Thai people give significant importance on ‘face’ and ‘ego’, preserving another person’s ego is the basic rule of Thai social interactions (Embree, 1950). Additionally, the findings also demonstrate that the face-saving phenomenon came into play when one mentioned the image of Koh Samui being attractive to backpacker tourists. This circumstance was shown when Lek and Kae gave information about the type of tourists in Koh Samui during the interview. They mentioned that Koh Samui was attractive to upper class markets.

‘Most of tourists visiting Koh Samui come from higher markets as you can notice from the high price of accommodation and living costs. There are some backpacker tourists in Koh Samui though but they don’t normally stay in Koh Samui for a long period as I think they couldn’t afford the expensive accommodation. These backpackers normally stay in Koh Samui just only one night and move on to other Kohs around here’. (Lek, Extensive contact)

‘I don’t think that there are a lot backpackers in Koh Samui as it is very hard to find a cheap accommodation here but there would be some backpackers staying in Bang Poo area which hardly sees tourists there but the accommodation in this area is very cheap, about 300 baht/night. Backpackers come to Koh Samui because Koh Samui is a centre to commute to other islands in this area so some backpackers might miss their boat or have to stay over night in Koh Samui as they have to wait for the boats to go to another island’. (Kae, Partial contact)

However, the findings from the participant observation showed that there were many guesthouses in Lamai and other areas in Koh Samui which budget tourists could afford, as the field notes show:

It is a familiar scene for me to see backpacker tourists in Koh Samui, especially in Lamai, Maenum, and Bangpoo areas as accommodation in these areas is cheap – a whole villa without air-

conditioning is just 300 baht per night. I have no doubt why these backpackers are everywhere here.

The information gathered from interviews contrasted to what showed in the participant observation. This can be explained by face saving in Thai culture. In short, the image of backpacker tourists for Thai people was cheap, long stay and nasty, often with drunken habits. It is possible that local people in Koh Samui might not want to ruin the Koh Samui image or that they did not want to lose face and admit the truth that Koh Samui was attractive to lower socio-economic markets and these tourists could cause more impacts. Thai people usually find indirect ways to soften negative messages. Local people in Koh Samui had a very keen sense of place attachment so it is uncomfortable for them to state that Koh Samui is attractive to backpackers who are thought to have an indecent image. Most importantly, Thai people usually avoid public confrontation and direct strong criticism or harming someone's ego at all costs (Embree, 1950).

7.1.5 Boonkhun relationships or gratitude

Boonkhun is a psychological bond between two parties involving one who is seeking kindness and one who gives another person the help and favours needed. The individual, who took help from another person, should remember the goodness done in order to return the kindness (Ekachai, 1990). Boonkhun relationships are also demonstrated in this research in terms of community attachment and sense of belongingness. The study suggests that local residents in Koh Samui had a very strong sense of belonging and community attachment to their motherland that can be seen from Poo and Art's statement. In a Thai context, Thai people somehow believe in superstitious spirits (Kislenko, 2004). For example, Thai people believe that there has been a spirit of 'Pra Siam Taewathirat' protecting Thailand from evil things (Ekachai, 1990; Konim, 1990). Similarly in Koh Samui, local people also believed that there was a spirit to protect their motherland and they felt grateful that this spirit protected them and gave them the blessing to live happily with good harvests from time to time.

'I was born here. There was a while that I went to study in Bangkok but at the end of the day, I want to be here where I was born. Even

though things have changed a lot because of tourism, I still want to live and die here, I will not definitely move to other town'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

'I am proud to tell everyone that I come from Samui. It is my home and where I was born'. (Art, No contact with tourism)

The relationship of Boonkhun is based on the value of gratitude which is characterised by the highly valued quality in a person in Thai society. An individual should be grateful to persons who give Boonkhun (goodness, help, favour) to him/her. Even though the individual, who gives Boonkhun, is usually done without expectation of Boonkhun in return, the obligated individual must be grateful (Kislenko, 2004). It is important to note that being grateful towards someone's Boonkhun including the motherland is an essential for Thai people (Ekachai, 1990; Konim, 1990). In addition, Thai people have a very strong sense of their nationality and are proud of being Thai (Eriker, 1995).

From a Thai perspective, Boonkhun must be returned on a continuous basis and in various ways because Boonkhun should not and cannot be measured quantitatively in terms of material due to the Buddha's teaching of detachment (Ekachai, 1990). However, there are certain degrees of Boonkhun, depending on the subjective perception of the obligated person, the degree of need, the amount of help and favour, and the degree of concern of the individual who gives help (Eriker, 1995). It is important to note that time and distance are not the factors that weaken Boonkhun (Kislenko, 2004). Konim (1990) states in his study that people in rural areas value the cultural trait concept of Boonkhun significantly more than do people in urban areas.

7.1.6 Krong-jai value or consideration another person's feelings

The concept of Krong-jai underlies a significant part of everyday interpersonal behavioural patterns of Thai values (Konim, 1990). Klausner (1993) mentions Krong-jai is one of the most difficult Thai concepts for foreigners to comprehend. The closet meaning of Krong-jai includes 'to be considerate, to feel hesitant to impose upon another person, to take another person's feelings and ego in to

account, or to take every measure not to cause discomfort or inconvenience for another person' depending on the circumstance (Ekachai, 1990; Esterik, 2000). However, it can be summarised that Kreng-jai refers to attitudes predisposing to individual's resulting behaviour towards someone else (Konim, 1990). Thai people know that how far they can go in displaying the degree of Kreng-jai relating to degree of status, familiarity, and situations.

From participant observation, the study shows that local people expressed Kreng-jai value when they wanted to ask someone to do something for them, as I myself experienced and recorded:

Since I have been here for a few weeks, local people here are very nice, polite and kreng-jai. Even though I offer if I could help with little things everywhere I go, they rarely ask me to do anything but if they ask, they always keep asking the questions to make sure that I am really okay with it. They are really lovely.

September 13, 2007

In most cases, it involved little things such as food shopping, borrowing some equipment, and collecting posts and parcels. However, before someone asked another person to do something, it could be noticeable that individual would feel hesitant being concerned that it would be discomfort or inconvenience for another person to help him/her out. If someone asked another person to do something without consideration and hesitation, an awkward situation could occur. In addition, it would ruin someone's ego and an embarrassment between the two parties would result.

7.1.7 Num-jai value or kindness and helpfulness

The value of Num-jai is the highest psychologically significant value in Thai culture (Kislenko, 2004). This value indicates the deepest reason for the surface smooth interactions in Thai society (Konim, 1990). Num-jai also means kindness, considerateness, and sincere concerns. Being kind and helpful is something to give out without any expectation in return. Thai people are not calculating in the showing of kindness and help (Ekachai, 1990; Esterik, 2000). However, the study

suggests that local people in Koh Samui had less Num-jai to each other and developed more commercial relationships due to the influence of cash system from the Western countries. This evidence is demonstrated by Kae and Poo.

'Forget the word NUM-JAI – helpful! Most of people here seem to transform themselves and come to see money as more important than relationships between people'. (Kae, Partial contact)

'Don't expect Num-Jai without money. In other word, we should evaluate our money before we ask someone to do something for us. Anyway, this matter doesn't apply to my brothers and sisters. They are sincerely helpful'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

Another dimension of Num-jai is to be caring and considerate (Konim, 1990). This concept of Num-jai means to maintain or preserve another person's feelings and it indicates the deepest reason for the surface smooth interactions in Thai society (Konim, 1990). This concept shares the closest meaning with the concept of Kreng-jai discussed earlier in relation to preserving someone's feeling (Embree, 1950). While Kreng jai is a base concept, Num-jai or caring and considerate slightly emphasises more the interactional aspect of the concept (Ekachai, 1990). This core concept of Num-jai is not to criticise as well as not to reject another person's kindness or good intention, even though it is opposing to own individual feelings (Klausner, 1993).

There is evidence from the participant observation that local people still had Num-jai or were being helpful to each other when it came to a little thing, for example, looking out for neighbours when they had gone away from home, helping elders to carry heavy bags, and going food shopping for neighbours, as field notes show:

Even though many local people keep complaining that it is quite difficult to find Num-jai among people these day, I do not feel that way at all. Everywhere I go, local people always offer Num-jai for me. They are so friendly and willingly co-operate with everything I ask. Some of them also offer drink and food and some of them give me fruit from their garden when I walk around in Maenum to visit their home.

August 19, 2007

It is believed that this high value of Num-jai is still existence in Thai society even though local people were dominated by the Western culture of cash system. This is a reason why it has been mentioned by many scholars that Thai interactions are usually smooth, pleasant, and are accompanied with genuine kindness and concern in the other people's well-being (Eriker, 1995; Kislenko, 2004; Konim, 1990).

7.1.8 Brotherhood or helpful relationships

Helpful behaviour by members of the village in agricultural societies is something common in Thailand (Ekachai, 1990). This is reflected through the value of brotherhood which is said to characterise people in the rural areas, and which is different from Thai society in urban areas (Esterik, 2000; Kislenko, 2004). The study suggests that brotherhood relationships in Koh Samui were fading with time due to the influence of cash dominated Western cultural system. This circumstance is explained by Art.

'It seems people have less compromise these days when it comes to conflict. People lose their temper easily. We live as mutual aid, brothers-sisters-friends relation but it seems like everything changes now'. (Art, No contact with tourism)

Art repeatedly said that brotherhood relationships were weakening – “less compromise”, “conflict” and “lose temper easily”. Brotherhood is regarded as having a high basic value and that it ties Thai people together, especially people in rural areas. The value of helping one another basically characterises the cooperative behaviour in the community, and reinforces the sense of neighbourhood (Eriker 1995). The participant observation demonstrates that local people were willing to help each other when it came to a life crisis situation, as my field notes show:

It is quite surprised me today. Every shops in Maenum seem to close early so I can not walk around and talk to local people in the area that much. When I reach to a travel agency and talk to a staff there, I am told that local people close their shop early today because they will go to a funeral. I am also told that it is quite normal for Samui people when there is a funeral. They will go early to help out with

the food and everything that they can as Koh Samui is a small society and everyone knows each other.

This circumstance suggests that brotherhood remains strong in Thai society. Neighbours help each other at psychologically and culturally important times and events like serious illnesses, births, ordinations, and funerals and they attach their relationships through mutual services and assistance and exchanges of Num-jai (Konim, 1990).

7.2 Thais' coping with socio-cultural impacts of tourism development

This part presents how Thai people cope with socio-cultural impacts of tourism development. It also shows how Buddha's teaching has strongly influenced Thais' behavioural coping with unexpected things. Thai psychology is involved in order to explain Thais' coping strategies.

7.2.1 Living with problems

Harmony, respect and dignity are an immense concern for Thai people; as a result, they understand that it is inappropriate to display anger, temper, or impolite behaviour in public settings (Ekachai, 1990). Maintaining composure is also essential for Thai people so they do not normally criticise openly each other while socialising (Browell, 2000).

In Koh Samui, most worship regularly and do good works in order to gain merit in their life with the hope of substantially improving their next life. Buddha teaches them to accept problems and learn how to live with them. It is actually all about attitudes towards the world and mind control. For example, when a problem occurs, a good Buddhist should be calm and conscious. In this case, Buddha taught that if a person sees this problem as an intimidation, then it will be, but if a person sees this problem as harmless, then he/she will be able to get through it without an obstacle. Therefore, people should maintain consciousness at all times, live in the present and look to the future. People also should live their lives with deliberation and satisfaction. For example, if overcrowding of properties was annoying and troubled

local residents that much, they just pretended that they did not notice it. Additionally, local people normally avoided busy and heavily traffic areas in tourist zone if they had to go somewhere. This matter was observed by Lek, and Art.

'I have to wake up very early and prepare myself at least an hour if I have to go out somewhere on businesses'. (Lek, Extensive contact)

'I normally do business in the morning if I have to go out as the traffic is normally horrible in the afternoon when tourists wake up'. (Art, No contact with tourism)

This statement is also confirmed when a key informant wanted to go from Maenum to Huathanon to visit his cousins in the first few weeks, as the field notes demonstrate:

I intend to stop by Tesco in Chaweng on the way to Huathanon but I am told that he is not going through Chaweng as he wants to avoid the traffic.

August 15, 2007

One outstanding aspect of Buddha's teaching was evident which was to live with problems and not escape but accept the problems. Thai people have been taught that they had to remain conscious at all times especially when they encountered problems. It was necessary that they had to accept and figure out what was the cause of the problem as well as find the way to get out or find a compromise. This religious teaching was reflected in Pom's point of view when he was asked if he was moving anywhere as tourism caused a lot of problems around his society.

'I would not have thought to move anywhere. I know there are a lot of problems here but it seems to be the same everywhere. Actually, tourism has not affected my life that much. It is about attitude and how you see the world, isn't it. You know that Chaweng is too crowded with tourists and traffic so I just don't go there. I avoid it. Actually, it is not that bad. It might be annoying some times but it does not really matter. You have to see it as a part of development process and it is the same everywhere. I think Bangkok is even worse. If you move to a new place and it has a problem later, it

means that you have to move again and again then. I don't see it a right way to do'. (Pom, Neutral concerned with tourism)

Here it could be seen that Buddha's teaching was reflected in Pom's thoughts and expressions. He repeatedly stated that it was not so bad – “not affected my life that much” and “it is not that bad”. This Buddha's teaching of living with problems was also reflected by a key informant when she was asked if she would move to anywhere that was less busy and crowded of people, as evidenced from the participant observation. It also supports the assertion that compromise and remaining in harmony in society was, for most Thai people, a highly valued norm. To cope with the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, local people had to compromise in order to adapt their lifestyle to tourism development.

Khun Tom says why she should be trouble with moving as it is busy and crowed everywhere. She also teaches me that it is about the state of human's mind. If I let something to trouble my mind, it will be seen as a problem. So just let it go – what will be, will be.

September 14, 2007

7.2.2 Avoidance of confrontation

There are various social customs controlling Thais' behaviour while socialising as in other cultures (Kislenko, 2004). The smiling Thai is increasingly difficult to find given the compromise with the pressures of modernisation and westernisation (Browell, 2000). The traffic, the inflation, and water flooding onto the streets cause unavoidable damage. However, Thai people are able to cope with day to day problems as Buddhism teaches them a sense of emotional balance and concentration (Kislenko, 2004). The most effective method in dealing with conflicts for Thai people is to make sure that the conflicts do not occur at all (Ekachai, 1990; Ericker, 1995; Kislenko, 2004). However, although Thai people are keen on avoidance of confrontation, conflicts do arise. In such cases, Thai people will seek compromise (Klausner, 1993).

It was clear that each resident typology ('Extensive contact'; 'Partial contact'; 'Neutral concerned with tourism'; 'No contact with tourism'; and 'Local

authorities’) had different characteristics and they also had different attitudes towards tourism development. Lek, not surprisingly as she belongs to ‘Extensive contact’ group, demonstrated that she had a positive perception and attitude towards tourism development but she was also aware of its negative impacts as was Wow.

‘I would like tourism in Koh Samui to keep growing bigger as it is good for my business but tourism has brought the destruction of environment as well’. (Lek, Extensive contact)

‘I like it because tourism has brought development to Koh Samui such as electricity, internet, hospital and airports...however, I believe that tourism has brought crime and drugs to my community’. (Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)

However, Art showed an interesting point. He stated that he did not like tourism but he accepted tourism at the end of the day as tourism had brought a better quality of life and development to his community so far.

‘If it’s possible, I would like Koh Samui to be back the same as when I was a child before tourism occurred in Koh Samui. Even though there was no road and electricity, I was happy’. (Art, No contact with tourism)

Poo showed that she tried to understand other local people’s views and tried to compromise on tourism development matters even though she mentioned that she did not like tourism.

‘I do not like it at all. I would like to have good road, public utility, electricity, water supply in Koh Samui without tourism... I am a bit concerned really but totally understand. Local people in Koh Samui, recently, have sold their lands to non-local investors and left agriculture for tourism businesses. Hhh... We relied on coconut plantations in the past but the coconut prices went down and it was not worth to count on it anymore as well as the tourism has become boom in Koh Samui so we have way out. People need to be fed and have money for living. I don’t blame them. Hhh... Who is to blame is government’. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

Poo, not surprisingly as she belongs to ‘No contact with tourism’ group, showed that she had negative attitude towards tourism development; however, she tried to compromise with local people in other typology as she repeatedly stated that she did not like but there was no development without tourism – “concerned but understand” and “do not blame them but government”.

Even though residents in the ‘Neutral concerned with tourism’ group seemed to have a neutral attitude and perception towards tourism development, it could be interpreted that they did not want to make a strong comment towards tourism as they wanted to avoid the conflict as well as remain in harmony and compromise with the other residential types. In this case, it could be seen from Wow’s perception towards tourism development as she mentioned that she liked tourism because of its positive impacts but also understood that tourism brought negative impacts. Therefore, it could be summarised that avoidance of confrontation in order to remain in harmony and compromise is still deeply embedded in Thai culture even if it is sometimes upset by other cultures and modernisation. At the end of the day, conflicts are the last thing that Thai people expect or wish to see in their society.

7.2.3 Need to accept tourism and attributing responsibility elsewhere

Thai government shows an appreciation that to a certain degree tourism and culture are well-matched in Thailand as it can be observed from campaigns to promote Thai tourism created by Tourism Authority of Thailand (Klausner, 1993). Thai identity is constructed in a way that it is easily and willingly consumed by tourists (Klausner, 1993). Thailand is an attractive tourist destination containing luxury tourism, mass tourism, eco-tourism, and sex tourism (Cohen, 1993; Hall and Page, 2002; Parnwell, 1993). In addition, tourists are given the opportunity to participate directly in aspects of Thai life rather than visiting model tourist villages (Esterik, 2000). This is partly related to the tolerance of the Thai people for foreigners to whom they show respect, and their willingness to allow others to do their own thing (Klausner, 1993).

Koh Samui has become a well-known tourist destination and tourism has become the main development instrument and main player in the local economy to bring

income to the community. However, not all local people welcome this. Even though some local people admitted that they did not like tourism, they confessed that local people's quality of life was better because of tourism. In this respect, Poo showed that she was irritated by the development of tourism but she tried to understand that her community would not be better without tourism. Additionally, Bom clearly welcomed tourism in his society as he wanted more choices to work for a living.

'Honestly, I confess that if it is possible and I can turn back time, I don't want tourism in my community. However, I admit that Koh Samui would not have been developed without tourism'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)

'Since coconut price gone down, we would have starved to death. Luckily, we have tourism emerged in our community. At least, we have a way to go'. (Bom, Partial contact)

For local people, it appears important to accept tourism and it is therefore difficult for them to blame tourism as a cause of the main socio-cultural problems in their community. Poo and Bom repetitively pointed out that it was necessary to accept tourism – “not developed without tourism” and “have a way to go”. This significance of accepting tourism of local people in Koh Samui is also reflected by the frequent responses from many participants when they were questioned how they felt towards the negative impacts of tourism development in their community whether they liked or disliked tourism, as evidence from participant observation.

I cannot really say whether I like or I do not like tourism.

I cannot say that I do not like it.

As a result, local people tried to blame something else. In Koh Samui, local people were critical of labourers from Isan, the Northeast part of Thailand and attributed responsibility for the main social and cultural problems to these migrant labourers. Lek and Jew mentioned that they felt insecure because of the influx of the migrant labourers as they repeatedly mentioned “have to be careful”, “loads of non-local labourers”, “number of labourers more than local people” and “strangers”. In addition, local people blamed that the influx of migrant workers was a cause of poverty and slums created in Koh Samui as Jew also mentioned that slums were created by Isan labourers.

Local people also believed that most demonstration effects occurred among labourers rather than local people as it could be seen from Lek's blaming Isan labourers and defending local people. In addition, local people in Koh Samui believed that demographic changes and higher rates of prostitution, drug abuse and HIV infections were caused by the influx of Isan labourers. Poo and Art blamed these social problems on the Isan labourers as they repeatedly stated "crime and drug committed by labourers", "not one of us", "no locals are prostitutes", only Northeast people do that" and "majority of bar girls and prostitutes are from the Northeast part".

7.2.4 Coping strategies

This part will include the results that emerged from this study based on the proposition that residents develop ways and strategies of coping with socio-cultural impacts of tourism development or 'coping mechanisms'. In Koh Samui, strategies emerged in response to two dimensions of socio-cultural impacts: firstly, social problems such as crime, drug, and prostitution and secondly, overcrowding. According to Pearlin and Schooler (1978), coping refers to the things that people do to avoid being harmed. Furthermore, Lazarus (1974) explains that the concept of coping is a fundamental assumption of people who are actively responsive to forces that interrupt them. However, coping strategies are required in order to understand the impacts that a society comes to apply on the members (Lazarus, 1974). Here Poo explained how tourist activities impact on local residents.

'Most tourists here normally wake up at noon or in the afternoon and then they go sunbathing or diving at the other islands. Also, they normally go clubbing at night till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning so we know when we should go out and avoid them and places' (Poo, No contact with tourism).

A great deal of research exploring the nature of coping mechanisms and strategies has been undertaken (e.g. Aldwin and Revenson, 1987; Ap and Crompton, 1993; Brown and Giles, 1995; Dickinson, 2004; Lazarus and Folkman, 1984; McConnell, 1986). A model of psychological stress response in individuals consists of three main elements: (1) the source of stress (the event); (2) cognitive appraisal (e.g.

threatening or positive event, assessment of available coping resources within individuals, and the environment) and coping mechanisms; and (3) outcomes (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Based on the three main elements of Lazarus and Folkman, there was evidence of psychological stress among local people in Koh Samui due to tourism development and its socio-cultural impacts (the event). Local people in Koh Samui blamed all the main social problems on labour migration from the Isan part of Thailand. However, coping mechanisms in a Thai context involves their religious teaching and their deeper engagement to remain in harmony in the society.

Pearlin and Schooler's (1978) dimensions including social resources, psychological resources, and specific coping responses will be used in providing an overall explanation of these coping strategies. The people's psychological resources are an important factor in order to help people to survive threats of events (tourism impacts). In a Thai context, the psychological resource would refer to religion or Buddhism. With Buddha's teaching, Thai people should believe in the middle path and detachment (Konim, 1990).

Now it is clear that tourism development and its impacts is a social factor and Buddhism plays an important part in psychological resource in order to influence coping responses of local people in Koh Samui. Brown and Giles (1995) propose three forms of coping including reorganisation, retreat, and reaffirmation. They state that local people reorganise their daily activities during peak periods of tourist activities by changing times, and locations of activities. In Koh Samui, residents avoid particular places, use different routes and go at different times as Wow stated.

'Tourism has not affected my life that much because I always avoid the places that will have tourists. I avoid going to Chaweng in the afternoon as I know that it will be very busy and bad traffic there'.

(Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)

Some people would temporarily retreat from their normal lives and they may need to plan what they had to do ahead in a day in order to stop or avoid certain places and activities. In Koh Samui, local residents stay at home more at certain times as Suay explained. Additionally, there was evidence that local people need to reaffirm

their identity as a resident of the community and not to be confused with tourists though this was not strong as Jew stated.

'It is very bad traffic in the rush hour. You know, in the past, I did not have to prepare myself an hour earlier if I have to go out in the rush hour... I always avoid the tourists' places... I have to adjust the way of living to suit the tourism condition here. I normally have some activities to do with my friends and cousins in the afternoon on the weekend but it is so hectic and the traffic is really bad so we rearrange to do something together in the evening instead and intend to stay at home in the afternoon on the weekend... You know, I have not been to Chaweng for a long time as it is always busy and bad traffic there'. (Suay, Partial contact)

'One day I went to Chaweng. When I was walking around places, some tourists looked me as a freak. It was so uncomfortable. It seems like I do not belong there but most tourists are ok'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)

However, there is a different interpretation in Koh Samui compared to Brown and Giles's study. In Brown and Giles' study in Byron Bay, Australia (1995), they mentioned that some people would reorganise their daily activities and temporarily retreat from their normal life. However, it is not the case in a Thai context. Avoidance of confrontation of Thai people is more usual behaviour. In short, it could be said that avoidance of confrontation is a normal life in a Thai context. It is impossible to be able to separate avoidance behaviour from Thai people. To remain in harmony by avoiding a confrontation of face to face conflict influenced by Buddhism is a high value for Thai culture. Therefore, this reorganisation and retreat forms of coping in a Thai context are simply the nature of Thai people and it is something that they are much more accepting of in Thai society. In a Western context, people resent this reorganisation and retreat but it is taken for granted in a Thai context.

McConnell (1986) proposes two types of coping responses, as being 'defensive' and 'direct'. Defensive coping may be defined as protecting themselves by getting away from threats of an event including psychological and physical escape from the

harmful situation. Once, if they are capable of running away from the problems, they will avoid going near the threatening situation in the future. It could lead to a blocking out or denial of the intimidating situation. Direct coping could be explained as analysing a situation, identifying an adjustment, and coming up with a new approach to the situation.

In Koh Samui, it is likely to be a defensive coping response as a sense of imprisonment was expressed by local people with a suggestion that there was no escape route. This sense of 'no escape route' in Koh Samui meant they needed to accept tourism as tourism was a main source of income and they could not survive without tourism. Even though there was evidence that local people were aware of socio-cultural impacts of tourism development, they denied the fact that those main social problems such as crime, drug, and prostitution were a consequence of tourism development. Instead, they blamed it on Isan labourers. From this point of view, it shows that local people in Koh Samui were defensive for their people and community and accused all these problems on Isan labourers due to the fact that they wanted to deny their own engagement with acceptance of tourism. Additionally, even though some local people stated that they did not like tourism, as it brought negative impacts, this was outweighed by positive ones. This point shows a hint of 'no escape route' in a Thai context due to the fact that they need to accept tourism and they could not earn income without tourism.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the implication of Thai cultural responses and an interpretation of how Thai people cope with socio-cultural changes. The analysis suggests that Thai society is a loose structure and this is supported by many scholars including Embree (1950), Konim (1990), and Phillips (1965). It is argued that Buddhist concepts of individuals working for one's own karma have an influence on Thai social behaviours resulting in a loose social structure. The study also suggests that local residents had strong Boonkhun relationships with their motherland. The relationship of Boonkhun is based on the value of gratitude which is characterised by the high valued quality in a person in Thai society.

The analysis also shows that the cool-heart behaviour, face-saving and uncertainty avoidance of confrontation are interconnected in some ways. The high value of cool heart is more likely to be a surface harmony (Konim, 1990). It is explained that remaining in harmony is important in Thai society; therefore, saving someone's face and avoidance of face-to-face criticism or conflicts is a necessity for Thai people. It can be said that there is the respect for another person's ego or the core concern of not to hurt other people behind the smooth, pleasant, and polite interaction in Thai society. It is the balance between the positive of preserving individual feelings and keeping the smooth interactions to preserve another person's ego. The study suggests that the high value of Kren-jai and Num-jai are still existence in Thai society when it came to a little thing. Additionally, the study demonstrates that local people were willing to help each other when it came to a life crisis situation. Brotherhood is a high basic value and ties Thai people together, especially people in rural areas.

The second part started with an explanation of how Buddha's teachings influence Thai people's social construction of their world. Buddha's teaching that Thai should live and accept problems when they occur. By accepting and living with problems, confrontation is avoided. It showed that local people in Koh Samui were reliant on tourism and this was the reason why they could not blame tourism for having negative impacts on their community, instead, they needed to accept it by apportioning responsibility elsewhere and migrant labourers from the Northeast region of Thailand were blamed for the increases in crime rate, drug abuse, prostitution and a variety of demonstration effects.

It could be summarised that the teaching of Buddha underpins and informs Thai people's expressions and thoughts. Being *chai-yen* and avoiding confrontation would benefit Thai society by maintaining harmony. In Koh Samui, it was clear that local people avoided tourist areas for many reasons. It might be they did not want to get involved with a hectic place or they did not want to get involved in a place where problems could occur any time or they ignored the truth so that's why they did not want to see what was going on in tourist areas. However, there are particular reasons why local people needed to accept tourism while at the same time avoiding tourist areas if possible. It was mainly because they had relied on coconut plantation

for many years and when the crisis caused by the collapse of the market price for coconuts occurred, it was a very difficult time for local people in Koh Samui as there was nothing they could do. Luckily, tourism emerged just at the point when local people needed an alternative economic activity in order to survive.

At the same time, local people realised that tourism did not only bring beneficial economic impacts but adverse environmental and socio-cultural impacts as well. Therefore, it comes down to the fact that as local people came to rely on tourism they had to recognise that tourism activities contributed towards the socio-cultural problems they were experiencing. Argumentative strategies of coping mechanisms in a Thai context were discussed. Based on a set of broader dimensions of the coping mechanisms concept (Pearlin and Schooler, 1978), psychological resources in a Thai context would refer to religion or Buddhism. Harmony, respect and dignity are an immense concern for Thai people.

Three forms of reorganisation, retreat and reaffirmation reported in the research study of Brown and Giles (1995) also were detected in Koh Samui where there was some evidence that local people had changed their lifestyles by reorganising their daily activities and retreated from their normal lives in order to avoid hectic tourist places and traffic during tourist activity times. However, there is a different interpretation of the research findings in Koh Samui and Brown and Giles's study. It is impossible to be able to separate avoidance behaviour from Thai people as remaining harmonious by avoiding a confrontation of face to face conflict influenced by Buddhism, is a deeply high value for Thai culture. Therefore, these reorganisation and retreat forms of coping in a Thai context are more likely the nature of Thai people and are permanent. In contrast, Brown and Giles's study showed the reorganisation and retreat forms were more temporary.

McConnell (1986) proposes two types of coping responses, as being 'defensive' and 'direct'. In Koh Samui, it is more likely to be a defensive coping response as a sense of imprisonment was expressed by local people with a suggestion that there was no escape route. Even though it was evident that local people were aware of socio-cultural impacts of tourism development, they denied the main social problems were due to tourism. Instead, they blamed these impacts on labourers

from the Isan part of Thailand. The analyses and interpretation of findings in this chapter lead to the discussions and conclusions set out in the following chapter.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This study aims to develop a better understanding of the residents' of a Thai beach resort attitudes towards the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development and the associated behavioural changes in their society. Few studies have examined the problems from an insider's view and explored the cultural factors in order to interpret residents' attitudes and perceptions. This study attempted to rectify this gap by undertaking a case study of Koh Samui, a small beach resort island in the Suratthani province of Thailand.

This final chapter discusses the relationship between the analysis and the theoretical underpinning. It begins with reflections on the significance of the research followed by a review of the research objectives, the findings within Koh Samui and the Thai context. Following this review, an evaluation of this research is presented. Sustainable tourism initiatives are proposed as a basis for developing effective policies for the area. The chapter ends by exploring the significance of the study and this is followed by suggestions for further research.

8.1 Reflections on the significance and wider implications of the research

The study aims to develop the understanding of residents' social construction of socio-cultural impacts of tourism development and their associated behavioural changes in a Thai context by applying a framework to measure socio-cultural changes to a case study of Koh Samui Island, Thailand. While previous socio-cultural impact studies have focused on socio-demographic factors, this study focused on cultural factors and studying in a Thai setting from a Thai perspective. It is suggested that cultural and psychological factors are significant in the understanding of residents' coping with impacts of tourism.

Buddhism is one factor that has played a strong influence on Thai people's social construction. In this study, this and other Thai psychological factors were explored in order to explain how local residents are able to accept and cope with the negative

impacts of tourism. The analysis suggests that the cultural traits of living with problems and avoidance of confrontation strongly influences Thai people. It shows that local people learned how to live with the development of tourism and recognised many of the positive impacts while blaming internal migration as the cause of socio-cultural changes in their community.

Tourism opens the host community to outsiders and much attention has been given to the interaction between host and tourists. The study also recognises that socio-cultural changes in the host community occurred in two different types of encounters: between local people and tourists; and between migrant workers and tourists. The findings demonstrates that migrant workers, especially from the Isan part of Thailand, are blamed for socio-cultural impacts in Koh Samui including demonstration effects, higher rate of crime, prostitution, an increase of poverty and of 'slum' areas. Furthermore, it was evident that Isan migrant workers had gone through a greater sense of acculturation. These people migrate to tourist cities to seek job opportunities in order to escape from poverty. However, these migrant workers play a significant role in transforming the culture in the host community as they develop a closer relationship with tourists through their work. In addition, social identity theory suggests that self-esteem and sense of belongingness are key factors to explain the phenomenon of acculturation process in migrant workers. There are ethnic issues in Thailand, as there are in other parts of the world. These Isan migrant workers are looked down by other ethnic groups in Thailand and they may consider themselves as Laotians. This helps to explain why Isan migrant workers frequently have such a low self-esteem and sense of belonging.

A final reflection on this research relates to its methodological approach. A holistic study of resident responses to socio-cultural impacts of tourism development was explored and to do this a constructivist paradigm using a qualitative approach was adopted. This study undertook research from the inside by adopting the multiple mental constructions of local people in the real life setting in Koh Samui. Due to the problems of avoidance of confrontation in a Thai context, the qualitative approach allowed the researcher to have more flexibility resulting in data of greater depth by building connections and trust prior to the interviews.

8.2 Review of objectives

Five objectives were set out for this study. The following reviews each objective.

- *To evaluate the extent of socio-cultural changes and the process of tourism development in Thai context.*

The study suggests that Koh Samui is currently in the development or between the development and consolidation stage of the tourism life cycle (Butler, 1980). This is evident in Koh Samui by the continued growth in the large scale accommodation sector, nearly all which is owned by foreign investors. The interviews show that there are significant socio-cultural changes and that local authorities and national government lacks the ability to manage the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Koh Samui particularly in regard to corruption. However, in common with other studies, as development increases, socio-cultural impacts of tourism become greater concerns for local residents (Butler, 1980).

- *To identify and analyse the problems perceived by residents related to tourism development and socio-cultural changes in Koh Samui.*

The introduction of tourism to Koh Samui has been accompanied by new forms of interaction among local people. As a result, this also affects the basic value, traditions, social system and structure, and customs of local residents in Koh Samui such as less willingness to share and more commercial relationships, improve social status, and demise of religious practice. In addition, local people believed that socio-cultural changes in Koh Samui occurred as a consequence of internal migration. The analysis suggests that Isan migrant workers were seen negatively by local residents as they believed that Isan migrant workers were responsible for socio-cultural changes in their community for example: a rise in crime, prostitution, drug abuse, HIV infection and increased poverty. In addition, the study found that Isan migrant workers have gone through more adaptation to a tourist culture than local residents. A sense of belongingness and attachment is the key. In this circumstance, Isan migrant workers may have less sense of belongingness than local residents.

- *To identify and analyse residents' behavioural patterns and their responses to socio-cultural impacts of tourism development.*

There is a significant difference between the Thai and Western way of coping with socio-cultural impacts. In a Thai context, the analysis demonstrates that local people developed coping mechanisms based on Buddhist teachings, they believed in the philosophy of 'living with problems'. It was necessary for local people in Koh Samui to accept tourism by overlooking its negative impacts and attributing responsibility to elsewhere. In this case, Isan migrants were blamed. Residents adopted a variety of coping mechanism to avoid socio-cultural problems showing similarities to Brown and Giles's study (1995) in Byron Bay, Australia which demonstrated three forms of coping: reorganisation, retreat, and reaffirmation. However, there is a different interpretation in a Thai context compared to their study as the concept of avoidance (reorganisation and retreat) is more usual behaviour for Thai people as this reorganisation and retreat forms of coping in a Thai context are simply the nature of Thai people and it is something that they are much more accepting of in Thai society.

- *To analyse residents' social construction of socio-cultural impacts.*

An understanding of Thai psychology has facilitated a better understanding of residents' social construction of tourism impacts and their strategies in order to respond to, or cope with, socio-cultural impacts of tourism development. The analysis suggests that Thai society is a loose structure (Embree, 1950; Konim, 1990; Phillips, 1965). The analysis also demonstrates that the cool-heart behaviour, face-saving and uncertainty avoidance of confrontation are interconnected and still remain deeply rooted in Thai society. Even though local people had developed more commercial relationships introduced by tourism, the high value of Kreng-jai (consideration another person's feelings) and Num-jai (kindness or helpfulness) still exist in Thai society. Brotherhood is a high basic value and ties Thai people together, especially people in rural areas.

- *To critically evaluate models of socio-cultural impacts of tourism in terms of their application to a Thai context.*

The socio-cultural impact models from a western context, including Butler's lifecycle model (1980), Doxey's Irridex (1975), social exchange theory and cultural change theory, were considered in the context of this research. These are considered later in this chapter.

8.3 Tourism development in Koh Samui

The study suggests that Koh Samui is representative of a well-established tourism market, currently in the development or somewhere between the development and consolidation stage. Butler (1980) states that the specific characteristics of this development stage are the decline of local involvement and the replacement of developmental control by non-locally owned facilities. This is evident in Koh Samui by the continued growth in the large scale accommodation sector, nearly all owned by foreign investors. From the interviews, it shows that local authorities and national government lack of the ability to make proper management decisions. Local people blame this on corruption. However, this situation is common during the development stage where there is supposed to be an increased government presence in providing greater tourism infrastructure and facilities (Butler, 1980). This does not appear to be the case in Koh Samui as signified by poor road conditions, a lack of proper sewage and sanitation system, and insufficient police protection.

During the development stage, it is largely economy that drives the system (Butler, 1980). It is a significance that both residents in 'Extensive contact' and 'Partial contact' groups feel that the economic state has improved their quality of life with continued tourism development and this reflects the belief that the future development will be positive as well. However, residents also believe that most communities encounter problems as over-development is allowed to happen along with other subsequent effects which negatively affect the entire industry.

Additionally, the development stage is the point where socio-cultural impacts become greater concerns for residents (Butler, 1980; Hernandez, Cohen and Garcia,

1996). The findings demonstrate that residents in all groups do not mention the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development as a primary consideration and demonstrate economic development interests are of greater concern for overall community benefits. However, the negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism development do represent concerns and are evident only when residents reflect on the potential for ongoing tourism development.

8.4 Socio-cultural changes

The phenomenon of cultural change arises through tourism as international tourists bring a different culture to the destination (Sharpley, 1999). Through global integration, local people in Koh Samui who previously remained behind their frontier are now invited to consider themselves as a part of a greater multi-cultural unit of the tourism industry. This is primarily due to the coconut price going down and the geographical characteristic of Koh Samui as an island attractive to sun, sand and sea recreation (Mason, 2003). Additionally, tourism is often considered by developing countries as an instrument allowing new identities to emerge through economic power and modernisation (Page et. al, 2001). Furthermore, local people in Koh Samui are in the state of belief that tourism will continually contribute benefits to their community, as a result, they desire to be involved in tourism and tend to overlook its socio-cultural impacts. This is one of the push factors influencing to social and cultural changes in Koh Samui.

In Koh Samui, the cultural impact of tourism occurred in two different types of encounters: between local people and tourists; and between Isan migrant workers and tourists that appeared to be leading to changes in the host culture. The findings show that local residents are offended by Isan migrant workers and these Isan workers are blamed for socio-cultural impacts in Koh Samui. Furthermore, it is evident that Isan migrant workers and their descendants imitate tourist's behaviours including outfits, language, drinking and drug taking. Thus while the findings show that Isan migrant workers have adapted most to tourism, local people also adopt new values, norms and behaviour patterns due to the new technology and process of social modernisation brought by tourism development in their community.

The value system of brotherhood or mutual aid among local people in these areas is transformed to a cash system and materialism. Previous studies of tourism on the interaction between local residents and tourists show the same direction of results as follows: dramatic change in economic and political structures; land use patterns; and value system (Mason, 2003). However, this tradition might not be strongly changed in Koh Samui but local people believed if there was money concerned, it would make their life easier. Therefore, local people have developed more commercial relationships. Money can also decrease people's willingness to share and some social conflicts have even emerged which contribute to the decline of many traditional institutions (Sharpley, 2003). However, the analysis suggests that local people in Koh Samui had a very strong sense of community attachment, especially the older generation. The stronger the local culture of the host destination, the better they can cope with the impacts of socio-cultural changes (Butler, 1975).

The findings also indicate that local people feel their culture has been modified to some extent in their way of dress and living standards. Young people choose to avoid hardships like farming or managing coconut plantations. Additionally, they state that the economy has improved and women have more financial independence. However, it shows that the family structure of local people has changed from an extended family to a nuclear one. Furthermore, local people reveal that most of them are surviving well and adapting to changes in the economic order. Housing design, room structures and everyday utensils have also changed due to modernisation. Koh Samui is already filled up with telephones, air-conditioners, computers and the internet.

It is noticeable that the younger generation seems to accept the cultural change easily and adapt their lifestyle to the modernisation. It can be assumed that many of the young generation once studied in Bangkok so they have already adapted their attitudes toward modernisation and, when they come back in Koh Samui, they may feel used to and familiar with it. The English language also impacts upon cultural change among the young generation in Koh Samui. Local people claim that most local people remaining on the island are business owners such as hotels,

guesthouses and resorts and their descendants studied in higher education; therefore, it is common for them to be able to speak English fluently.

To sum up, Koh Samui is in a position of disadvantage for number of reasons and principal among these is its relatively high reliance on tourism. This reality places Koh Samui in a position as the island's infrastructural development is wholly dependent on its success in tourism. To this extent, Koh Samui has had the opportunity to develop tourism unselectively on its own terms. In particular, the scale and pace of development is relatively uncontrolled as well as the type of tourism. Consequently, this threatens rights and freedoms including uninhibited access to the beaches.

8.5 Implication of Isan migrant workers in Thailand

Tourism creates new employment opportunities in the host area and it influences migration patterns. In this case, there is evidence to show that tourism in Koh Samui also attracts outsiders who are searching for work or economic opportunity and who often come from other branches of the economy, particularly agriculture. Dang et. al. (1997), Fuller (1981) and Malam (2003) support that migration for work has become common for a range of reasons relating to social and economic change in Thailand, particularly the Isan region of Thailand as these people see migration as an escape from poverty. Local residents argue that the main demographic changes and increase of poverty and slums in Koh Samui is caused by the influx of labour. Labour flooding is also believed to be responsible for the high rate of crime, drug abuse, prostitution, etc. In addition, it is evident that many of them are trapped in the sex trade and end up engaged with violence, drugs, and HIV infection (Korenek et al., 2005; Tovanabutra et al., 2007).

Tourist spaces offer unique opportunities for marginalised Isan migrant workers to recreate themselves and their future opportunities in the process (Cohen, 1982). These migrant workers consider that tourists take a different type of food and wear neat clothes. Tourists are seen as good people and show less offense to the poor people like them. Tourist's language and culture are better than their culture and language. This reflects the weaker culture of these migrant workers who appreciate

the stronger tourist's culture and show a positive attitude towards them (Mason, 2003). This leads migrant workers to imitating the western lifestyle, craving high living-standard and spending money on alcohol and clothes (Page et. al., 2001). This circumstance also leads to changes in individual cultural expressions and as a group of Isan migrant workers.

Studies have demonstrated that the younger generation of Isan migrant workers was in favour of tourist's culture as they believed that tourists were more superior including their food, dresses and lifestyle (Burns, 1999). This is common among Isan people. They crave to go west or to have better life through establishing marital relation with tourists (Malam, 2003). Even though the migration in Isan people allows new possibilities to improve their life and social status, it does not remove them from discourses that attempt to fix their subject positions as sexually deviant (Malam, 2003). However, the analysis suggests that local people in Koh Samui were also concerned about the young generation of local people as they might imitate an inappropriate tourist's behaviour.

The study suggests that many Isan boys and girls sacrificed themselves to sell sex in order to fulfil their desire of a tourist's lifestyle. In addition, this prostitution is not an inconsiderable percentage of all the jobs in tourism (Cohen, 1982; Singh and Hart, 2007) but there are moral questions aside as it is degrading, exploitative and dangerous to the lives of these workers as well a threat to the Thais as a whole. Bar girls usually experience this when working in the bars and they are often labelled by Thai culture as prostitutes (Singh and Hart, 2007). Many of them are also subjected by men's expectations of their sexual availability and it leads to harassment, assault, rape, and even murder (Cohen, 1982; Peracca et al., 1998). Sex tourism clearly involves the exploitation of Thai women by foreigners but it points out that there is no uniformity and some prostitutes have considerable control over the relationships into which they enter and make large amounts of money (Cohen, 1982; Maticka-Tyndale et al., 1997; Peracca et al., 1998).

8.6 Implication of Thai culture and coping with socio-cultural impacts

In the analysis, it is suggested that the characteristic of Thai social structure is a loose one as there was evidence that Thais sometimes refuse to act in accordance with social regulations (Embree, 1950). Thais tend to focus on self-control and politeness in order to present a picture of smooth, kind, pleasant, no-conflict interpersonal interactions or the 'surface harmony' (Konim, 1990). Interconnecting with the high value of cool heart, it sometimes involves Thai's ego or face saving. Konim (1990) suggests that Thai people have a very big ego and a deep sense of independence, pride and dignity. The analysis suggests that there was a case of face-saving involved when Koh Samui was linked to backpacker tourists. Local people did not want to lose face and admit the truth that Koh Samui was attractive to backpacker tourists. Most important for Thais is to avoid public confrontation and to save face at all cost (Embree, 1950).

Local residents in Koh Samui welcome tourists. However, local residents avoid confrontation when they have to go into the tourist zone especially Chaweng Beach. The analysis also suggests that local residents in Koh Samui have developed a way of life adapted to coping mechanisms. To cope with the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, local people have to compromise in order to adapt their lifestyle and accept the negative impacts of tourism development. It is evident that local people in Koh Samui change their lifestyle, reorganise their daily activity and retreat from their normal life in order to avoid tourist areas. These forms of coping mechanisms are also reflected in the study of Brown and Giles (1995). Encounter avoidance is the active avoidance of others (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

From a Thai psychological perspective, it is more likely to be a defensive coping response in Koh Samui as a sense of imprisonment was expressed by local people with a suggestion that there were no escape route (McConnell, 1986). The study suggests that there is evidence of psychological stress among local people in Koh Samui due to tourism development and its socio-cultural impacts. The analysis also demonstrates that residents in Koh Samui believe in 'living with problems' but accept problems by 'placing the blame elsewhere'. In this circumstance, tourism is considered beyond 'a community benefit and development tool' and they need to

accept it. As a result, residents avoid confronting the truth and blame Isan migrant workers. Coping in a Thai context involves their religious teaching and their deeper engagement to remain harmony in the society (Embree, 1950).

8.7 Evaluation of this study

8.7.1 Overall evaluation of the research

Contribution to the knowledge

Recently, there has been significant change and major socio-cultural impacts in Thai beach resorts. However, no studies have examined the problem from a Thai perspective as most previous studies on impacts of tourism in Thailand are by outsiders such as Cohen's (1980) study of impacts of tourism in Koh Samui and Phuket; Dearden and Harron's (1992) research on socio-cultural impacts in hill tribes in Thailand; and Green's (2005) study of social change in Koh Samui. What are explained as negative and positive impacts of tourism in a Western context may be more or less relevant to a Thai context. Thus, this study aims to interpret local residents' social construction of socio-cultural impacts of tourism development and to develop a better understanding of attitudes and perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts and the associated behavioural changes in their society. This thesis also poses a challenge to the assumptions of current research and proposes an approach based on adapting Western socio-cultural impact theories to a Thai context.

Previous studies on residents' attitudes and perceptions toward socio-cultural impacts of tourism identify various relationships and factors including economic dependency on tourism industry; distance from the tourist zone; degree or stage of tourism development in the host community; type of tourists; length of residence; socio-demographic characteristics; resident and community typologies; level of knowledge; and level of contact (Andereck, et al., 2005; Carmichael, 2000; Farahani and Musa, 2008; Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Gjerald, 2005; Jackson and Inbakaran, 2006; Kuvan and Akan, 2004; Lee, Li, and Kim, 2007; Lepp, 2006; Vargas-Sanchez, Plaza-Mejjia, and Porras-Bueno, 2009). In addition to these factors, it is argued that in the case of Koh Samui, Thai Buddhism has a strong

influence on Thai social constructions and Thai culture such as Thai ego of face saving, avoidance of confrontation and living with problems. This study focuses on cultural factors in order to analyse and interpret the residents' social construction of socio-cultural impacts of tourism development as well as to explore the relevance of Western socio-cultural theories in a Thai context.

The contribution to knowledge of this study can be seen in the two areas of theory and methodology. Theoretically, this research explores socio-cultural impacts of tourism development from the perspective of local people. The study takes place in a Thai setting from a Thai perspective. What it is known about socio-cultural impacts of tourism development from "Western" studies may not be applicable in the Thai context. Additionally, this research moves the focus away from Western socio-cultural impact models to a better understanding of resident responses to impacts of tourism upon socio-cultural changes in a Thai context. This study also explores Thai psychological factors involved in explaining behaviour changes (coping mechanisms). This research explores how local residents are able to accept negative impacts, for example, they recognise only positive impacts involving avoidance of confrontation, Thai's ego of face-saving, and live with problems and apportion blame elsewhere, including Isan migrant workers.

This research also presents an additional example of the challenge of theory versus methodology. Methodologically, this research proposes a more holistic study of resident responses to socio-cultural impacts of tourism development. This study adopted a constructivist paradigm and examines the area of research from inside, using a qualitative design, which can link theory, methodology and in-depth data. Qualitative research offers new strategic tools which gives the researcher the opportunity to adapt the methodological approach to the local people in the case study regarding to the local culture.

Ethical stance

Since the research was carried out in real-life circumstances, the moral duty of the researcher was to protect participants in the research process (Bulmer, 1982; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Mason, 2002). Participants in the participant observation and

interviews were informed that the information was gathered to use for the research purpose only. The details of the researcher and study were also provided prior to taking part in the field work. Additionally, participants were notified about the nature purpose of the research and how the findings were detailed. Participants were informed the average range of time to interview and the permission to record their interviews as well as to use their personal details in the research. Importantly, participants were informed that they had the right to disagree to reveal their personal details; to refuse to answer any particular questions if the topic is sensitive in their point of view; and able to withdraw their conversation at anytime and at any stage of the interview (Robson, 1993; 2002).

Limitations of the research

The limitations were the potential bias during sampling. However, a balance of informants represented the different points of view within the area of study were approached. The typology of residents provided a balanced choice of participants due to their background and represented the different point of view in the area of study. Additionally, an interesting point about Isan migrant workers emerged from the data analysis. The study suggests that Isan migrant workers have gone through greater acculturation and adaptation to tourist culture. As this study focuses on socio-cultural changes from the perspective of local people in a Thai context, it limited by lack of access to Isan migrant workers. It is therefore recommended that Isan migrants form the basis of future study.

8.7.2 Theoretical evaluation

An explanation of the generic value and beliefs of Thai people, their tradition, religious and culture and the national characteristics of Thai people were presented and analysed. Those values and characteristics provided the essential background for more understanding of Thai culture to design a methodological approach in the primary research as well as the analysis and interpretation of findings. In this study, four theoretical models were explored in order to measure socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in Thai context: Butler's lifecycle model (1980), Doxey's

Irridex (1975), social exchange theory, and cultural change theory. The critique of these theoretical models due to their application to Thai context is examined.

- **Butler's lifecycle model**

In Koh Samui, the study suggests that the concept of the model provides a useful framework in order to enhance understanding of development processes. However, the usefulness of the model is more likely to be a general framework for description and analysis of the evolution of tourism. The study also suggests that the model also provides a useful conceptual basis for comparing an area such as Chaweng with Ban Hua thanon or Koh Samui to other destinations. Furthermore, it has value in suggesting that destinations have the potential to experience significant overall decline if appropriate planning, development, and management decisions are not made. In addition, a multiplicity of internal and external factors needs to be involved in order to emphasize the ability of tourism development in a destination. The study suggests that socio-cultural factors are also important to analyse the development of tourism. For instance, Thailand has never been colonised and they are more opened to the tourism development and westernisation.

- **Doxey's irridex model**

In this study, no evidence is presented to indicate that local residents are either harbouring or exhibiting any antagonistic feelings towards tourists. Local residents openly welcome tourist and tourism development as it is considered to be a development tool to improve their quality of life and brings economic benefits to their community. However, there is evidence to show that the relationship between local people and tourists is likely to be more commercial in the stage of apathy. It is apparent that the attitudes of local people toward tourists and tourism in a Thai context would not reach the annoyance point in Doxey's scale. The basic values of Thai Buddhism of cool heart and avoidance of confrontation remain deep in Thai culture especially in the rural society of Koh Samui. The level of local people attitudes towards tourists and tourism in Koh Samui should appropriately be euphoria-apathy-avoidance.

- **Social exchange theory**

There is apparent difference in the results obtained of social exchange theory in previous studies. It would have been expected that where local residents perceived that tourism was responsible for increased threats to their society, they would be inclined to withdraw support for tourism. However, as revealed in the findings, local residents especially in 'Extensive contact' and 'Partial contact' groups who have beneficial involvement with tourism are likely to support tourism more than those who have no benefit related tourism. Additionally, even though they have awareness of negative socio-cultural impacts brought by tourism, there is no evidence that they would withdraw their support for tourism.

Even though a couple of residents in 'No contact with tourism' group have strong negative feeling toward tourism development and claim tourism is responsible for socio-cultural impacts, residents in 'Neutral concerned with tourism' and 'No contact with tourism' groups overall express neither like nor hate toward tourism since they indirectly receive benefits of tourism by improving their quality of life. This apparent result can be explained by social exchange theory, which proposes that local people make trade-offs between costs and benefits of development and do not rationalise their response in a straightforward manner. In this case, it would appear that local residents in 'Extensive contact' and 'Partial contact' groups may be willing to accept the socio-cultural problems in exchange for the personal and community benefits which tourism offers.

Residents in 'Extensive contact' and 'Partial contact' groups both have greater concerns over the various economic attributes of their community, whereas local residents in 'No contact with tourism' group do not feel concerned with economic issues relating to tourism such as tourist numbers and attractiveness of investment in their community. It can be implied that tourist numbers and the economic state in their community are the highest concerns for residents in 'Extensive contact' and 'Partial contact' groups and this demonstrates a significant difference from residents in 'No contact with tourism' group. This is likely due to the fact that residents in 'No contact with tourism' group have less economic opportunity than the other three groups. In addition, even though residents in 'Extensive contact' and

‘Partial contact’ groups have not received economic benefits to the point that they may have expected, their interest in ongoing tourism development and optimism for future benefits still continues.

For residents in the ‘Partial contact’ group, generally of lower economic status, concerns over the socio-cultural impacts may not be simply as relevant as economic state in contributing to overall quality of life. McMinn and Cater (1998) also found in their study in Belize that the highest levels of enthusiasm for tourism related economic benefits are among low-income groups. For residents in ‘Extensive contact’ group, interest over the quality of socio-culture would appear to be more closely tied in with economic dependency. Many scholars support that economic reliance on tourism has been found to be an important discriminator of attitudes toward tourism development (Ap, 1990; Galasson et al., 1992; Madrigal, 1995; Murphy, 1981; William and Lawson, 2001). It also demonstrates that residents in ‘Neutral concerned with tourism’ and ‘No contact with tourism’ groups are more concerned with ongoing socio-cultural quality as this is likely a contributing factor in their sense of belonging and community attachment. Belisle and Hoy (1980), Gursoy and Jurowski (2002), Korca (1998), and Pizam (1978) found that residents, who have a high sense of community attachment, have negative attitudes toward tourism development.

In a Thai context, the study suggests that local residents seem to have less knowledge of the problems and negative impacts of tourism development in the exchange process due to the fact that Buddha teaching is remained deeply in Thai society in the respect of living with problems. Instead, they are more open to positive benefits. In the case of Koh Samui, it demonstrates that local people need to accept tourism and slightly overlook its negative since the price of coconut has gone down as they need something to rely on. As a result, this might incline the balance of the exchange process in favour of tourism more so than elsewhere.

- **Culture change theory**

It is clear that cultural change theory provides models and rationales for observed behavioural patterns in the process of interaction between tourism parties and

tourists as a distinct culture. However, it is evident from the findings that the significant change of culture seems to be occurring in migrant workers or labourers from Isan rather than in local people. The cultural change process is structured in this matter due to the interactions between Isan migrant workers and tourists. In the long run, some of these migrant workers would become local residents and the cultural change seems to be acculturating with these migrant workers.

Cultural change theory is apparently linked with social exchange theory. If cultural expression is dependant on an individual's learning, the willingness to learn would depend on the exchange of costs and benefits too. Residents in 'Extensive contact' and 'Partial contact' group were willing to learn English and the tourist's culture during the socialisation process as they weighed benefits more than costs received from tourists. It is also evident that some in the Isan community imitate tourists' outfits such as tank tops, mini-skirts, and shorts to attract male tourists to the bars. This phenomenon leads to change in cultural practice and cultural change in an individual group eventually. Furthermore, these changes in each tourism party also lead to an acculturation process and eventually adaptation. However, each party, both Isan migrant workers and tourists, has its own power in the change process that can influence the type of experiences and the provision of maximum personal satisfaction within the group.

The analysis suggests that four acculturation strategies that are proposed by Berry (1997) may be adopted by local residents in Koh Samui. It can be said that residents in 'Extensive contact', 'Partial contact' and 'Neutral concerned with tourism' are more likely to adopt the integration strategy to adapt to tourist culture. On the other hand, residents in 'No contact with tourism' are more likely to adopt the separation strategy. For Isan migrant workers, it is possible that they adopt both integration and assimilation to tourist culture as the study demonstrates that some Isan migrant workers, who had higher education, seek to participate with local people and tourists, but had less participation with other Isan people in Koh Samui. However, the majority of Isan migrant workers did not only seek to participate with their own cultural group but were also keen on tourist's company.

The analysis also suggests that the young generation has more ability to adapt to tourist culture than old generations among local residents. Additionally, the study suggests that Isan migrant workers may have gone through much greater adaptation to tourist culture than local residents. When individuals judge acculturation experiences as smooth and without problems, these behavioural changes lead to the processes of adaptations (Berry, 1997); however, social identity explains that individuals maintain their ethnic identity in many different levels related to self-esteem of each individual (Tajfel, 1981). In this circumstance, a sense of belongingness and attachment is the key answer.

The findings show that local people have a higher sense of attachment and belonging to their community than Isan migrant workers. Tajfel (1981) mentions that sense of belongingness and attachment assists in enhancement of self-esteem. It can be explained that local people willingly adapt to tourist culture because they rely on benefits from tourism. However, a high sense of belongingness and attachment assists local people in boosting their self-esteem in order to maintain their ethnic identity. On the other hand, Carter's cultural expression web can explain this circumstance as the theory states that cultural expressions link to each other and strong cultural expressions provide resistance to the culture change. In this sense, belongingness and community attachment in local residents is considered as a strong cultural expression that links and helps to maintain other specific behaviours.

8.7.3 Methodological evaluation

The choice of using a constructivist paradigm with qualitative approach is the appropriate decision because this study examines in-depth local resident's social constructions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in the setting of Koh Samui. The advantage of using a qualitative approach is that it allows more flexible choices of method to commit much deeper data due to the unique characteristic of a Thai context. In regard to choices of data collection techniques, semi-structured interviews and participant observation are considered appropriate. The participant observation helps to gain insight and understanding about local people's way of life and the interaction between them and tourists through the

participant's eyes as well as it helps to build trust and connection, which is very important in Thai context as Thais normally conceal their expression while socialising with unfamiliar faces (Browell, 2000).

The semi-structured interview is suitable in the sense that the detail of local residents is comfortably and flexibly reviewed with the open-ended questions. Additionally, the face to face interview is suitable in the way that Thais normally avoid public confrontation and inconsistency; therefore, Thais would act with a degree of insincerity and reticence if they consider that their answer would cause a conflict in the society. However, there was a difficult part in the interview that was to persuade the participants to give some time and answers directly to the questions. However, everything ran smoothly in the interview session. In term of the design of questions to be used for the semi-structured interviews, it is the open-ended free elicitation questions which encourage the participants to feel free to answer the questions and explain more their opinion. The outcome from this kind of question is very rich data.

Snowballing and theoretical sampling was considered the appropriate techniques because the study is about the local people who experience socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in Koh Samui. Snowball sampling technique is suitable in order to identify key informants from a contact based across a range of different locations in Koh Samui. Informants were selected on the basis of emerging theoretical focus as well as being recruited with a range of different experiences and perspectives until the data achieved theoretical saturation point.

8.8 Suggestions for the sustainable development and management of Thai beach resorts

8.8.1 Implications for the planning authorities

Communities seeking to increase tourism should recognise the complex nature of tourism development. It is important to all of these groups to be the social benefits that can be derived from tourism. This suggests that internal marketing campaigns may help to reduce the potential for opposition and to explain the social benefits of

tourism to the host community. One of the most significant implications of the study is the importance of maintaining the reliability of the social and cultural structure of society. While residents now believe that tourism has a negative relationship with its surrounding socio-culture, their willingness to overlook these issues may be short-lived, as they are called upon to make greater sacrifices on their quality of life. Therefore, it becomes important for both the corporate and state sectors to give priority to social and cultural concerns and to incorporate appropriate programmes into the national tourism development plans. Moreover, investors and developers seeking the support of the host community should promote their social and cultural interests not only to their customers but also to the community. In the final analysis, the relationship between business and community needs to operate in a symbiotic manner much like a partnership. As Matheison and Wall (2006) state, it is impossible to separate the socio-culture from economy in the long run.

8.8.2 Implication for internal migration policies

In Thailand, internal migration has been viewed favourably in economic development. Isan workers have thought that migration is a desirable process to escape from traditional agriculture and earn better money and lifestyle in a growing tourism industry. Numerous studies have showed that numbers of people migrating for jobs continue to increase and exceed the numbers of job creation in the developing countries. In addition, many studies show that the numbers of internal migration significantly go beyond the capacity of both tourism industry and local social services that can take up these workers effectively. In present, internal migration in Thailand, especially in Isan people, continues to worsen and local people and many of these migrant workers get serious unemployment problems.

Migration can cause to worsen the structural imbalances in the local tourist area. In Thai context, internal migration extremely increases the numbers of job seekers into the host areas and this affects the demographic change in the host areas as well. In addition, internal migration influences on the development process in the host areas and causes the stressful of unemployment and underemployment in local tourist areas including socio-cultural impacts of migrant workers to local communities.

Therefore, it is important to recognise the importance of internal migration and to understand the relationships between migration and the circulation of population as well as economic state in the host areas in order to design an analytical framework to improve the development policy related to demographic and structural imbalances. It is also necessary to understand better not only why people move and what factors are most important in their decision-making, as well as the consequences of internal migration for economic and socio-cultural development of local tourist areas.

8.9 Opportunities for further research

Previous studies have suggested that resident attitudes are influenced by the level of economic activity in an area (Belisel and Hoy, 1980; Pizam, 1978). This study was conducted into many areas in Koh Samui including tourist zones and non-tourist zones of activity. However, despite these common characteristics, the destinations, in which they are located, are at different stages of the tourism development cycle. Therefore, it would seem reasonable to assume that the dominating level of tourist activity and commerce would influence the perceptions of local people in communities within the particular country. However, there is a need to develop and expand the five resident typology categorisations ('Extensive contact' - local people who had regular direct contact with tourists and depended on tourism; 'Partial contact' - local residents who had regular contact with tourists, as well, but they were not reliant on tourism for work; 'Neutral concerned with tourism' - local residents who had indirect or no frequent contact with tourists and received only a part of their income from tourism; 'No contact to tourism' - local people who had no contact with tourists or saw them only in passing; and 'Local authorities' - local people who worked in Koh Samui City Council, Koh Samui Tourism Authority, and Koh Samui Tourism Trade Organisation) in further research. This would enable a greater understanding of those areas and further verify the typology conceptual framework. In a Thai context, the recognition of a new resident typology, that of Isan migrant workers, may enable a more accurate understanding of a community's makeup and societal and cultural reality. In studying these varying points of view, a greater consensus pertaining to the direction future community development and socio-cultural impacts of tourism should take may be achieved.

In socio-cultural impact studies, it should be considered that there is not only host-guest interaction, but also host-migrant workers and internal migrant workers-tourist interaction. This study found that Isan migrant workers have a greater level of acculturation and adaptation to tourist culture than other ethnic groups in Thailand. From this perspective, it is of interest to the researcher to continue her research on Isan migrant workers as a new research project. For further research, the influence of cultural and psychological factors should be considered in order to analyse and interpret local residents' social constructions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism and their associated behaviour changes, as well as their responses toward socio-cultural changes.

This study suggests that culture has strong influence on local residents' social constructions. In a Thai context, remaining in harmony is significant for Thai people so they avoid conflict at all cost in the society. Thai people avoid openly criticising face to face as it might ruin other persons' ego. Therefore, it is suggested participant observation and individual semi-structured interviews are suitable methods to collect data from Thai people. The researcher can build connections and trust with informants through participant observation. Later on, the informants would feel comfortable with the researcher and be willing to talk more in the interviews. For further study, it is suggested that the methodology of data collection should correspond or relate to local culture.

Finally, it is hoped that this research may enable a better understanding of the residents of a Thai beach resorts attitudes towards tourism, in particular their perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development and the associated behavioural changes in their society. Further research could better enable the formulation and implementation of specific issues mentioned relating to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism as viewed in a Thai context.

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Appendices

Content of the Appendices

Appendix 1: An example of the interview protocol (Thai and English version)

Appendix 2: An example of the interview transcription (Thai and English version)

Appendix 3: Information sheet for interviewees (Thai and English version)

Appendix 4: Ethical consideration

Appendix 5: Risk assessment

Appendix 6: Impacts from the interaction between hosts and tourists consistent with other studies

Appendix 7: Social consequences of tourism development consistent with other studies

Appendix 8: Physical impacts of tourism development consistent with other studies

Appendix 9: Cultural impacts of tourism development consistent with other studies

Appendix 10: Politics in Koh Samui consistent with other studies

Appendix 1: An example of the interview protocol

Thai version

ชื่อ.....วัน/เดือน/ปี.....

คุณได้รับเอกสารอธิบายรายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับการสัมภาษณ์หรือไม่? (ถ้าไม่ได้รับหรือลืม แสดงเอกสารให้ผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์อ่านอีกทีหนึ่ง)

คุณมีข้อสงสัยเกี่ยวกับรายละเอียดในเอกสารแจกแจงหรือไม่? (ถ้ามี ผู้สัมภาษณ์ต้องอธิบายให้ชัดเจน)

อธิบายรายละเอียดดังต่อไปนี้ก่อนการสัมภาษณ์:

- จุดประสงค์ของการสัมภาษณ์

การสัมภาษณ์มีจุดประสงค์ในการเก็บข้อมูลความเห็นของผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์เกี่ยวกับผลกระทบทางสังคมและวัฒนธรรมจากการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุย จังหวัดสุราษฎร์ธานี ประเทศไทย คุณถูกคัดเลือกให้เป็นหนึ่งในผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์เพื่อที่จะให้ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวและปัญหาผลกระทบเกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวทางค่ายสังคมและวัฒนธรรมในเกาะสมุยและสังคมไทยแก่ผู้สัมภาษณ์ จุดประสงค์ของการสัมภาษณ์นี้คือการทำความเข้าใจประสบการณ์เกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวและปัญหาต่างๆทางด้านสังคมวัฒนธรรมที่เกิดจากการท่องเที่ยวที่ได้รับจากผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์ ผู้สัมภาษณ์จะถามคำถามแก่ผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์ทั้งข้อมูลส่วนตัว ข้อมูลด้านการทำงานและความคิดเห็นต่อการท่องเที่ยวและปัญหาต่างๆที่เกิดจากการท่องเที่ยว

- **การเผยแพร่**

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการทำวิทยานิพนธ์ระดับปริญญาเอกที่มหาวิทยาลัยบอนนัมัท ประเทศอังกฤษ

- **ข้อมูลของผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์**

ข้อมูลส่วนตัวของผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์จะถูกเก็บเป็นความลับและไม่มีการจัดชื่อและข้อมูลส่วนตัวของผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์ไว้เป็นหลักฐาน

- **ระยะเวลาการสัมภาษณ์**

การสัมภาษณ์ใช้เวลาประมาณหนึ่งถึงหนึ่งชั่วโมงครึ่ง

- **การบันทึกเทปการสัมภาษณ์**

ผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์ยินดีที่จะอนุญาตให้บันทึกเทปขณะที่ทำการสัมภาษณ์หรือไม่

- **ผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์มีคำถามเพิ่มเติมจากนี้หรือไม่**

๑. ข้อมูลพื้นฐาน

- อายุเท่าไร
- ทำงานอะไร
- อาศัยอยู่ที่เกาะสมุยนานแค่ไหน
- มาอาศัยอยู่ที่เกาะสมุยได้อย่างไร
- ในหนึ่งวันมีการพบปะพูดคุยหรือทำงานร่วมกับนักท่องเที่ยวต่างชาติบ่อยแค่ไหน

๒. ข้อมูลเกาะสมุย

- เมื่อก่อนชาวบ้านทั่วไปในเกาะสมุยประกอบอาชีพอะไรก่อนที่การท่องเที่ยวจะเกิดขึ้น

- ชายหาดไหนที่เป็นที่นิยมในหมู่นักท่องเที่ยว
- คิดว่าเกาะสมุยเนี่ยยังคงความเป็นชนบทอยู่หรือเปลี่ยนแปลงเป็นสังคมเมืองแล้ว
- อะไรที่ทำให้ยังอาศัยอยู่ในเกาะสมุย
- ช่วยเล่าประสบการณ์เกี่ยวกับการอยู่อาศัยในเกาะสมุย

๓. ข้อมูลการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุย

- ช่วยเล่าประสบการณ์เกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุยในความคิดส่วนตัวและในแง่ของอาชีพ
การทำงาน
- รู้สึกอย่างไรในการเติบโตทางการท่องเที่ยวในสมุย
- ชอบอะไรมากที่สุดเกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุย
- ไม่ชอบอะไรมากที่สุดเกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุย
- การเติบโตทางการท่องเที่ยวมีผลกระทบต่อโอกาสของชาวบ้านท้องถิ่นในแง่ใดแง่หนึ่ง
- การท่องเที่ยวมีผลกระทบต่อเกาะสมุยและชุมชนอย่างไร ทั้งข้อดีและข้อเสีย
- คิดว่าการพัฒนาทางการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุยเป็นที่น่าสนใจแก่นักท่องเที่ยวมากกว่าชาวบ้าน
มั๊ย

๔. ข้อมูลผลกระทบทางด้านสังคมและวัฒนธรรมจากการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุย

- คิดว่ามีผลกระทบทางด้านสังคมและวัฒนธรรมจากการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุยมั๊ย
- ถ้ามี คิดว่าอะไรคือข้อดีของผลกระทบทางด้านสังคมและวัฒนธรรมจากการท่องเที่ยวใน
เกาะสมุย
- ถ้ามี คิดว่าอะไรคือข้อเสียของผลกระทบทางด้านสังคมและวัฒนธรรมจากการท่องเที่ยวใน
เกาะสมุย

- คิดว่าชีวิตครอบครัวมีผลกระทบจากการเติบโตทางการท่องเที่ยวหรือไม่
- การใช้เวลากับครอบครัวมีผลกระทบจากการท่องเที่ยวหรือไม่
- คิดว่ามีการอพยพมาเกาะสมุยเพื่อทำงานทำในด้านการท่องเที่ยวหรือไม่
- คิดวิถีชีวิตในชุมชนชาวบ้านมีผลกระทบจากการท่องเที่ยวหรือไม่
- รู้สึกเครียดหรืออึดอัดเวลาเห็นนักท่องเที่ยวต่างชาติ
- คิดว่าการปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชาวบ้านและนักท่องเที่ยวจะทำให้ทัศนคติของชาวบ้านต่อการท่องเที่ยวเปลี่ยนไปหรือไม่
- รู้สึกว่าวิถีชีวิตเปลี่ยนไปมั้ย
- รู้สึกว่าชาวบ้านมีการเลียนแบบวัฒนธรรมของชาวต่างชาติมั้ย
- รู้สึกปลอดภัยมั้ยตั้งแต่การท่องเที่ยวเติบโต
- ถ้ามี อยากเห็นปรับเปลี่ยนอะไรเกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุย
- จะมีวิธีแก้ปัญหาที่กล่าวมาอย่างไรบ้าง (สำหรับหน่วยงานที่เกี่ยวข้อง)
- มีนโยบาย การวางแผนหรือการบริหารจัดการผลกระทบทางด้านสังคมวัฒนธรรมจากการท่องเที่ยวอย่างไร (สำหรับหน่วยงานที่เกี่ยวข้อง)

๕. บทจบการสัมภาษณ์

- มีข้อมูลอะไรที่ต้องการจะกล่าวเพิ่มเติมมั้ย
- มีคำถามอะไรเกี่ยวกับการสัมภาษณ์หรืองานวิจัยชิ้นนี้เพิ่มเติมมั้ย

ขอบพระคุณเป็นอย่างสูงในความร่วมมือและสละเวลาในการให้ข้อมูลในการสัมภาษณ์

English version

Interviewee:.....**Date:**.....

Have you received the information sheet? If not or can't remember show now.

Are you happy with what is in the information sheet before we start the interview? Clarify any matters.

Go over the following details before start:

• **Purpose of interview**

This is semi-structured interviews to gain an insider's view of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in Koh Samui, Thailand. You have been selected as a key informant to enable me to gain an understanding of local tourism and issues of socio-cultural impacts in Koh Samui and a Thai context. The objective is to understand experiences of tourism development and its socio-cultural impacts in Koh Samui from your perspective. I will ask you questions about your personal and professional experience and attitude towards these matters.

• **Dissemination**

The research will form the basis of my PhD at Bournemouth University.

• **Anonymity**

You will remain completely anonymous and no records of the interview will be kept with your name on them.

• **Length of interview**

It will be about one to one and a half hours – is that OK with you?

• **Permission to record**

Are you happy if I record the interview?

• **Do you have any questions before we begin?**

1. Background questions

- How old are you?
- What do you do for a living?
- How long have you lived here?
- How did you come to live here?

- How often do you participate with foreign tourists in a day?

2. The Koh Samui setting

- What did local people do for a living before the introduction of tourism in Koh Samui?
- Which beaches are famous for tourists?
- How do you feel Koh Samui becomes more urban society?
- What are the attractions for you of living in Koh Samui?
- Tell me about your experience of living in Koh Samui.

3. Tourism development in Koh Samui

- Tell me about your experience of tourism in Koh Samui in a personal sense and professional sense?
- How do you feel about the growth of the tourism in your town?
- What do you like best about the tourism activities taking place in your town?
- What do you dislike most about the tourism activities taking place in your town?
- How do you feel that tourism has affected the opportunities for local people in any way?
- How does tourism affect Koh Samui and your community? In a positive and negative sense?
- How do you feel that as a result of tourism development is more in the interest of visitors as opposed to locals?

4. Socio-cultural impacts of tourism development in Koh Samui

- What are the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in your town?
- If any- Do you think what it is the most advantage impact of tourism on your social and culture in your town?
- If any- Which is the worst impact of tourism on your social and culture in your town?
- How do you feel that family life is affected by tourism in any way?

- What is the amount of time that you spend with your family altered in any way during the tourism season?
- What do you think that many people move to Koh Samui in order to find employment?
- How do you feel that community life is in any way affected by tourism?
- How do you feel that resentment or stress exists between local people and tourists?
- What do you think that encounters between tourists and local people can lead to a change in the attitude of local people?
- How do you feel that your way of life is temporarily altered in any way during the tourists season?
- How do you feel that local people alter their behaviour in an attempt to copy the behaviour of tourists?
- What do you think that you are feeling of safety and security in any way affected during the tourist season?
- If any- What changes would you like to see take place?
- How to solve problems mentioned earlier? (for local authorities)
- Policy, planning and managerial perspective towards socio-cultural impacts (for local authorities)

5. End

- Would you like to provide any other information?
- Do you have any questions about the interview or project?

Thank you

Appendix 2: An example of the interview transcription

Thai version

ถาม : คุณอาศัยอยู่ในเกาะสมุยมานานเท่าไรแล้ว

ตอบ : ประมาณยี่สิบเอ็ดปี จริงที่เกิดและเติบโตที่สมุยตามีช่วงหนึ่งไปเรียนและทำงานที่
กรุงเทพ

ถาม : พี่ช่วยเล่าชีวิตตอนเด็กด้วยไม่ค่ะ ชีวิตประจำวันเมื่อคนเค้าทำอะไรกัน แล้วเกาะสมุยเป็น
ยังไงเมื่อก่อน

ตอบ : ในด้านชีวิตประจำวัน แต่ก่อนจะเป็นสังคมที่มีน้ำใจดีดูแลซึ่งกันและกัน เมื่อก่อนตอน
เป็นเด็ก อาจารย์ที่มาจากฝั่งแผ่นดินใหญ่ จากสุราษฎร์ธานี ก็ดี จังหวัดอื่น ก็ดี เขามักจะสอนพวก
เราว่า ถ้าออกไปจาก เกาะนี้ ไปที่อื่น ๆ ถ้ามีใครมาถามว่าเป็นคนจังหวัดไหน ไม่ต้องตอบว่า
เป็นคนสุราษฎร์ แต่ให้บอกว่าเป็นคนเกาะสมุย คือภาพลักษณ์ของเกาะสมุยจะเป็นคนโอบอ้อม
อารี และ เอาใจใส่กับผู้มาเยือน ดูแลผู้มาเยือน ภาพลักษณ์ของคนสมุย จะเป็นคนเอื้อเฟื้อเผื่อแผ่
มีน้ำใจโอบอ้อมอารี

ถาม : แล้วภาพลักษณ์ของคนสมัยก่อน วิถีชีวิตคือ ทำอะไร? ก่อนการท่องเที่ยวเข้ามา

ตอบ : วิถีชีวิตของคนสมุย สมัยก่อนมีการท่องเที่ยวเข้ามา พวกเราจะมีความสุข คนเกาะสมุย
จะมีความสุขสนุกสนาน ลูก ๆ คนบนเกาะทุกคนจะถูกส่งไปเรียนที่กรุงเทพฯ หลังจบ ม.ศ. 3
ไปเรียนกรุงเทพฯ ๑ ด้วยเรือกลไฟว่าจะถึงกรุงเทพฯ ๑ 1 – 2 อาทิตย์ เพราะเรือต้องรับ และส่ง
สินค้า ไม่ต้องเสียค่าใช้จ่ายในการเดินทาง แต่ต้องเป็นของ ๆ เราเอง ที่จะส่งไปกับเรือ พอมา
รุ่นนี้ การคมนาคม และ ขนส่งเจริญขึ้น มีเรือข้ามฟากแล้วไปต่อ รถไฟ อีกที และได้ถามว่าวิถี

ชีวิตเป็นอย่างไร คนสมัยมีสวนมะพร้าว มะพร้าวในสมัยนั้นกับสมัยนี้ราคาแตกต่างกันมาก ตอนนั้นราคาลูกละ 1.- บาท บางครั้งก็ขึ้นมาเป็น 3.- บาท แต่ที่ดินนั้นก็จะเป็นแปลงใหญ่ ๆ เพราะว่ามันยังไม่ถูกแบ่งออกไป เป็นมรดกให้ลูกหลาน เพราะฉะนั้นคนสมัยจะมีความเป็นอยู่ที่อุดมสมบูรณ์ ใน 45 วันจะได้เงินจากการเก็บมะพร้าวต่อครั้ง แต่ผลิตผลไม่แน่นอน ดังนั้นเมื่อการท่องเที่ยวเข้ามาในสมัยเป็นเรื่องที่น่าเศร้าใจ เลย ๆ คนอาจจะมองว่า คนสมัยเป็นคนซีเกียจ ไม่กระตือรือร้น แต่จริงๆไม่ใช่คนสมัยเป็นคนค้าขายไม่เป็น ดังนั้นเมื่อการท่องเที่ยวเข้ามา คนสมัยก็ยังยึดเหนี่ยวกับการเก็บเกี่ยวมะพร้าว ตอนหลังก็มาราคามะพร้าวตกต่ำมาก ตอนนี้ตกลูกละ 2.- บาทและอย่างมากที่สุด 3.-บาท ราคาไม่แตกต่างจากเมื่อ 20 ปีที่แล้ว เพราะฉะนั้นแล้วก็จะเปลี่ยนวิถีชีวิตเป็นไร่ผลไม้ เป็นทุเรียน เงาะ มังคุด กล้วยแล้ว กล้วยที่ขึ้นชื่อที่สุด และทุเรียนของเราอร่อยไม่แพ้เมืองนนทบุรี แต่ว่าเริ่มจะมีผลผลิตสินค้าเหล่านี้ขึ้นมา ก็ประสบปัญหาเหมือนเมืองอื่น ๆ คือ ผลผลิตล้นตลาดไม่ได้ราคา ที่นี้มันก็เลยเป็นว่า เมื่อการท่องเที่ยวเข้ามาและเพื่อความอยู่รอด โดยเฉพาะเมื่อราคาที่ดินสูงขึ้น ในช่วง 2 ปีที่แล้วก็เกิดสึนามิ นายทุน นักท่องเที่ยว / โรงแรม ก็มองที่แห่งใหม่ แล้วกลับมามองการท่องเที่ยวที่สมัย ทำให้มูลค่าที่ดินสูงขึ้นมัน เป็นที่ต้องการ ก็จะเห็นคู่ทางการซื้อขายที่ดิน ที่ดินก็จะถูกเปลี่ยนมือไป ก็น่าที่จะน่าเป็นห่วง วิถีชีวิตก็เปลี่ยนไปมาก ๆ ๆ กลายเป็นว่าเราถูกระบบทุนนิยมกำหนด แล้วไม่ใช่ว่าทุนนิยมธรรมดา แต่เป็นทุนต่างประเทศ เพราะฉะนั้นจะมาเป็นแบบดั้งเดิม จึงเป็นไปได้

ถาม : แล้วที่รู้สึกยังไงกับการท่องเที่ยวเข้ามา ชอบ หรือ ไม่ชอบ!

ตอบ : การท่องเที่ยวเข้ามาใหม่ ๆ สำหรับคนสมัย มันอาจจะดีขึ้น การทำมาค้าขายดีขึ้น แต่มาถึงตอนนี้ ณ วัน นี้ที่รัฐบาลบอกว่านโยบายการท่องเที่ยวเป็นการลงทุนน้อยที่สุด ถ้าถามพี่ พี่ว่า

เป็นการลงทุนที่มากมายมหาศาล เราต้องลงทุนด้วยทรัพยากรธรรมชาติที่ก่อสร้างมาเป็นล้านปี แล้วมาเสียในพริบตา การท่องเที่ยวภาครัฐไม่ได้มองผลกระทบเป็นอันที่หนึ่ง อันที่สองการท่องเที่ยวการพัฒนาไม่ได้เกิดมาจากภาครัฐ แต่เกิดมาจากภาคธุรกิจที่ต้องการเข้ามาเพื่อนำทรัพยากรของเรามาเป็นต้นทุน เพื่อแสวงหาผลประโยชน์

ถาม : เล่าไม่มีการวางแผนเลยหรือ

ตอบ : เล่ามีการวางแผน แต่วางแผนเพื่อธุรกิจส่วนตัว ณ วันนี้ให้มีรายได้มากที่สุด

ถาม : คือหมายความว่าแบบ ภาครัฐไม่ได้มีการวางแผน

ตอบ : ภาครัฐไม่ได้มีการวางแผน แล้วถ้ามองการพัฒนา ทางการท่องเที่ยวเราก็เหมือนลูกเมียน้อยเลยนะ ปีหนึ่งทำรายได้ให้หมื่นสี่พันล้านต่อปี แต่รัฐบาลให้งบประมาณที่สมมุติทุกปีน้อยนิดเดียวเพื่อดูแลจำนวนประชากรที่มากขนาดนี้ มันไร้เหตุผลมากเลย รัฐบาลไม่ได้สนใจเลยว่าที่สมมุติจะมีจำนวนนักท่องเที่ยวมากแค่ไหน แล้วก็พวกแรงงานอีก ก็อย่างนี้ อนาคตเนี่ยไม่ใช่แค่ชาวบ้านที่ใช้แต่นักท่องเที่ยวก็ใช้ด้วย แล้วมันก็พึ่งทุกปีแต่เทศบาลก็ไม่มีงบประมาณที่จะซ่อมแซมได้ทุกปีนะ

ถาม : พี่จริงๆเราก็พูดไม่ได้หรือเปล่า เพราะเราก็มีอิทธิพลท้องถิ่นอยู่ด้วยหรือเปล่า แล้วก็พวกคอร์ปชั่น

ตอบ : คือจริง ๆ เราต้องแบ่งเป็น 2 ส่วน คือด้านวิชาการ อย่างแรกรัฐจะต้องทำรายงานการวิจัย และต้องสร้างความพร้อมเรื่องของสาธารณูปโภค เพราะฉะนั้นให้ถนนหนทางเป็นสิ่งที่รัฐต้องเป็นคนดูแลในแง่ของการพัฒนาเกาะสมุย

ถาม : ไซ้ที่รู้ว่ามันมีงบมาทุกปี

ตอบ : ก็เป็นไปได้ อย่างที่เทศบาลรายงานว่าตอนนี้เกาะสมุยมีประชากรขึ้น 5 หมื่นแล้วแต่เราก็อู้ว่าในความเป็นจริงมันมากกว่า 2 แสนคน แล้วเทศบาลเองก็มีงบประมาณไม่เพียงพอที่จะดูแลทุกสิ่งทุกอย่าง ทุกคนในเกาะสมุย มันเป็นการรับผิดชอบมหาศาลสำหรับเทศบาลเกาะสมุยเลยนะ ที่ไม่คิดว่าเทศบาลมีงบประมาณที่จะสร้างสาธารณูปโภคและสิ่งอำนวยความสะดวกพื้นฐานเพื่อการท่องเที่ยวหรอก

ถาม : เเท่าที่ไปสัมภาษณ์ชาวบ้าน จริง ๆ ก็มีการมาซ่อมถนน แต่สักพักก็พัง

ตอบ : ซักพักก็พัง พังแล้วพังอีก น้องดูสภาพเมือง

ถาม : ก็เข้าใจพี่ แต่ว่าถ้ามันไซ้ของคุณภาพดี มันก็ไม่น่าพังเร็วขนาดนี้

ตอบ : อันนี้ก็ส่วนหนึ่งถ้าเรามองย้อนไป การบริหารจัดการเดิมเป็นสุขาภิบาล เล็กๆ ต่อมาเขาก็ยกฐานะให้เราเป็นเทศบาลตำบล เทศบาลเกาะสมุยเป็นเทศบาลที่มีความพิเศษกว่าอื่นใดในประเทศไทย เกาะสมุยต้องดูแล 252 ตารางกิโลเมตร โครงสร้างที่เพิ่งตั้งขึ้นมีขีดจำกัดเทศบาลมีคนทำงานจำกัดแค่นี้ ประชากรเยอะเท่านี้ อันที่สอง วิสัยทัศน์ของผู้บริหารเราต้องยอมรับว่าในเรื่องของการพัฒนาท้องถิ่นนี้การเมืองเป็นตัวกำหนด เพราะฉะนั้นถ้าประชาชนอ่อนแอ การพัฒนาก็ไปไม่รอด ดังนั้นคำถามที่น้องถามพี่ นี้พี่อยากบอกว่า 1. ข้อจำกัดของเราคือ พื้นที่กว้างขวาง 2. ข้อจำกัดจำนวนบุคลากร 3. ถูกจำกัดด้วยสภาพการเมืองที่อ่อนแอ 4. ปัจจัยภายนอกที่เราไม่สามารถควบคุมได้ ทุกส่วนมีความเกี่ยวข้องในการดูแลหมด แต่เนื้อือว่า ธุระไม่ใช่ มีใครยาวสาวได้สาวเอา การพัฒนาของเราเลยเกิดปัญหา มันอยู่ที่จิตสำนึก

ถาม : แล้วส่วนตัวของพี่ชอบ / ไม่ชอบที่การท่องเที่ยวพัฒนามาถึงขนาดนี้

ตอบ : จะบอกว่าไม่ชอบ มันก็เป็นไปไม่ได้ พี่ก็ได้แต่คาดหวังว่าจะมีสักวันที่เราจะมีการเมืองที่เข้มแข็ง ลดความเห็นแก่ตัว ผลประโยชน์ พี่ไม่ปฏิเสธการเมืองเป็นเรื่องของผลประโยชน์ของคนที่มาแจกแจง คือ ส่วนหนึ่งเพื่อประชาชน ส่วนหนึ่งเพื่อตัวเอง แต่ว่าปัญหาสำคัญก็คือ การเมืองมีความอ่อนแอเฉกเช่นทุกวันนี้ การพัฒนาก็คงไปไม่รอด เราก็ได้แต่คาดหวังว่าการเมืองจะเข้มแข็งขึ้น

ถาม : พี่คิดว่าคนที่นักท่องเที่ยวเข้ามามีผลกระทบต่อสังคมวัฒนธรรมใหม่? มีข้อดีข้อเสียใหม่?

ตอบ : เมื่อก่อนน่าจะมีทัศนคติที่ดีบ้าง เมื่อเริ่มต้นคนมีอาชีพบ้าง นิด ๆ หน่อย ๆ แต่พอมาถึง ณ จุดนี้ มันไม่ใช่ การท่องเที่ยวเข้ามาลักษณะอย่างนี้คนท้องถิ่นมีผลกระทบทุกอย่าง โจทย์ผู้ร้ายชุมชน ฉกชิง วิ่งราว ผลผลิตขายได้ไม่มี วัฒนธรรมการใช้จ่าย มองเห็นวัตถุนิยมจนเราต้องสูญเสียความเป็นท้องถิ่นไปและ ณ วันนี้ พี่พูดได้เลยความเป็นท้องถิ่นเราแทบจะไม่เหลืออะไรเลย คือพี่ได้ทราบว่าตอนนี้เทศบาลกำลังพยายามให้เด็กรุ่นใหม่รู้ถึงข้อดีข้อเสียของวิถีชีวิตเก่าแก่ แล้วพยายามให้เขาารู้โดยใส่ในตัวบทกฎหมาย พี่ยังทราบมาว่าจะมีการเพิ่มกฎที่จะควบคุมการเปลี่ยนแปลงของชุมชน

ถาม : ตัวพี่คิดว่าสมุยปลอดภัยไหมในปัจจุบันนี้

ตอบ : ไม่ปลอดภัย ในเมื่อเราทุกคนที่มาอยู่มีทั้งคนงาน เดินไปตามร้าน ก็มีคนต่างชาติ แรงงานทั้งนี้ทั้งนั้นไม่มีความปลอดภัยในชีวิตและทรัพย์สิน แล้วถ้าเราเดินไปตามถนนหรือตามร้านค้าเนี่ย เราจะเห็นเลยว่าแม้แต่นักท่องเที่ยวต่างชาติ คนวานต่างด้าวที่แอบเข้าเมืองผิดกฎหมายมา

ทำงาน พี่สรุปเลยว่าจะไม่ปลอดภัยทั้งชีวิตและทรัพย์สิน แล้วมองว่าถ้าพี่เป็นอะไรตอนนี้
โรงพยาบาลไม่สามารถรองรับพี่ได้เลย มีครั้งหนึ่งเพื่อนพี่ชายที่ปวดหัวมากหลายปีแล้วแหละ
อาการหนักพอควรเลย เขาก็ไปเข้าโรงพยาบาลรัฐในสมัย ในเวลา 1 ทุ่มเรือไม่มีแล้ว บอกหมอ
ว่าปวดหัว หมอก็ให้แค่ยาแก้ปวดกลับบ้าน พอสามทุ่มนอนไม่ได้เพราะอาการหนักขึ้น
วันรุ่งขึ้นก็ส่งโรงพยาบาลเอกชน หมอบอกว่าเชื้อหุ้มสมองอักเสบ แต่โรงพยาบาลไม่มีเครื่องมือ
ส่งโรงพยาบาลทักษิณในสุราษฎร์ แต่รู้มีขนาดบอกว่าไม่มีเครื่องมือแต่โรงพยาบาลก็ยังเรียก
เก็บเงินตั้งห้าหมื่นบาท สองวันต่อมาญาติเขาก็พาไปโรงพยาบาลในสุราษฎร์ แต่อาการก็แย่มาก
แล้วแหละ หมอบอกว่าเส้นเลือดในสมองอุดตันแล้วก็สายไปแล้วที่จะทำการรักษา หมอบอกว่า
จะให้ผ่าไหม ถ้าผ่าเร็วรอดก็รอด แต่ถ้าไม่รอดก็ต้องจ่ายเงิน ญาติบอกให้ผ่า หมอผ่าเสร็จ หมอ
ให้ รอดอาการอีก 4 ชั่วโมง หมอบอกว่าให้กลับบ้าน เพราะถ้าตายที่นี้จะชนศพกลับบ้าน
ลำบาก ให้ชนใส่รถโรงพยาบาลกลับมาไว้ที่โรงพยาบาลในสมัย เมื่อรอ 4 ชั่วโมง ว่าเป็นไง
ตามความเห็นของหมอ แล้วหรือพาไปวัด ชีวิตอย่างนี้ ต่อมาเขาก็เสีย ไม่มีโรงพยาบาลรองรับ
ความปลอดภัยเลย พี่จะบอกคนอื่นเสมอว่าถ้าป่วยหรือรู้สึกไม่สบาย ถ้าสามารถข้ามไปหาหมอ
ที่สุราษฎร์ได้ก็ควรไปเลย เพราะโรงพยาบาลที่นั่นดีกว่ามาก แต่คนข้างนอกมองว่าคนสมุยมี
ค่านิยมร้ายๆ เป็นอะไรหน่อยเข้าโรงพยาบาลเอกชน พอมาตอนนี้ถามว่า เวลาไม่สบายไป
โรงพยาบาล หรือถ้าจะไปเยี่ยม ก็ต้องเช่า, เหมารถทั้งลำเลย

ถาม : ไม่มีกรฟองร้องผู้บริหารหรือ

ตอบ : พี่ว่าชาวบ้านส่วนใหญ่ไม่ค่อยเข้าใจระบบเท่าไรและคิดว่ามันจะทำให้แยกลง ลูกหลานที่
มีการศึกษาไม่ค่อยได้กลับบ้าน ส่วนใหญ่คนที่ในพื้นที่บ้าน ก็จะเป็นคนแก่

ถาม : นักท่องเที่ยวเข้ามามีผลกระทบต่อชีวิตประชาชนไหม

ตอบ : มากเลย อาหารการกินแพงขึ้น โจรผู้ร้ายชุกชุม ความปลอดภัยไม่มี ทรัพยากรแพง สมัยก่อน ก่อนที่การท่องเที่ยวจะเข้ามา พี่ไม่เคยลืดอกประดูบ้านเลยนะ เพราะทุกคนในสมัยรู้จักกันหมด แต่เดี๋ยวนี้ดูซิมิแต่แรงงานแปลกหน้าที่ทำงานที่นี่ พี่คิดว่าแรงงานที่มาจากต่างถิ่นมากกว่า จำนวนคนพื้นที่อีก ตอนนี้เวลาที่พี่เดินออกจากบ้าน พี่เห็นแต่คนแปลกหน้ามันทำให้พี่รู้สึกไม่ปลอดภัยในบ้านตัวเอง พี่เชื่อว่าพวกอาชญากรรมและพวกยาเสพติดต่างๆมาจากพวกแรงงานที่มาทำงานที่นี่ หรือพวกที่มาเที่ยวที่นี่ เคยได้ยินมั๊ยที่นักท่องเที่ยวชาวอังกฤษโดนข่มขืนหลายปีก่อน คนที่ทำไม่ได้เป็นคนพื้นที่นะแต่เป็นพวกแรงงานที่ทำงานในหมู่บ้านชาวประมง โดยเฉพาะพวกชายตัว ไม่มีคนพื้นที่คนไหนทำแบบนั้น จะเห็นแต่คนอีสานเท่านั้นแหละที่ทำงานแบบนั้น

ถาม : น้ำปะปาแพง

ตอบ : แพงมากกระอักเลือด ตอนนี้อยู่ที่ 23 บาท ตุลาคมจะขึ้นถึง 39 บาท มันแพง เป็นช่วงที่เราอ่อนแอ มันช่วยไม่ได้ เขาเลยเอาวิกฤตน้ำปะปามาเป็นโอกาสให้กับคนบางคนที่การปะปานี้คือผลกระทบที่เกิดจากการท่องเที่ยว ถามว่าต้องการ การท่องเที่ยวแบบนี้ไหม พี่ไม่ต้องการอยากย้อนเวลากลับไปในอดีต ปกติคนที่นี่ใช้น้ำบาดาลมากกว่าน้ำประปาเพราะน้ำประปาราคาแพงมากที่นี่ เดี่ยวนี้เหมือนเป็นเทรนใหม่เลย คนย้ายขึ้นไปทำรีสอร์ทบนเขา อย่างที่น้องเห็น ลองคิดๆดูนะ ถ้าคนช้่น้ำบาดาลมากๆแล้วพื้นดินที่ราบทรุดขึ้นมา แล้วสิ่งปลูกสร้างที่มากเกินบนเขา ถ้ามันถล่มขึ้นมาจะเป็นยังไง พี่ว่าเราจะได้ข่าวเกี่ยวกับหายนะอีกแน่

ถาม : การท่องเที่ยวเข้ามามีผลกระทบกับชีวิตครอบครัวอย่างเช่นตริ่งเครียดมากขึ้น

ตอบ : ชีวิตครอบครัวคือ ปัญหาการาโอเกะ ก็เป็นการสร้างปัญหาครอบครัว เพราะเป็นความต้องการดูดซับตัวเงินจากคนอีกกลุ่มหนึ่ง กลุ่มคนโบราณที่ไม่สามารถไปหาหญิงบริการดี ๆ มันก็เหมือนกับเวลาเปลี่ยนคนก็เปลี่ยน จะเห็นได้ว่าจะมีแค่คนพื้นที่บางคนไปเที่ยวที่แบบนั้น แต่ส่วนใหญ่จะเป็นคนจากที่อื่นที่มาจากที่นี่ไปเที่ยวมากกว่า มันทำให้เป็นปัญหาครอบครัว เจ้าของร้านการาโอเกะก็อยากได้เงินจากพวกคนมีอายุที่ไม่มีปัญญาจ่ายเงินแพงๆซื้อผู้หญิงอย่างว่า มันเป็นเรื่องที่ไม่ดีที่จะแสดงให้เห็น

ถาม : พี่คิดว่าการท่องเที่ยวเข้ามาสร้างโอกาสให้คนที่ท้องที่ หรือ แรงงานต่าง ๆ จังหวัดอื่นมากกว่า

ตอบ : การท่องเที่ยวที่เข้ามาไม่ได้สร้างโอกาสให้คนที่ท้องที่เลย แต่เป็นการแย่งทรัพยากรของคนท้องที่มากกว่า มันเป็นการสร้างโอกาสให้นายทุนเพียงบางกลุ่ม ณ ขณะนี้มันไม่ได้สร้างโอกาสให้ชาวบ้าน แต่ให้ประโยชน์แก่นายทุนบางกลุ่มเท่านั้น มันเป็นการสร้างโอกาสให้ต่างชาติเข้ามาครอบคลุม ครอบงำ ฉกฉวย ยึดดินแดนเรามากกว่า พี่รู้สึกว่เกาะสมุยเป็นเมืองขึ้นชาวต่างชาติผ่านการท่องเที่ยวและเศรษฐกิจ

ถาม : แล้วพี่คิดว่าสิ่งปลูกสร้างที่สร้างริมทะเลมันดูรกหูรกตาไหม

ตอบ : ใช่ มากเลย เพราะว่าคือ ผังเมืองทำเสร็จแล้วเมื่อห้าปี แต่ประกาศใช้ไม่ได้แล้ว พี่ก็ไม่ว่าทำไม แต่พี่ก็เพิ่งได้ยินว่าเค้าเพิ่งจะประกาศใช้ใหม่ แต่นั่นก็เป็นกฎหมายผังเมืองเมื่อเดือนกันยายน, ตุลาคม ปี 49 แต่เราก็มีข้อบังคับสำหรับสิ่งปลูกสร้าง แต่นั่นก็แหละ ไม่มีใครสนใจ มันเป็นการไม่เคารพกฎหมายกันซะมากกว่า อยู่ที่จิตสำนึกของคน

ถาม : อย่างที่ทราบมีการแบ่งพื้นที่เป็นสี่น้ำตาล / สีเขียว แล้วพื้นที่สีเขียวนี้ห้ามสร้างสิ่งปลูกสร้างใด ๆ ในพื้นที่ แต่ก็เห็นการสร้างกัน

ตอบ : ใช้สร้างกันหมดแล้วในพื้นที่สีเขียว เราไม่สามารถนำกฎหมายใด ๆ มาบังคับใช้ได้ ก็ก็ต้องมองว่า 1. จิตสำนึกของข้าราชการที่ยังมองเห็นผลประโยชน์ของตนเอง 2. เมื่อการเมืองอ่อนแอ เราก็ขาดจิตสำนึกกันเอง เราผู้เป็นผู้บังคับกฎหมายละเลยเอง, เห็นแก่ตัว, เห็นช่องทาง โอกาสให้นายทุนเข้าใช้เพื่อประโยชน์ของเขา

ถาม : พี่คิดยังไงกับเยาวชนรุ่นใหม่ที่นี่ การถือปฏิบัติการของนักท่องเที่ยว เช่นการแต่งกาย

ตอบ : พี่ก็เป็นห่วงนะแต่พยายามจับตาดู คือพี่จะมองอยู่ มันจะมีเด็ก 2 กลุ่ม 1. เด็กพื้นบ้านคนท้องถิ่น เด็กกลุ่มนี้ไม่คิดจะเลียนแบบ การแต่งกาย แต่จะมีปัญหาเรื่องพวกวัตดูนิยม 2. กลุ่มมาจากครอบครัวแรงงาน หญิงบริการ โดยเฉพาะจากอีสาน กลุ่มนี้น่าเป็นห่วง ราชการน่าจะดูแล กลุ่มนี้ รู้ว่าไหมว่าพี่หมายถึงอะไร

ถาม : เด็กสมัยนี้น่าเป็นห่วงไหม ตื่นมาจะใช้เซเว่น

ตอบ : มันเป็นเรื่องที่น่าเป็นห่วง เป็นสิ่งที่เรากำลังต่อต้าน โลดัส เม็กโค เซเว่น ถ้าลัดเทสโก้ มาเปิดที่ละไม ร้านชำตายแน่นอน แต่เซเว่นกับแฟมมีลีมาทก็จะแยแล้ว ร้านชำขาดรายได้และใกล้เจ๊งหมดแล้ว อย่างบางกอกแอร์เวย์นี่ก็มีการต่อต้าน เพราะมีการผูกขาด โรงแรมของเขากับนักท่องเที่ยวที่บินกับสายการบินของเขา เขาสร้างโรงแรม 5 ดาว, 4 ดาว, 3 ดาว แล้วในอนาคตเขาจะมี Guesthouse, ศูนย์การค้าและโรงพยาบาลของเขาเอง แต่ในขณะที่เดียวกัน เขาไม่ได้สร้างสัมพันธ์ที่ดีกับคนในพื้นที่ คนขับรถรับจ้างเองก็เข้าไปในสนามบินของเขา ก็ เข้า

ไม่ได้ เขาจะระบุตัวรถไว้เลย แล้วบางกอกแอร์เวย์นี่เขาจะแสวงหาจากถังผสมยูได้ไม่นาน
เขาจะโคดเคี้ยวแล้ว ก็ทำลายตัวเอง

ถาม : ตอนนี้เท่าที่ทราบมามีการต่อต้าน

ตอบ : ไซ้มีการต่อต้านทั้งระดับธุรกิจและชาวบ้าน ต่อให้เมื่อธุรกิจคุณโตมากแต่ทุกคนในพื้นที่
ต่อต้าน คุณก็จะเจ็บมากกว่าที่ให้ รั้วมี จะมีสนามบินอีกแห่งที่สมุยแล้ว ตามที่พี่รู้นะ เจ้าทำการ
สำรวจผลกระทบทางด้านทรัพยากรธรรมชาติของสนามบินใหม่เรียบร้อยแล้ว แล้วก็กำลังจะ
สร้างที่ป่าพรุหน้าเมืองสนามบินใหม่จะใหญ่กว่าแล้วก็ดูแลโดยการทำอากาศยานแห่งประเทศไทย
ไทย คือหมายความว่าการบินไทยและสายการบินอื่นๆสามารถมาลงที่สมุย เร็วเราก็จะมีตัวเลือก
มากขึ้น ทั้งสายการบิน ราคาตั๋ว ความสะดวกด้วย

ถาม : ตั้งแต่สมัยก่อนวิถีชีวิตประเพณีพื้นบ้านดีกว่านี้ พี่คิดว่ามีประเพณีพื้นบ้านหายไปไหม

ตอบ : หายไปมาก แต่มันก็หายไปตามเวลานะ เรามีการละเล่นหลายอย่าง แต่เมื่อการพัฒนาเข้า
มาส่วนใหญ่ก็หายไป อย่างเช่น ประเพณีห่อข้าว ชักพระทางน้ำ แรมหนึ่งค้ำ ชนควาย การละเล่น
หายไปมาก แต่หลายคนคิดว่าจะมีการฟื้นฟูประเพณีบางอย่างเพื่อโปรโมทการท่องเที่ยวใน
เกาะสมุย

ถาม : ที่ยังมีอยู่คือ ชนควาย

ตอบ : คือ ชนควายสมัยก่อน คือ ควายใช้ไถนา ช่วงเมษา ตกมันแล้วเอาชนกันเพื่อจะได้ลดความ
ร้อนจากการตกมัน

ถาม : คือ ปัจจุบันการชนควายนี้เป็นการพนัน หรือ การท่องเที่ยว

ตอบ : เพื่อการพนันมากกว่า และการสร้างผลประโยชน์ของคนอิทธิพลบางกลุ่ม พี่มั่นใจว่าเรารู้ว่าพี่หมายความว่าไง เพราะว่าที่ทราบ ผู้ที่มีส่วนทุกฝ่ายก็ให้มีการชนควายได้ผลประโยชน์กันหมด เจ้าของบ่อนก็ได้เงิน กำนัน / ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน ผู้มีส่วนอนุญาตก็ได้เงิน อำเภอ ตำรวจ เงินมหาศาลในวงจรมันนี่

ถาม : แล้วพี่คิดว่าการพนันชนควายนี้ มาก่อนหรือหลังจากการท่องเที่ยว

ตอบ : นานแล้วนะ เมื่อก่อนเล่นเฉพาะกลุ่มแล้วเล็กๆ ณ วันนี้มันเข้ามาทุกส่วนของสังคม

ถาม : การที่การท่องเที่ยวพัฒนาถึงระดับนี้ทั้งสิ่งปลูกสร้าง พี่คิดว่ามันเป็นการดึงดูดนักท่องเที่ยวหรือไม่

ตอบ : มันเป็นการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวที่ลอกเลียนแบบผู้อื่น สิ่งดึงดูดนักท่องเที่ยวมาเที่ยวในสมัยมีอยู่ 2 อย่าง 1. ทรัพยากรธรรมชาติที่สวยงาม 2. ความดีงามของคนในเกาชนั้น เพราะว่า พี่มองว่า ตอนนี้นั้นถูกขยับไล่ไป เราใช้ของการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวของพืชมามา เราไม่ได้เอาการพัฒนาของเมืองที่ในเชิงอนุรักษ์ คือเราเน้นการบริการการท่องเที่ยวในการขายบริการมากกว่า เรากำหนดหยุดความเจริญ พัฒนาไม่ได้ แต่เราเลือกแบ่งโซนโปรโมทได้ เช่น ความสงบ ก็หาดละไม, ชอบความครบวงจรก็ ที่เลว เหมาะกับนักท่องเที่ยวแบบไหน แต่ ณ ขณะนี้การพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวของทั้งเกาะสมุยเป็นไปในเชิงการขายบริการ คือ นักท่องเที่ยวถ้าต้องการการบริการเขาก็ไปที่ไหนก็ได้ ไม่ต้องสมุยหรอก

ถาม : แล้วพื้มองว่าน่าเป็นห่วงไหม พวกแนวทางแก้ไขให้พวกวิถีชีวิตเดิมๆไม่ให้หายไป พวก
ความมีน้ำใจ วัฒนธรรม สิ่งของพื้นบ้าน

ตอบ : พี่คาดหวังว่า การท่องเที่ยวที่มันพัฒนาไปกว้างใหญ่ ว่า พี่คาดหวังไว้เป็น 2 ส่วน 1.
ความเป็นท้องถิ่น เอกลักษณ์ การเรียกคืนอาจเป็นไปได้ 2. ภาครัฐให้มามีบทบาท ให้การ
สนับสนุนท้องถิ่น ตอนนี้เราขาดคนที่มองเห็นความขาดหาย เอกลักษณ์ ตรงนี้ เมืองนี้ถูก
เติบโตด้วยเงินทุนต่างประเทศ เป็นเงินดอลลาร์ แล้วมันแตกต่างกันมาก

ถาม : ฟันธง ชอบ /ไม่ชอบ

ตอบ : ไม่ชอบเลย พี่อยากให้เกิดะสมุยมีสาธารณูปโภคที่ครบ ถนนหนทางที่ดี คล่อง การไฟฟ้า
การปะปา การท่องเที่ยวไม่ต้องเลย แต่พี่ก็ต้องยอมรับว่าการท่องเที่ยวทำให้คุณภาพชีวิตของคน
ที่นี่ดีขึ้น ถ้าเป็นไปได้ พี่อยากให้มันกลับไปเป็นเหมือนตอนที่พี่เป็นเด็ก ก่อนการท่องเที่ยวเข้ามา
ในเกาะสมุยนะ ถึงแม้ว่าไม่มีถนนไม่มีไฟฟ้า แต่พี่ก็มีความสุข

ถาม : วิถีชีวิตเก่าๆอยากมาดู

ตอบ : เมื่อก่อนตอนเด็กๆ แม่ตื่นตี 3 ตี 4 ไปตลาด พอ 6 โมง 7 โมง ทำสวนมะพร้าว
กว่าจะกลับก็ค่ำ ๆ แม่ขายขนมจิ้น แถวนี่ไม่มีแล้ว คือแถวนี่คนสมุยส่วนหนึ่งจะถูกแปรสภาพ
ไปเป็นนักธุรกิจ แต่เป็นนักธุรกิจที่ไม่เข้มแข็ง เห็นเขาทำได้ก็อยากทำบ้าง บางคนไปภูหนี่เยี่ยมลิน
มา ตอนได้เงินมากี่ลงทุนทำโน้นทำนี่แต่ไม่ได้รู้เลยว่าทำอะไรไป คนท้องถิ่นไม่ค่อยปรองดอง
กัน ข้าราชการชอบมองว่าคนท้องถิ่นโง่ ถูกหลอก แต่ก็หลอกได้ไม่นาน มันมีความขัดแย้งลึก ๆ
ตอนนี้หาผลประโยชน์ไม่ค่อยได้แล้ว

ถาม : กังวลมั้ยว่าวิถีชีวิตแบบเก่าจะหายไปเร็วชาวบ้านจะพึ่งพาแต่การท่องเที่ยว

ตอบ : ก็กังวลนะแต่ก็เข้าใจ คนสมัยส่วนใหญ่เดี๋ยวนี้ก็ขายที่ให้นายทุนหมดแล้ว ไม่ทำอะไรทำสวนแล้วก็หันมาเปิดธุรกิจกัน พี่ก็เข้าใจว่าถ้าคนยังมัวแต่ทำสวนมะพร้าวอยู่คงอดตาย เฮ้อออ...เมื่อก่อนเราก็พึ่งพาแต่การปลูกมะพร้าวแต่พอราคามะพร้าวตกลง มันก็ไม่มีประโยชน์อะไรที่จะทำสวนมะพร้าวต่อนะ ในขณะที่เดียวกันการท่องเที่ยวก็เข้ามาในสมัย ดังนั้นคนสมัยก็มีทางออกชาวบ้านก็ต้องเลี้ยงปากเลี้ยงท้อง พี่ก็ไม่โทษเค้าหรอก แต่พี่โทษรัฐบาล ราคามะพร้าวตกลงทุกปีรัฐบาลก็ควรจะช่วยเราบ้าง แต่พี่ก็ไม่รู้ว่าช่วยที่ไหน ราคามะพร้าวมีแต่ตกลงๆ ตอนนี้ราคามะพร้าวอยู่ที่ถูกละบาทเอง

ถาม : รู้สึกยังไงกับนักท่องเที่ยว

ตอบ : ก็ไม่ได้เกลียดนะ คือมันต้องโทษรัฐบาลอีกแหละ พี่เชื่อว่าวัฒนธรรมดั้งเดิมของเราสามารถเดินไปพร้อมกับการท่องเที่ยวและความเจริญก้าวหน้าได้ ถ้าข้าราชการพวกนั้นไม่คำนึงถึงผลประโยชน์ของตัวเองและผลทางด้านเศรษฐกิจเกินไป พี่ก็หวังว่านักท่องเที่ยวควรจะรู้ว่าอะไรควรไม่ควร พี่ห่วงเรื่องการแต่งกายของนักท่องเที่ยวนะ บางคนก็เปิดอกอาบแดด มันไม่ใช่วัฒนธรรมของเรานะ แล้วพี่ก็เป็นห่วงความปลอดภัยของพวกนักท่องเที่ยวเองด้วย น้องได้ยินข่าวมัยที่มีนักท่องเที่ยวสาวชาวอังกฤษโดนข่มขืนเร็วมาเมื่อหลายปีที่แล้วนะ ปกติพี่ก็ไม่ได้จะเกี่ยวข้องกับนักท่องเที่ยวอยู่แล้ว แต่พี่ก็ห่วงเรื่องนิสัยพวกเมาอาละวาด แล้วก็การแต่งตัวไม่เหมาะสมของนักท่องเที่ยว แต่พี่ก็ทำอะไรไม่ได้อะนะ ดีที่สุดก็คือไม่ต้องไปสนใจมัน พี่ก็พยายามบอกพยายามสอนเด็กๆในเรื่องวัฒนธรรมไทยอะไรควรไม่ควร

ถาม : มีพวกนักท่องเที่ยวเบ็คแพ็คเยอะมั๊ย

ตอบ : ไม่ค่อยเยอะนะไรเกาะสมุย พี่ว่าพวกนี้ไม่มีเงินสามารถมาจ่ายค่าที่พักแพงๆได้หรอก ถ้าเปรียบเทียบนะ ถ้าพวกนี้พักที่สมุยคืนนึงเท่ากับว่าเค้าไปพักที่เกาะอื่น เช่นเกาะพะงัน เกาะเต่า เกาะอู๋ทองได้สามคืนเลย

ถาม : พี่อยากให้มีนักท่องเที่ยวเพิ่มขึ้นมั๊ย

ตอบ : ไม่อะ ไม่อยากให้เป็นเพิ่มขึ้นแล้ว พี่ก็รู้นะว่านักท่องเที่ยวทำให้เศรษฐกิจดีขึ้น แต่พี่ไม่ต้องการให้มากขึ้น

ถาม : การจราจรแย่มั๊ย

ตอบ : สมัยก่อน พี่ใช้เวลาห้านาทีจากบ้านไปเฉวง แต่เดี๋ยวนี้ใช้เวลาเกือบครึ่งชั่วโมงได้ มันน่าเบื่อ เซ็ง จำนวนคนเพิ่มขึ้นในสมุย รถก็มากขึ้น มอเตอร์ไซด์ด้วย บางทีการจราจรที่สมุยเนี่ยก็แย่มาก โดยเฉพาะช่วงวันหยุดสุดสัปดาห์ ถ้าพี่ต้องไปเฉวงหรือที่ๆมีนักท่องเที่ยวเยอะๆ พี่จะต้องออกจากบ้านล่วงหน้าหนึ่งชั่วโมงก่อนเวลา

ถาม : การจราจรมีผลกระทบต่อชีวิตประจำวันมั๊ย

ตอบ : นักท่องเที่ยวส่วนใหญ่ที่นี่จะตื่นประมาณช่วงเที่ยงๆบ่ายๆ แล้วก็ไปอาบแดด หรือไม่ก็ไปดำน้ำเกาะอื่น พวกนี้พอตกกลางคืนก็จะไปเที่ยวผับ บาร์ จนกระทั่งปิดตีสามตีสี่ พี่ต้องระวังตัวตลอดเวลาที่พี่ขี่มอเตอร์ไซด์ในช่วงเวลาที่นักท่องเที่ยวเริ่มตื่นออกข้างนอก นักท่องเที่ยวส่วนใหญ่ขี่มอเตอร์ไซด์ก็ไม่แข็งแล้วก็เกิดอุบัติเหตุ บางทีก็ทำให้ชาวบ้านที่อยู่ดีๆก็เกิดอุบัติเหตุ ดีที่สุดเลยนะ คือเสียงที่จะออกไปไหนตอนเที่ยงๆบ่ายๆ ช่วงที่นักท่องเที่ยวตื่นแล้วขี่มอเตอร์ไซด์ไปข้างนอกเนี่ย

ถาม : คิดว่ามีคนมากกว่าห้ามหมื่นคนในสมุย

ตอบ : โอ๊ยยย... ตอนนี้คนเยอะแยะไปหมดในสมุย อาจมีมากกว่าแสนห้าหมื่นคนอีก หรือว่า
ใกล้สองแสนเนียแหละ พี่แทบจะดูไม่ออกแล้วว่าใครเป็นใคร

ถาม : รู้สึกยังไงกับจำนวนคนที่เพิ่มขึ้น

ตอบ : รู้สึกไม่ปลอดภัย สมัยก่อนทุกคนจะรู้จักกันหมดในสมุย อย่างน้อยพี่ก็จำหน้าได้แล้วที่รู้ว่า
มาจากไหน แต่เดี๋ยวนี้หรอ คนเยอะเกินพี่แทบจะไม่รู้จักเลย

ถาม : ราคาที่ดินสูงขึ้น

ตอบ : ตอนนี้ที่ดินแถวหน้าหาดเต็มไปด้วยสิ่งก่อสร้าง คนเค้าก็ย้ายขึ้นไปปลูกบนเขาทั้งหมด
รู้มั้ยว่าที่ดินบนเขาเดี๋ยวนี้ราคาแพงมาก ช่วงนี้พวกนักลงทุนต่างชาติแห่เข้ามาลงทุนในสมุย แล้วก็
ซื้อที่แปลงสวยๆสร้างบ้านขาย รีสอร์ท โรงแรม คอนโดเยอะแยะไปหมด เฮ้อออ... บางครอบครัว
พี่น้องจะฆ่ากันตายเพราะที่ดินในเลวจนนั้นแหละ ที่ในเลวอย่างกับทอง มีค่ามาก เงินกับ
ผลประโยชน์บางทีก็ทำให้พี่น้องแตกคอกัน หลานตีกับป้า

ถาม : คิดว่าชาวบ้านพึ่งพาการท่องเที่ยวเกินไปหรือเปล่า

ตอบ : ธุรกิจท้องถิ่นเดี๋ยวนี้อีกพึ่งพาจำนวนนักท่องเที่ยวต่างชาติเกินไป พี่ก็ไม่รู้เหมือนกันว่ามัน
จะเกิดอะไรขึ้นถ้านักท่องเที่ยวไม่มาสมุยอีกต่อไป ที่ดินส่วนใหญ่ในสมุยโดยเฉพาะในเลวเป็น
ของต่างชาติหมดแล้ว

ถาม : ทำให้เกิดความแตกต่างทางด้านสังคมมั้ย

ตอบ : จริงๆเราก็อยู่อาศัยในบ้านไม้แบบไทยๆในสมัยก่อนแต่เดี๋ยวนี้เราต้องมีบ้านสร้างจากคอนกรีต มันไม่ใช่แค่แสดงถึงความเจริญ สะดวกสบายแต่ มันบ่งบอกถึงสถานะทางการเงินและทางสังคมของคนด้วย ก็รู้ยู่่าหลายคนขายที่ดินได้เงินมาก็เอามาสร้างบ้านใหม่

ถาม : หลายคนล้มละลาย

ตอบ : หลายคนทำธุรกิจของตัวเอง เฮ้อออ... บางคนก็ยิ่งใหญ่ คือกู้แบงมาทำธุรกิจ แต่ไม่มีความรู้ค้าธุรกิจเลย สุดท้ายก็เป๊งหนี เจ๊ง

ถาม : ทางเข้าหาด

ตอบ : สมัยก่อนตอนเด็กๆ พี่จำได้ว่าไปชายหาดกับพ่อแม่ทุกสุดสัปดาห์ ไปปิกนิก แล้วก็ใช้เวลาด้วยกัน ส่วนใหญ่พวกญาติๆพี่น้องจะไปรวมตัวกันที่หาดหน้า เป็นความทรงจำที่ดีมากเลย แต่เดี๋ยวนีไม่มีแล้ว

ถาม : อยากย้ายไปที่อื่นไหม

ตอบ : พี่เกิดที่นี่ มีช่วงหนึ่งทีไปเรียนที่กรุงเทพ แต่ท้ายที่สุดพี่ก็อยากอยู่ที่นี้ที่พี่เกิด แม้ว่ามันจะเปลี่ยนแปลงไปเยอะเพราะการท่องเที่ยว แต่พี่ก็ยังอยากจะอยู่และตายที่นี่ ไม่ย้ายไปไหนเด็ดขาด

ถาม : คิดยังไงกับสถานการณ์ปัจจุบันในสมุย

ตอบ : ตอนนี้สถานการณ์ในสมุย พี่คิดว่าอยู่ในขาลงแล้วแหละ ผู้คนทำลายธรรมชาติเกินไป เฮ้อออ... ลองมองดูรอบๆสิ แทบไม่มีป่ามีแต่ที่ดินเปล่าๆ มีแต่สิ่งปลูกสร้างแต่สิ่งที่ดึงดูดของเกาะสมุยคือธรรมชาติ ทะเล แสงแดด ทราย

ถาม : คิดว่าจะเปลี่ยนไปในทิศทางไหน

ตอบ : พี่ไม่หวังหรอก จะดีขึ้นหรือแย่ลง เงินยังเป็นสิ่งสำคัญในสถานการณ์สังคมเศรษฐกิจแบบนี้ คนอีสานแทบจะมากกว่าคนพื้นที่อื่น ไม่มีอะไรดีขึ้นหรอก

ถาม : มีปัญหาอะไรที่หวังเป็นพิเศษแล้วต้องการให้ข้าราชการที่เกี่ยวข้องดูแล

ตอบ : ทุกวันนี้เราจะเห็นเลยว่าเด็กวัยรุ่นจะนิยมแต่ของแพงมีราคา พวกมือถือเนี่ยเป็นเหมือนแฟชั่นที่ต้องมีเพื่อโชว์เพื่อน เฮ้ออ... รัฐบาลควรจะทำให้ความสำคัญกับเรื่องนี้ แล้วก็เรื่องที่คุณอีสานอพยพมาทำงานในเกาะสมุยเนี่ยแหละ เมื่อก่อนที่สมุยเนี่ยไม่เคยมีสลัมเลยนะ แต่เดี๋ยวนี้ซิพวกนี้เค้ามาตั้งชุมชนของตนเอง อีสานบน อีสานล่าง เป็นสลัมทั้งนั้น แล้วก็เห็นพวกสาวนักร้องค์ สาวบาร์เนี่ยมาจากอีสานทั้งนั้นที่เดินกับชาวต่างชาติเป็นคู่ๆ พวกนี้พยายามที่จะจับชาวต่างชาติ เพราะเค้าคิดว่าพวกนี้รวยแล้วเค้าจะได้มีชีวิตที่ดีขึ้นหรือได้ไปใช้ชีวิตในต่างประเทศ

ถาม : มีส่วนร่วมในส่วนราชการหรือไม่

ตอบ : พี่ก็อยากมีส่วนร่วมในเรื่องของการตัดสินใจเกี่ยวกับชุมชนพื้นนะ อย่างเช่น พี่ก็รู้ว่าถ้ามีเงินเนี่ยก็สามารถที่จะซื้อที่ดินทำอะไรกับที่ดินของเขาได้ แต่ว่าถ้าอยากจะสร้างอะไรที่มันใหญ่ๆ ก็ต้องขออนุญาตจากหน่วยราชการก่อน แต่ทำไมข้าราชการปล่อยให้สร้างเทศบาลโกลด์สในเขตชุมชนโดยไม่ฟังเสียงจากชาวบ้านเลย เงินมันสามารถทำอะไรก็ได้

ถาม : พูดถึงเทศบาลโกลด์ส มีที่แฉงใจมั๊ย

ตอบ : ใช่ แต่น้องรู้เรื่องหรือเปล่า ก่อนที่จะเห็นเทศบาลในแฉงอะนะ พวกชาวบ้านประท้วงกันไม่รู้ตั้งกี่ครั้งแล้ว ถ้าราชการอนุญาตให้สร้างเทศบาลในเขตชุมชน พวกร้านค้าเล็กๆก็จะแย แล้วปิดตัวลงไป น้องก็รู้ว่าสินค้าในเทศบาลถูกกว่าพวกร้านค้า มันเป็นกลยุทธ์แหละ ตอนแรกก็ขาย

สินค้าราคาถูกเพื่อทำลายคู่แข่ง แล้วพอมดคู่แข่งเค้าก็ขึ้นราคาสินค้า เมื่อก่อนชาวบ้านก็พยายามไม่ให้มาสร้างในสมัย แต่คูซังไงเค้าก็สร้างจนได้ ตอนที่ชาวบ้านประท้วง เค้าก็หยุดสร้างไป เพราะราชการเหมือนเค้าก็เข้ามาดูแล แต่เมื่อเงินเข้ามาเกี่ยวข้องกับเมื่อไหร่ ทุกอย่างก็ดูง่ายไปหมด เทศโก้เค้าฉลาด เค้ารอจนกระทั่งเรื่องเงียบแล้วเค้าก็สร้างต่อจนเสร็จ แล้วตอนนี้อย่างที่เห็น เรายังมีเทศโก้ในแถวจริงๆแล้วเค้าต้องการสร้างมากกว่านี้ นอกจากแถว เค้าต้องการสร้างที่ละไมอีก แต่ชาวบ้านที่ละไมเค้าเข้มแข็ง เค้าประท้วง เรื่องเลยเงียบไป แต่ใครจะรู้เดี๋ยวเค้าก็จะสร้างเทศโก้ อีกในละไมเร็วๆนี้ ใครจะรู้ปหน้าถ้าน้องมาสมัยอีกอาจจะเห็นเทศโก้ที่ละไมหรือที่อื่นๆในสมัยก็ได้

ถาม : วันแรกที่มาสมัยรู้สึกทุกอย่างแพงไปหมด ข้าวผัดกึ่งจานนึงเก้าสิบบาท แพงกว่าในกรุงเทพอีกก็เข้าใจว่าสมัยเป็นเมืองท่องเที่ยวเป็นเกาะ ราคาของก็ต้องแพงกว่าที่อื่นเป็นธรรมดา หรือว่าเป็นเพราะเราเป็นนักท่องเที่ยวเลยราคาแพง พี่เจอแบบนี้เหมือนกันหรือป่าว

ตอบ : ใช่เลย ทุกคนที่รู้ว่าทุกอย่างราคาแพง หาราคากิโลละร้อยก็เคยมาแล้ว ทุกอย่างเป็นไปได้หมดที่นี่ จริงๆแล้วเราก็สามารถผลิตพวกผักสดเนื้อสัตว์ได้เองนะแต่น้องก็เห็น คนมันเพิ่มขึ้น ผลผลิตบนเกาะมันก็ไม่พอ เฮ้อออ... เราเลยต้องนำเข้าอาหารมาจากแผ่นดินใหญ่ ทั้งที่เราก็มีรายได้น้อยกว่าแต่ต้องมาจ่ายของราคาแพง แต่พี่ก็ทำอะไรไม่ได้

ถาม : คิดว่าบทบาทของผู้หญิงเปลี่ยนไปมัยหลังจากที่การท่องเที่ยวเข้ามา

ตอบ : สำหรับพี่หรือ พี่ไม่คิดว่าเปลี่ยนมากนัก แต่ผู้หญิงอาจจะทำงานนอกบ้านมากขึ้น สมัยก่อนผู้หญิงจะเป็นแม่บ้านอยู่บ้านอย่างเดียว แต่เดี๋ยวนี้สถานการณ์มันเปลี่ยนไปแล้ว ธุรกิจเกิดใหม่เยอะ เราก็เลยเห็นผู้หญิงทำงานนอกบ้านมากขึ้น พี่ว่ามันก็เปลี่ยนไปในทางที่ดีขึ้นนะ ผู้หญิงได้รับการยอมรับมากขึ้นในแง่ของการทำธุรกิจ แต่บทบาทของผู้หญิงในสมัยก็ไม่เคยเป็น

ปัญหาอะไรนะ เด็กทุกคนในสมัยทั้งหญิงและชายจะถูกส่งไปเรียนต่อที่กรุงเทพหลังจากจบชั้น
ประถม ดังนั้นพี่ว่าทุกคนเสมอภาคนะ

ถาม : แล้วพวกภาษาท้องถิ่น พี่ลืมภาษาท้องถิ่นบ้างมั๊ยเวลาที่พี่ไปเรียนในกรุงเทพเป็น
เวลานานๆ

ตอบ : ไม่นะ มันเป็นเรื่องชาติญาณมั้ง มันเป็นเรื่องที่เคยชินตั้งแต่เกิด มันยากที่จะลืม แต่พี่ว่าเด็ก
สมัยนี้หายากที่จะพูดภาษาท้องถิ่นได้ดีกว่าภาษากลาง ภาษาอังกฤษเดี๋ยวนี้ก็สำคัญแต่ก็ไม่ได้
หมายความว่าพวกเราแล้วก็เด็กๆจะลืมภาษาท้องถิ่นที่พี่พูดมาเนี่ยไม่รวมถึงลูกๆเด็กอีสานที่ย้าย
มาทำงานที่นั่นนะ พวกนั้นแตกต่าง สำหรับพี่ พี่ว่าเค้าแปลกๆ พวกนั้นเค้าชอบหาสามีต่างชาติแล้ว
ก็สอนเด็กๆลูกๆเค้าให้หาสามีฝรั่งเหมือนกัน ดังนั้นภาษาอังกฤษจะสำคัญมากสำหรับคนพวกนั้น
แต่สำคัญคนละจุดประสงค์กับคนสมัยนะ

ถาม : สังเกตว่าคนสมัยนี้ชอบอยู่ใกล้ชิดกัน ปลูกบ้านใกล้ญาติพี่น้อง

ตอบ : ใช่แหละ แต่มันมีเหตุผลเหมือนกันนะ สมัยก่อนเนี่ยพี่จำได้ว่าเราอยู่กับแบบครอบครัว
ใหญ่ พี่อยู่กับพ่อ แม่ พี่ชายพี่สาวหลายคน ลุง ป้า น้าเขย แล้วก็ปู่ย่าตายายด้วย แต่เดี๋ยวนี้มัน
เปลี่ยนไปแล้ว มันเป็นสังคมเมืองมากขึ้น ตอนปู่ย่าตายายพี่เสียเนี่ย พ่อแม่พี่แล้วก็พวกพี่น้องเค้าก็
ได้ที่ดินเป็นมรดก ที่ดินก็ติดๆกันนะ หรือไม่ก็สิ้นใหญ่ๆตัดแบ่งกัน ตอนนี้อยู่บ้านพี่ก็ปลูกอยู่ใกล้ๆ
กลับญาติพี่น้อง ก็อยู่ในบริเวณเดียวกันนะ มันเหมือนชุมชนนะ มันก็คือออกที่อยู่ใกล้กัน แต่
อย่างไรก็ตามอย่างที่พี่บอก เวลานี้มันเปลี่ยนไปแล้ว คนก็เปลี่ยนด้วย เงินเป็นสิ่งสำคัญ บาง
ครอบครัว พี่น้องจะฆ่ากันเพราะเงินเนี่ยแหละ เวลาพี่ไ้วานใครให้ทำอะไรให้เนี่ยมันจำเป็นที่
จะต้องมีเงินเข้ามาเกี่ยวข้องด้วย ก็โทษเค้าไม่ได้หรอก พี่ก็เข้าใจเศรษฐกิจแบบนี้ที่พี่งพการ
ท่องเที่ยว แล้วถูกผูกขาดจากชาวต่างชาติ การพึ่งพาอาศัยกันมันหายไป แล้วถูกแทนที่ด้วยพวก

ระบบทุน เงินเดี่ยวนี่สำคัญสำหรับชาวบ้านเพื่อที่ ต้องการพัฒนาคุณภาพชีวิต แล้วจากจุดนี้ก็ทำให้ มีความเหลื่อมล้ำทางด้านสังคม จะเปรียบเทียบว่าใครรวยกว่า มันน่าผิดหวัง รู้มัยว่าสังคมเรา จริงๆผูกติดกับคำสอนของพระพุทธเจ้ามานาน แต่เดี่ยวนี่มันเลื่อม มันน่าเศร้า ใจสลาย สมัยก่อน ผู้คนเลื่อมล้ำกันด้วยความดี การทำความงามความดี แต่เดี่ยวนี่ไม่ใช่แล้ว ชาวบ้านสมัยนี้รวมทั้งพี่ ด้วยก็เข้าวัดน้อยลง พี่ก็เข้าใจว่าเป็นเพราะยุ่งเกี่ยวกับทำมาหากิน เราต้องการเงินเพื่อนที่จะมีชีวิต ที่ดี มันคง แล้วพี่ว่าเราก็มัวแต่ปรับเปลี่ยนชีวิตจึงเราให้เข้ากับสถานการณ์ปัจจุบัน กับวัฒนธรรม ใหม่ๆ สิ่งใหม่ๆด้วยแหละ ดังนั้นพี่ว่าเราก็คงมีความสัมพันธ์ในสังคมที่แปลกๆ มันเหมือนจะ ช่วยเหลือกัน แต่เงินก็ต้องมาด้วย มันเหมือนเป็นธุรกิจไปแล้วแต่บางครั้งก็ไม่นะ มันคงเป็นช่วง เปลี่ยนเปลี่ยนให้เข้ากับระบบทุนจากต่างประเทศมั้ง พี่ก็กลัวลึกลับๆนะว่าสถานการณ์มันจะแย่ไปกว่า นี้ พี่ไม่ยอมมีความสัมพันธ์ที่แบบเหมือนห่างไกลกับญาติพี่น้องพี่

ถาม : พี่คิดว่าราชการทำงานดีมัยที่ผ่านมา แล้วคิดว่าจะสามารถแก้ปัญหาที่พี่กล่าวมาได้มัยใน อนาคต

ตอบ : พี่ก็ยอมรับว่าการท่องเที่ยวสร้างความเจริญ คุณภาพชีวิตที่ดีมาให้คนสมุย ทำให้สมุยพัฒนา ก้าวหน้า แต่จริงๆแล้วพี่ว่าเทศบาลสมุยไม่มีอำนาจหน้าที่เกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวเลย ถ้าแต่ทำตาม นโยบาย แต่องค์กรเอกชนส่งเสริมการค้าการท่องเที่ยวที่มีอำนาจในการต่อรองเกี่ยวกับการค้าขาย การท่องเที่ยวในสมุยมากกว่า

ถาม : พี่อยากไปชายหาดบ้างมัย

ตอบ : แน่นอนชิ พี่มีแต่ความทรงจำดีๆในหลายๆที่ในสมุย พี่จำได้ว่าตอนเด็กๆเนี่ย คนไม่เยอะ ทรอกในสมัยนั้น พ่อแม่พี่แล้วก็พี่จะไปหาดเสมอกทุกสุดสัปดาห์ แม่พี่ก็จะทำอาหารเอาไปทานที่ หาด พ่อพี่ก็สอนพี่ว่ายน้ำ มันเป็นความทรงจำที่ดีจริงๆ แต่เดี่ยวนี่หรือพี่แทบจะไม่ไปเหยียบเลย

โดยเฉพาะที่เฉวง คนเยอะเกินไปทั้งคนทั้งสิ่งปลูกสร้าง มันยุ่งเหยิงไปหมด มันก็จะดิ้นจะถ้าได้
ไปพื้นที่ความทรงจำดีๆ ถ้าน้องไม่รู้จะบอกรึว่า หากเนี่ยโดยเฉพาะในเฉวงเองให้เข้าเฉพาะ
ลูกค้า นักท่องเที่ยวเท่านั้น แล้วหากส่วนใหญ่ก็เป็นของชาวต่างชาติหมดแล้ว เฮ้อออ... พี่รู้ว่าน้อง
จะพูดว่ามันมีทางเข้าหาดสาธารณะใช้มัยแต่มันจำกัดบริเวณไง มันก็สามารถเข้าไปเล่นทะเลได้
เหมือนกันแต่น้องต้องไปแข่งกับพวกนักท่องเที่ยวเป็นล้านคน พี่อยู่บ้านหรือทำอย่างอื่นดีกว่าถ้า
อย่างนั้น แล้วถ้าพี่มีลูก พี่ก็ไม่อยากให้ลูกไปบริเวณนั้นเหมือนกัน อันตรายจะตาย มีแต่คนแปลก
หน้าทั้งนักท่องเที่ยว คนงาน สมัยก่อน พี่ไม่คิดว่าพื่อแม่พี่เค้าจะเป็นห่วงหรือที่พี่ให้เล่น
คนเดียวบริเวณหน้าหาดเพราะไม่เคยมีคดีพวกข่มขืนหรือฆ่าแล้วข่มขืน แต่ถ้าพี่มีลูกแล้วต้องพา
ลูกไปหน้าหาดเนี่ย พี่จะไม่มีความสุขเลยต้องจับตาดูลูกตลอดเวลา พี่นี่ๆเลยนะมันจะไม่ใช้เวลา
ที่มีความสุขเลย

ถาม : คุณพี่จะเซ็งๆกับหลายอย่างในสมัยนะ พี่คิดจะย้ายมัยเนี่ย

ตอบ : ไม่หรอก พี่ไม่ย้ายไปไหน มันไม่ถูกหนะที่จะทำอย่างนั้น พี่เกิดที่นี้รักที่นี่ พี่ก็รู้ว่ามันมี
ปัญหาเยอะที่นี้แต่พี่ก็ทำอะไรไม่ได้ พี่ก็ต้องยอมรับมันแล้วก็อยู่กับมันให้ได้ใช้ชีวิตต่อไป
บางครั้งดีกว่าที่จะไม่รับรู้อะไรเลย ปิดหูปิดตาซะ

ถาม : พูดถึงนายกสมุขคนปัจจุบันมาจากการเลือกตั้งใช้มัย ได้ยินหลายเรื่องเกี่ยวกับนายกคนนี้

ตอบ : ไซ้ เรามีการเลือกตั้งนายกเทศบาลทุกๆสี่ปีแต่ตำแหน่งข้าราชการอื่นๆในเทศบาลแต่งตั้ง
มาจากกองกลาง จากรัฐบาลส่งมา แล้วได้ยินเรื่องอะไรมา

ถาม : เกี่ยวกับเรื่องธุรกิจของภรรยา นายสมยศ เจ้าอำนาจเอื้อประโยชน์ให้ภรรยา จริงหรือเปล่า

ตอบ : เอ่ออ... รู้ใช่ไหมว่าเค้ามาจากพรรคไทยรักไทย เค้ามีความสัมพันธ์ใกล้ชิดกับสุชาติพันธุ์ แล้วก็อัทธินิจ จริงแล้วเค้าก็มีเบื้องหลังเหมือนกัน เป็นนักธุรกิจ มีโรงแรมแล้วก็ธุรกิจอื่นๆ ในสมัย ที่นี้มีกฎหมายห้ามสร้างหรือขยายสิ่งปลูกสร้าง แต่เค้าก็ยังสร้างแล้วก็ขยายโรงแรมลงไปในทะเล คือถมทะเลขยายโรงแรมนะ มันผิดกฎหมายแต่คนก็ได้แต่เห็นแล้วก็นิทา จะทำอะไรได้นอกจากนี้ เฮ้ออ... อย่างที่พี่บอก คนของเรากฎหมายของเราอ่อนแอ การคอร์รัปชันกับการไร้ความรับผิดชอบของนักการเมืองถึงยังมีไม่หายไปไหน

ถาม : กังวลไหมที่คนส่วนใหญ่ชนชั้นกลางคนอายุมากแล้ว ส่วนรุ่นเด็กๆอาจจะไม่กลับมาที่สมุชอีกต่อไป

ตอบ : ไม่นะ คนสมัยสนับสนุนให้เด็กๆลูกหลานมีการศึกษาที่สูง ส่วนใหญ่ก็ส่งลูกหลานไปเรียนที่กรุงเทพฯ มันแค่เป็นช่องว่างระหว่างช่วงอายุแค่นั้นเอง พี่ก็สังเกตเห็นเหมือนกันว่ามีแต่คนมีอายุกับรุ่นเด็กๆที่อยู่บนเกาะ มันช่วยไม่ได้ เด็กสมัยปกติจะเรียนในสมุชจนกระทั่งอายุสิบเอ็ดสิบสอง หลังจากนั้นก็จะถูกส่งไปเรียนต่อ โดยเฉพาะที่กรุงเทพฯจนกระทั่งจบปริญญาตรี เด็กบางคนก็กลับมาถ้าพ่อแม่มีกิจการอยู่หรือเหตุผลอื่น บางคนก็อยู่ต่อที่กรุงเทพฯเพื่อทำงาน

ถาม : พี่รู้สึกอึดอัดกับนักท่องเที่ยวมั๊ย

ตอบ : สิ่งเดียวที่ทำให้พี่อึดอัดคือการที่พี่ไปหน้าหาดไม่ได้ เพราะว่าต่างชาติซื้อที่ดินบริเวณหน้าหาดแล้วเค้าก็ไม่อนุญาตให้คนอื่นเข้าไปในบริเวณเค้าหะ เฮ้ออ... พี่ทำอะไรไม่ได้หะ ไม่มีอิสรภาพในการใช้บริเวณหน้าหาด พี่ก็แค่ไม่ไปแค่นั้น

ถาม : พี่อยากจะเป็นอะไรในสมัยถ้าพี่สามารถ

ตอบ : อยากช้อนเวลา อยากทำให้ความช่วยเหลือเหลือเกิน ความมีน้ำใจในสังคมเรายังยืน อยากให้การพัฒนาทางด้านวัตถุเดินไปเท่าเทียมกับการพัฒนาจิตใจมนุษย์ สิ่งต่างๆคงจะดีขึ้นถ้าเราทำได้นะ

ถาม : ก็เข้าใจว่าชาวบ้าย้อติดกับสถานการณ์ปัจจุบันที่ไม่สามารถไปหน้าหาดได้แล้วก็อีกหลายอย่าง พี่คิดว่านักการเมืองสนับสนุนการท่องเที่ยวเพราะได้รับผลประโยชน์หรือไม่

ตอบ : แน่แน่นอน ไม่มีใครอยากพูดถึงเรื่องนี้หรอก จะเดี๋ยวดร้อนปล่าวๆ การเมืองก็เกี่ยวกับว่าพรรคการเมืองไหนได้ขึ้นสู่อำนาจไข่ม้อยแหละ

ถาม : พี่ว่าวัฒนธรรมบางอย่างหายไปมัย

ตอบ : หายไปเยอะ พี่เชื่อว่าวัฒนธรรมบางอย่างก็ยังคงอยู่กับคนแก่คนแก่ แต่เด็กรุ่นใหม่จะรู้เกี่ยวกับวัฒนธรรมของตัวเองแค่ผิวเผินเท่านั้น

ถาม : ถ้าจะมีสนามปิดแห่งที่สอง จะดีกว่ามัยถ้าสร้างสะพานข้ามจากสุราษฎร์มาสมุย เหมือนภูเก็ต

ตอบ : มีบางคนคิดเรื่องนี้เหมือนกัน พี่ว่าก็เป็นไปได้นะ แต่มันต้องลงทุนสูง แล้วพี่ว่ามันจะทำให้บรรยากาศการเป็นเกาะหายไปเพราะนักท่องเที่ยวจะมาจะไปเมื่อไหร่ก็ได้

ถาม : จริงๆคิดถึงการลดการทำการตลาด เราสามารถจำกัดจำนวนรถและระยะเวลาที่อยู่ใน
เกาะของนักท่องเที่ยวได้ไหม

ตอบ : มันเป็นไปได้แต่มันจะมีผลกระทบในส่วนของที่พักมากเลยนะ เพราะว่ามันสะดวกใจที่
จะมาที่นี่ ดังนั้นนักท่องเที่ยวไม่จำเป็นต้องพักที่สมุยก็ได้ เพราะค่าโรงแรมที่นี่ราคาหมื่นบาทต่อ
คืน แต่โรงแรมที่สุราษฎร์ราคาพันบาทต่อคืน นักท่องเที่ยวก็มาเที่ยวสมุยตอนกลางวัน ส่วน
กลางคืนก็กลับไปนอนที่สุราษฎร์

ถาม : คิดว่าค่าที่พักในสมุยอาจจะตกลงนิดนึงแต่ที่ภูเก็ตไม่มีปัญหา แต่ทั้งนี้ทั้งนั้น ก็ไม่คิด
ว่าการสร้างสะพานจะสำเร็จ

ตอบ : พี่ก็ว่า มันมีผลประโยชน์มหาศาลเกี่ยวข้องกับอยู่ใช่ปะ

ถาม : นั่นแหละที่หมายถึง มันเกี่ยวข้องกับกับผลประโยชน์แค่คิดถึงบริษัทเรือข้ามฟากกับส่วนภาค
ที่พักแล้วก็

ตอบ : ใช่ มันจะมีการประท้วงใหญ่โตจากบริษัทเรือและโรงแรมต่างๆเพราะพวกเค้าเสีย
ผลประโยชน์ แต่เราจะมีสนามบินแห่งที่สองเร็วๆนี้

English version

I = Interviewer	P = Poo, No contact with tourism (pseudonyms)	
ir = irritation	h = happy	Up = upset
u = unhappy	s = feel ashamed	nb = not bother
p = proud of	a = attach	pn = positive neutral
ngn = negative neutral	... = pause	↑ = high pitch
↓ = low pitch	SMILE = smile voice	LAUGH = laugh
hhh = exhalation		

I: How long have you been here?

P: I have been continually living here about 21 years. Actually, I was born and raised up here but there was a gap after my graduation from elementary school that I went to study further and work in Bangkok.

pn, a

Living period, original of participants.

I: Can you tell me about your live in your childhood? What did you do in daily life? And what was Koh Samui like in the past?

P: In daily life, it was a helpful society. People looked after to each other. When I was a child, there was a teacher from mainland, Suratthani and others. She always taught us if we went out to study further to mainland and if people asked where we came from, did not tell them that you were from Suratthani but told them you were from Koh Samui instead as people outside Koh Samui had a very good perception toward Samui people in order to being helpful, kind and polite. SMILE

h, p, a

Old way of life.

I: I have heard that Samui people relied on coconut plantation in the past. Was it true?

P: Our way of life before tourism period, we all were very happy. Characteristics of local people in the past were cheerful, lively and happy. SMILE Every single child in the island was sent to study further in Bangkok after graduated from elementary school. They went to Bangkok by steamboat and it took one to two weeks to get there. It may be because the boat was used for delivering goods products so we did not have to pay

h, p, a

Characteristic of local people in the past, mutual aid system.

<p>for the fare but we had to take care of our belongings. By the time that I grew up and had to go to Bangkok for studying further, there was an improvement for the communication system so I took a ferry to mainland in Suratthani and took a train from there to Bangkok. Well... if you ask me how people lived in the past. We lived in a small community and extended family. Women worked at home as a housewife has to look after their children. We knew everyone in our community very well. Additionally, all Samui people had their own coconut gardens. If compared price of coconuts in the past with the present one, it was totally different. That time, it was one baht per coconut or it reached three baht per coconut but you have to understand that one baht in the past was so valuable or it is about a hundred baht in the present. (ir) Additionally, lands in that time were massive and huge and it was not divided into pieces for their children and grandchildren. So Samui people had a very good quality of life in certain stage. I meant we had plenty of green areas, plenty of food and good environment. We got paid from selling coconuts every forty-five days (h); however, the yield was instable. Therefore, when tourism first started in Koh Samui, many local people turned to the industry. (u) Nevertheless, we have to admit that we have a very weak local as well as national politic system. Additionally, we know that the nature of Koh Samui's people, majority, they seem to be lazy and unenthusiastic, just like being home and sleep all day but they are not actually lazy but we have to understand that it concerns about our history and many former generations. In the past, people in Koh Samui did coconut plantation for living so that's why they were not enthusiastic or have a passion for doing anything. Day to day, they were just working and nothing was exciting for them really. These behaviours have been passing from generation to generation so that's another reason why we have heard that a number of Koh Samui's people have been unsuccessful of doing business as they were in agriculture all their life and never have experiences in trading so when tourism took place in Koh Samui, majority of local people still hold on with coconut plantations. Later on, coconut's price dropped too much.</p>	<p>Coconut plantation for living, coconut's price dropped.</p> <p>Better quality of life.</p> <p>The beginning of tourism.</p> <p>Weak local politic.</p> <p>Characteristic of local people.</p> <p>Failed of small businesses.</p> <p>Crisis time-coconut's price horribly dropped.</p>
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Now, it is two or no more than three bath per coconut. The price is not much different from twenty years ago. (ir, u) Then, local people turned to grow other type of fruit such as durians, rambutan, mangosteen, and especially langsat; we have got the best delicious langsat in this country. Durians in Koh Samui also have got good taste as similar as durians from Nonthaburi. However, when local people grew these fruit too much, the flooding of products from these fruit was emerged, similar as other places. Consequently, price of durian and langsat dropped and **agriculturalists could not make enough money for their living. When tourism emerged in Koh Samui and especially when land price was getting higher, agriculturalists needed to find a way to survive so most of them sold their lands. Especially after Tsunami disaster, foreign investors, tourists, hotel owners have looked for a new place and they have seen tourism in Koh Samui as their new opportunity. Consequently, land price has been ever higher as it has been needed. Therefore, most of local people have seen this opportunity to sell their lands and lands in Koh Samui have been changed from local people's hand to others. It is worried me a lot. Way of life of local people in Koh Samui has also been changed massively. Our local social system was set by mutual aid but it, recently, has become to capitalism. Furthermore, it is not a usual capitalism as Bangkok but it is a capitalism controlled by foreigners. Therefore, our way of life has to adjust with the current situation too. (u)**

Grow other things.

Survival time-turn to tourism.

Higher land price.

Locals sold lands.

Tourism boom.

Lifestyle change.

I: So... How do you feel about tourism in Koh Samui? Do you like it?

P: When tourism first emerged in Koh Samui, it would be better for local people after the low price of coconut. It was good for our commerce. Government announced the tourism policy and they claimed that tourism used nothing in investment but I do not think so. I think it was a massive investment. We have to invest with our natural resources which had been built for million years but it is ruined at a drop of a hat. I think, firstly, government never realises on impacts of tourism development and secondly, tourism in Koh Samui has not been developed by public but by

Up
Aware of negative s/c impacts.

private sector and they try to get benefit from our resources as much as they can.

I: No planning?

P: Yes, they have planning but it is for their own businesses how they can make profits as much as they can.

I: I meant if public sector did not have planning guideline for private sector?

P: No, government never have that sort of planning. Talking about tourism planning, tourism in Koh Samui has made big incomes to our country but the government has given us a small budget every year to take care of huge number of population. They are not sensible and not realise how many tourists we have as well as the huge numbers of labour flooding in Koh Samui. For example, not only people in Koh Samui but also tourists use the ring road around Koh Samui and the roads are broken every year but City Council has no budget to repair it every year.

I: Actually, it can not really say that local government does not have enough budgets as there has been an invisible power and corruption?!

P: Actually, we have to see into two sections. Firstly, government has to do a research and planning as well as to provide public utilities so roads have to be provided by the national government in order to develop tourism in Koh Samui.

I: But I have heard that the national government gave a budget to Koh Samui every year?

P: It is possible but even though City Council claims that there are fifty thousands something of population in Koh Samui, we know, in reality, that there are more than 200,000 people and City Council has not got enough budgets to look after everything and everyone. ↑ This is a massive responsibility of Koh Samui City Council. ↑ Also, I do not think that they have enough budgets to build basic infrastructure and facility for tourism.

ir
No tourism
planning.

Up
No planning.
Population
growth.
Labour
flooding.
Broken Road.

pn
Invisible
power.
Corruption.

Up
Demographic
change.

I: Actually, I have heard from local people that there was a road repair a few years ago but it was broke again.

P: Yep, it was broke again and again. You see what the town likes! ↑ ☹

I: I understand that! But if they used a good quality to build the road, it would be last longer, doesn't it?!

P: I think it was a part of truth. If we looked back, Koh Samui was just a small sanitary district as a part of a district in a province. Then, we have recently got promoted to be a municipal district. You know Koh Samui covers 252 square kilometers and the structure of City Council is limited. They have a few officers. Additionally, it is about the Mayor's vision as well and we have to admit that politic is a main factor to make a development in a small district happens. Then, if our populations are weak, the development can not happen. So... to answer your questions, I would say that we have (1) a massive area to develop; (2) a limit of skilled personnel; (3) limited by weak politic; and (4) uncontrolled internal situation. I think these factors are linked together and needed to be looked after very well. However, everyone thinks that it is not their business and tries to get as much as benefits if they can so there is always an issue with the development in Koh Samui. Everything is on personal common sense really. ☹

I: How is about your feeling then? Do you like the development of tourism in Koh Samui so far?

P: I can not say that I do not like. I just hope that we will have a strong political system one day, decrease self-seeking and greedy of politicians and see common interest as a priority. However, I can not deny that politic is about benefits- one is for politician themselves and one is for people and public benefits. The most important issue to drive our country forward is the weak political system as in this current situation and the development in Koh Samui would not be able to go forward as well. I really hope that we will have a stronger political system soon.

Up

Broken road.

u

Weak politic.

Corruption.

Up

Benefits

conflict.

Money matter.

u, Up

Corruption.

Weak politic.

I: Do you think that there are socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Koh Samui? Good and bad?

P: I would have some good attitude towards tourism development in the early years of tourism in Koh Samui. When tourism first emerged, local people had a little bit of job but when it comes to this point now, it is not just like that. If tourism has come into our community like this, it always has massive impacts on local people unavoidably. There are so many crimes and robberies; no income even local people have a production from their farms; the spending culture of capitalism; and lost our communal system to materialism. I can really say that we nearly lose our culture these days and we almost have nothing. I have heard that City Council try to campaign for younger generation to realise good and bad things of old and new way of life. Additionally, I also have heard that they will draw a new regulation to control the process of change.

Up, ir
Attitude
towards
tourism
development.
High crime
rate.
Less income
for locals.
Materialism.

I: Do you think it is safe and secure in Koh Samui?

P: Not safe at all. ↑ There are so many people in Koh Samui now including local people and non-local labours. Additionally, when we walk along the street or in a shop, we will see many foreign tourists as well as a lot of expats who have illegal enter and work in our country especially Myanmar workers. I can sum up that it is insecure for your life and your belongings. Additionally, If I am ill in Koh Samui now, hospitals here are totally horrible. Once, my brother's friend had got a terrible headache three years ago. First, he went to the government hospital on the island. The doctor gave him only pain killer pills and asked him to go home. That night, he could not sleep with horrible headache. The next day, he went to see the doctor at the private one and the doctor told him to admit in the hospital. The doctor said he was meningitis but the hospital had not got a proper equipment to look after him and it needed to transfer him to a hospital in mainland. At the end of the day, the hospital charged him 50k for a night in the hospital and he was still worse. Two days later, his cousin took him to the hospital in Saurat Thani as his state seemed to be worse. The doctor said he got a blood clot in his brain and it was too late to do anything but if

u
Fear of
strangers.
No safety from
crime.
Up
Low standard
of basic
facilities.

his cousin allowed the doctor to give him a brain operation, he would do it. He also said if he could make it, it meant to be but if he could not, his cousin had to pay for the treatment anyway. At the end of the day, his cousin allowed the doctor to perform an operation anyway, nothing he can do. It was to best for him and gave it a short. After the doctor finished the operation, he asked his cousin to wait for 4 hours and the doctor also said his cousin should take him home as if he died here, it would be very difficult to transfer his body back to Koh Samui. The doctor decided to transfer him in the ambulance to a hospital in Koh Samui and waited for another doctor's decision whether he should stay in the hospital or be moved to a temple. With this quality of life, so he died soon. Your life never feels safe even you are in the hospital here when you are unwell. I always tell everyone that if they are unwell and capable to cross to mainland, please goes as it is much better quality of the hospital. However, people outside see Samui people that we are rich and if there is something wrong with our health, we always go to a private hospital. ☺

I: Why do not you and others make complain to consumer protection aid?

P: I do not really understand the process and I also do not think it is worst to do that. ↓ With other people's case, their children who have higher education and have knowledge about this process do not come back here and leave only old local people here.

I: Do you get impacts on your lifestyle from tourists?

P: A lot. Food price is increase and very expensive. Loads of crimes, no security. In the past and before tourism has taken place in Koh Samui, I never locked my house's door as everyone in Koh Samui knew each other but you see, there are loads of non-local labourers working in Koh Samui and I think the number of labourers are more than the number of local residents. Now when I walk out my house, I see strangers and make me feel insure in my own home. I do believe that crime and drug abuses are committed by labourers who move here or whatever travel here for working in our tourism section. You heard the news about raping a young

u
Compromise.
Invisible of
young people.

ir
Crimes.
Inflation.
High cost of
living.
Drugs.
Offensive to
northeast
labours.

English tourist years ago, it was not one of our people but it was labourers working in fisherman village. Especially prostitution, no local people will do it, you see only northeast people would do that here.

Prostitutions

Up

I: Expensive water supply?

P: Very very very expensive! ↑ It is about 23 baht per cubic centimeter but it will be increase to 39 baht per cubic centimeter this October. It is about our weakness really. It can not help. Somebody creates this crisis of water supply to be an opportunity to increase the price and take advantage on local people in Koh Samui. This is an impact of tourism development. If you ask me whether I want this sort of tourism, I do not want it at all. I would like to turn back time really. Actually, we normally use underground water rather than tap water which is very expensive here. Additionally, there is a new trend that people escape to stay in the mountainous resorts so you would see many properties on the hill. Imagine, if people used a lot underground water and flat land sank and built too much properties on the mountain and it collapsed, what is going to be. We will hear about the disaster once more.

u, ir

Water expense.

Up

Negative attitude towards tourism.

Resorts attack high land.

I: Do you think that tourism affects on your family life such as more stressful between family members?

P: Sure! ↑ Its impact on family life would be a Karaoke problem. There are so many karaoke bars opened in Koh Samui. You know it is not just selling karaoke in there, they also sell alcohol drinks. It seems time changed people changed too. You will see some local people to go there as it has been quite famous but most people who visit there are non-local people who are working here. It also creates an issue in a family as Karaoke owner would like to make money from a type of local people who are older generation and do not capable to get a high level hooker. It is a horrible thing to show our young generation.

Up, ir

Effects on family life.

Karaoke problems.

I: Do you think that tourism in Koh Samui creates job opportunity for local people or labours from others provinces or even illegal labours from our neighbours?

P: I do not think that tourism creates any job opportunities for local people at all but, instead, it takes an advantage on our resources and steal it from local people really. Tourism created an opportunity for some groups of capitalists rather than local people in the past. However, it is not just like that. Recently, tourism has creates an opportunity for foreign capitalists to embrace, dominate, steal, invade and hold our kingdom rather than making any benefits to us! I feel like Koh Samui is colonised to foreigner via tourism and economic. ☹

u, ir
No job
creation for
locals.
Foreigners
control
tourism
process.

I: Do you think properties by the beachfront are very unattractive?

P: It is totally unattractive. ↑ I have heard that City Council have just finished the city planning since 5 years ago but it could not be in use. I do not know why. Then, I have heard that they have just made an announcement to use this city planning again recently. It was just a regulation of city planning announced in September or October 2006 but they have a regulation in order to control the property building. However, it seems that no one cares and it is all about that people do not obey the law. I think it depends on personal common sense really.

Up
City plan.
Disobey the
regulations.

I: I knew that there was setting up a zoning in many areas in Koh Samui into green and brown zone. People can not build any property in green area but I have seen so many buildings in the green zone anyway.

P: Yep, they all did build loads of properties in the green zone and we can not use or apply any regulations in order to get rid or control them. We have to see this way. Firstly, it is about common sense and moral of Thai government officers. They still see their own benefits more important than public benefits. Secondly, when the politic is weak, people seem to have no moral at all. People do not respect the law and the people who have law in their hands make law invalidity. People are more selfish and find an opportunity for their companions including foreign capitalists to seek

s, Up

Corruption.
Weak politic.

benefits for them.

I: What do you think about younger generation imitates tourist's behaviour?

P: I have been concerned and kept my eyes close for a while. From I have seen, we can divided young generation in Koh Samui into two groups: (1) local children: children in this group have got parents who are also local people, born and raised in Koh Samui. They will never even think about imitation of tourist's outfit but they have a problem about materialism; and (2) children who come from labour family or prostitution especially from northeast part of Thailand: children in this group should be really concerned by local authorities. You know what I meant.

I: I think young generation in these days are really worrying. Everything is about Seven Eleven convenient stores!

P: It is something that I have been worried too. I think you have heard about the protest of local people against Tesco, Macro, and Seven Eleven convenient stores. If Tesco opened more branches in Lamai, local groceries must die soon. Just only Seven Eleven and Family Mart have already made this situation worse; local groceries have less income and nearly die out now. In Bangkok airways case as well, there has been an against of local businesses and people as they monopolise tourism in Koh Samui, for example, they built hotels ranging from 3-5 star in Koh Samui and if tourists would like travel here, they will offer a package including airfare and accommodation. In the nearly future, Bangkok Airways has a plan to build guesthouses to target a lower group of tourists as well as their own hospital and shopping centre. At the same time, Bangkok Airways does not build up a good relationship with local people. You know, they allow only buses and taxies they hired to enter their airport. Then, Bangkok Airways will not be able to take from Koh Samui anymore. They will be lonely and destroy themselves.

ir, s

Offensive
northeast
labours.

u, s

Tradition
change in
young
generation.
Consumption
behaviour
change.
Cost-benefit
conflict.
Local
community or
personal
benefits

I: As far as I know, there is an intensive against towards Bangkok Airways?

P: Yep, there has been a very strong against to Bangkok Airways by local people and business level. Even though their business is grown massively, no one supports them. Then, it is an ending for them. They will be lost more than take. It will be very hurtful ending really. You know...We will have another airport in Koh Samui soon and from what I knew, they did the survey for the environmental impact of the new airport already and going to build soon in the swampy forest area. This new airport is a bigger one and will run by Airport Authority of Thailand so it means that Thai Airways and other airlines will be able to fly to Koh Samui and we can have more choices of airlines and prices and it is more convenient as well.
SMILE

s
New 2nd
airport.

h

I: I have heard that there were many folk customs and festivals in Koh Samui.

P: Yes, but these festivals and folk customs have been lost from time to time. We had many ceremonies in the past but when the development has taken place, most of local ceremonies do not exist such as Hor-Kaw (food-packing) ceremony when we had to travel across the island, Chuck-Pra (monk) ceremony, Chon-Kwai (buffaloes fighting). Recently, we think to recovery one to promote tourism in our island.

s, u
Lost local
festivals and
folk customs.

I: How is about buffalo fighting?

P: It originated when local people was working in rice farms and buffaloes were normally in rut in April, farmers arranged the fight between their buffaloes so they could relieve from heat. LAUGH

pn, h

I: Is it buffalo fighting for tourism or gambling?

P: It is for gambling really these days and for building benefits of some local powerful group. I am sure you know what I meant?! Everyone who gets involve with arranging buffalo fighting gets benefits from it really. The owner of gambling den, village headmen and village leader as well as

s, ir, Up

Invisible

persons who allow the set up of buffalo fighting including sheriff and policemen always get benefits, big money in this field really. ↓

power.
Protection fee.
Corruption.

I: I was wondering if the gambling of buffalo fighting emerged before or after tourism?

P: Yesteryears it was known in a small group of local people really but these day, it seem to be everywhere in our society. ☹

ngn, u

I: Tourism has been developed so far in Koh Samui including property development. Do you think the development in Koh Samui attract more tourists or chase them away?

P: I think it is a copy cat of development from somewhere else really. There are two types that are attractive tourists to visiting Koh Samui: (1) our natural resources; and (2) good moral and being a good host of local people. So I think a lot of things change in Koh Samui. Hhh... Our natural resources are destroyed including white sandy beach, forest, and especially moral as well as helpful behaviour of local people. I think these factors chase Koh Samui's income away (tourists). Koh Samui has not taken tourism development and planning model from a good example, instead, we have taken it from Pattaya. Hhh... It meant we focus more on tourism development in the way of selling service than a quality one. Therefore, we can not stop or control the development and we also can not set up zoning to promote tourism such as if tourists like more peaceful beach, they should go to Lamai or if they like more all exclusive, they should go to Chaweng beach. Now every beach is nearly all the same- crowded, busy and uncontrolled. Additionally, tourism development in Koh Samui is focusing on selling service so if tourists have money and want good service, they can go anywhere they would like, not only in Koh Samui really. They can buy good service everywhere in this world.

u, ir, s
Overcrowding
of properties.
Decline
tourism.
Willingness to
share.
Mutual aid.

I: Are you worried that old way of life would disappear very soon as well as some high value of culture among local people such as Num-jai, cool heart and cultural objects?

P: Hhh... I have two wishes in this massive tourism development that (1) we could keep or recover the unique of local knowledge, culture and Koh Samui; and (2) government should increase their role to support local knowledge and culture. Now, I think we lack of decent officers who have vision about the lost of our local knowledge and culture. This town has grown with the support of foreign capital. All is about dollars and it makes much different.

u, ir
Recover local knowledge.
More involve of government.

I: If I would like you tell me how is your true feeling about tourism in Koh Samui?

P: I do not like it at all. ↓ I would like to have good road, public utility, electricity, water supply in Koh Samui without tourism. I admit that tourism has improved quality of life of people in Koh Samui. If it's possible, I would like Koh Samui to be back the same as when I was a child before tourism occurred in Koh Samui. Even though there was no road and electricity, I was happy.

Up, ir
Attitude toward tourism.
Better quality of life.

I: Worried about old way of life and local people relies on tourism too much?

P: I am a bit concerned really but totally understand. Local people in Koh Samui, recently, have sold their lands to non-local investors and left agriculture to tourism businesses. I understand that if they still counted on agriculture, they would be staving to death. Hhh... We relied on coconut plantations in the past but the coconut prices went down and it was not worth to count on it anymore as well as the tourism has become boom in Koh Samui so we have way out. People need to be feed and money for living. I don't blame them. Hhh... Who is to blame is government. The coconut prices have been dropping every year and government should hand a help for us but I don't know how they help us the coconut prices keep dropping and dropping. Now the price is about one Bath per coconut.

u
Sold out properties.
Coconut plantation.

Up, ir

I: How do you feel about tourists in Koh Samui?

P: I don't hate tourists. Who to blame is our people and government really. I do believe that traditional way can go along with tourism and modernisation very well if they don't concern only their benefit and recognise only positive side of economic flow. I hope that tourists should know what should do and what should not do when they come over here. I am very concerned the way they dress and topless when they do sunbathing as it is not our culture to do something like that. I also concerned for their own good as well. You have heard about raping and killing tourists. Normally, I don't get involve with tourists that much but I am so concerned about their behaviours such as getting drunk, topless sunbathing, unsuitable outfits ...Nothing I can do with tourists really. ↑ The best thing is to ignore and try to acknowledge our young generation about Thai culture.

pn
Modernisation.
u, ir
Unpleasure
tourist's
behaviour.

I: Many backpacker?

P: Not many backpackers in Koh Samui as I don't think they can effort the high price of accommodation and everything here. Comparably, the amount that backpackers have to spend in Koh Samui one night, they can stay in other islands such as Koh Paghan, Koh Tao and Koh Utong for three nights.

ngn
Type of
tourists.

I: More tourists?

P: Oh...noooooo!!! ↑↑↑ More tourists! ↑ hhh... I know that they bring us good economic but I don't want them more anyway.

Up
More tourists.

I: Bad traffic?

P: In the past, it took only five minutes from my house to Chaweng but this day; I take at least half an hour. I'm so fed up now; we have so many people in Koh Samui and more cars and motorbikes as well. Sometimes the traffic in Koh Samui especially over the weekend is very bad. If I have to go to that area, I will have to go out about an hour before.

Up, ir
Avoid tourist's
areas.

I: Does traffic affect your lifestyle?

P: Most tourists here normally wake up at noon or in the afternoon and then they go sunbathing or diving at the other islands. Also, they normally go clubbing at night till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning so we know when we should go out and avoid them and places. I have to be aware at all time when I have to ride my motorcycle out in the time that many tourists go out. Hhh... They don't know how to ride properly and many accidents occur to them and sometimes to us as well. Best thing to avoid going out in the afternoon when tourists wake up and start going out by riding their renting motorcycles.

ir
Avoid tourist's area.
Tourist's activities and routines.
More accidents.

I: I think there are more than 50,000 people in Koh Samui?

P: Oiii...↑↑ Now there are too many people in Koh Samui. It may be more than a hundred fifty thousand people or nearly two hundred thousand people in Koh Samui. Hhh... I hardly recognised each individual's face as who they are.

Up, ir
Population growth.

I: How do you feel about the population growth?

P: Insecure really! ↑ In the past, we knew each other in our community, in Koh Samui. At least, we recognised their faces and knew they came from but the current situation is there are too much people in Koh Samui and I never know and recognise those people at all.

Up
Insecure.
Fear of strangers.

I: Land price

P: Now lands in the beach area are reserved so many people have moved up to build their properties on the hills. You know, even the lands on hill are now very expensive. Recently, western investors have been pouring in Koh Samui to buy beautiful pieces of lands to built houses for sale, resorts, hotels and condominium. Hhh... In some family, brothers and sisters nearly kill each other just for a land in Chaweng. It is a land of gold in that area, very valuable. Money and benefits sometimes make brother having a fight with sister, and niece fighting with aunts.

u
Reserved beachfront,
Resorts attach high land.
High price of properties.
Foreign ownership of

I: Do you think local people rely on tourism too much?

P: Now local businesses count on Western tourist number too much and I don't know what it is going to be if they don't visit here anymore. Majority of lands in Koh Samui especially in Chaweng beach are bought by Western investors. Hhh...

I: Create social difference?

P: We could live in wood houses in the past but now we need to have concrete houses. It is not just for more modern and convenient for our life but it shows our financial and social status as well. As many local people have made money from selling their lands so they have built new modern houses with concrete.

I: I have heard many local people have got bankruptcy?

P: Many people open their own businesses. Hhh... Someone even worse, they ask for a loan from bank for doing business without knowledge of it. Finally, they are greatly in debt.

I: Beach access?

P: In the past, I remembered I normally went to the beach with my parents every weekend when I was a child to have a picnic and spent time together. It is a place to gather our cousins and relatives. It was very beautiful

beachfront.
Tradition
change.
Money matter.

u
Local
economy relies
on tourism.
Foreign
ownership of
beachfront.

ir
Tradition
change.
Change in
form and
function of
traditional
house.
Lifestyle
change.

ir
Emerged of
small business.
Failed of small
businesses.

Up, u
Disrupt place
attachment.

memory but it rarely have one now. ☹

Sense of ownership and belonging.

I: Would you like to move somewhere else?

P: I was born here. There was a while that I went to study in Bangkok but at the end of the day, I want to be here where I was born. Even things are changed a lot because of tourism, I still want to live and die here, will not definitely move to other town.

a
Sense of ownership and belonging.
Place attachment.

I: What do you think about current situation in Koh Samui?

P: The situation in Koh Samui now, I think, it is on the way down as people destroy the natural resources a lot. Hhh... If you look around, it hardly find forest or empty land. It is all covered with properties and the attraction of Koh Samui is natural resources such as sun, sand, and sea.

u
Current situation.
Decline tourism.

I: Potential change in the future?

P: I don't expect that anything is going to get better but not worse. Money is still matter especially in this worse economic situation. Northeast people are still a majority of population here so nothing is going to get better.

Up
Potential change.

I: Any problems that you would be really concerned and want local authorities to focus?

P: These days, we will see many teenagers want to have expensive mobile phones just for a fashion or showing their friends and I am really concerned. Hhh... Government should keep an eye on this matter. Additionally, there are a lot of Northeast people migrate here for working in tourism section. We never have slum here but now we can see what they call Upper and Lower Northeast communities as slums. ↑ You will see many bar girls, normally from Northeast part of Thailand, walking with westerners as couples or just for a company. They try to catch westerners as they think they are rich and they can have a better life or even go to live abroad. ↑

ir, u, s
Tradition change in young generation.
Imitation tourist's behaviour.
Labour flooding.

I: Any involvement with local authorities?

P: I want to get involve more in the decisions about my community. For example, I know, if they have money, they can buy land and doing in their land. However, if you would like to built something big, you need an allowance from City Council and how come City Council allow Tesco Lotus built in our community without listening our voices. I know my money can make things easier and quiet successes.

I: Talking about Tesco. There is one in Chaweng, isn't it?!

P: Yep. ↑ But have you heard a story about it? ↑ Before you have seen Tesco in Chaweng, there were many protests against Tesco by local people. If the government allowed them to build Tesco, local groceries would have to be closed down. You know that products in Tesco will be definitely cheaper than local groceries. It is just like their tactic really to dump their products' price as cheap as possible to kill their competitors. Then, after their competitors died out, Tesco will increase their products' price as high as they would like. In the past, we tried to stop them to open one in Koh Samui but you see, Tesco is opened now anyway. While we were protesting against them, it seemed their Tesco project was stopped for a little while. The local government seemed to get involve and concerned about this matter. However, when money got involve, thing seemed to be easier for Tesco. They were so clever waiting until the situation came down a little bit and started building it again. Now we have one in Chaweng at the end of the day. Actually, Tesco does not stop just one in

Slum
conviction.
Invasion of
northeast
labours.
Foreign
partners to
improve their
life.

pn, Up
Want to get
involve in
making
decisions.
Tesco coming.

Up, ir
Fight for
benefits.
Tesco coming.
Died out of
local groceries.

Chaweng. They would like to build one more in Lamai but local people in that area are strong enough to have a very strong protest against them. Who knows, they might build one in Lamai soon. You might visit here again next year and see another Tesco in Lamai or somewhere else.

I: In my first day in Koh Samui, I have found out that everything in this island is so expensive, especially food. I paid 90 bath for a prawn fried rice. It is more expensive than in Bangkok. I understand that Koh Samui is a resort town and its geographic is an island so products here should be more expensive than mainland. Or it is because I am just a visitor? Do you experience the same?

P: Definitely yes! ↑ Everyone knows that everything is very expensive here. Once, we had to pay 100 baht for a kilo of pork. Everything is possible here! Actually, we can produce fresh vegetable and meat within the island but you see, when the population number is surprisingly increased, the production in the island is not enough for everyone. Hhh... So we have to import from the mainland. We have less income but have to pay for an expensive food! ↑ Nothing I can do really. ↓

I: Do you think role of women has been changed recently after the emerged of tourism?

P: For me, I do not think there has been too much change really. Women perhaps work outside more. In the past, they might be only housewives but now the situation is changed and there are many small businesses emerged so I see a lot of women work outside their home. I think it changes in a good way. It is also more acceptable for women's role in a business world. I think role of women in Koh Samui never be an issue. Every single child in Koh Samui both boys and girls have been sent to study further in Bangkok after their graduation from elementary school. So I think we are quite equal between men and women really.

Up, ir
High cost of
living.
Inflation.

pn
Role of
women.

I: How is about local language? Did you forget it when you were away for study so long in Bangkok?

P: Not really. It is just like instinct, isn't it?! It is something that you are used to with it since you were a little baby. It is not easy to forget. I think local children in these days can still communicate in local language as good as Bangkok one. English is also important in these days as well but it does not mean that our people and children will forget our language... What I have said, does not apply to children or people from Northeast part of Thailand who are working in Koh Samui. They are different and these people, for me, always have weird vision. They seems to keen on having a foreign partner and they seems to teach their children to have one too so English language is also important to them but it is different purpose with us.

pn
Language.
English.
Bangkok
accent.
ir, s

I: I noticed people in Koh Samui like to live near their relatives?

P: Yes, it is like that but there is a reason really. In the past, I remember that we were a very big family. I lived with my parents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, their partners-in law and including my grandparents as well. But when time changes, we are more capitalism. When my grandparents died, my parents and their brothers and sisters were inherited a piece of lands which was near each other. Now I have my own house as well as my relatives and live near each other in the same area. It is just like a community really. It is good to live near each other. SMILE However, what I have said time changes so people change too. It seems like money is matter now. Some family, brothers and sisters nearly kill each other just about the money really. When I ask someone to do something for me, it is necessary to have money involve in return. I can not blame them really. I understand that our economic is dependant on tourism that is controlled by western. So now our mutual aid strength is mess up with western free trade value of cash system. Money matter is important issue for local people in order to improve their life and from this point of view, it makes social different really but comparing how wealthy people have got. It is very disappointed. You know that our society has been based on Buddha's

pn
Family
structure.
h, a
Up, u
Money matter
and less
compromise.
Economic
dependence
and
commercial
relationship.
Attack of
western free

taught for ages but now it seems to be broken. It is fragile for me really. In the past, social difference was divided by goodness and high values of making merit and cool heart but it is not just like that anymore. Local people including me seem to have less participation in religious ceremonies and rituals as I understand that we have been busy to work for our living. We need money for a living and secure our lives as well as we have been busy to adapt our life to the current situation, to another culture and to a new thing. So I can say that we have a strange social relationship really. It seems like sometimes we are still helpful to each other but money needs to be involved as well. It is more likely a commercial relationship but sometimes it is not. It might be an early stage of adaptation to western free trade culture but I am interfered that the situation will be even worse in the nearly future. I do not want to have a distant relationship with my cousins really. ☹

trade value.
Social difference.
Buddhism as a root of Thais.
Fade of religious taught.
Participant in religious rituals.
Social relationship.
Willingness to share.
Adapt to alien culture.

I: Do you think City Council did a good job in the past and will be able to cope with the problems you mentioned in the future?

P: I admit that tourism brings a better quality of life of local people and makes the development in Koh Samui moves forward but to be honest, City Council has no power to control tourism really. They can only work on policies but Tourism Trade has more power to negotiate about tourism trade and development in Koh Samui really.

pn
ir
Better quality of life.
Tourism as a factor to push development forward.
City Council has no power to control tourism.

I: Have you ever wanted to go to the beach?

P: Sure! ↑ I have loads of good memories in many places in Koh Samui. I remember that when I was a child and there were not many people that time, my parents and I always had a good weekend out to the beach together. My mum normally cooked some food and brought to the beach with us. My dad taught me how to swim in the sea. LAUGH It was a very happy memory but now I barely set my foot to the beach area really, especially in Chaweng. It is too crowded with tourists and properties. It is too hectic and busy in that area. It would be nice if I go to that area to recover my memory. However, in case if you do not know. Most of beachfront areas, especially in Chaweng, are reserved for tourists and most of them belong to foreign investors. Hhh... I know you will say that there is a public beach access but it is limited area. Even you can access to the sea, you have limited area to use and share with million tourists. I would be better to stay home or do something else. Additionally, if I have a child, I will not prefer to take him/her there as well. It is too dangerous, loads of strangers both tourists and labours. In the past, I did not think that my parents would be worried to leave me playing on my own in the beachfront area as there were no cases of raping or killing and raping. But if I have a child and take her with me at the beach, I will not be happy and have to keep my eyes on her all the time. I can imagine that it will not be a pleasure time for me really.

I: You seem too fed up with a lot of things here? Will you move to somewhere else?

P: Not really. ↓ I will not move to anywhere. It is not just right to do like that. I was born here and I love here. I know there are a lot of problems here but nothing I can do really. I have to admit it and continue to live my life. Sometimes, it is better to not know everything or cover my eyes and ears.

h, a

Disruption
place
attachment.

Up

Foreign
ownership of
beachfront.
Beach access.

Insecure of
crime.

Fear of
strangers

a

Sense of
belonging and
ownership.

I: Talking about this current Mayor. He is from an election, isn't he?! I have heard a lot of stories about him.

P: Yep... We have an election for choosing Mayor every four years but other positions in City Council are selected from the national government and send them here. Hhh... What have you heard about him?

pn
Political system.

I: About his wife's business and he uses his power to help her business. Is it true?

P: Uhhh... you know, right?! ↓ He is from Thai Ruk Thai and he has a close relationship with Ms. Sudarat and Dr. Thaksin Shinawat. ↓ Actually, he has a similar background with them as a businessman. He owns hotels and some other businesses in Koh Samui. We have a regulation about building and expanding the property. One of them is that it is prohibit building or extending a property into the sea by any ways. Mayor's wife's hotel was extended and expanded the land into the sea. ↓ It broke the law but people could only see and gossip. We could do nothing more than that really. Hhh... What I have said, our people and politic are weak. Corruption and lack of responsibility of politicians is still exists.

u, ir, s
Corruption.

Disobey of regulations.
Irresponsibility of government.

I: Are you worried that most of local people in Koh Samui are old generation and most young generation will not come back here anymore?

P: Not really! ↑ People in Koh Samui support their children to have high education. Most of them send their kids to study in Bangkok. It is about age gap, isn't it?! I can notice too that there are only children and old people left in this island. It can not help really. Local children normally study in Koh Samui until their age of 11 or 12. After that, they will be sent to study in mainland, especially Bangkok until they graduate bachelor degree. Some of these children will come back home if their parents have a business here or other reasons. Some of them continually live in Bangkok for working.

pn
Invisible of young generation and mid-age.

I: Do you sometimes feel uncomfortable with tourists?

P: Only thing that makes me feel uncomfortable with tourists is that I can

u, ir

not access to the beach. It is because foreigners bought lands in the beachfront areas and they do not allow anyone to enter their areas. Hhh... Nothing I can do really. There is no freedom to use the beachfront area really. We just do not go.

Attitude towards tourists.

I: What will you change if you can change something in Koh Samui?

P: I would like turn back time and made our mutual aid, helpful and willingness to share in our community sustainably. I would like the development of materialism goes along well equally with the development of human's inner. Things would be better if we could do that. LAUGH

Up, ir

I: I understand that local people are more uncomfortable with the situation. They could not access the beach and many things. Do you think that politic support tourism because they have got benefits from it?

P: Definitely! ↑ No one does not want to talk about this thing. It would get them trouble really. ↑ Politic, it is about which party get to the power, isn't it?!

Up, ir
Corruption.

I: Do you think some cultures missing?

P: A lot of cultures are lost. I do believe that some cultures are still remaining with the old generation but young generation will know about their own culture superficially. Hhh...

u
Lost some culture.

I: I have ever had a crazy idea that if the second airport would not be built, it was better to build a bridge across between mainland and Koh Samui, just like Phuket island.

P: Somebody had ever thought about this. I think it is possible to have a bridge but it needs a very high investment and we will lose the feeling of an island as tourists can come and go as they want.

pn
Cost and benefit conflict.

I: Actually, I think about d-marketing. We can limit the number of cars and length of stay for the tourists?

P: It is possible but I think it will have a lot of impacts on accommodation

pn

section. As if it is too convenient to approach here, tourists do not have to stay in Koh Samui as staying in a hotel here cost them 10,000 baht a night but 1,000 bath for a hotel in mainland. They can travel in Koh Samui in the day time and go back to stay in mainland at night.

Local
community or
personal
benefits.

I: I think the accommodation price in Koh Samui will be dropped a little bit. But I never this problem with Phuket island. Anyway, I do not believe that building a bridge across to mainland will be successful.

P: I know there have been loads of benefits involve, isn't it?! ↑

Up, ir

I: That's what I meant really. It is about benefits. Just think about the ferry company and accommodation section.

P: Yes. There will be a horrible protest from the ferry company and hotels as they will lose all the benefits. But we will have a second airport soon.
SMILE

ir, h
Benefit/money
matter.

Appendix 3: Information sheet for interviewees

Thai version

จุดประสงค์ของการวิจัย

การวิจัยชิ้นนี้มีจุดประสงค์ในการทำความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับการพัฒนาทางด้านการท่องเที่ยวและผลกระทบทางด้านสังคมและวัฒนธรรมจากการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุยและสังคมไทย การวิจัยชิ้นนี้ประกอบไปด้วยการเก็บข้อมูลสองวิธีคือ การมีส่วนร่วมและสังเกตการณ์ และการสัมภาษณ์แบบแผนการดำเนินชีวิตของชาวบ้านและการปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชาวบ้านและนักท่องเที่ยวจะถูกเก็บข้อมูลจากการที่นักวิจัยเข้าไปมีส่วนร่วมและสังเกตการณ์กับชาวบ้านในชีวิตประจำวันและทัศนคติ ความคิดเห็นและประสบการณ์ของชาวบ้านเกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวและผลกระทบทางด้านสังคมและวัฒนธรรมจากการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุยจะถูกเก็บข้อมูลจากวิธีการสัมภาษณ์ หวังว่างานวิจัยชิ้นนี้จะสามารถแนะแนวทางและโอกาสการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวแบบยั่งยืนไม่มากนักน้อย

จุดประสงค์ของการสัมภาษณ์

การสัมภาษณ์มีจุดประสงค์ในการเก็บข้อมูลความเห็นของผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์เกี่ยวกับผลกระทบทางสังคมและวัฒนธรรมจากการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวในเกาะสมุย จังหวัดสุราษฎร์ธานี ประเทศไทย คุณถูกคัดเลือกให้เป็นหนึ่งในผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์เพื่อที่จะให้ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวและปัญหาผลกระทบเกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวทางด้ายสังคมและวัฒนธรรมในเกาะสมุยและสังคมไทยแก่ผู้สัมภาษณ์ วัตถุประสงค์ของการสัมภาษณ์นี้คือทำความเข้าใจประสบการณ์เกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยวและปัญหาต่างๆทางด้านสังคมวัฒนธรรมที่เกิดจากการท่องเที่ยวที่ได้รับจากผู้ถูก

สัมภาษณ์ ผู้สัมภาษณ์จะถามคำถามแก่ผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์ทั้งข้อมูลส่วนตัว ข้อมูลด้านการทำงานและ
ความคิดเห็นต่อการท่องเที่ยวและปัญหาต่างๆที่เกิดจากการท่องเที่ยว

การเผยแพร่

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการทำวิทยานิพนธ์ระดับปริญญาเอกที่มหาวิทยาลัยขอนแก่น
ประเทศอังกฤษ

สิทธิของผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์

ผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์สามารถถอนตัวในช่วงเวลาใดก็ได้การสัมภาษณ์ ถ้าผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์มีคำถามหรือข้อ
ข้องใจประการใด กรุณาสอบถามผู้สัมภาษณ์ก่อนการสัมภาษณ์จะเริ่มขึ้น ข้อมูลส่วนตัวของผู้ถูก
สัมภาษณ์จะถูกเก็บเป็นความลับและไม่มีการจดชื่อและข้อมูลส่วนตัวของผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์ไว้เป็น
หลักฐาน

รูปแบบของการสัมภาษณ์

การสัมภาษณ์จะถูกเก็บข้อมูลในรูปแบบของการสนทนาทั่วไปในหัวข้อที่เป็นที่น่าสนใจของผู้
สัมภาษณ์และวัตถุประสงค์ของงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้

ระยะเวลาการสัมภาษณ์

การสัมภาษณ์ใช้เวลาประมาณหนึ่งถึงหนึ่งชั่วโมงครึ่ง

การบันทึกเทปการสัมภาษณ์

ผู้ถูกสัมภาษณ์ยินดีที่จะอนุญาตให้บันทึกเทปขณะที่ทำการสัมภาษณ์หรือไม่

ข้อมูลของผู้สัมภาษณ์

โสภณทัตย์ สุนทรยาธร

นักศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอก

มหาวิทยาลัยบอร์นมัท

เมืองบอร์นมัท ประเทศอังกฤษ

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English version

Purpose of the research

The aim of the study is to develop the better understanding of tourism development and its socio-cultural impacts in Koh Samui and a Thai context. Two methods of data collection are being adopted: participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Local residents' behaviour patterns and the interaction between local residents and tourists will be observed on a day-to-day basis through participant observation and an insider's view of the tourism development and its socio-cultural impacts in Koh Samui will be collected through semi structured interviews. The research hopes to suggest opportunities to develop more sustainable tourism in beach resorts and elsewhere.

Purpose of interview

Semi structured interviews will be used to gain an insider's view of the tourism development and its socio-cultural impacts in Koh Samui and a Thai context. You have been selected as a key informant to enable me to gain an understanding of local tourism and issues of socio-cultural impacts in Koh Samui and a Thai context. The objective is to understand experiences of tourism development and its socio-cultural impacts in Koh Samui from your perspective. I will ask you questions about your personal and professional experience and attitude towards these matters.

Dissemination of the research

The research will form the basis of my PhD at Bournemouth University.

Your consent

You can withdraw at any stage of the interview. If you have any doubts, please let me know before the interview. You will remain completely anonymous and no records of the interview will be kept with your name on them.

Format of interview

The interview will take the form of a conversation around particular themes.

Length of interview

The interview will take approximately about one to one and a half hours but some interviews will be shorter and some interviews could be longer.

Permission to record

Subject to your permission, I would like to tape record the interview as it enables me to listen carefully instead of taking notes. I will also take additional notes to remind myself of key points if it will be necessary.

My contact details in case you wish to get in touch at any stage

Somruthai Soontayatron

PhD researcher

School of Services Management

Bournemouth University

Talbot Campus, Poole

Dorset, BH12 5BB.

Tel: 081-9286703 (Thailand), 07545166322 (UK)

Email: ssoontayatron@bournemouth.ac.uk

Appendix 4: Ethical consideration

Please describe any ethical, health and safety or risk issues related to your study	
Ethical issues	<p>In this research, the researcher considers to use participant observation and semi-structured interviews to collect the data. According to the Code of Practice for Research Students hand book , the researcher should be aware and have responsibility of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">a) Every effort from the study in all circumstances must be made to assure the protection of research participants against physical, mental, emotional or social injury. No harm must come to them as a result of being involved in the study.b) Must responsible for obtained informed and freely given consent from each individual who is to be a subject of study or be personally involved in a study. The researcher should explain fully meaningful terms to the participants what the research is about, who is undertaking and why it is being undertaken.c) All participants in the study must be informed of the nature of the study and their consent obtained.d) Explanations to participants should include information as to how their names came to the knowledge of the researcher. The researcher should identify herself and the organisation responsible for the study and provide participants a written note giving this information, together with a brief statement concerning the nature of the study.e) The nature of any assurance of confidentiality or anonymity, or restrictions on the use of information, must be made clear to the participants and strictly adhered to.f) The researcher should be aware that the use of records can present particular problems in relation to confidentiality.g) When personal identifiers are used in a study, the researcher should explain why this is necessary and how confidentiality

	<p>would be protected.</p> <p>h) The researcher should protect confidentiality of participants' information including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Securing individual confidentiality statements from all research personnel- Coding data with numbers instead of names to protect the identity of participants- Disposing of information that can reveal the identity of participants or places carefully.
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Appendix 5: Risk assessment

Bournemouth University *General Risk Assessment Form* **Your Reference No:**

Notes: Before completing this form, please read the associated guidance on '1: Health & Safety/Public/Risk Assessment/Guidance'.

Use this form for all risks except from hazardous substances, manual handling & Display Screen Equipment (specific forms are available for these).

If the risk is deemed to be 'trivial' there is no need to formally risk assess.

All completed forms must give details of the person completing the assessment.

Risk assess the activity with its present controls (if any) -then re-assess if action is to be taken and after further controls are put in place.

The completed form should be kept within the School/Service/Department.

1. Describe the Activity being Risk Assessed: Doing participant observation and interviews for PhD.					
2. Location(s): Koh Samui Island, Suratthani, Thailand					
3. Persons at potential Risk (e.g. Specific Staff only, General Staff, Students, Public etc.): Somruthai Soontayatron					
4. Potential Hazards i.e. <u>What Could Happen?</u> (NB: List hazards without considering any existing controls): Field work – participant observing and interviewing public					
5. Control Measures Already In Place: Fieldwork: a record will be maintained of the date, times and locations where the participant observation and interviews will be taking place. This will be left with my parents or friends who will be informed on return. Where the fieldwork takes place on private land, permission has been sought and staff will be informed when the researcher is on site and when she leaves the sites. This applied at Koh Samui Island, Suratthani, Thailand.					
6. Standards to be Achieved: (if necessary, refer to Guidance on Risk Assessment) -					
7. Are the risks adequately controlled (bearing in mind 4. & 5.)? Write 'Yes' or 'No': Yes If Yes , Step 8: <u>Ensure that those affected are informed of the Risks and Controls:</u> Confirm how you have done this (or intend to do this) e.g. written instructions: Precautions will be undertaken to ensure that risks associated with participant observing and interviewing public are kept to a minimum and that adequate 'check-in' procedures are followed to confirm whereabouts. Then, complete boxes below and the assessment is finished until the review date(s):					
9. Person(s) Who did Assessment:	Somruthai Soontayatron	10. Date:	10 th July 2007	11. Review Date:	July 2009
12. Checked By: (as necessary)	Chris Hall	13. Date:	10 th July 2007	14. Review Date:	
If No to Qu 7, go to next section and estimate 'Residual Risk'.					

Estimating the Residual Risk:

15. Choose a category that best describes the degree of harm which could result from the hazard, then choose a category indicating what the likelihood is that a person(s) could be harmed. Check only **ONE** box within the table which matches both of your choices.

Degree of harm likelihood	Slightly Harmful (e.g. minor injuries such as minor cuts/bruises not always requiring first aid)	Harmful (e.g. serious but short-term injuries such as broken bones or curable disease)	Extremely Harmful (e.g. would cause fatality, major long-term injuries or incurable disease)
Highly Unlikely	Trivial Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Tolerable Risk <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Moderate Risk <input type="checkbox"/>
Unlikely	Tolerable Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Moderate Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Substantial Risk <input type="checkbox"/>
Likely	Moderate Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Substantial Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Intolerable Risk <input type="checkbox"/>

16. Then note the advice below on suggested action and timescale	
Residual Risk Level	Action and Timescale
Trivial Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	No action is required and no documentary records need to be kept.
Tolerable Risk <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No additional controls are required. Consideration may be given to a more cost-effective solution or improvement that imposes no additional cost burden. Monitoring is required to ensure that the controls are maintained
Moderate Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Efforts should be made to reduce the risk, but the costs of prevention should be carefully measured and limited. Risks reduction measures should be implemented within a defined period. Where the moderate risk is associated with extremely harmful consequences, further assessment may be necessary to establish more precisely the likelihood of harm as a basis for determining the need for improved control measures.
Substantial Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Work should not be started until the risk has been reduced. Considerable resources may have to be allocated to reduce the risk. Where the risk involves work in progress, urgent action should be taken.
Intolerable Risk <input type="checkbox"/>	Work should not be started or continued until the risk has been reduced. If it is not possible to reduce the risk even with unlimited resources, work has to remain prohibited.

17. If 'Moderate' 'Substantial' or 'Intolerable': What New Control Measures are to be Considered to reduce risk? -	18. Referred to: -	19. On Date: -
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20. Ensure those affected are informed of the Risks & Controls Confirm how you have done this (or intend to do this) e.g. written instructions: I am the person affected					
21. Person(s) Who did Assessment:	Somruthai Soontayatron	22. Date:	10 th July 2007	23. Review Date:	July 2009
24. Checked By: (as necessary)	Chris Hall	25. Date:	10 th July 2007	26. Review Date:	

Appendix 6: Impacts from the interaction between hosts and tourists consistent with other studies

Impacts	Evidence in Koh Samui	Literature
Culturally inappropriate tourist behaviour	<p><i>'I hope that tourists should know what should do and what should not do when they come over here. I am very concerned the way they dress and topless when they do sunbathing as it is not our culture to do something like that. I also concerned for tourist's own good as well. You have heard about raping and killing tourists'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'I would like tourists to visit us as many number as they could; however, I think they should mind their behaviour when they get drunk and should not be nudity when they get sunbathing. Also, they should be careful the way to express of love as our culture is a conservative one'. (Nut, Extensive contact)</i></p> <p><i>'I quite used to with tourist behaviour. I don't mind everything they do like kissing in the public place, shouting or looking for girly company as I understand that it is their business. But what I really hate is their behaviour when they get drunk, it is doggy'.(Bom, Partial contact)</i></p>	<p>The greater the differences of characteristics, appearance, culture, and language between the local residents and visitors, the more evidence are the social and cultural impact and some tourist's behaviour may lead to upset local residents in the host community (Butler, 1980; Pearce, 1982). The balanced relationships between host and guest are obstructed by the tourists' lack of knowledge to the visited culture combined with their perceptions and stereotypical images toward host communities (Mowforth and Munt, 1998).</p>
Attitudes toward the increased number of tourists	<p><i>'It would be great if we can bring more tourists. Then I can earn more money and spread it out to my employees' (Lek, Extensive contact)</i></p> <p><i>'More tourists could be good. It can bring me money but I am not bothering it that much'. (Suay, Partial contact)</i></p> <p><i>'I am not interested in tourist numbers whether it increase or decrease. I just do the best I can'. (Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'Oh...nooooo!!! More tourists! I know that they bring us good economic but I don't want them more anyway'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	<p>Individuals who evaluate and perceive beneficial rewards in the exchange, they have different perceptions with ones who perceive the harmful exchange (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Nevertheless, local perceptions toward tourism within communities are various in the combination of effects of tourism development when the intrinsic dimension is regarded. The intrinsic elements include level of involvement in tourism, the residential closeness to the centre of tourist areas, and duration of residence in the areas (Carter, 2000; Faulkner and Tideswall, 1997).</p>

Appendix 7: Social consequences of tourism development consistent with other studies

Impacts	Evidence in Koh Samui	Literature
Better quality of life	<p><i>'Tourism has brought the electricity, water and communication system to us'. (Nut, Extensive contact)</i></p> <p><i>'I admit that tourism has improved quality of life of people in Koh Samui'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'Wooden houses are nearly gone now especially in Chaweng and Lamai. Local people replace their wooden houses to concrete ones. It is a kind of showing really. It is a good thing to have all western facilities in order to be more convenient and improve their life but it is more than that for local people. It is a kind of telling others of their social statuses'. (Kaew, Local authorities)</i></p>	<p>As a part of tourism development, a better quality of life for the host population is an obvious positive impact. Additionally, the development of telecommunication, basic infrastructure and information technology which are built to facilitate tourists but local people are able to benefit from these developments as well (Pearce, 1998). In addition to the positive economic benefits, tourism can change the social structure of the host population.</p>
Tourism as a factor to push the development forward	<p><i>'Honestly, I confess that if it is possible and I can turn back time, I don't want tourism in my community. However, I admit that Koh Samui would have not been developed without tourism'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'Since coconut price gone down, we would have staved to death. Luckily, we have tourism emerged in our community. At least, we have way to go'. (Bom, Partial contact)</i></p>	<p>Tourism can encourage and bring social mobility in developing countries through changes in employment from traditional agriculture to modernisation and may particularly result in higher incomes and better job prospects (Archer and Cooper, 1994). In the past, agriculture was the main income of Koh Samui by coconut plantations. Later on, the coconut prices were dropped as well as first tourist group entered to Koh Samui and Koh Samui has become a famous tourist destination ever since. Local people who relied on agriculture have moved to tourism businesses, therefore; local economic in Koh Samui has been dependent on tourism ever since.</p>
Local economy depends on tourism	<p><i>I am a bit concerned really but totally understand. Local people in Koh Samui, recently, have sold their lands to non-local investors and left agriculture to tourism businesses. I understand that if they still counted on agriculture, they would be staving to death. We relied on coconut plantations in the past but the coconut</i></p>	<p>Since the coconut's price has gone down, many local people in Koh Samui has turned to tourism industry and relied on it. In some host communities, where tourism takes over as a major income, the invasion</p>

	<p><i>prices went down and it was not worth to count on it anymore as well as the tourism has become boom in Koh Samui so we have way out. People need to be feed and money for living. I don't blame them. Who is to blame is government. The coconut prices have been dropping every year and government should hand a help for us but I don't know how they help us the coconut prices keep dropping and dropping. Now the price is about one Bath per coconut'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	<p>impacts on traditional livelihoods to the detriment of activities e.g. farming (Sharpley, 1999). Moreover, some host communities can become over-dependent on tourism.</p>
Rise of property price	<p><i>'When tourism emerged in Koh Samui and especially when land price was getting higher, agriculturalists needed to find a way to survive so most of them sold their lands. Especially after Tsunami disaster, foreign investors, tourists, hotel owners have looked for a new place and they have seen tourism in Koh Samui as their new opportunity. Consequently, land price has been ever higher as it has been needed. Therefore, most of local people have seen this opportunity to sell their lands and lands in Koh Samui have been changed from local people's hand to others. It is worried me a lot' (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	<p>Property price in Koh Samui was dramatically increased in the last decade especially after Tsunami disaster. The high price of property may start with one of well-known local people in Koh Samui sold his land with an extremely high price, about three million Bath or more. Additionally, many domestic and international investors turned to be interested in Koh Samui as a new market after Tsunami. Simultaneously, tourism can cause the overcrowding of infrastructure and properties. Moreover, tourism development normally tempts investment in environmental conservation (Sharpley, 1999). In contrast, tourism produces higher prices of properties and loss of traditional services (Diem, 1980).</p>
Inflation	<p><i>'Food and everything in Koh Samui is more expensive than others. Once pork meat's price reached up to 100 baht per kilo and everything is getting more expensive but it contrasts with our income'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i> <i>'Who thinks that a portion of chicken fried rice can cost 60 baht in Koh Samui. Even a portion of chicken fried rice in Bangkok costs 40 baht, people think that is expensive but here, in Koh Samui is normal, maybe, cheap!'. (Pop, Neutral concerned with tourism)</i></p>	<p>Mason (2003) and Pearce (1998) mention inflation, opportunity costs and over-dependence on tourism as negative economic impacts of tourism. Tourism may bring inflation which relates to the increase in prices of food and properties (Mason, 2003). Additionally, the increase in prices of these commodities can occur when the extra demands on local services at a tourism</p>

	<p><i>'Samui people's income and salary is based on the same as other people in the country's income. Basic labour cost is about 100 something baht per day but the living cost here is very high so what we can do then!'. (Suay, Partial contact)</i></p>	<p>destination are placed by tourists (Archer and Cooper, 1994). Over-dependence on tourism can happen, for instance, when the government in small states sees tourism as the best approach for development the countries (Matheison and Wall, 2006).</p>
<p>Big brands replace local stores</p>	<p><i>'I am a bit concerned that there are so many convenient stores such as Seven Elevens and Family Marts in Koh Samui. These convenient stores have replaces local stores and groceries. Also, these convenient stores are a new thing and become a new stereotype for our children as the first thing that children in Koh Samui wake ask from their parents is a money to buy something in Seven Elevens'. (Lek, Extensive contact)</i></p> <p><i>'There is a Tesco in Chaweng. You know how long it took until they get allowance to build. They had got a protest but it was a short while and then you know money can make thing quiet. Then Tesco has tried to build their supermarket another one in Lamai but there have been protests from time to time ever since. (Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'If Tesco opened more branches in Lamai, local groceries must die soon. Just only Seven Eleven and Family Mart have already made this situation worse, local groceries have less income and nearly die out now'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	<p>In fact, the coming of Tesco may mean the death out of local groceries and owners will have to lose their income as well as lose their businesses eventually as products in Tesco will be cheaper than in local groceries. Undesirable transformations can occur including the challenge of modernity to traditional social values, change in cultural practices to attract visitors and appearance of a new economically powerful group (Getz, 1994).</p>
<p>Foreign ownership of beachfront</p>	<p><i>'Now local businesses count on Western tourists too much and I don't know what it is going to be if they don't visit here anymore. Majority of lands in Koh Samui especially in Chaweng beach are bought by Western investors' (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'Recently, western investors have been pouring in Koh Samui to buy beautiful pieces of lands to built houses for sale, resorts, hotels and condominium'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'After Tsunami disaster, foreign investors have put their interest on their investment to Koh Samui as we have seen so many hotel chains and resort chains emerged a lot in Koh Samui recently. In other word, we can say that Koh Samui will become to foreign town and controlled by foreign investors like Phuket'.</i></p>	<p>Many beachfront lands have been changed the ownership from local people to foreigner to built hotels, resorts and other entertainments. It is one of the common biases of tourism that local people in islands often gain costs without receiving many of benefits (Matheison and Wall, 2006). Additionally, by owning the local hotels, restaurants, and most of the other tourism infrastructure, foreign tour businesses, however, are able to control tourism processes as a whole and capture most of revenues (Sharpley, 2003). Profits are often removed from host societies and sent to Western</p>

	<i>(Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)</i>	countries where most tourists originate (Matheison and Wall, 2006; Sharpley, 2003).
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Appendix 8: Physical impacts of tourism development consistent with other studies

Impacts	Evidence in Koh Samui	Literature
Growth in communications and information technology	<p><i>'In the past about ten or twelve years ago, when I had just moved here, the communication and contact other people outside Koh Samui was very difficult but after the boom of tourism, there have been an improvement a lot in accommodation section and communication as well as information technology. Now we have telephones, televisions, mobile phones and internet widely used'. (Nut, Extensive contact)</i></p> <p><i>'It was not convenient in the past but today we have telephone widely used in every household in Koh Samui'. (Suay, Partial contact)</i></p>	<p>The basis underlying of tourism development can be sub-divided into the following factors: growth in communications and information technology, increased leisure time and longer period of vacation, rising real incomes due to sustained economic growth, and increased world trade of tourism business (Butler, 1975; 1980; Cooper et al., 1998; William and Lawson, 2001).</p>
Growth in infrastructure and facilities	<p><i>'When I was a child, it was very difficult to visit my cousins even from Lamai to Nathon, my father and I had to go by foot for a day. Also, my father and I had to stay over night at my cousins before head back home'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'Later on, there was a road built up between Lamai and Hua Thanon. After that, there would be road built up bit by bit until we have road around Koh Samui to commute in the present. It had taken for years to have road cover around Koh Samui as we had to ask for the budget from the government. At first, the road around Koh Samui was very small and later on, we have cars so there was the magnification of the round road around Koh Samui to be a bit wider but as we have seen, it is not wide enough but we could not ask for more lands to build wider road from the locals'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	<p>Decades ago, there was no road in Koh Samui and no facility at all. The transportation within Koh Samui was very difficult as Jo mentioned how difficult he was when he wanted to visit his cousins. Mason (2003) states that growth in infrastructure and basic facility can indicate the development of tourism.</p>
Overcrowding of properties	<p><i>'Yes...there are too many properties in Koh Samui especially in the beach areas or areas having a sea view'. (Bom, Partial contact)</i></p> <p><i>'Too many properties. It is overcrowded of properties really. It is annoyed me as those properties block all the good view. It looks very untidy. They can build any shape or sort of properties as they would like'. (Pop, Neutral concerned with tourism)</i></p>	<p>Not only lands by the beachfront but also lands on the high land have been built many properties. It hardly sees an empty land in Koh Samui nowadays. Overcrowding of resorts and properties is caused by tourism development and this overcrowding can also effect on both local residents and tourists. In some host</p>

	<p><i>'Now lands in the beach area are reserved so many people have moved up to build their properties on the hills. You know, even the lands on hill are now very expensive'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'People in Koh Samui have built the properties too close too the beach and if there is an incident as Tsunami happen here, you know what it is going to be. Also, it starts having too many properties on the hill and believe me, it will be the incident of hill collapse in the nearly future. It is going to be a disaster'. (Lek, Extensive contact)</i></p>	<p>communities, where tourism takes over as a major income, the invasion impacts on traditional livelihoods to the detriment of activities e.g. farming (Shapley, 1999).</p>
Urban development in natural areas	<p><i>'Now many resorts are built on mountainous hill. It is very dangerous. I am afraid that it will be collapse someday'. (Lek, Extensive contact)</i></p> <p><i>'Tourists who have more money rent or buy houses on the hill rather than by the beach. It is much better view, more beautiful and individual. Just like David Beckham rented his holiday house on the hill as well. I have heard that he rented for 99 years'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'We normally use underground water rather than tap water which is very expensive here. Additionally, there is a new trend that people escape to stay in the mountainous resorts so you would see many properties on the hill. Imagine, if people used a lot underground water and flat land sank and built too much properties on the mountain and it collapsed, what is going to be. We will hear about the disaster once more'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	<p>Not only flat lands by the beach but high mountainous lands are also covered by resorts, hotels and guest houses. It may reach to the saturation point of flat land used and we can see that there are many resorts e.g. four season resort and spa as well as many houses built on mountainous land. mass tourism results overload infrastructure, destroy environmental resources, and ruin island culture as well as it leads to the attractiveness of low styles tourism based on affluent, low volume, long stay and repeat visitors (Hall and Page, 2002; Holden, 2000; Mason, 2003, Matheison and Wall, 2006).</p>
Most lands belong to Western investors	<p><i>'Recently, western investors have been pouring in Koh Samui to buy beautiful pieces of lands to built houses for sale, resorts, hotels and condominium'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'After Tsunami disaster, foreign investors have put their interest on their investment to Koh Samui as we have seen so many hotel chains and resort chains emerged a lot in Koh Samui recently. In other word, we can say that Koh Samui will become to foreign town and controlled by foreign investors like Phuket'. (Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'Now local businesses count on Western tourist number too much and I don't know what it is going to be if they don't visit here anymore. Majority of lands in</i></p>	<p>Although foreigners can not own even single piece in Thailand by Thai law, many western investors may buy it under a company or rent it as long as they want. However, there has been evidence that many westerners normally do a contract for renting at least fifty years. Foreign businesses, however, are able to control tourism processes as a whole and capture most of revenues (Sharpley, 2003). Profits are often removed from host societies and sent to Western countries where most tourists originate (Sharpley, 2003; Matheison and</p>

	<i>Koh Samui especially in Chaweng beach are bought by Western investors' (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i>	Wall, 2006). Moreover, if powerful foreign businesses move into a local area, the independence of local people sometimes declines (Holden, 2000; Matheison and Wall, 2006; Shaw, 2002).
Limited beach access	<p><i>'Yes...there are too many properties in Koh Samui especially in the beach areas. We barely go to the beach areas as we know that most of them are reserved for tourists. Of cause we still have public access to the beach areas but it is very small area and crowded with tourists. In the past, we liked going to the beach with my family, hanging out together but it now changes. Better to avoid unpleasant things'. (Suay, Partial contact)</i></p> <p><i>'Now lands in the beach area are reserved so many people have moved up to build their properties on the hills. You know, even the lands on hill are now very expensive'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'People in Koh Samui have built the properties too close too the beach and if there is an incident as Tsunami happen here, you know what it is going to be. Also, it starts having too many properties on the hill and believe me, it will be the incident of hill collapse in the nearly future. It is going to be a disaster'. (Lek, Extensive contact)</i></p>	Overcrowding of properties in beachfront area is caused by tourism development and this overcrowding can also effect on local residents as they could not access to the beach. In this case, local residents may find it difficult (Agarwal, 1999). Additionally, focusing on beach tourism may limit opportunities for local people to have visual access to the sea (Mason, 2003).
Poorly maintained infrastructure	<p><i>'I have never seen the ring road is smooth without any cracks'. (Jib, Extensive contact).</i></p> <p><i>'I saw they repaired the ring road and it seems never finish. It always broke anyway'. (Kae, Partial contact)</i></p> <p><i>'I understand that there are numbers of users on the road and we can not make it bigger as we have limit of land. The broken road is an understandable'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	Uncontrolled demographic change by tourism development in a limited basic facility can cause damage to the host community such as broken road, insufficient water supply, and lack of sanitary (Burns and Holden, 1995).
Bad traffic	<p><i>'I have to wake up very early and prepare myself at least an hour if I have to go out somewhere on businesses'. (Lek, Extensive contact)</i></p> <p><i>'I normally do business in the morning if I have to go out as the traffic is normally horrible in the afternoon when tourists wake up'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	Bad traffic is also one of the problems that effects on local people's lifestyle. Heavy traffic is one of affection by uncontrolled tourism development in order to demographic change (Shapley, 1999)

	<i>'In the past, it took only five minutes from my house to Chaweng but this day; I take at least half an hour'. (Jew, No contact with tourism)</i>	
Poor development control	<i>'At the moment, we don't have proper regulation to control big department stores as well as large properties. We only have city planning and land zoning to control the building of properties. We try to have municipal law to set the standard where they can build properties and where they cannot. It will also state that big department stores will be forbidden to be built in the city area'. (Man, Local authorities)</i>	Not only local people in Koh Samui but others as well have been protesting to have Tesco Lotus built in their community. Tesco will destroy indigenous knowledge and local people source of income. Tesco normally enter to a community with lower price products than local groceries. Consequently, local groceries die out; local people lose their business as well as source of income, and Tesco eventually increase the product prices. Many scholars state that some host destinations lack of decent development control which causes a major socio-cultural impacts (Burns and Holden, 1995; Cooper et al, 1998; Kariel, 1989; Macleod, 2004; Nimmonratana, 2000; Ryan, 1991; Teo et al, 2001).

Appendix 9: Cultural impacts of tourism development consistent with other studies

Impacts	Evidence in Koh Samui	Literature
Adapted to Western lifestyle	<p><i>'...they have rebuilt their houses with concretes and semen. Also, they have to have a big screen television as well as air-conditioning and mobile phone'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'People in Koh Samui normally use motorbikes...have small road so using motorbikes for us is more convenient'. (Lek, Extensive contact)</i></p> <p><i>'They consume more McDonalds and KFC and then some kids are wearing tank-top without consideration of their figure. Also, mobile phones seem to be a must have for the kids as they want to show their friends that they are cool'. (Kae, Partial contact)</i></p>	<p>When the emerge of Western free trade culture and tourism development were occurred, a basic infrastructure and Western facilities were developed including franchised convenient stores, shopping complexes, bars, clubs, karaoke, and mobile phones. In order to this phenomenon, local people had to adapt, imitate or be used to Western lifestyle especially young generation. Tourism is merely one of a number of factors that impacts globally upon host traditions as well as native residents' lifestyle (Ritchie and Zins, 1978).</p>
Changes to basic values, customs, and traditions	<p><i>'Don't expect Num-Jai without money. In other word, we should evaluate our money before we ask someone to do something for us. Anyway, this matter doesn't apply to my brothers and sisters. They are sincerely helpful'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'Money is a matter now. If we don't have money, we will be in trouble. If you have no money, I don't think anyone will be hanging out with you as friends'. (Kae, Partial contact)</i></p> <p><i>'It seems people have less compromise these days when it comes with a conflict. People lose their temper easily. We live as mutual aid, brothers-sisters-friends relation but it seems like everything changes now'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'There is a new value that respects people with money, not their goodness anymore. Also, many poor women look for rich companions especial Northeast people crave to marry with westerner as they thought that those people are rich so they can improve to better life'. (Suay, Partial contact)</i></p>	<p>Many scholars define tradition and basic value as a set of beliefs or customs taught by one generation to another from time to time (Embree, 1950; Esterik, 2000; Nash, 2007). Thai people has believed and respected in high value of their Buddha taught to remain goodness both in their mind and behaviour. It means they should remain good thought and mind their behaviour and action all the time especially while they are socialising with others in public places (Esterik, 2000). In fact, they should have a sense of willingness to help without material involvement. They should care other people's mind more than their material (Kislenko, 2004). Mutual aid in Koh Samui seemed to be changed gradually, more materialism and less respect of goodness including high basic value of Num-Jai, Kreng-Jai, Karatesa, and cool heart in Thai culture.</p>
Family structure changes	<p><i>'My son married so he moved out to stay with his wife. But I don't feel much</i></p>	<p>In some developing countries, tourism may affect family</p>

	<p><i>different as they moved to two doors down from us.’ (Wow, Neutral concerned with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>‘I inherited this land from my parents and actually we, my two sisters, three brothers and me, lived together in the old house. But when our parents died, we split the lands and built the house living near by to each other. Now, my son grew and married so I built a house next to mine for them. They want privacy, I understand that’. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	<p>structure of local residents in order to the change of economic situation (Hall and Page, 2002). Individualism of Western culture seemed to spread out to Koh Samui so it affected the family structure of local people. They normally lived together in a big family consist of great-grandmother and father, grandmother and father, parents, and children but it was changed in their structure. The nuclear family seemed to be increased in the local family tradition; however, it was not a raid rotation. They still lived near each other.</p>
<p>Change in consumption behaviour among the young generation</p>	<p><i>‘You know, children now don’t buy things from local convenient stores anymore. First thing when they wake up, they ask for money from their parents to buy a steamed bun from Seven-Eleven even though they can get one cheaper and tastier from a local shop. It is because they think it is cool to buy things there’. (Lek, Extensive contact)</i></p> <p><i>‘It is a shame for the new generation in Koh Samui. They consume more McDonalds and KFC and then some kids are wearing tank-top without consideration of their figure. Also, mobile phones seem to be a must have for the kids as they want to show their friends that they are cool’. (Suay, Partial contact)</i></p>	<p>Young generation in Koh Samui easily adapted to alien culture and they grew up in the time of development in their community as well as the basic value, tradition and custom changes from time to time. Tourism may be disruptive in that local people, especially young generation become resentful because they are unable to obtain the goods and lifestyle demonstrated by the visitors (Burns and Holden, 1995).</p>
<p>Teenage adapt to the change better than older generation</p>	<p><i>‘It is a shame for the new generation in Koh Samui. They consume more McDonalds and KFC and then some kids are wearing tank-top without consideration of their figure. Also, mobile phones seem to be a must have for the kids as they want to show their friends that they are cool’. (Suay, Partial contact)</i></p> <p><i>‘You know, children now don’t buy things from local convenient stores anymore. First thing when they wake up, they ask for money from their parents to buy a steamed bun from Seven-Eleven even though they can get one cheaper and tastier from a local shop. It is because they think it is cool to buy things there’. (Lek, Extensive contact).</i></p> <p><i>‘We have our own language called PASA-SAMUI. It is the same with written Thai language but the way we pronounce it is different. Other provinces in the south</i></p>	<p>Young generation was more materialism and in favour of junk food rather than local one. Additionally, their lifestyle and outfits were influenced by Western culture. It might not be too obvious changed but it could be noticed as they were more individualism and self-confidence but still in an appropriate way to Thai culture. One of the more significant socio-cultural impacts of tourism is referred to as the demonstration effect. This depends on there being visible differences between tourists and hosts. In the demonstration effect, it is theorised that simply observing tourists will lead to behavioural changes in the</p>

	<i>part of Thailand have their own accents, so do we. Children give more attention to English language than their own local language and I am afraid that the local language will have disappeared soon'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i>	resident population (Williams, 1998).
Community cohesion	<i>'Money is a matter now. If we don't have money, we will be in trouble. If you have no money, I don't think anyone will be hanging out with you as friends'. (Suay, Partial contact)</i> <i>'The other days, my tap was broke and I asked my cousin for fixing it. We had to have a price agreement before he decided to do it. Unbelievable, isn't it! In the past, we were more helpful – we helped each other without hoping anything in return even money'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i>	The introduction of tourism to Koh Samui has been accompanied by new forms of interaction among local members (Matheison and Wall, 2006). The system in the mutual aid in the community was disappearing and being replaced by a money matter. It was the threat of a cash economy and loss of mutuality in human relationships on the essence of Thai culture. Stem et al. (2003) propose the some major negative impacts of tourism development including the breakdown of social and cultural structures in host communities and the bringing of changes that erode community structure.
Disruption place attachment	<i>'In the past, I remembered I normally went to the beach with my parents every weekend when I was a child to have a picnic and spent time together. It is a place to gather our cousins and relatives. It was very beautiful memory but it rarely have one now'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i> <i>'Many places in Koh Samui are full of memories but what is a shame, tourists reserve all these places'. (Suay, Partial contact)</i> <i>'I remember sometimes at the weekend, my mum would cook something and brought the food to the beach so I could have fresh air and ran round. Now I have a daughter and I would like her to share my memory but the beach area is changed a lot. If I bring my daughter there, I have to keep an eye on her very well as it is very crowded and I afraid if there is something wrong with her'. (Pom, Neutral concerned with tourism)</i>	The infrastructure publicly used lands (e.g. beach) are overexploitation and the decrease availability of the resources for local people may disrupt place and attachment as they usually use the beach as a place to spend time together and hold their good memories. Sometimes, community attachment and sense of ownership and belonging to the place could be blurred by limited access to places due to an overcrowding of tourists (Matheison and Wall, 2006).
Demise of religious practice	<i>'Oiii... There are so many pubs, beer bars, restaurants, department stores and many facilities provided for tourists in Chaweng'. (Pop, Neutral concerned with tourism)</i> <i>'There are so many karaoke bars opened in Koh Samui. You know it is not just</i>	Since tourism has occurred in Koh Samui, the development and modernisation seems to be an outcome. However, tourism has not only brought the material

	<p><i>selling karaoke in there, they also sell alcohol drinks. It seems time changed people changed too. You will see some local people to go there as it has been quite famous but most people who visit there are non-local people who are working here. It is a horrible thing to show our young generation'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	<p>development, but fading of moral lift (Matheison and Wall, 2006).</p>
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Appendix 10: Politics in Koh Samui consistent with other studies

Impacts	Evidence in Koh Samui	Literature
<p>More involve of government</p>	<p><i>'I would like local authorities and government involve more in managerial and planning prospect'. (Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'Honestly, I want local government to get more involve in order to promote tourism to outside world but you see how they work... so slow and unrealistic'. (Lek, Extensive to contact)</i></p> <p><i>'It would be nice if local government has less corruption and work more. I mean that they should get involve more and put their attention or keep an eye on tourism development and make a proper plan to manage tourism'. (Pom, Neutral concerned with tourism)</i></p>	<p>The results show that residents in all typology agree would local government to get more involve in tourism development in their community in the prospects of marketing, managerial and planning. It is significantly important for local government to get involve with planning and educating local people and tourism businesses in order to reduce damage from a consequence of tourism development (Lankford, 1994; Madrigal, 1995).</p>
<p>Unsuccessful city plan</p>	<p><i>'We had city plan last year but didn't know what happened then. It may be because no one followed the plan and it was cancelled. However, we will have a new effective one soon'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'Yeah...I know. This is Koh Samui and it is not surprised to see many lands in green area were used and built up resorts and hotels or personal properties. Land prices in Koh Samui are very high so every land in Koh Samui is valuable'. (Jib, Extensive to contact)</i></p> <p><i>'We never have city plan in Koh Samui'. (Pop, Neutral concerned with tourism and Art, No contact with tourism)</i></p>	<p>Once there was a city plan in Koh Samui in 2006 but there was no one cared to follow the plan. The City Council then cancelled it. Actually, lands in Koh Samui are divided into green, brown and red areas. Green area is the natural resources areas such as jungle or forest up hill and does not allow anyone to build any properties in this area. Brown area is an area which not fully with natural resources and allow people to build any properties in this area and red area is a household area. Butler (1980) states that the specific characteristics of the development stage are the fail of developmental control in some destinations.</p>
<p>Desire to be involve in making decisions</p>	<p><i>'I want to get involve more in the decisions about my community. For example, I know, if they have money, they can buy land and doing in their land. However, if you would like to built something big, you need an allowance from City Council and how come City Council allow Tesco Lotus built in our community without listening our voices. I know my money can make things easier and quiet successes'. (Poo, No contact with tourism)</i></p> <p><i>'Local authorities and government should do public hearing or polls before they</i></p>	<p>It was clear that local people were interested in greater level of involvement in tourism as well as more opportunities to participate in decisions which affect the industry. Many studies demonstrate that local people in some host communities want to get involve in making decisions with something important that may affect their life (Getz, 199a; William and Lawson, 2001).</p>

	<i>make decisions and effect to our community'. (Lek, Extensive to contact)</i>	
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Glossary of Thai words

Baht	Thai currency unit approximately one pound about 65 baht in 2002	
		68 baht in 2003
		74 baht in 2004
		73 baht in 2005
		70 baht in 2006
		69 baht in 2007
		62 baht in 2008
		53 bath in Jan – June 2009
		(Bank of Thailand, 2009)
Bon	Up	
Boon-khun	Gratitude or gratefulness	
Chai-yen	Cool-heart, calm	
Choei	No response or neutral attitudes	
Farang	Foreigners (Westerners)	
Isan	Northeast	
Kaek	Muslim	
Kalatesa	Suitable, appropriateness	
Kamlang-jai	Emotional supportive	
Khun	A polite word to call a person for both male and female	
Koh	Island	
Kreng-jai	Deference and consideration	
Larn	Below, down	
Num-jai	Obliging, generous, great-hearted	
Pasa	Language	
Pu-yai-ban	Village headman	
Tambon	Sub-districts	
Wat	Buddhist temple	