

CHANGES INDUCED BY TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN A RURAL COMMUNITY:  
A Case Study of the Golden Triangle,  
Thailand

by

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### ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is to investigate changes induced by rapid tourism development in a *Tai Yai* village, *Ban Sob Ruak* (BSR), in the Golden Triangle of northern Thailand.

From the geographical point of view, the transformation of the village can be regarded as a change of place, while from the sociological point of view, the transformation can be explained in the context of modernization. These two closely related aspects of change were examined in this study in the context of modernization theory and the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.

The study gathered data through use of surveys, in-depth interviews, field checks, aerial photographs and consultative meetings. Three sets of structured questionnaires were developed for three surveys.

Major findings of the study suggest that:

1) During a period of less than 10 years, tourism has contributed to significant changes in **BSR** in various areas: socio-economic, cultural, land ownership and use. For example, one quarter of residents had changed their main occupations from farming to tourism-related jobs, household income and land values, in particular, had considerably increased.

The residents of **BSR**, in general, have a very positive perception towards tourism impacts. The study, however, recommended that the monitoring of residents' perceptions towards tourism development in **BSR** in the long term should be

undertaken. After nearly a decade, drawbacks of tourism in the village have emerged in various forms, e.g. increased social differentiation and materialism, water and visual pollution, and increased exploitation of forest resources by the community. These drawbacks, if left unchecked, may affect residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts in the future.

2) Tourism-induced loss of control over local resources, especially land, has tended to increase social differentiation and depletion of forest resources by the community.

3) **BSR** residents have been tremendously successful in the business skills required to benefit from tourism development in spite of a lack of external support.

4) The residents of **BSR** have adjusted in two ways to cope with tourism development, revitalization and adoption.

The study results also suggest that tourism seems capable of catalyzing the modernization process in host communities, especially in rural areas.

In terms of tourism management, the study argues that a community approach to tourism planning may be promising for application in less developed countries. Government support, however, is likely to be necessary for this purpose.

Finally, it is argued that tourism can be an effective tool for rural development. **BSR** is an example of unplanned tourism development without support from the government. Public participation, however, made the tourism industry a desirable alternative development strategy for the village. Serious attention from the government is imperative if tourism is to be a successful tool for rural development.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Geography is commonly defined as the study of *"places and the people of places, how people interact in a place and between places. It is locational: this is its appeal and its purpose"* (Curry 1991, p.2). Although *"place"* can be thought of as a portion of geographical space occupied by a person or thing (Johnston, Gregory and Smith 1989; Entrikin 1991), to humanistic geographers, it also embraces an emotive component, heavily laden with the values and feelings of individuals towards that place. *"Place"* essentially denotes the idea of space plus people in a meaningful relationship (Buttimer 1980, Godkin 1980, Hay 1986 and Eyles 1989).

This research examines changes which have affected the people and the place of *Ban Sob Ruak (BSR)*, a village in the Golden Triangle, Northern Thailand (Figure 1.1). The major cause of these changes in **BSR** is tourism. The village has evolved, in a period of less than 10 years, from an isolated rural backwater to a tourist destination with 3 five-star hotels. The objective of this research is to examine changes in **BSR** and its surrounding area, which have occurred during this transform-

ation process, and to determine how villagers have adjusted to such changes. It contributes to scholarly work by:

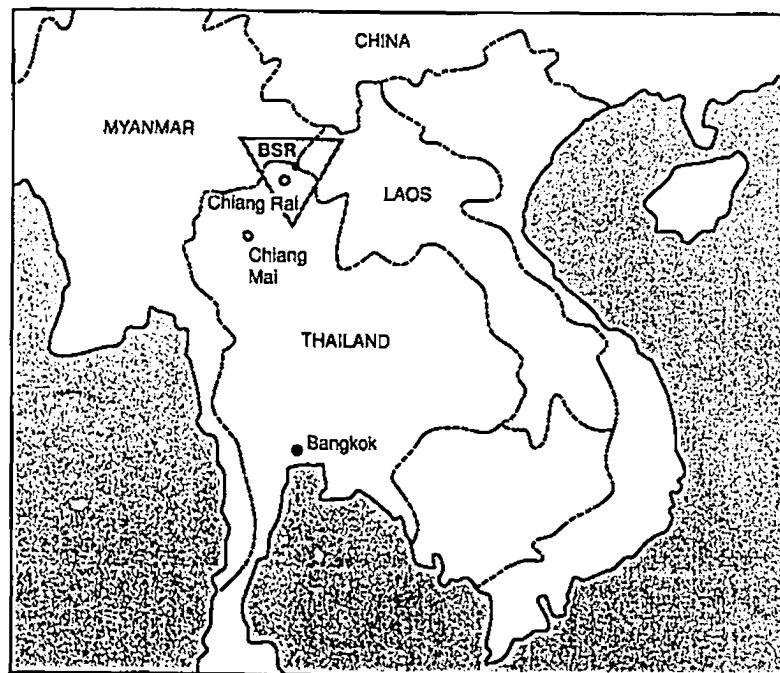
(i) further developing modernization theory and the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, as they apply to change in small rural villages resulting from development (in this case development resulting from tourism);

(ii) providing an in-depth case study of the impacts of tourism growth in small villages in less developed countries;

(iii) examining the applicability of existing concepts of how people in a less developed country (in this case, Thailand) adjust to tourism development as summarized by Dogan (1989); and

(iv) contributing to the development of the tourism literature on Thailand.

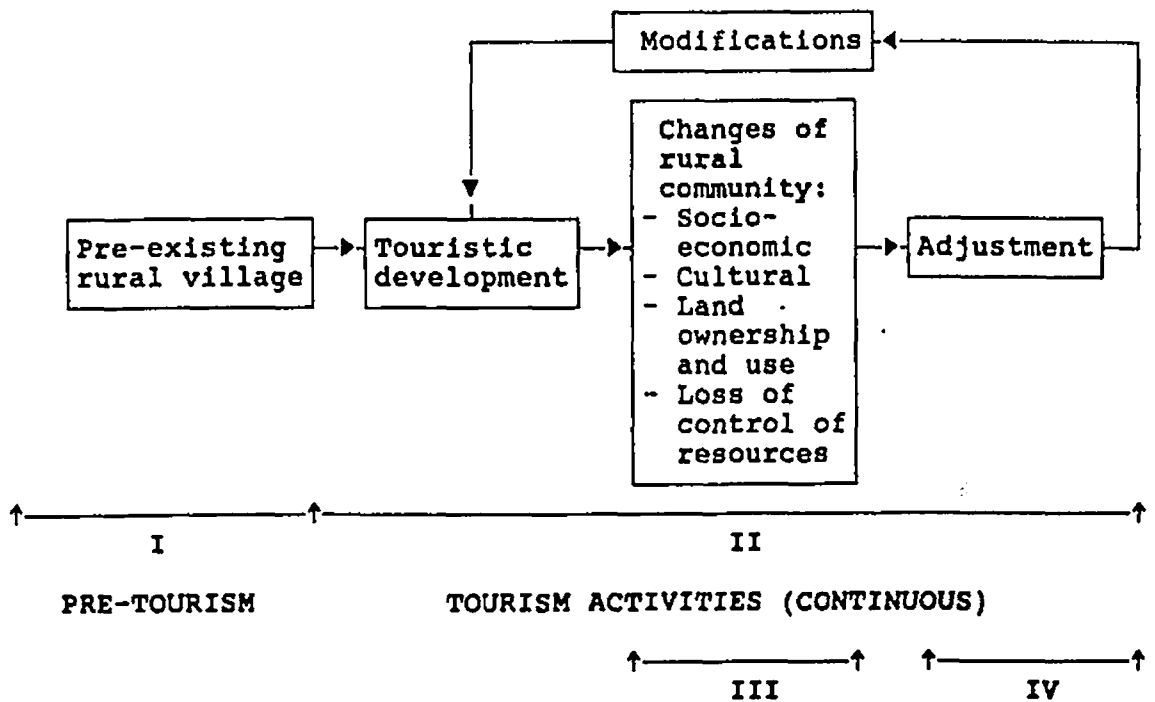
FIGURE 1.1 BSR is in the Golden Triangle



Tourism development, especially in less developed countries, is considered an important agent of change in rural communities. Changes occur in various aspects of rural life, reflecting socio-economic, cultural and land use variables. While some changes will occur regardless of tourism influences, anyway (e.g. occupational changes), they tend to take place at comparatively slower rates. Tourism development can lead to much more rapid and dramatic changes in a community which, in turn, may require local residents to undertake rapid and substantial adjustments in lifestyle.

This research was conducted in this conceptual framework which is illustrated in Figure 1.2.

FIGURE 1.2 Conceptual Framework



The framework illustrates the evolution of a tourist site from a pre-tourism *period (I)* when no tourism activities exist in the area and presumably the village is similar to surrounding villages, to *tourism period (II)* when tourism activities occur. The tourism activities are ongoing and the process leads to changes *(III)* which, in this case, include socio-economic, cultural, and land use changes as well as the associated loss of control over resources. These structural changes, then, bring about adjustments by local residents (*block IV*) which, in turn, contribute to additional modifications in terms of touristic development.

### *1.1 Research Questions*

Four main research questions will be addressed by this study:

(i) What changes occurred in **BSR** after tourism activities were initiated?

This involves identification of the socio-economic, cultural, and land use impacts of tourism which have contributed to a loss of control over local resources (*block III* in Figure 1.2).

(ii) Has the loss of control over local resources contributed to increasing social differentiation and depletion of natural resources?

(iii) Have local people developed new economic activities without external intervention?

(iv) Did local residents adjust to changes in ways which accord with the literature as summarised by Dogan (1989)?

Major terms used in this research have been defined as follows:

(i) "*Impacts*" in this study, refers to changes which have occurred following the initiation of tourism activities in **BSR**. This date can be fairly precisely set as 1987 when the main asphalt road between *Chiang Saen* town and **BSR** was completed. These impacts reflect changes that have occurred in **BSR** between 1987 and the time data were collected in 1992.

(ii) "*Socio-economic impacts*" can be determined for a wide range of variables. For the purposes of this study, however, the term will be used to refer to impacts on 1) occupation, 2) farming life styles (changes in main crops and labour sources in farming), 3) consumption patterns (changes in food, cooking fuel, water sources and other material goods), and 4) social norms (e.g. potential increases in crimes, gambling, drugs and prostitution).

(iii) "*Cultural impacts*" is another term that can be broadly interpreted, depending upon how "*culture*" is defined. In a very general sense, "*culture*" refers to "*the totality of socially transmitted behaviour patterns, arts, beliefs, institutions, and all other products of human work and thought*" (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 1992). However, its operational definition for the purposes of the study is restricted to impacts on local traditions (i.e. participation in religious ceremonies), local festivities (e.g. *Songkran*—a traditional northern water throwing festival, weddings, ordinations and cremations), young people's respect for elders, local dress, and cultural conservation efforts.

## *1.2 Study Area*

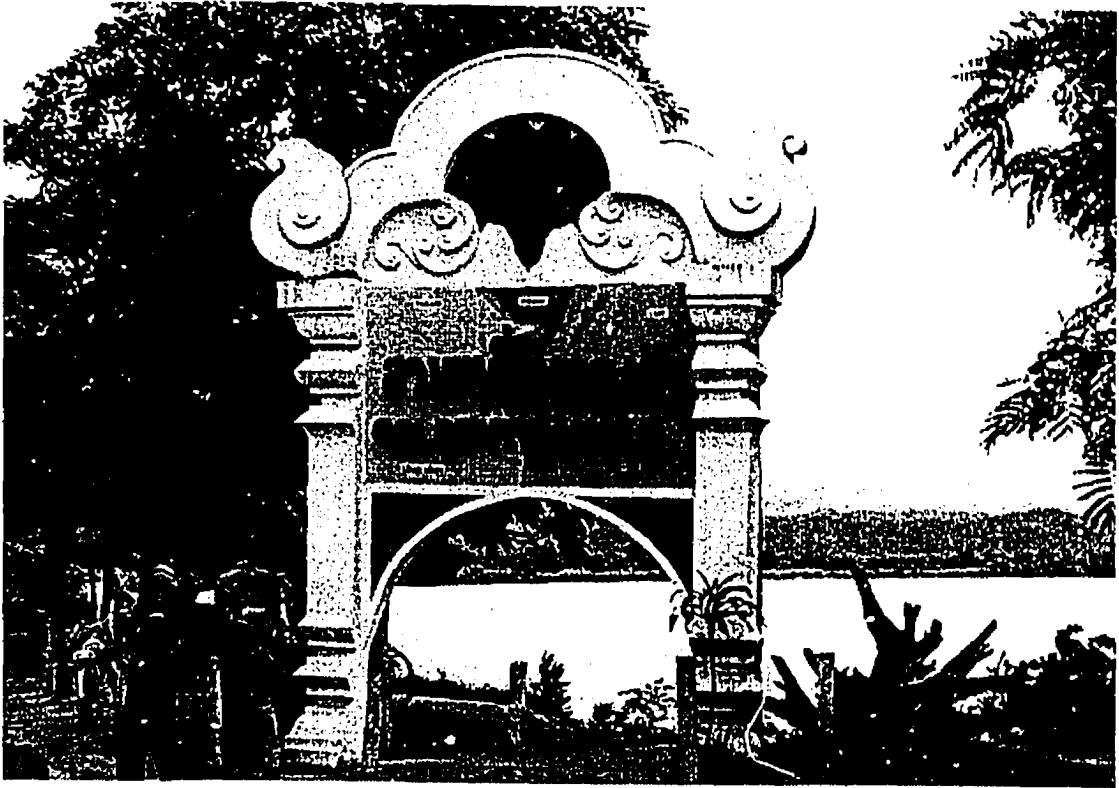
This section comprises 2 parts. The first part discusses the location and history of **BSR**, including traditional characteristics and farming life styles of the villagers as described by key community members. The second part discusses the international significance of tourism in the village, and provides an overview of tourism impacts on villager life styles.

### *1.2.1 Ban Sob Ruak: The Golden Triangle Village*

Known world wide as a major producer of opium (Foster 1992, O'Neill 1993), the Golden Triangle denotes the triangular expanse of land which stretches out from the common borders of Myanmar, Laos and Thailand (Figure 1.1). This research focuses on an area in northern reaches of Thailand, where two rivers, the *Mekong* and *Ruak*, meet and separate the three countries from each other. The point at which these rivers meet and divide the three countries, is known as the centre of the Golden Triangle, and is marketed as such by the tourist industry. *Ban Sob Ruak* has been described as "a Thai hamlet on the Mekong at the very centre of the [Golden] Triangle" (O'Neill 1993, p.14). It is located in the District of *Chiang Saen*, of *Chiang Rai* Province (Figures 1.3 and 1.4).

**BSR** is located along the banks of the *Mekong* and *Ruak* Rivers. It comprises some 270 households with a total population of about 1,270. There are 2 temples, an elementary school and a health service office. According to in-depth interviews with 2 village elders—aged 93 and 80—the people in **BSR** migrated from *Muang Pong* in the southern *Shan* state of Myanmar more than one hundred years ago. These Budd-

FIGURE 1.3 The Golden Triangle, at the Junction of the *Mekong* and *Ruak* Rivers

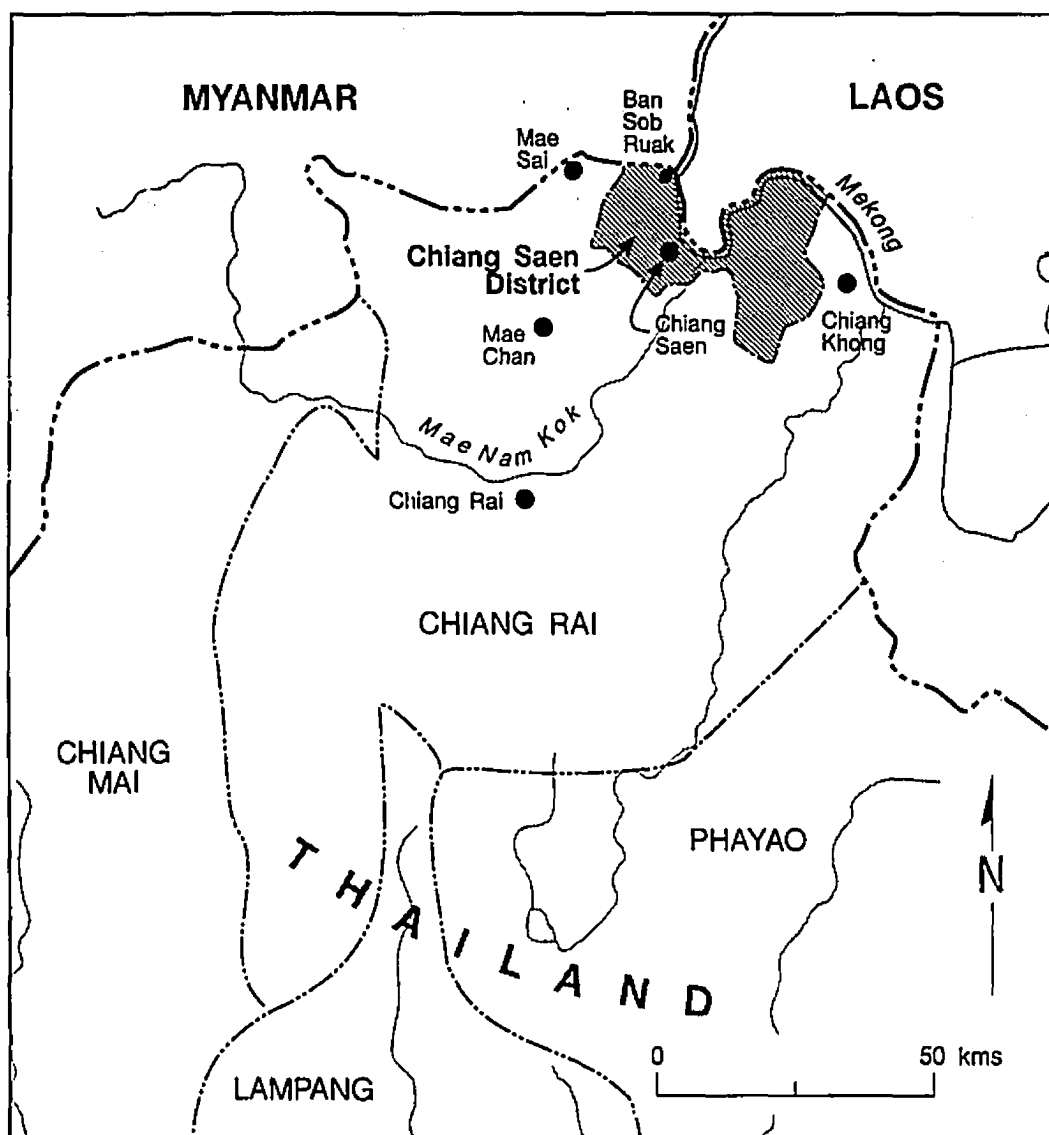


hist people, often called *Shan*<sup>1</sup>, *Tai* or *Tai Yai*, are also found in other areas of Thailand, particularly in the northern Thai provinces which border Myanmar, such as *Mae Hong Son*. *Tai Yai* legends tell that *Tai Yai* people originated in *Sipsongpunna* (*Xishuangbanna*) in the southern Chinese province of *Yunnan*. Defeated by *Ho* (or *Cin-Ho*), muslim *Yunnanese*, *Tai Yai* moved down to the *Shan* state in Myanmar and to areas of northern Thailand—including *Chiang Saen*.

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<sup>1</sup> The *Shan* people are a minority group still living in the *Shan* state in Myanmar. The state shares its borders with northern Thai provinces.

FIGURE 1.4 Map of *Chiang Rai* (showing some places mentioned in the study)



Prior to the creation of the Thai Kingdom, *Chiang Saen* was governed by *Khom* or *Khmer* (ancestors of the people in Cambodia now). Fighting between the *Tai Yai* and *Khom* is described in legends of the area. After the *Khom* had lost their power, *Chiang Saen*, emerged as the new capital of northern Thailand, exerting its

powers throughout southern China and ruling *Sipsongpunna* in *Yunnan*. This led to the development of close connections between the towns of *Chiang Saen* and *Sipsongpunna*.

Some of the first settlers in **BSR**, however, had travelled south from *Muang Pong* in Myanmar to escape rampant epidemics of a water-buffalo disease. Others were driven by the conflicts between the *Tai Yai* people and the Myanmar government. During the British colonial period, the Myanmar government asked for the cooperation of the *Tai Yai* people in fighting against Britain for Myanmar independence. In return, the government promised the *Tai Yai* their own independence. But, following independence from Britain, Myanmar subsequently refused to give independence to the *Tai Yai*.

Decades ago, the name "*Sob Ruak*" referred to a small *Tai Yai* village (now called *Ban Boon Ruang*) located by the bank of the *Mekong* River in Laos just opposite to where the mouth of the *Ruak* met the *Mekong*. The name means the village located at the mouth of the *Ruak* River. The Thai word "*Ban*" here means "*village*" and the *Tai Yai* word "*sob*" means "*mouth*". The *Ruak* stream later changed its course and eventually fed into the *Mekong* River at a point further to the south near the *Tai Yai* border village of *Ban Wiang Kiang*, in Thailand. This is the present day site of *Ban Sob Ruak*. *Ban Wiang Kiang*, thus, became *Ban Sob Ruak*, while the original *Ban Sob Ruak* in Laos was renamed *Ban Boon Ruang*.

The first settlers of **BSR** brought with them their own traditions. Older villagers still speak their own language, although their written language seems to

have disappeared. Most villagers still retain aspects of *Tai Yai* traditional life even though they are well integrated into Thai society. Customs and traditions such as "*Buad Luke Kaeo*" (ordination ceremony for Buddhist novice), "*Wai Jao Ban*" (ceremony for paying respect to the spirits of the household) and "*Wai Jao Muang*" (ceremony for paying respect to the spirits of the community) are still commonly practised. Another *Tai Yai* tradition which continues to play a role in village life relates to "*money keeping*". For many generations, the responsibility of money keeping has been assigned to women. This practice has continued since the days when men and women shared farming tasks in the fields. Earning money to support the family, especially in the past, was considered a man's role, while looking after household funds was, and still is, a woman's responsibility. If this "*rule*" was violated, stability of married life was believed to be threatened. Even today, when a plot of land is sold, any money which is put in a bank account, is expected to be under the wife's name. This does not, however, mean that women have absolute power in monetary decision making. Mutual consent must be sought before such decisions are made.

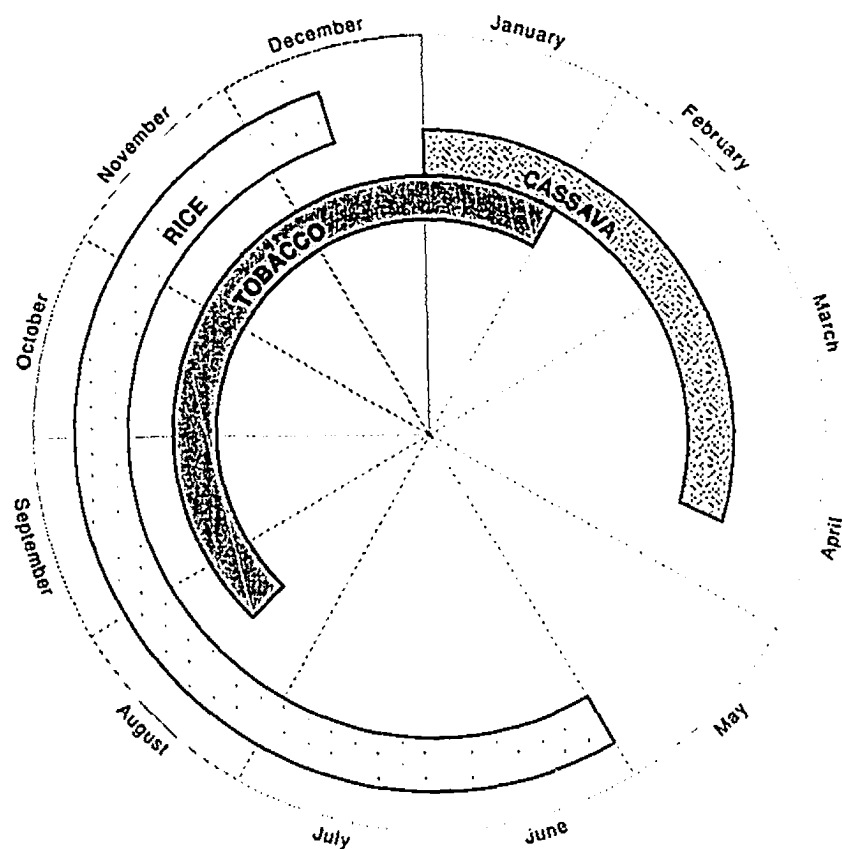
Prior to the development of tourism, the inhabitants earned their living solely by agriculture. The main crops were sticky rice (both low-land and up-land), cassava, tobacco, corn, and fruits such as longan, mango and pomelo. It is noteworthy that while lands for housing and low-land rice farming were then legally owned by the villagers, most of the up-land farms for cassava, corn and tobacco were not governed by legal documents of any type. In those days, land was still inexpensive and it was relatively easy for those who wanted to farm, to do so. After the development of

tourism, the value of such lands increased significantly and much of it was sold to outsiders.

In the past, when farming was vital to the village, most residents kept themselves busy almost year round, planting and harvesting a variety of crops. In-depth interviews revealed that farming cycles in BSR were complex. In the early part of the rainy season (around June), men began to plough low-land rice fields. This took place just about one month after the villagers (mostly women) had finished harvesting the cassava which was usually planted in early January, just after rice cultivation. After men finished the ploughing, women transplanted rice before setting off with the men to prepare the land for tobacco crops. In those days, labour exchange, especially for rice transplanting and cultivating, was common in the area. Tobacco farms were located on the flat areas along the main road and the *Mekong* river. After the tobacco was planted, weeding and fertilizing took place in both the rice fields and the tobacco farms. Just after the rice cultivation was completed, the farmers began to work in the up-land cassava farms. Between November and January, tobacco leaves were collected, dried and sold. About a month after cassava planting, final tobacco harvesting took place. Just before the *Songkran* festival was held in the middle of April, the cassava was cultivated. The cycle began again with the arrival of the rainy season in June and a new season of rice farming. These rotational farming practices kept the villagers busy throughout the year (Figure 1.5). Agricultural incomes varied, depending primarily on farm size.

Cooperative farming strategies have been practised in **BSR** for many generations. Villagers help each other with all aspects of farming including ploughing (typically using a buffalo-drawn plough for low-land rice growing), weeding, transplanting, cutting and collecting crops. Exchange labour (i.e. obtaining assistance from one's neighbours) was utilized extensively, particularly for transplanting activities. Traditionally, the farm owner prepared meals for all the helpers—which frequently exceeded 20 people in a day. The concept of hired labour was only introduced to the village after the development of tourism and the introduction of higher-paying non-farm jobs. This led to difficulties in finding sufficient farming labour which discouraged many farmers. Crop prices also contributed to a decrease in farming in **BSR**. Five years ago, tobacco farming was dominant in the area. Now, however, because of decreasing demand and low prices, tobacco farms and tobacco-related businesses have disappeared from the village. Small-scale low-land rice planting, although still practised, is not lucrative because the yield is not sufficient as a household's main source of income. Rice farming has also declined as a result of many villagers turning to the souvenir business. Those involved in the souvenir business, particularly women, do not have the time or desire to farm rice any longer. During the last 3 years of the tourism boom, many villagers have completely left their farms. Rather than closing their souvenir shops and returning to the rice farms during the rainy season, they have opted to keep their shops open. Some rice fields have been left idle, while others have been leased to those who are still interested in farming occupations. Cassava farming has also nearly disappeared from **BSR** because

FIGURE 1.5 BSR's Crop Calendar in the Past



escalating land values caused most of the farmers to sell out. The last cassava processing mill near the village was closed down about 4 years ago. The villagers in BSR as well as those in other villages in the area, have been seeking for alternative sources of income. Labour intensive farming is no longer an important source of income for the village and tourism development has contributed significantly to this change.

### *1.2.2 Tourism Development in BSR*

Until the end of 1986, **BSR** was an isolated village linked to the town of *Chiang Saen*—12 kilometres to the south—only by way of motor boat along the *Mekong River* and by a dirt road which was virtually impassable during the rainy season. Very few trucks reached the village in a given year and boat travel frequently provided the only outside connection. Completion of a paved road in 1987 between *Chiang Saen* and **BSR** opened up a new era in village life. While to the villagers, the new road meant much more convenient transportation between their homes and nearby towns, to the tourists it meant easy access to "*the Golden Triangle*"—a new and interesting tourist destination.

Although a few visitors, both Thai and foreign, travelled to the Golden Triangle before 1987, it is fair to say that tourism in **BSR** really did not begin until 1987 when the new road was completed. Groups of Thai tourists began to visit the Golden Triangle during particular festivals, such as *Songkran*. At the same time, some foreign back-packers began to take trips to the village in small groups of two or three. Some of them spent the night at the village temple since there was no other accommodation available for visitors. It was not long before the Golden Triangle became famous among both domestic and international tourists, particularly those from France and some other European countries.

Recently, international tourism has increased dramatically in **BSR** and environs. The people have apparently willingly accepted tourism as an excellent economic opportunity. Both **BSR** residents and people from places outside the village

have become involved in the industry. As a result, the peoples' way of life in **BSR** has changed significantly. Farmers have quit their farming jobs to become souvenir vendors and construction workers. New guest houses, restaurants and souvenir shops have been built and young people have moved to the village to work in these new businesses. It is doubtful whether there are many other places which have experienced such a rapid and radical transformation from isolated community to international tourist centre in such a short time.

Within a few years, **BSR** has become a fast-growing international tourist destination. Three new five-star resort hotels have been built within the last 3 years. One of these, *The Delta Golden Triangle*, has about 100 rooms with rates ranging from 1,815 - 9,680 baht (\$90 - \$484) per night. This hotel and the 110-room *Le Meridien Baan Boran*, are chain hotels in **BSR** while the third is a Thai-owned resort complex called the *Triangle Paradise Resort*. The latter is presently under construction in Myanmar territory (according to the 30-year lease contract between Thailand and Myanmar) on the east side of the *Ruak* River. It is suggested that the Thai resort owners have plans to co-operate with a Japanese chain. Construction of the 200-room hotel, which includes luxurious entertaining and sport facilities, will cost about 350 million baht (\$17.5 million) in the first phase (*The Bangkok Post*, February 23 and *The Reporter*, March 13, 1990). This first Thai resort on Myanmar land has become a major attraction for investors to the Golden Triangle. This is, in part, due to the news that a casino will be opened in the resort. This will be the first casino in the

region. That the resort is expected to attract heavy-spending tourists is evident from its extremely high membership fee of \$50,000 per person (Ibid.).

At the same time, the Golden Triangle area is likely to further prosper due to increased cooperation between Thailand, Myanmar and China. The *Yunnan* Governor has expressed interest in opening a new trade route via the *Mekong* River from *Kunming* to *Chiang Rai*. This would, certainly, facilitate China's trade with Indochina in the future, as well as provide a road link between the northernmost Thai city and *Yunnan* (Suvapiromchote 1990 and Thepthong 1990). A proposal by a Thai company to construct the 164 kilometre asphalt road linking *Chiang Rai* and Myanmar's *Chiang Tung* province was already accepted in principle by the government of Myanmar in May 1993. This 326 million baht project—especially if extended to *Chiang Roong (Jinghong)* in China—will have significant effects on regional economies, including tourism development in the Golden Triangle. The road, in fact, is a new land transport link from China to ASEAN countries (*Bangkok Post Weekly*, May 7, 1993).

Another plan proposed by the *Golden Paradise Resort* at the Golden Triangle, is to run a cruise boat service on the *Mekong* river, linking the Golden Triangle with the Chinese town of *Chiang Roong* in Yunnan. This new 190-kilometre water route service is supposed to be underway in the near future. According to *Chiang Rai* Chamber of Commerce, the Laotian and Chinese governments are also negotiating to open up a market for Chinese goods in "Koh Don Sao", a Laotian island in the *Mekong* River just opposite to the town of *Chiang Saen*. The Thai government,

through the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), has launched a multi-billion baht road construction project linking *Mae Sai* (the northernmost district of Thailand in *Chiang Rai*, the Golden Triangle, town of *Chiang Saen*, and *Chiang Khong* (another district of *Chiang Rai* on the bank of the *Mekong* River opposite Laos). The main purpose of the project is to promote tourism in these areas. When completed, the road will provide a circle-route connecting *Chiang Rai* with various other tourist spots in the province. These plans, if realized, will definitely have a major impact on the Golden Triangle and nearby areas.

From this brief review it can be seen that even to the casual observer considerable changes have taken place in **BSR** over the last 6 years. It is the detailed examination of these changes and associated adjustments by the local people that form the core of this thesis. The next chapter seeks to provide a wider context for the study by examining relevant literature related to rural change in general and to specific aspects of change promoted by tourism. The third chapter outlines methodological details in preparation for the discussion of results in the fourth chapter. The fifth and final chapter, draws together the evidence from the thesis and discusses the results within the broader contexts of rural transformation and tourism.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to review the relevant literature in two areas. First, the literature pertaining to changes in rural communities, with emphases on modernization theory and Tonnies' concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, is discussed. Second, the literature related to tourism, especially in less developed countries, is discussed.

#### *2.1 Literature Pertaining to Changes in Rural Communities*

The rapid growth of tourism is considered to be an important factor of development in the study area. **BSR** has evolved from a rural backward village to an international tourist destination within less than 10 years. Many changes have occurred during this period. An important source of change in rural areas, especially in the Third World, is modernization (Dotson 1986). In fact, the modernization framework provides a very valuable tool for examining rapidly developing societies (Grew 1980). Thus, in order to gain a better understanding of the rapid development phenomenon which characterizes the **BSR**, this study is placed within the theoretical

context of modernization as well as within Tonnies' concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Grew 1980, Zupancic 1982, Coenen-Huther 1984, Dotson 1986 and So 1990). These concepts also help shed light on the process of community change towards modernization.

### *2.1.1 Modernization Theory*

Modernization theory has been a dominant analytical paradigm in American sociology for explanation of the global process by which traditional societies achieve modernity. Social modernization, in particular, is usually viewed as a process of change in a society, from traditional or less-developed institutions to those characteristics of developed societies. When contrasted with traditional societies, modern societies are said to be urban, literate, and industrial; they are considered to be distinguishable by characteristics, such as: nuclear families (rather than extended family systems), a high degree of economic participation, and commercial activity, well developed transportation systems, mass-media systems, adequate nutrition levels, low birth and death rates, and relatively long life expectancies (Bell 1986). To a large extent, the changes can be seen in terms of increasing social and structural differentiation (Abercrombie et al 1988).

Modernization theory dominated the field of development in the late 1950s. In the late 1960s, the theory was challenged by radical dependency theory on two grounds:

(1) Modernization is based on development in the West and is thus an ethnocentric model of development; and

(2) Modernization does not necessarily lead to industrial growth and equal distribution of social benefits since it is an essentially uneven process resulting in underdevelopment and dependency (Ibid.).

In the late 1970s, when the heated criticism of modernization theory had subsided, there was a revival of modernization research (McKenna 1988 and So 1990). Like the classical modernization studies, the new modernization studies (e.g. Huntington 1976, Banauzizi 1987, Davis 1987 and Wong 1988) focus on Third World development and suggest that development progresses mainly via internal factors, such as cultural values and social institutions. The new studies continue to use terms common to classical studies, such as "*tradition*" and "*modernity*", and they also share the same basic assumption that modernization is generally beneficial to Third World Societies (So 1990).

Nevertheless, the new and the classical modernization studies differ in a number of ways. First, the new modernization studies emphasize the beneficial roles of tradition in development, instead of arguing that tradition acts as an obstacle to development processes. Second, instead of drawing conclusions from discussions involving a high level of abstraction (which was a weakness of classical modernization studies), the new modernization studies focus on concrete cases. Third, instead of assuming a unidirectional path of development toward the Western model, the new studies assume that Third World societies can have their own unique paths to development. Fourth, although the new studies still focus on internal factors, they do not neglect the roles played by external factors in shaping the development of Third

World societies. Fifth, they often incorporate the factors of class conflict into their analyses. Finally, the new modernization studies have avoided classical presentations of single-variable analysis. Instead, they employ multi-institutional (social, economic, cultural and political) analyses (So 1990).

Although modernization studies are normally conducted at a national level, modernization theory also can be applied to shed light on the modernization process which takes place at sub-national levels in the Third World (Zupancic 1982). For example, McKenna (1988) studied modernization processes in a Philippine muslim shantytown.

To provide additional insight into new modernization studies, two studies, Wong (1988) and Banauzizi (1987) are discussed here. Wong (1988) focuses on how familism has promoted entrepreneurship in Hong Kong. He is particularly critical of classical modernization theorists for overlooking the dynamic role of the Chinese family in promoting economic development. Classical theorists tended to restrict their focus to the sharp dichotomy between European universalism and Chinese particularism, thereby obscuring their understanding of the family's role. Wong points out that the European experience of capitalist development is not likely to be replicated in China because of China's different patterns of modernization. Furthermore, Wong believes that Chinese familism may also be different from that of Korea and Japan due to differences in social structures.

Banauzizi (1987) explores the role of the Islamic religion during the Iranian Revolution. He focuses specifically on one of the most dramatic outbursts of the

Islamic revival—the Iranian Revolution of 1977-1979. He criticizes the classical modernization theorists for (1) evoking an ideal image of contemporary Western society, (2) defining tradition in residual and negative terms, and (3) arguing that the Third World has to get rid of its traditional obstacles before modernization can occur. He argues, instead, for a greater appreciation of tradition in its own right. Banuazizi suggests that tradition should be re-introduced and supported because it offers immense potential for social mobilization and change.

So (1990) suggests that three major conclusions can be drawn from Banuazizi's work. These are: 1) that modernization does not necessarily bring about secularization—religious movements such as that of Islam can easily be revived when institutional and historical conditions are favourable; 2) that traditionalist religious movements may also appeal to those who have extensive exposure to modernizing institutions (such as the new middle class), as well as to marginal social elements (such as the poor and the dispossessed); and 3) that the dialogue concerning tradition and modernity should be reopened with an emphasis on tradition.

A number of relevant concepts from the new modernization research have been adopted in the research undertaken for this dissertation. First, local tradition (such as *Tai Yai* ways of life in general, and typical *Tai Yai* festivities and hospitality in particular) is regarded as a beneficial factor in development. Second, the conclusions of the study are drawn from a concrete case (a northern Thai rural village with a high degree of tourism development). Third, it is acknowledged that the villagers in the study area have their own ways to incorporate into the

development process in their village. Fourth, tourism is regarded as an external factor which plays a significant role in development. Finally, multi-institutional analysis was employed by investigating socio-economic, cultural and land use aspects of tourism development in the village through several different research approaches.

### *2.1.2 The Concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*

These concepts were formulated by the founder of German sociology, Ferdinand Tonnies, in the late nineteenth century. Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft refer to the nature of social relationships. "*Gemeinschaft*" means "*community*" and describes relationships that are intimate, traditional, and informal, such as might be found in an agricultural village. It is similar to the concept of "*folk society*". "*Gesellschaft*" means "*association*" or "*society*" and refers to relationships that are contractual, impersonal, voluntary, and limited. The historical trend, in most instances, is away from social relationships typified by Gemeinschaft and toward those that characterize Gesellschaft (Bell 1986).

Interest in the importance of the local community in human society grew after the publication of Tonnies's concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft (Zupancic 1982). The concepts continue to be relevant and receive wide application among contemporary researchers (e.g. Dombrowsky and Prahl 1980, Wojtasiewicz 1981, and Troughton 1991). Tutto (1988) discussed Tonnies' life and work, focusing on the interpretation of his major thesis of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft in the late nineteenth century. He suggested that Tonnies was generally regarded as a romantic and that some authors (eg., Georg Lukacs and Ralf Dahrendorf) also viewed him as

an antimodernist, who idealized the agrarian *Gemeinschaft* (community) and criticized the "*hard and cold*" *Gesellschaft* (society) of capitalism. Totto also reviewed the basis for Tonnies' concept of science, and his ideal of social-scientific research. Schmitz (1983) also explored the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, as proposed by Tonnies. He maintained that the loss of *Gemeinschaft* has been a major concern of philosophers and social scientists over the past two centuries. He also suggested that governments, especially during periods of massive social change, such as nowadays, contribute significantly to the transformation of communities to societies.

Despite their European origins, the classical concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* may be applicable to the BSR case. The village has been transforming itself from a rural farming community into a more urbanized society through the influence of tourism development. The transformation process has been so rapid that the villagers' way of life has undergone dramatic changes within a relatively short period of time. Fewer people participate in agriculture, while more businesses and wage labour have been created. People now spend more money for modern appliances and motor vehicles to make their lives easier. Increasing accumulation of material possessions seem to be coincident with the increasing urban lifestyle. It seems, therefore, that a transition is occurring from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*.

### *2.1.3 Changes in Rural Communities in Thailand*

Because the rural community has become associated with "*the past*", or with tradition, while cities have been associated with modernity, the rural community is often regarded as an object to be modernized (Vandergeest 1993). To a large extent, governments are major agents of modernization. In Thailand, government efforts to modernize the country are reflected in a variety of policy areas. Modernization has been emphasized since the World Bank's development strategy was adopted in the first Thailand national development plan of 1961. Successive policies have favoured urban and industrial development (over the agricultural sector), the accumulation of capital outside the rural sector, and the integration of the Thai economy into the world economic system (Turton 1989).

Agricultural encroachment upon public lands has been occurring throughout the Kingdom, for two important reasons. First, yield per unit area is low due to factors such as lack of capital and technological inputs, and poor ecological conditions for farming (such as those in the northeastern region). This puts considerable pressure on farmers who require increased income to cope with escalating daily expenses. Second, modernization (inducing the penetration of the capitalist market economy into formerly subsistence communities) stimulates additional needs for capital and technology among farmers. While some poorer farmers are able to find employment outside the agricultural sector (usually as wage earners in towns or large cities), others attempt to further exploit existing land resources. This often involves expanding farm areas in an effort to increase

production. Such practices are occurring throughout the Kingdom but are particularly pronounced in the economically and environmentally poorer areas, such as the north-eastern region (Parnwell 1988). An estimated 5.3 million hectares, or about one-fifth of the land officially designated as state-owned forest reserve, is under permanent occupation and cultivation by squatters. This is about 21 percent of the total land area under cultivation and involves about 1 million farm households (Feder 1988). Tuntawiroon (1980) suggests that modern pressures, especially the rapid rate of change in rural areas, have in many cases interfered with the delicate ecological balance between humans and nature in Thailand. Certainly, the consequences of such an interference is much more severe in environmentally marginal areas, (Parnwell 1988).

In spite of Thailand's rapid industrial development, and that the proportion of people engaged in agriculture has declined slightly over the years, it still represents about 70 percent of total employment (Girling 1986). It is noteworthy that although rice production, which used to be the country's leading foreign income earner, has declined in relative importance within the agricultural sector since 1950 (Turton 1989), a major portion of the farming labour force throughout the kingdom is still engaged in rice farming (Girling 1986).

The increased use of tractors and other forms of mechanization in the farming sector, particularly for rice production, reflect the modernization process. Although mechanization has been increasing rapidly, particularly in the central region, draft animals are still used in some regions of the country. Due to a higher level of

mechanization, farmers can produce more within shorter periods of time and with less labour. The urbanization process which attracts farm labour to non-farm jobs in urbanized areas, has meant that subsistence production has been decreasing and there has been enormous expansion of wage labour opportunity. Such opportunities as do exist offer low wages and insecure conditions of employment. Rief and Cochrane's (1990) study of the off-farm labour supply of farmers in the *Chiang Mai* valley, indicates that off-farm employment plays an important role in augmenting household income in those areas constrained by limited land and water availability and larger populations.

Another trend that can be observed in rural Thai communities is the increased use of hired farm labour. Although family labour still constitutes the greatest proportion of farm labour, hired labour has increased considerably since 1978. In contrast, there has been a continuing decline in the use of exchange labour (Turton 1989). This is supported by Vandergeest's (1991) study which explores language use among villagers. Vandergeest's study also reveals that requests for additional farm labour are usually made by "*asking for help (with money)*" rather than by "*hiring*". Individual villagers were apparently sensitive to the way in which the request was made.

In spite of the government's modernization policies, there is some evidence to suggest that rural Thai communities have not changed considerably during the last

three decades. Having studied changes in *Ban Ping*, a small, northern, *Tai Lue*<sup>1</sup> farming village, for over 30 years, Moerman (1987), an ethnographer, concluded that:

*Small-scale labour intensive farming of rice for consumption and sale remains Ban Ping's major single productive activity...Farms remain family farms, the 'Green Revolution', 'modernization', 'development', and 'capitalist penetration' have taken relatively beneficent form in Ban Ping compared to the ecological, economic, social, political, cultural, and spiritual disasters sometimes predicted and found, elsewhere. (p.398).*

Moerman identifies 3 factors protecting the village from dramatic external changes: isolation, low population density, and unique ethnicity.

These factors also played an important historical role in BSR, preventing it from experiencing major changes until the completion of the main road from *Chiang Saen* in 1987. It was this road link which opened BSR to tourism development. Although the village has since experienced physical and socioeconomic changes brought about by tourism, its small size and low population density, as well as its unique ethnicity (*Tai Yai*) help to preserve local culture and morality. Villagers still identify themselves with, and continue to be involved in, their traditions. More importantly, prostitution—which is often related to tourism development—is still considered completely unacceptable according to *Tai Yai* values.

Other studies by Ritchie (1992, 1993) support that of Moerman. Having compared data from 1974-75 with data gathered in 1991-92, Ritchie examined historical changes according to class and occupation in a small farming village in *Chiang Mai* province. The studies suggest that, since 1974, the social structure of the

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<sup>1</sup> An ethnic group moved from *Sipsongpunna (Xishuangbanna)* in *Yunnan*, southern China to live in northern areas of Thailand centuries ago.

village has shifted from one based primarily on subsistence agriculture and agrarian occupations to one incorporating both agrarian and urban-based occupations. Farming has been replaced by non-farm wage labour as the dominant occupation. This village, however, is still dominated physically—if not socially—by agriculture, and remains a rural community. This shift from farming to non-farm jobs can also be witnessed in **BSR**. Tourism development offers a variety of job alternatives for local people. Those with capital to invest, can run souvenir shops or restaurants. Those without land or other assets earn money by working as waiters, waitresses, boat drivers, or construction workers. Wage labour has been growing steadily in **BSR** during the last few years.

Social differentiation is characteristic of Thai communities. Girling's (1986) study reveals differences in household spending power and education attainment. He states that disparities in spending power among farming families are particularly striking. The monthly per capita consumption expenditure of the bottom 20 percent of northeastern village households was only one quarter that of the top 20 percent. Differences in education attainment, which, in turn, affect opportunities for socio-economic advancement, are even more marked. In the northeast, nearly seven times more young men (aged 15-24) in the highest socioeconomic class received a formal education, as compared to those in the lowest class. Girling also remarks that

*although urban-rural disparities in household incomes seem to have decreased since the 1960s, within the rural sector itself, the income gap between different groups which have been able to take advantage of different opportunities in different degrees has very likely widened." (p.190).*

Woman's roles are viewed by both Thai men and women as equal to, if not more important than those of men. This is because the role of women in the household is regarded as a measure of their power in society. This is observed by Bell (1990) who maintains that Thailand is sometimes considered, by anthropologists to be an exception to generalized female oppression as a result of its matrilineal social structure. This is supported by Tunyavanich et al (1987) who suggest that women in rural northeastern Thailand are very important participants and decision makers in the government's self-help projects, especially those related to water and sanitation. Their opinions and roles in decision making are generally well accepted by all household members.

In northern Thailand, in particular, the influences of women in communities are prominent. This affects the social structure as a whole, as Davis (1984) elaborates:

*The rural Muang (Yuan, Northern Thai), who inhabit the lowland areas of the northernmost provinces of Thailand and number over three million people, exhibit a social structure dominated by female ties. The two salient features of this social structure are a mandatory initial period of matrilineal residence, and matrilineal organization. Both of these principles are reflected in the structure of the typical Muang dwelling. (p.263).*

As Cohen and Wijeyewardene (1984, p.259) maintain, "*In terms of domestic authority, perhaps one would expect matriliney and uxorilocality to result in greater authority for women.*"

In addition, in northern Thai communities, it is much more common for men to share in household chores. As Cohen and Wijeyewardene (1984, p.259.) state "*...it is not unusual for Northern Thai men to do most of the cooking. Many more will cook*

*on special occasions."* Nevertheless, as in most agricultural communities, northern Thai women also take part in farming operations. Cohen and Wijeyewardene (1984, p.259) observed that *"Both sexes work in field and swidden. Women work in the rice fields, particularly at those tasks which required communal labour, such as transplanting, and most of the tasks performed at harvest."*

Women's domestic authority in Thai communities in general, and northern Thai communities in particular, is widespread. For example, Wijeyewardene (n.d.) observed that there are female heads of households, that is, effective heads at every socioeconomic level. This is true even where, for conventional reasons, a male may be registered in official records as family head. There are also women who run businesses as extensions of their domestic duties. The issue of women engaged in business will be examined in more detail in **BSR**.

Other characteristics of Thai society are also worth exploring. The success of development projects (either those of government or non-government agencies) depends, to a great extent, on gaining an understanding of such community attributes. Kelleher (1992), carried out field observations and interviews in two villages in northeastern Thailand, in an effort to explore development efforts carried out by local people. Five common features of successful development strategies were revealed: 1) Established, traditional leaders undertook development initiatives; 2) Traditional value systems provided the rationale for development; 3) Self-sustaining, constructive change happened gradually; 4) Over time, people adopted practical suggestions and carried them out themselves to improve their daily lives; 5) Directed

by the village leadership, change was achieved with minimal outside help (Kelleher 1992). Other authors, such as Nathalang 1990, Nartsupha 1991, and Atsushi 1993, also believe in the potential of rural people. A movement referred to as "*Wattanatham Chumchon*" ("the community reconstruction movement") emphasizes the creation of self-reliance and self-confidence among rural people; so that they can plan and implement their own rural development initiatives. The traditional wisdom and solidarity of the historic rural community are considered to be important factors in modern rural development (Atsushi 1993). Planning and implementation based on local culture (which has continued independently from western culture) will lead to sustainable development (Nartsupha 1991).

Government policies can also be an important instigator of change in rural communities. This is reflected by Hirsch's (1990) study which examines the Thai government policy in incorporating local economy into the wider system of national economy. In order to bring economic growth to rural communities, the policy was based on recent thinking about rural development stressing participatory and cooperative strategies. The thinking can be viewed as a response to the perceived urban bias of centrally planned and implemented growth strategies. The goal of these new government initiatives is to redirect resources to the rural sector and give greater decision-making power to the rural producers.

Hirsch explores one of the key contradictions in the government approach—that is how to maintain local control over production when production requires use of resources from outside that locale. Hirsch explored issues arising

from incorporative development strategies within the context of two peripheral communities in *Uthaitхани* Province, west central Thailand. He studied the changes which resulted from the governments' rural development strategy and discussed how traditional production and control over resources have been modified by the process of incorporative development.

The findings of Hirsch that are relevant to the present study relate to changes in local control over natural resources. Hirsch implies that these changes, which are brought about by a transformation from subsistence agriculture to cash cropping, result in increasing social differentiation (which corresponds to the predictions of modernization theory, e.g. see Abercrombie et al 1988), as well as depletion of natural resources by the community. In Hirsch's study, for example, wealthier farmers mined soils on land which they had rented from debtors, while poorer farmers, driven by needs for survival and debt clearance, carried out similar mining on their own land, as well as exploitation of forestry resources for fuel wood and cash income. In the latter case, farmland was typically underutilized due to a shortage of capital input.

This is relevant to the situation in **BSR** where tourism development, rather than government intervention, has led to the incorporation of the local economy into a broader economic framework. Villagers have opportunities for direct socio-economic contacts with tourists from different corners of the world. As a result of tourism development, community residents in **BSR** lost control over local resources,

especially land, to outsiders. This study will explore whether or not the increasing social differentiation and degradation of natural resources have taken place in **BSR**.

Hussey's (1989) exploration of changes in a rural village in southeast Asia is also relevant to the present study. Hussey studied tourism in Kuta, a village in Bali. Between 1970 and 1984, the village changed from a quiet agricultural and fishing village to an important tourism area that welcomed more than 60,000 visitors annually. Hussey found that tourism in Kuta led to spectacular increases in land values, personal income, employment, infrastructure and facilities. Unfortunately, it also led to increases in crime rates and environmental degradation as well as alteration of the original character of the village. The local coral bed was mined for road and runway construction purposes which, in turn, resulted in severe beach erosion. In addition, trash, especially plastic bags used by peddlers to package fruit, food, and assorted trinkets, accumulated along the beach.

Because the development of tourism in Kuta resulted from local entrepreneurial activity and was not subject to government assistance or other external financing, it is considered particularly relevant to the study of **BSR**. Hussey's findings, with respect to the ability of individuals in a "*backward*" village to embrace an entrepreneurial spirit and develop considerable economic activity without external intervention, lend themselves for testing in **BSR**. The examination of Hussey's case study, and the role of tourism in small-village development provides a background to the next section which reviews related literature in tourism, especially in less developed countries.

## ***2.2 Tourism-related Literature***

Because of the unique opportunities associated with tourism, particularly with respect to potential economic gains, less developed countries have welcomed the industry as a key to strengthen their national economies. Tourism impacts, both positive and negative, have caught the attention of researchers in the developed and less developed parts of the world. As a result, there is a burgeoning literature in this area. In this section, however, the focus will be on two specific areas: tourism as an agent of change in less developed countries and concepts of adjustment to tourism development.

### ***2.2.1 Tourism and Less Developed Countries: An Agent of Change***

Tourism in less developed countries has long been accepted as a tool for development efforts because of its importance as a source of foreign exchange, employment and investment capital (Ball 1971, Mings 1978, Krishnaswamy 1978, Mendis 1982 and Jafari 1987). Many authors (see, for examples, Bryden 1973, Turner and Ash 1975, Smith 1977, de Kadt 1979, Duffield 1982, Getz 1986, Prasad 1987 and Milman and Pizam 1988) believe that the emphasis placed on the economic benefits of tourism has overridden the significance of non-pecuniary impacts which are often difficult to measure. These impacts have been reviewed and categorized as either socio-economic and cultural, or environmental.

#### ***2.2.1.1 Socioeconomic and Cultural Impacts***

Several authors have described the socioeconomic and cultural impacts associated with tourism. The following are considered most relevant to this study.

*Impacts on Population* Tourism may affect the population size, age/sex composition, and growth rates of a destination area (Urbanowicz 1977a, b, 1989; Mathieson and Wall 1982, Murphy 1985 and George 1987). For example, Brown (1974, p.9) who studied the effects of tourism on agriculture in Jamaica, found that "*St. James which has the largest tourist sector in the island had the most significant inward movement of population...from parishes in which agriculture is the main activity*". Another example of population change triggered by tourism development is explored in Hussey's (1989) study in Bali. Tourism in Kuta, a tourist Balinese village, has attracted newcomers from both nearby areas and foreign countries, to invest in the village. As Hussey observes:

*Kuta offered entrepreneurs from other regions an opportunity to initiate a tourism business in a fast-growing resort...Between 1977 and 1980, nonlocals supplied more than 40 percent of new investments...Furthermore, most of the food stalls that opened to supply shop operators were run by women from neighbouring villages and, to a lesser extent, by migrants from Java and Madura...Opportunities in Kuta also attracted business people from Java and even foreigners...By 1983 approximately 44 percent of the bars and restaurants in Kuta were foreign owned...(1989, p.319).*

The effects of tourism on the demography of the area are also described by Hussey:

*By 1977 the composition of the labour force in Kuta began to change. As local villagers left employment to open their own businesses, migrants filled the vacancies. Thus the demography of the village was altered...By 1982 the alteration was substantial. Kuta became the destination for migrants from other Indonesian regions. The migrants included hotel workers, business people, transient peddlers, job seekers, and "adventurers." (1989, p.319). ...The prosperity has attracted migrants who form a stable population employed either in the formal or informal sector of the economy. (p.322).*

Tourism development in BSR has caused similar changes in population structure. Many outsiders have moved to the village in search of service-related jobs, particularly those in hotels, and business opportunities. Although migration from rural/agricultural areas to tourist areas both within and between countries, is not unusual, the literature suggests that the relationship between this movement and tourism has not been fully explored.

*Occupational Impacts* The impact of tourism with respect to occupational structure is reflected in a statement by Greenwood (1976 cited in de Kadt 1979, p.34): "*The major impact of tourism on local people over the past twenty-five years can be summarized in one word: jobs.*" (Greenwood 1976 cited in de Kadt 1979, p.34). Likewise, Forster (1964, p.223) remarked that "*One of the first and most noticeable results of tourist trade is the creation of new occupations...any shift in the labour force entails a movement of workers from primary to tertiary occupations*". Samy (1977) also discussed the impact of tourism on the occupational structure of Fiji:

*Fifteen percent of the Fijian respondents had left their cane farms to take jobs as storeman, gardener, waiter or barman. The reasons they gave for leaving the cane farms were either that cane farming was too difficult, that the cane price was too low, or that the "hotel would give more money..." Most of the Fijian men had been employed before either as labourers, casual cane cutters, crew on inter-island ships or construction workers. (p.114)*

Lewis (1961) suggests that as economic development proceeds, new tourism workers are drawn primarily from subsistence agriculture, casual labour, petty trade, and domestic service. A large proportion of these migrants are women. To a large extent, changes in occupation, professionalization, and the age and sex distribution of certain

occupations are associated with tourism development (Brown 1974, Floyd 1979 [cited in Britton and Clarke 1987], Butler 1975, Kent 1977, de Kadt 1979, Van Hove 1981, Farver 1984, Murphy 1985 and Swain 1989).

Although there is a high degree of attraction to tourism-related jobs, as compared to those in agriculture, the literature indicates that tourism incomes can vary substantially. While in some instances, they are significantly higher, in others there are comparative to, or lower than those in agriculture (Wilson 1977). For example, Hussey's (1989) study reveals lucrative tourism-related jobs in Kuta, particularly in locally run guesthouses (called "*losmen*", one-story lodging with rooms constructed in a row), and restaurant businesses. The profits generated from such businesses were far greater than those associated with farming and fishing. Consequently, many people were attracted to invest and:

*...by 1975 the area contained more than one hundred locally owned accommodations and twenty-seven restaurants...Not only were new businesses being opened, but also established entrepreneurs were reinvesting their profits in expansion of existent facilities as well as opening new tourism business. (p.316-317).*

Kuta well reflects not only how lucrative tourism-related occupations can be, but also changes of occupations of the residents from traditional agricultural and fishing jobs to tourism business.

Contrary to Hussey's findings, Kent (1977) observed that incomes earned by local people working in tourism jobs were very low. He maintained that some local people in Hawaii—where the cost of living is approximately 30 percent higher than

that on the main land USA—earned extremely low income from service jobs in tourism.As he put it:

*For the working people of Hawaii...tourism has only brought the same kinds of low-paying, menial, deadend jobs that have always been the lot of the local workers. The setting of a luxury hotel may be a world away from the sugar plantations, but in terms of the degradation and oppression of human labour,it is probably a good deal worse...hotel workers receive shockingly inadequate wages...The average annual income of Hawaiian hotel workers, in 1970, was slightly more than half of the figure...listed as necessary to support a family of four, at a minimum standard of living in Hawaii...Although industry spokesman may claim that their employees make substantial additional amounts from tips,...only about one out of five employees actually receive tips, and that for many of those who do the amounts are not in any way substantial. (p.182-183).*

Wilson (1977) reached similar conclusions from his study in Pacific islands. He suggested that: *Some people do make money from tourism, but generally the amount that reaches those employed in services for tourists barely keeps up with the inflated prices that tourism brings.*" (p.471).

Although these studies are relatively old, more recent literature suggests that, in some instances, the situation has not changed substantially. This is reflected in a recent study by Harrison (1992a, p.24) in which he states: "As with other labour-intensive industries, few jobs in tourism are well paid as numerous critics have noted." Other authors, such as Samy (1977, p.329), regard tourism jobs as being of relatively low status. As he put it: "It is frequently asserted that tourism provides jobs of lowly status—waitresses, bus boys, and chambermaids." Other authors, such as Beekhuis (1981), are optimistic that training and experience may bring opportunities for advancement to local people. George (1987), suggested that local people have varying reasons for wanting to take tourism jobs which include:

*1) there was a higher probability of being employed in tourism than in agricultural sector; 2) wages in the tourist sector for comparable skills were so much higher than that in the event of temporary employment, annual income would still be equal to or more than full-time agricultural income; or 3) incomes were similar but the effort required was less. (p.67).*

The impacts of tourism on occupational structure, if not well planned and managed, can be harmful to agricultural communities. In some cases, in-migration to tourist areas results in labour shortages in surrounding areas. As George (1987, p.66) observed in his study of tourism in Jamaica's North Coast: *"By creating conditions that have induced rural dwellers to migrate, tourism has had a significant effect on north coast agriculture...a significant proportion of migrants seemed to have headed for the tourist parishes."* Farver's (1984, p.254) study in Gambia further illustrates the problems associated with shifts from farming to wage labour in tourism: *"Farming conditions have become worse over the past 10 years, making groundnut cultivation hardly profitable"* Furthermore, *"...the harvesting of the annual crops coincides with the beginning of the tourist season. This makes farming and tourism an either/or situation. There is no trade-off possibility"*. In other cases, tourism has led to skyrocketing land prices, driving farmers from their lands (Wilson, 1977). This situation will be examined in **BSR** and discussed in the Results chapter.

It is also noteworthy that tourism has played a significant role in strengthening women's economic independence. That tourism is an important source of employment for women, is a view substantiated by the World Tourism Organization (1992):

*The World Tourism Organization's economic report shows that the majority of the jobs in the tourism industry are filled by women. In Europe, the average percentage of women employees in accommodation and catering is almost 65 percent. The report also reveals that in some countries only 20 percent of tourism employment is taken by men. (p.74).*

The tourism industry offers women work traditionally considered to have no economic value, such as cleaning, washing, etc. In agricultural communities of both developed and less developed countries, this results in an upgrading of the economic role of women which may, in turn, be the beginning of female economic independence (UNESCO 1976). Price (1988, p.25) confirmed this issue that "...tourism may bring women some benefits. In Bequia, a Caribbean island administratively associated with St. Vincent, women gained increased independence from men as a result of part-time and seasonal work in tourism". This issue will also be examined in **BSR**.

*Transformation of Norms* This category includes the alteration of values (social and religious), sexual roles and moral behaviour (Mathieson and Wall 1982, Crystal 1989). These changes result not only from direct contacts between residents and visitors, but from the "*demonstration effect*". Harrison (1992a) maintains that, as an aspect of modernisation, international tourism undoubtedly reinforces the transference of Western values and patterns of behaviour to members of "*host*" societies, a form of acculturation often subsumed under the term "*demonstration effects*".

It should be noted that the issue of demonstration effect was raised in early studies of tourism (UNESCO 1976) and has been noted more recently. For example, Mendis (1982) noted that:

*The high consumption patterns of affluent tourists and the image they project of an easy going, comfortable life, do have a profound effect on the local people. The tourist unwittingly becomes a trend-setter who shows our people the "in" things and the "done" things. This impact is referred to as the demonstration effect. (p.8).*

Crime, drug use, prostitution and gambling are often observed to increase in tourist destination areas (Beekhuis 1981, Phongpaichit and Mingmongkol 1981, Thanh-Dam 1983, Azarcon de la Cruz 1985, Crush and Wellings 1987, Williams 1988, Consumer's Association of Penang 1985, Rogers 1989 and Bell 1990). Jud (1975), in his study of tourism and crime in Mexico, suggests that crime rates are directly related to the volume of foreign tourism. Major crimes against property (fraud, larceny, and robbery), in particular, appear to be strongly associated with tourism growth. Crimes against persons (assaults, murder, rape, abduction, and kidnapping), however, are, at most, only marginally associated with foreign tourist business. As Ehrlich (1974) has pointed out, this is probably because such crimes are typically motivated primarily by hate or passion rather than by the offender's desire for material gain or self-enrichment.

Hussey's (1989) study in Bali explores the effects tourism may have on crime, prostitution and drug abuse. He notes:

*Crime had been a problem for many years, although violent crime was unknown until 1979. The victims were usually tourists, but by the latter half of the 1970s crime was affecting local residents. Robbery, which previously had been confined to losmen [one-story guesthouse with room constructed in row] and hotels, was occurring in family compounds. Moreover, walking in the evening became uncomfortable for both tourists and local residents as certain streets were lined with prostitutes and drug dealers. (p.324).*

Naibavu and Schutz (1974, p.66-67) conclude in their study on prostitution in Fiji that *"Obviously tourism increases the prostitute's clientele, and it is clear that the visitor industry provides the main market...According to police interviewed, tourism, if not controlled, will become even more deeply connected with prostitution."*

Commercialization is seen as an important contributor to the changing values of local people. As de Kadt (1979) maintains:

*...tourism's most serious effect on values is in this area of commercializing relations...(p.61)...If some people are prepared to pay for goods and services and other people can provide them, a market and commercial relations will inevitably develop. Tourism, in this respect, produces changes that are no different from other form of "modernization." (p.63).*

To some extent, this explains why prostitution and drug dealing are increasing in tourist areas, especially in less developed countries where poverty is indigenous. When demands created by tourism exist, goods or services, which once might not have been considered for sale, become saleable supplies. Tyler (1989, p.40) observes that *"For many local young people in Third World nations, the only tradeable commodity which they have to offer are their bodies. Sex tourism is flourishing to a greater or lesser extent in several Asian countries."* Thailand and the Philippines have often been used as examples of tourism-induced prostitution (Azarcon de la Cruz 1985, Dick 1988, Richter 1989). Commercialization is also considered by some to have *"destructive"* effects on morality. De Kadt argues that *"Certain changes in sexual morality or patterns of behaviour are also attributed to tourism..."* (p.63).

Nevertheless, tourism is not always regarded as a contributing factor in increased crime rates, particularly in developed countries. Pizam (1982) suggests that

tourism, as measured by tourist expenditures, does not constitute a meaningful determinant of crime in the United States. Although tourism can be considered as a potential determinant of crime in many communities world-wide, Pizam argues that the tourism industry in the United States as a whole cannot be considered responsible for the occurrence of crime. The situation, however, may differ in less developed countries where the socioeconomic disparities between residents and tourists are relatively high.

*Impacts on Consumption Patterns* The consumption patterns of local people may be affected by tourism in various ways. In particular, changes have been observed in the particular food, clothing, and commodities selected (Archer 1975).

The demonstration effect plays a very important role in altering the way of life of local residents (Jafari 1974, Edelmann 1975, Mathieson and Wall 1982, Mendis 1982, Mahidol University 1986, English 1986, Dogan 1989, Crystal 1989, and Dearden 1990, 1991). As observed by Mendis (1982) in Sri Lanka:

*Very few Lankans could afford to patronise local tourist hotels since the tariffs are prohibitive. The accommodation charges for one day in a large hotels is more than the monthly wage earned by the average Lankan worker. Yet there are rich local residents who patronise tourist hotels for birthday celebrations, week-end outings with friends and families or to wine, dine and dance. (p.8).*

This example illustrates, to some extent, how the demonstration effect may contribute to changes in the consumption patterns of host communities. More recent examples have also been reported. In Kenya, for example, tourism has reinforced the influence of the westernized elite, with young people *"imitating not only Western clothing, but also the behaviour and life-style of Europeans and American visitors, including their*

*ethical and moral codes.*" (Bachmann 1988, p.191). Evidence of the demonstration effect has also been observed in India (Chandrakala 1989) and Malaysia (Bird 1989), where even young back-packers attract envy and unwanted attention through their possession of valued goods (Bird 1989). In northern Thailand, the demonstration effect contributed to changes in dressing and in demands for consumer goods among hilltribes (Dearden 1990). As Bird (1989) also points out, new norms and values can also be introduced by domestic tourists, who communicate more easily and interact more closely with local people.

Jafari (1973) argues that the pronounced "*ideological injection*" which results from tourism leads to increased consumption to the detriment of saving and investment. Nurkse (1970) agrees, suggesting that: "*the knowledge of, or contact with, superior consumption patterns, extends the imagination and creates new wants. The leading instance of the effect is, at present, the widespread imitation of American (and European) consumption patterns*" (p.264). Furthermore, he concludes that "*the demonstration effect leads directly to increased consumption, or attempts at increasing consumption, rather than investment*" (Nurkse, p.267).

Other authors, however, such as McElroy and De Albuquerque (1986) maintain that, although tourism may influence host consumption patterns through demonstration effects, the tourism impacts are considerably weaker than, and not easily distinguished from, the more encompassing influences associated with societal modernization—including urbanization and industrialization.

### *2.2.1.2 Impacts on Land Use*

Tourism can have significant environmental impacts (e.g. see Western 1986, Bains 1987, Rajotte 1987, Lea 1988, Romeli 1989, Edwards 1990 Witt 1991). Of greatest relevance to the present study are the impacts upon land use. Tourism development typically increases the competition for land, and, therefore, affects land values and use patterns (Butler 1975, Mendis 1982, Van Houts 1982, Valarche 1985, Pearce 1987, Ritchie and Goeldner 1987, Roehl and Fesenmaire 1987). Similarly, George (1987, p.69) agrees that "*...the most damaging consequences of tourism are set in motion through the industry's effects on land values in the tourist hinterland.*" In Thailand, the expropriation of agricultural land for speculation and tourism development could even destroy entire communities (Ekachai 1990).

Agricultural land use patterns may be altered to accommodate the establishment of tourism related hotels, resorts and other commercial structures (Mathieson and Wall 1982, Bryden 1973 [cited in Latimer 1985], Prasad 1987). Many countries which have undergone a rapid growth of tourism have also been characterized by speculative land booms (de Kadt 1979, Davis and Simmons 1982, George 1987, Pearce 1987). Such speculation can lead to underutilization of agricultural land in areas near tourist destinations. The greater the difference between present and perceived future profits, the more detrimental the effects. The degree to which agricultural areas are adversely affected can be positively correlated with the degree of expected change (George 1987). The loss of control over resources by local residents to outsiders, is also identified as potential impact of tourism development

(Butler 1980 and Keller 1982). One of the main questions to be addressed by this study relates to the impact of rapid tourism development on land use and land values in **BSR**.

### *2.2.2 Concept of Adjustment to Tourism Development*

There are various ways in which residents of host communities may adjust to the changes induced by tourism development. Dogan (1989) explores some of these methods of adjustments:

(i) *Resistance* In some places, strong feelings of resentment may develop and be expressed in aggressive behaviour towards tourists and touristic facilities. Some of the conditions which may lead to feelings of resentment include: the existence of a large number of tourists and the need to share local facilities and services with them; the apparent material superiority of the tourists which may, in turn, lead to feelings of envy and resentment among the inhabitants; and the number of facilities managed by foreigners where inhabitants are excluded or where foreigners receive better positions and higher salaries relative to the inhabitants (Mathieson and Wall 1982). Resistance to tourists has been explored by authors such as de Kadt (1979), and Chesney-Lind and Lind (1986). Robben (1982), in his study of tourism and change in Coqueiral (a fishing village of 1,200 inhabitants in Northeast Brazil) reveals that:

*Increasingly, villagers accuse tourists of taking charge of Coqueiral. Once, two groups of tourists terrorized their neighbourhood for several nights with a playful exchange of fireworks. The next day, one of the participants discovered his pleasure raft destroyed, supposedly vandalized by an angry villager. Much rancour was directed at a tourist who, racing his speedboat across the bay, unknowingly cut the anchor rope of a motorboat. Although the vessel was wrecked on the beach, the tourist refused to pay any damages.*

*In the future, such incidents will occur more often and increase the villagers' feeling that they are losing control of their own lives. (p.19).*

Farrell (1979, p.131) reports that the response to tourism development in the Pacific Islands has been: "*...to cause property damage to cars, to commit a variety of criminal acts, to stone tourist buses, and to beat up tourists and campers. [He adds that] To some degree, this type of activity is known in most Pacific islands.*"

Howe (1982) describes the conflicts between a foreign tourism entrepreneur (Barton)—who invested in a "*fancy pseudo Polynesian resort*" on a rented island owned by a Kuna coconut cooperative—and the San Blas Kuna of Panama<sup>2</sup>:

*...Barton was arrogant and tactless in his dealing with the community, and the costumes and customs of his tourists offended many Kuna. A dispute developed with the island's owners over alleged underpayment of rent and non-payment for work, and when they did not obtain satisfaction, the resort was burned to the ground in 1969. (p.16).*

Other violent incidents occurred when Barton built a new resort and further offended local people by bringing parties of homosexual tourists, and writing a malicious article about Kuna custom for the Miami Herald. Because the Herald is distributed in Panama City, the article was noticed by the Kuna and read out loud in translation

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<sup>2</sup> An indigenous population of 30,000 people in Panama. They live in their reserve called the *Comarca de San Blas* or *Kuna Yala*—a strip of land between the Caribbean coast and a mountain chain which runs from Columbia to approximately 60 miles east of the Panama canal.

at a General Congress. Eventually, in 1974, the resort was burned a second time. This seems to confirm Dogan's (1989) contention that when outsiders (tourists or entrepreneurs) are perceived to violate local norms, feelings of resentment and aggressive behaviour toward them can result.

*(ii) Retreatism* When confronted with tourism development, a community may decide to avoid contact with the outsiders, revive old traditions, and increase cultural and ethnic consciousness, rather than engage in active resistance (Dogan 1989). This type of reaction is more common in those communities where tourism has become too economically entrenched to be easily given up, but has also resulted in changes which threaten to impair the cultural survival of the community. Geiger (1978) observes such a retreatist reaction among the rural communities of Tyrol where tourism both constituted the basis of economic life and produced significant changes in traditional culture. The inhabitants reacted to the situation by reviving local dialects and customs and by developing organizations around local traditions. This internalization process, with its consequent revival of traditional culture, functioned as a buffer against foreign intrusion into Tyrolian life. In this way, tourism was made more tolerable and its impacts less painful. Another example is provided in Del Campo's (1970) study which demonstrates how undesirable impacts associated with tourism in some sections of Spanish society, resulted in a defense of ancient customs and an opposition to tourism and modernization.

*(iii) Boundary Maintenance* Even in the absence of any resistant or negative feelings, local residents may decide to establish a well defined boundary between the

foreign and the local cultures. This can provide for additional control over how local traditions are presented to foreigners and may help to minimize the effects of foreigners on the local cultures. Buck's (1978) study on the response of the Amish—a religious and traditional community in the United States—to tourism effects, provides a good example. Buck indicates that among the Amish, a distance between the tourists and the residents is maintained. As a result, the Amish culture has been preserved, the communities do not appear to experience disorder or psychological strain, and, at the same time, profits from tourism are maintained.

Dearden and Harron (1993) discuss boundary maintenance strategies adopted by the hilltribes of northern Thailand in the face of increasing numbers of trekkers. When the number of trekkers was small, individuals were usually invited to sleep in the village head's house without any charge. However, as the number of trekkers gradually increased, special sleeping quarters were constructed and a fee system was established. In some cases, special trekkers' areas were designated where outsiders were encouraged to stay and the behaviour of locals was regulated somewhat in an effort to meet visitors' expectations. Remaining areas were reserved for locals to carry on, without interruption, with their daily lives. The separation of "*frontstage*" and "*backstage*" identified by Cohen (1979) reflects the boundary maintenance strategy adopted by the hilltribes.

Another example of boundary maintenance is provided by Wood's (1979) study in Bali. Here, local people have chosen to alter the "*traditional*" dances which they perform for tourists so as to preserve their real meaning as religious rites. La

Flamme's (1979) study of Green Turtle Cay in the Bahamas also describes a process of boundary maintenance. The residents of this community attempt to preserve their culture by maintaining a distance between themselves and tourists. Close relationships with outsiders are avoided because of a belief in the superiority of local traditions.

*(iv) Revitalization* Sometimes tourism, rather than threatening local cultures, helps to preserve them. The literature suggests that tourism activities have had a revitalizing effect on traditional cultures in many countries (Pearce 1982, and Blomstrom et al 1978 cited in Dogan 1989). For example, tourism has contributed to the development of various kinds of local crafts (pottery, basketry, decoration, jewellery, leather goods) in Cyprus and Tunisia. In addition, the government has provided support for the growing interest in folklore and festivals in Cyprus. Tourism in Malta is purported to have strengthened local ceremonies and festivals and increased their acceptance among young middle class Maltans. Similarly, tourism in the Seychelles is believed to have boosted the interest in traditional music and dance (de Kadt 1979, Witt 1991). Because of the increased popularity of traditional Balinese wood carving, dancing, and ceremonies, which has resulted from tourism, these activities have been added to school curricula. Trekking tourism in northern Thailand provides an incentive for hilltribes to maintain their cultural traditions (Cohen 1983, Dearden and Harron 1993). In Panama, tourism played an important role in the development of schools to promote traditional arts (Blomstrom et al. 1978 cited in Dogan 1989).

Linnekin (1982) describes how outsiders have helped to revive local Hawaiian culture:

*The construction of ersatz Hawaiian culture for the benefit of outsiders has influenced Hawaiians' own perception of their identity. This is not merely an effect of mass tourism; a century and a half of contact preceded the influx of tourists...The revival of Hawaiian culture in the past 15 years sparked a resurgence of interest in the language, which few Hawaiians can speak fluently, and in "traditional" arts such as chanting, weaving feather Leis, and the hula. (p.29).*

The role of tourism in supporting cultural revival in Bermuda has been described by Manning (1979) and cited by Greenwood (1982) as follows:

*Frank Manning carefully sets the stage for...the recent evolution of Black clubs out of previous mutual aid "friendly societies." In recent years, these clubs have become centres of recreation and opulence, advertising and embodying Black lifestyles that are both proud and sophisticated. Much of the wealth that enables these clubs to exist and the consumption styles upon which they are based are products of the tourism-generated wealth and of social encounters with tourists. (p.28).*

Manning contends that there are three main reasons why tourism has not been disruptive in this area: 1) Bermuda Blacks do not see themselves as servants of tourists; 2) Careful government planning and execution of tourism development has helped to minimize disruption of the natural and social environment of the area; and 3) For a variety of reasons, the tourists' encounters with natives were built upon relatively relaxed patterns of race relations. The resulting economic growth and emerging sense of cultural pride have been strongly stimulated by, and compatible with, tourism. This is also the case in Thailand where tourism not only supports traditional crafts, but provides income to peripheral, economically depressed areas, particularly in the poor northeastern region (Parnwell 1993).

(v) *Adoption* Some groups of people in host societies may not object to the penetration of foreign cultures often associated with tourism. Instead, they may simply choose to adopt or incorporate the new cultures into their own. This strategy has been observed more often among the youthful and educated sectors of less developed countries. For example, in Cyprus, the impacts of tourism on values, attitudes and behaviour have been widely accepted by the younger population. As a result of their close and continuous relationship with tourists, many young Cypriots have adopted values and attitudes associated with sex, dress, and morality which differ from traditional ones. This may be because such changes are perceived to enrich rather than diminish traditional Cypriot culture (Andronicou 1979). Other examples of the adoption process can be observed in places where the demonstration effect is contributing to a modernization of traditional cultures (see Bachmann 1988, Chandrakala 1989, and Bird 1989 discussed earlier in **Impacts on Consumption Pattern**).

It is an intention of the study to look for some evidence of these adjustment strategies in **BSR**.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter consists of 4 sections which describe the research design and methodology. In the first section, the reasons for adopting a case study approach are discussed and in the second section, quality of life indicators are addressed. In the third section, the research methodology is presented and in the final section, the data analysis is discussed.

#### *3.1 Why Case Study?*

The case study approach—an empirical inquiry using multiple sources of evidence that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context—has been a major social science research strategy for many years (Yin 1989). As a research endeavour, the case study contributes uniquely to our knowledge of individual, organizational, social and political phenomena. Not surprisingly, the case study has been a common research strategy in various social science areas, such as

psychology, sociology, geography, political science, economics and planning. Additionally, the case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events (Beaujeu-Garnier 1976 and Yin 1989).

In geography, the case study method has been widely applied for a long time (e.g. Lynd and Lynd 1929, Sternleib 1971, Forward 1984, Cohen 1985, Hussey 1989, Techatraisak and Gesler 1989, Porteous 1989, DuBois 1990, Hirsch 1990, Kanaroglou and Rhodes 1990 and Dearden 1991). Geographers have a long history of employing an empirical-inductive (compared to a theoretical-deductive) framework as a method of investigation. The inductive method requires a large number of case studies on a single theme in order to reach the formulation of a comprehensive explanation, and ultimately of a theory (Beaujeu-Garnier 1976).

Case studies play a very important role in theory construction. Data gained through several case studies constitute important information for the social scientist interested in generalizing. Before scientists can successfully construct a general explanation for a particular phenomenon, they require data from case studies undertaken for a variety of different locations and times.

Case studies are also important in theory testing. A single case study may represent a critical case in the testing of a well-formulated theory, serving to confirm, challenge or extend that theory. The single case study can also be used to determine whether a theory's propositions are correct, or whether some alternative set of explanations might be more relevant. The more a theory is proved true by particularities, the stronger the theory is (McKinny 1967). Consequently, the single case can

represent a significant contribution to knowledge and theory building. Such a study may also help to refocus further investigations in an entire field (Yin 1989).

In the field of geography, in particular, where the need for knowledge accumulation is widely recognized, the case study approach provides opportunities to gather "*rich*" information on many particularities. Over time, this information should contribute to improved theory building (Curry 1991).

Nevertheless, in spite of the acknowledged strengths of the case study approach, various criticisms do exist and these should be discussed (Yin 1989). One concern is that the careless case study investigator may allow equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of findings and conclusions. What is often forgotten, however, is that bias can be a problem in many other research strategies, experimentation (see Rosenthal 1966), historical research (Gottschalk 1968), and questionnaire design for surveys (Sudman and Bradburn 1982).

A second concern relates to the ability to generalize from a single case. Case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a "*sample*", and the investigator's goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization).

A third concern is that case studies require too much time and result in lengthy narrative documents. This, however, is not necessarily true. Such observations are based on the assumption that it is imperative to use ethnography or participant observation as data collection methods in case study situations. In fact,

the case study strategy is a form of inquiry that does not depend solely on these two methods. Ethnographies usually require long periods of time in the field and emphasize detailed observational evidence. Participant observation, in contrast, may not require the same length of time but still assumes a hefty investment of field efforts. However, depending upon the research topic, a valid and high-quality case study could be undertaken without the investigator having to leave the library and telephone (Yin 1989).

Two types of logical inferences, deduction and induction, are involved in scientific inquiry. Both of these are important, but they function in rather different circumstances due to their strengths and weaknesses. The advantage of deduction as a form of inference is that if the premises are true then the conclusions are necessarily true. Theories are, thus, invariably stated as deductive systems of statements. The difficulty with deductive systems of explanation, however, is that deduction cannot, by itself, prove anything which we do not already know. Deduction has nothing to say about the truth or validity of the initial premises. The degree of belief in the initial statements can only be established inductively.

In induction, however, the essential weakness is that it is possible to draw false conclusions from correct premises. For all inductive inferences, there is no logical justification for extending belief in the premises to belief in the conclusions. Therefore, to arrive at scientific knowledge, one needs both deductive and inductive inferences (Harvey 1969).

This research, therefore, employs both forms of logical inference within the context of a case study approach—deduction, to deduce propositions into testable hypotheses and induction, to generalize empirical results to the theoretical propositions (analytic generalization).

This study is, primarily, an inductively-based case study that seeks to provide a holistic understanding of the major changes which have occurred or are occurring in **BSR** as a result of the rapid growth in tourism. However, other relevant literature in this area provides an opportunity to state and deductively test hypotheses within the context of the case study. These will be formally stated in appropriate sections of the Results chapter.

### *3.2 Quality of Life Indicators*

This section addresses the particular indicators used in the investigation of changes which occurred within the study area following the onset of tourism development. Before doing so, however, a brief discussion of the "*quality of life*" issue is presented.

Quality of life is broadly defined as :

*an individual's happiness or satisfaction with life and environment including needs and desires, aspirations, lifestyle preferences, and other tangible and intangible factors which determine overall well-being (Cutter 1985, p.1).*

Because this geographical definition of quality of life focuses more on place than on individuals, it includes both objective and subjective measures of social and environmental conditions in a place, and how these conditions are experienced by the

people living there (Ibid.). Although the quality of life idea was first launched by social statisticians and sociologists in the early 1970s, a simple definition of the quality of life is still very difficult to achieve (Curley 1981, UNESCO 1983, Cutter 1985 and Slottje 1991). Achieving universal agreement on how to measure quality of life seems to be unlikely. The variables chosen to measure quality of life are frequently selected simply on the basis of availability of statistics rather than on conceptual or theoretical considerations. Consequently, replication of studies is difficult and comparability among them is virtually non-existent (Cutter 1985).

To adopt any of the already available sets of quality of life indicators for the purpose of this study is problematic for two reasons: (1) lack of recorded data for the case study in question (**BSR**), and (2) social, economic and cultural differences between **BSR** and those places for which the quality of life indices have been designed (Szalai and Andrew 1980, Slottje 1991). Consequently, in order to evaluate changes in the study area, a set of quality of life indicators considered both appropriate and practicable was identified as follows:

- (1) Wage per day,
- (2) Household income from occupations in tourism,
- (3) Household savings,
- (4) Satisfaction with job and salary (of hotel employees),
- (5) Food (changes of food and food quality),
- (6) Sources of water for drinking and other uses,
- (7) Land ownership,

- (8) Criminal and environmental problems.
- (9) People's needs
- (10) People's recommendations to improve their community

Most of these indicators depend heavily on people's ability to recall events. The results of the research may be affected, to some extent, if this recall is distorted. However, carefully designed data collection methods (triangulation strategy) as well as careful field work should help to reduce such distortions.

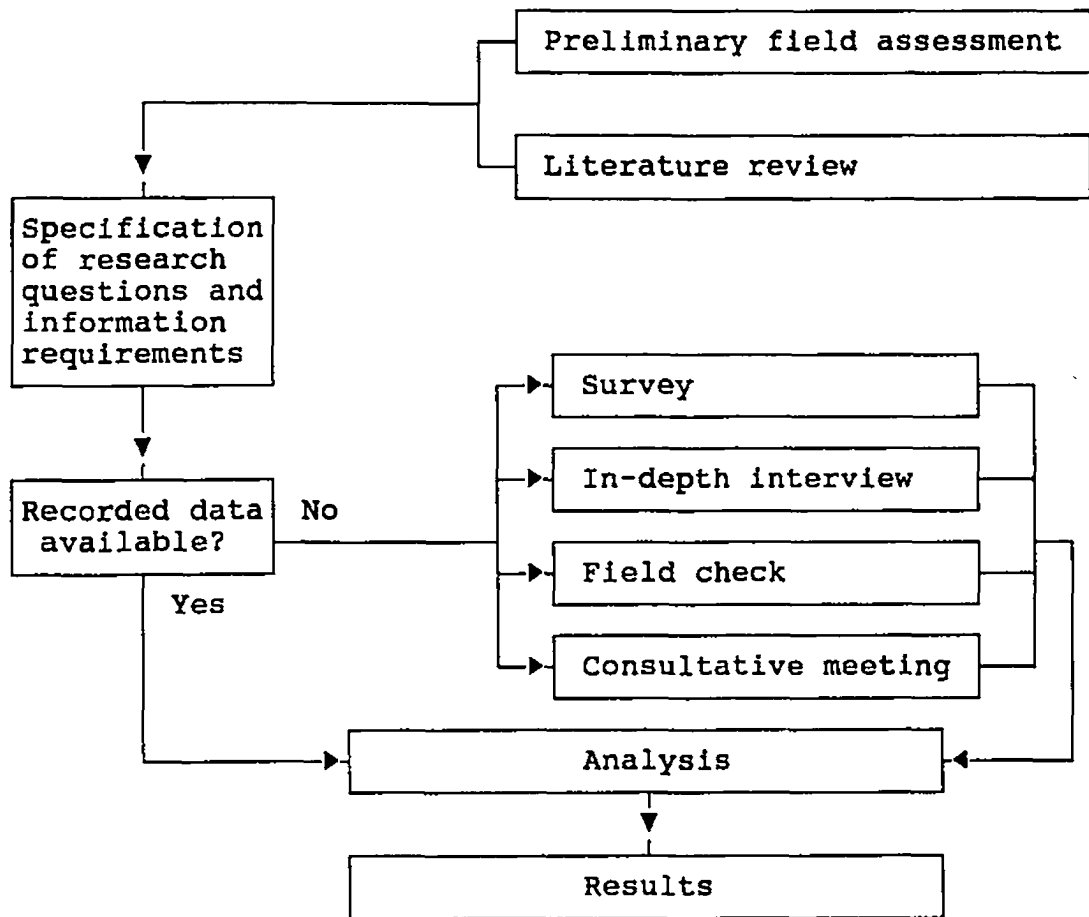
### ***3.3 Research Methodology***

Because each research method has particular strengths and weaknesses (Babbie 1979), a triangulation strategy was adopted in an effort to bring different research approaches (e.g. survey, in-depth interview, field check and consultative meeting) to bear on the same problem. Through a review of the literature, information needs were identified<sup>1</sup>. Much of the information required, however, has never been formally recorded, and a combination of methods was needed to acquire this data. Figure 3.1 summarises the research methodology.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A: Data requirements

FIGURE 3.1 Research Methodology



*i) Preliminary Field Assessment:* Before the main field work was undertaken in 1992, the village was visited twice during 1989 to 1990 (a one-week trip in 1989 and two-month trip in 1990) to gain familiarity with prevailing conditions and establish contacts. This not only gave the researcher opportunities to refine research methodologies, but also to observe changes occurring in the village between visits. Additionally, the visits helped to ascertain the amount of existing data available for the study area.

*ii) Literature Review* A broadly-based literature review was then undertaken, focusing on changes in rural communities as well as tourism impacts in less developed countries. The findings are discussed in depth in Chapter 2. This information, gleaned from a world context, helped to set a conceptual framework for the case study in Thailand.

*iii) Specification of Research Questions and Information Requirements* After the preliminary field assessments and literature review, the research questions and information requirements could be specified.

*iv) Survey* To acquire the data required for the study (see data requirements in Appendix A), three surveys were undertaken between March and April 1992. These three surveys are discussed following.

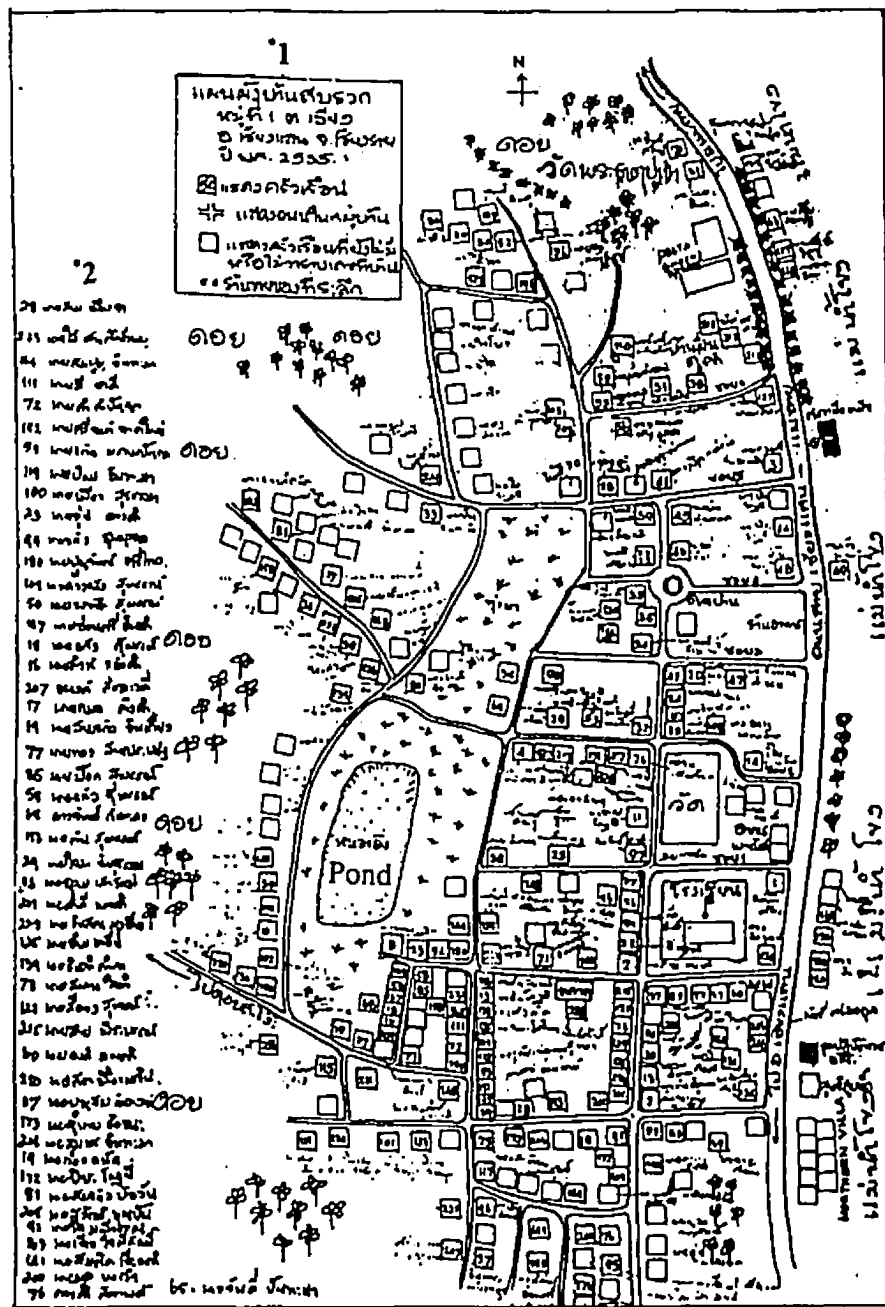
*a) The Villager Survey* This was the main survey instrument for the study. In order to obtain an appropriate sample size (i.e. not too large to manage, and not too small to impair statistical analysis), a sample comprised of 70 percent of the households (184 out of 262 in village)<sup>2</sup> was drawn using a blockwise method (see Figure 3.2). First of all, a sketch map of the village was created, using house numbers as they appeared in the official house registration form at the village office. Next, 70 percent of houses in each block<sup>3</sup> were randomly selected. The selected houses

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<sup>2</sup> The sample size of 70 percent was considered not too small to impair statistical analysis, and not too large to manage.

<sup>3</sup> To facilitate the sampling purpose, the village's residential area was divided into blocks using existing roads and paths. Accordingly, a block here means a group of houses surrounded by roads (paved or unpaved) or paths.

FIGURE 3.2 Map for Sampling and Interviewing Purposes in the Household Survey



- \*1 Legend:**
- 5 Houses with number
  - Houses with no number
  - + Roads or paths
  - \*\*\* Souvenir shops
- \*2 Names of heads of household**

comprising the sample were then marked on the map and used for interviewing purposes. It was determined that the head of the household would be interviewed because he or she was typically the most informed person on household matters. In the event that the household head was unable to be interviewed (for reasons such as advanced age or absence during the field work period), the second best available person would be interviewed.

With information from the preliminary assessment in 1990 as well as from discussions with key informants and other individuals during January and February 1992, the main questionnaire for the villager survey was drafted.

The validity and reliability of the survey instrument are discussed below.

"*Validity*" means accuracy of measurement or the degree to which an instrument measures what is supposed to be measured. Because there are several types of validity estimates (i.e. content, predictive, concurrent and construct), each with a different purpose, the researcher needs to assess the research situation to determine which type is appropriate (Sproull 1988). For the purposes of this study, content validity—i.e. "*The representativeness of the content of the instrument to the objectives of using the instrument.*" (Ibid, p.76)—was considered most important.

"*Reliability*" In addition to validity, a good research instrument must possess reliability. Reliability refers to the consistency of the instrument. It is necessary to ensure the validity of an instrument before assessing the reliability of the instrument because a reliable measure may still lack validity (Sproull 1988, Mason and Bramble

1989). There are several types of reliability estimates, each serving a different purpose. The major types are: (1) test-retest, (2) equivalent forms, (3) split-half, (4) Kudor-Richardson, and (5) coefficient alpha. The test-retest technique was selected for this study.

To ensure content validity, the first draft of the main questionnaire was reviewed by qualified people, including the village head, village committee members, well-informed villagers and social science specialists. This helped to ensure that specific questions adequately reflected the objectives of the instrument, and that only relevant questions were included. After this, a pre-test was undertaken as an additional check on the questionnaire's validity and to ensure a proper "flow" of questioning. It was felt that this, in turn, would facilitate subsequent interview processes.

The pre-test was conducted with 25 villagers of *Ban Huai Kiang*—a village adjacent to, and south of **BSR**. **Ban Huai Kiang** has experienced considerably less tourism development than **BSR**. In cooperation with the village head of *Ban Huai Kiang*, 25 household heads willing to participate in the study were selected. Most of these individuals lived in the village residential area.

Because a set of rating scales measuring villagers' perception towards tourism impacts was included in the questionnaire, the set needed to be assessed for reliability. The pre-test described above also served as the first test in the test-retest approach for reliability assessment. A potential problem associated with the test-retest approach concerns the length of time between administration of the two tests.

If it is too short, performance on the second test might be affected by the sample respondents' recall of the initial test. On the other hand, allowing too much time to elapse may result in major changes in the lives of sample respondents, thereby altering their perceptions significantly from the time of the first test (Backstrom and Hursh-Cesar 1981 and Mason and Bramble 1989). The second test was therefore, administered 4 weeks after the first test. This time period was considered to be long enough to ensure that most respondents had forgotten the first test but too short to permit many major experiential changes. After the second test, a correlation coefficient was calculated from scores obtained during the first and second tests. The computed level of reliability was .903, indicating that the questionnaire was ready to be used (A copy of the main questionnaire is included in Appendix B).

Because many villagers in **BSR** have had fewer than four years of formal education, most would find it too difficult to understand a 60-item questionnaire and record the responses themselves. For this reason, a face-to-face interview technique was chosen (i.e. with the structured interview form in hand, the interviewer asks the interviewee and records the responses).

Most villagers in **BSR** speak the northern Thai dialect (*Kum Muang*) with strong *Tai Yai* accents, while the elders speak the *Tai Yai* language. Because *Tai Yai* is somewhat difficult for the author to understand, some assistance was requested. Four interviewers, 3 females and 1 male, (all with bachelor degrees in education and familiarity with *Kum Muang*) were recruited from the local school and trained to carry out the interview process under supervision of the author. These teachers were

well known to most of the villagers, especially those whose children were in school. The author would handle those interviewees who were comfortable with responding in the standard Thai language.

A one-and-a-half-day orientation course was provided to prepare the interviewers. A brief refresher course on interviewing techniques (including rapport building, probing, handling of rating scales, recording responses) was offered in the first morning. The questionnaire was reviewed by all the participants to ensure that every question was clearly understood and then test-runs of the interview process were undertaken. Working in pairs, the would-be interviewers took turns interviewing each other in the *Kum Muang* dialect. The second morning was set aside to discuss coding technique and to practise using the coding manual developed by the author<sup>4</sup>. Finally, difficulties encountered during the practices and recommendations for problem solving were discussed.

During the interview period, all interviewers were assigned daily cases in the same area of the village. This made supervision by the author much easier. To assure that the interviewee was available, an appointment was made a couple of days beforehand. The first interviews took approximately 1 hour to complete. However, as the interviewers became more skilled, the process usually took less than 45

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<sup>4</sup> The author considered it important for the interviewers to undertake their own coding on a daily basis. This ensured that if any additional information or clarification was required, the interviewer would be able to catch the interviewee immediately. If, however, the author did the coding himself, it would take considerable more time and make it difficult to further probe or clarify matters discussed several days previously.

minutes. Because coding had to be undertaken daily by the interviewers, only 2-3 cases were assigned each day during the beginning period. This was increased to 4 or 5 as the interviews progressed. Usually, the interviewers and the author met each day for lunch to discuss their experiences. If, at these meetings, it was determined that additional information was required for an individual case, the interviewer could then return to the interviewee either that same day or the following day. After coding, the completed interview forms as well as the coding sheets were returned to the author who would then carry out a final check for completeness. The data were then ready for computer keying and analysis.

It should be noted that at the beginning of the field work, cooperation from the village head was sought (actually, undertaking any field studies in a particular area needs a formal permission from the provincial Governor<sup>5</sup>). Upon invitation of the village head, the author attended a village board meeting (where at least one person from each household was expected to attend<sup>6</sup>) to introduce himself and the study project. This was an important step in building a rapport with the villagers. A couple of days before the interview process began, the village head, through use of

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<sup>5</sup> See the *Chiang Rai* Governor's letter of approval of cooperation from government offices in Appendix C.

<sup>6</sup> Failure to do so would cost a household 50 *baht* (\$2.50) per time. The fine would be put into the village fund for public use.

the village broadcast system<sup>7</sup>, again requested the cooperation of the villagers. This also facilitated the interview process to a great extent.

*b) The Hotel Employee Survey* Other people affected by tourism development in the Golden Triangle are those working in service sectors, especially hotel employees. In an effort to further explore this particular employment sector, a separate hotel employee survey was undertaken. After carrying out preliminary discussions with a few key people, including the personnel managers of the 2 main hotels (*Le Meridien Baan Boran* and *The Delta Golden Triangle*), some well-informed villagers and some hotel employees, a questionnaire was carefully drafted to reflect specific study objectives. This draft was reviewed by the hotel personnel managers, the selected villagers and hotel employees, as well as by some social science experts, especially those specializing in tourism research. Through cooperation with the personnel manager of *The Delta Golden Triangle*, a pre-test was undertaken with 10 hotel employees. These individuals were excluded from the subsequent interview process.

Before interviews were undertaken, the cooperation of the hotel general managers was also sought (see letters to the general managers in Appendix D). To obtain an appropriate sample size (i.e. manageable without impairing statistical analysis), 40 percent of 402 employees from the 2 five-star hotels were studied. The personnel managers of both hotels were approached for assistance in distributing

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<sup>7</sup> This is an intra-village communication system generally found in rural Thai villages. Loud speakers were equipped in the residential area for daily broadcast (usually around 8 a.m. and 6 p.m.) of official and social matters related to the village.

questionnaires to employees from as many departments as possible. The questionnaires were distributed to, and collected from, the sampled employees within a one and a half month period. Although 187 completed interview forms (93.5 percent of the total 200 distributed, 100 for each hotel) were returned, only 156 of the forms were selected for analysis. The remaining forms did not contain sufficient information for analysis. This sample of 156 still represented approximately 40 percent of the total employees.

It is perhaps noteworthy that the incomplete survey forms were all returned from the same hotel. These unused questionnaires, typically contained responses only to demographic questions, such as sex, age and marital status. This may reflect poor communication between the employer and employees with respect to the purpose and importance of the study. In addition to the problem of incomplete responses, there were a couple of questionnaires which contained severely conflicting answers suggesting illogical responses. Because these seemed to suggest a lack of internal validity<sup>8</sup>, they were also dropped from the analysis. By and large, it was found that

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<sup>8</sup> In spite of the fact that the questionnaire is carefully designed and tested before using, this, to some extent, suggests weak points of the self-administered questionnaire technique (without the presence of the researcher), compared to the interview technique. For example, the respondent may not pay enough attention in giving answers (particularly, when he/she is not well informed about the study) resulting in incompleteness and/or illogical answers. This may not be a problem if face-to-face interviewing is used because the interviewer can assess whether the respondent is willing to answer or not; if not the interviewer may help motivate the respondent to give complete answers; or if possible, find other respondents. Additionally, in the interview technique, the interviewer can employ a probing technique (in case the answer is not logical, or the respondent is confused). This is very important, especially when the respondent is not well educated as happened in this study.

the hotel employee respondents—who each had at least 6 years of schooling—could complete the 16-question interview form themselves without serious difficulties. Data from the interviewed forms were coded and keyed into the computer diskette for later analysis. (A copy of the hotel employee survey is included in Appendix E).

*c) The Souvenir Shop Owner Survey* The objective of this survey was to investigate how tourism affected those engaged in the souvenir business at the Golden Triangle. A questionnaire was drafted after some preliminary discussions with souvenir shop owners, well-informed villagers and the village head. The first draft was reviewed by these same people and pre-tested with 10 souvenir shop owners in the town of *Chiang Saen*, 10 kilometres south of **BSR**. With the assistance of a well-informed villager, those shop owners who were willing to participate in the study were then interviewed by the author. After undergoing some modification, the final questionnaire (see Appendix F) was prepared. Because the population of souvenir shop owners was relatively small (103 in total), the entire population was surveyed. To reduce the time required for shop keepers to complete the survey and to better accommodate interruptions by customers, a face-to-face interviewing technique was selected. The author, four of the interviewers who had participated in the main survey, completed the interview process within a one week period. The shops were all located in 2 two specific areas—83 along the main road and 20 on *Doi Siang Miang*, a hill north of the village residential area (see Figure 4.4).

*v) In-depth Interview* Additional data relating to the history of the village, settlement pattern changes, tourist development and land use changes were collected

using an in-depth interview process. This method is particularly useful when there are no recorded information sources and when triangulation is to be used. The following people were interviewed in-depth:

- (1) The village head and individual committee members (the villager spokesman and 2 other members),
- (2) The chief monk, the principal and 2 school teachers (of the village primary school),
- (3) Selected villagers (3 women and 2 men),
- (4) Selected business owners in the area, (5),
- (5) Selected government officials (including the village health official, the chief of the district office, the district tax collector, the *Mae Chan*<sup>9</sup> district land officials and the provincial officials who work in the secretary office for the governor).

These interviewees were asked specific questions according to their specialties.

The following overall agenda was used to guide discussion:

- (1) Brief history of the village;
- (2) Tourism development and trends;
- (3) Land use, ownership and price changes;

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<sup>9</sup> *Mae Chan* is a district in *Chiang Rai* Province adjacent to the south of *Chiang Saen*. In spite of the fact that *Chiang Saen* has a land office (a branch of *Mae Chan* land office) for public services in the district, official land documents including land titles for the district of *Chiang Saen* are kept in the *Mae Chan* land office which takes care of official land matters in the *Chiang Saen* area.

- (4) Occupational changes among the villagers, women's economic roles after tourism began, employment in tourism-related businesses;
- (5) Crime rates, drug use, gambling and prostitution;
- (6) People's participation in traditional ceremonies and village development projects;
- (7) Changes in households: money keeper, types of food consumed, ways of obtaining food (traditional collecting/hunting or buying), types of cooking fuel used;
- (8) Health problems (nutrition, typical diseases, accidents);
- (9) Educational perception of the villagers (how do they perceive the role of education in their changing community, how do youths fit into the changing community, trends of educational enrolment);
- (10) Tourism-related development projects (government and non-government).

*vi) Field Check* A field check was considered essential to obtain and/or confirm data relating to settlement patterns, land use patterns and the number and distribution of stores, restaurants and guest houses. Data obtained from the field check was then compared with historical aerial photographs to understand land use and settlement changes in the area.

*vii) Consultative Meeting* After data had been collected using these various techniques, a consultative meeting was set up to help clarify and enrich understanding of the results. The meeting was held in the local school meeting room soon after the preliminary data analysis was finished. Participants in the meeting included the village head, the chief monk, the principal, school teachers, well informed villagers,

business owners and hotel employees. A brainstorming technique was chosen as a way of eliciting responses from the participants. Perhaps, because of having been familiar with participating in the village monthly meetings, the BSR villagers, and the resource people, in particular, were very helpful in the consultative meeting. In addition to clarifying the survey results, the consultative meeting helped to generate an increased sense of involvement and pride, on the part of participants, in the overall study process.

### ***3.4 Data Analysis***

Although other data gathering techniques were used, the surveys provided the majority of data for the study. Data from 3 sets of questionnaires were coded and keyed into a computer diskette. The data were then available for further computerized analysis using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences/Personal Computer (SPSS/PC+).

Two factors were important in determining the relevant statistics for data analysis: (1) the purpose of the analysis (i.e. to summarise sample data using nonparametric statistics or to carry out statistical inference using parametric statistics, and (2) the level of measurement of data (i.e. nominal, ordinal, interval or ratio). The following statistics were employed:

*i) Nonparametric Statistics* including: frequency, percentage, cross-tabulation, measures of central tendency (mean, median and mode), measures of dispersion (range and standard deviation), and chi-square test. These statistics help describe the

survey samples (villagers, hotel employees, and souvenir-shop owners) and provide answers to questions, such as what was the proportion of the villagers who changed occupations or sold their land within the last 6 years, what was the average size and standard deviation of their land parcels, and what were the range and mode of land prices within the last 6 years?

ii) *Parametric Statistics* including: t test, F test (ANOVA), multiple regression analysis and factor analysis. The t test was used to calculate the correlation coefficient to estimate the test-retest reliability of the questionnaires. The F test was used to test the differences between means of different groups, for example, means of perception towards economic impacts of tourism between people of different sex, occupation and birthplace (nominal data). Factor analysis was useful in creating factors (from several independent variables) to be included in the multiple regression analysis. Finally, multiple regression analysis was used to identify equations predicting perception towards tourism impacts (interval data).

Qualitative data derived from in-depth interviews was recorded on audio tape cassettes and transcribed in preparation for future use. These verbatim data provided additional detailed information about specific issues and were also useful for checking the validity and reliability of the research instruments.

Because of assistance provided by some well-informed villagers and district land officials, the researcher was also able to acquire considerable information relating to land ownership changes. This information proved very useful for the research. The data from these sources were analyzed in the following manner:

(1) 209 plots of land were classified according to land use types (i.e. housing, farming and business purposes), and numbers of ownership changes within the last 6 years;

(2) the types of land use changes which occurred within the last 6 years were determined (e.g. from housing or farming to business purposes, etc). This helped to reflect changes in the settlement patterns of **BSR**;

(3) coding was undertaken for each plot of land according to the following variables: size of parcel, number of ownership changes, years of changes, and prices. The data were then in a form which could be condensed with statistics into measurements of frequency, percentage, mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum.

This data was combined with that obtained from 1986 1:5000 air photos available for the area to confirm information on land use and ownership changes in **BSR**.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESULTS**

Composed of 8 sections, this chapter discusses the results of the study. The first section examines the characteristics of the sample population which was selected for the main (household) survey. This sample is the major source of information for the study. The second section discusses socio-economic impacts in terms of occupational changes, changes in women's roles, changes in farming life styles, changes in consumption patterns, and changing social norms in BSR. The third section addresses cultural impacts of tourism development, while the fourth section examines impacts on land ownership. The fifth section further explores the changing land use situation. The sixth section addresses the loss of local control over land resources to new investors and the problems induced by this change, which include underutilization of land, and emerging environmental and social problems. The seventh section examines the perceptions of local people towards the economic,

social, cultural, and land use changes resulting from tourism as well as their feeling towards tourism development in general. Finally, the eighth section addresses how local people have adjusted to tourism development in **BSR**.

#### *4.1 Characteristics of the Sample Population (Household Survey)*

The average age of the villager sampled was 43.3 years old. Fifty five percent were males and 45 percent were females<sup>1</sup>. Forty four percent of the sample had only 4-years of formal education while 37 percent had no education at all. Of the remaining, some 9 percent had less than 4 years, and 10 percent had more than 4 years. The average household size was 4.7 people and 93 percent of the sample were married. Sixty two percent were of *Tai Yai* nationality, 26 percent Thai, 11 percent Myanmar, and 1 percent Laotian. The majority of the sample (61 percent) were born in **BSR**. For those not born in the village, the average time of residence in **BSR** was 18 years. The two main reasons identified for moving to **BSR** were to live with a spouse who was native to **BSR** (47 percent) and to live with relatives (41 percent). The remaining (13 percent) said they fled hardship from Myanmar. The average number of income earners in a household was 2.8 and 96 percent of these income earners worked in **BSR**. Two thirds (65 percent) of the sample identified themselves

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<sup>1</sup> Although the target population in the survey was heads of households, which are normally males, the percentage of females was relatively high. This was because males were unavailable, and they tended to ask their spouses to answer questions. Most of the males claimed that females knew better in household matters, and matters related to tourism because females were more involved in tourism-related business than males. This may also reflect acceptance of female authority in northern Thai communities. This issue is discussed later in this chapter.

as farmers. Most of the remaining, 14 percent were classed as merchants, 10 percent as "workers", 9 percent as "other" and 2 percent as "unemployed". Most of those sampled owned their own land—66 percent owned both land for housing and farming, 30 percent owned land for housing only, and 4 percent did not own any land.

## ***4.2 Socioeconomic Changes***

Tourism is responsible for many of the recent socioeconomic changes in **BSR**. This section discusses how tourism has affected the village in terms of occupations, women's roles, farming life styles, consumption patterns, and social norms in the village.

### ***4.2.1 Occupational Impacts***

Within a very short time period, tourism has led to significant occupational changes in **BSR**. How marked these changes have been was well reflected in villagers' responses regarding perceived occupational changes. Ninety one percent of the respondents agreed that *many* of the villagers had changed their jobs. Eighty five percent said that more females had changed jobs than males. Young as well as middle-aged people were perceived to be the major groups affected by job changes (46 and 47 percent respectively). Measurements of occupational change are discussed in the following section.

#### ***4.2.1.1 From Farmers to Tourism-related Jobs***

The chi-square test indicated a significant relationship between previous and present occupations at the .001 level of confidence—meaning that within the last 6

years, the majority of people have not changed their occupations. However, as many as one quarter of the previous farmers had changed their main occupations to tourism-related jobs (Table 4.1), especially souvenir sellers and restaurant owners<sup>2</sup>—79 percent of which were previous farmers, 13 percent merchant, 7 percent workers, and 2 percent others—and employees in tourism business. The rest, however, were still farmers.

TABLE 4.1 Main Occupation Changes for Respondents of Household Survey

Previous occupation	Present occupation		Total
	Farmer	Non-farmer	
Farmer	119	40	159
	(74.8)	(25.2)	(100.0)
Non-farmer	1	15	16
	(6.3)	(93.7)	(100.0)
Total	120	55	175
	(68.6)	(31.4)	(100.0)

$\chi^2 = 28.63414$   
 $P < .001$

It is noteworthy that some farmers in BSR still farmed whether or not they made any profits from the operation. Apparently, only half gained any profit from sticky rice farming. One quarter lost money. Of these, 71 percent still farmed because they considered it better to work for themselves than to be hired as a labourer while

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<sup>2</sup> Hussey (1989) points out that profitable occupations of residents in a touristic Balinese village include owners/operators of guesthouses, restaurants and souvenir businesses.

29 percent said they did not possess the knowledge and skills to do anything else. Another quarter grew sticky rice just for household consumption and were therefore unable to identify any profits or losses (see Moerman 1987). However, these respondents felt that growing their own rice helped to reduce household expenditures on food staples. This interest in subsistence farming will likely tend to decline as more contacts are made with outside economic system (Hirsch 1990). While Hirsch (1990) suggests that cash cropping will gradually replace subsistence cropping, the situation may differ in BSR, because of tourism development. Villagers, instead of shifting to increase cash cropping have tended to be more attracted to tourism-related jobs.

Changes can also be observed in the selection of auxiliary occupations. Although the chi-square test suggested that there was a significant relationship between previous and present secondary occupations, meaning that within the last 6 years, the majority of people have not changed their secondary occupations (at the .05 level of confidence), over a half of the villagers with secondary occupations in the non-farm sector (e.g. merchants and workers) had not previously engaged in secondary employment. In addition, one fifth of those people who now hold a second job as merchants or workers, had previously engaged in farming as a second occupation (Table 4.2). This may suggest that villagers now have more occupations as a result of tourism.

In other studies (e.g. Wilson 1977, and George 1987), it has been observed that such shifts from farming to tourism-related jobs, have resulted in shortages of

farm labour for surrounding areas. BSR has also experienced this problem to some extent. Complaints about shortages of farm labour (for weeding, rice transplanting, and harvesting) were heard frequently during the field work period in the village. This shortage of labour, in fact, caused wages to increase. These wage increases affected poorer farmers most severely. Some were forced to reduce production while others complained that they might have to quit farming altogether. This situation has led to underutilization of farm land in BSR. Hirsch (1990) provides a detailed examination of underutilization in two rural villages of western central Thailand

TABLE 4.2 Second Occupation Changes for Respondents of Household Survey

Present second occupation	Previous second occupation			Total
	None	Farmer	Non-farmer	
None	60	5	50	115
	(72.3)	(35.7)	(57.5)	(62.5)
Farmer	9	6	17	32
	(10.8)	(42.9)	(19.5)	(17.4)
Non-farmer	14	3	20	37
	(16.9)	(21.4)	(23.0)	(20.1)
Total	83	14	87	184
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

$$\chi^2 = 11.53404$$

$$P < .05$$

which lends support to the author's contention that loss of control over the factors of production (here, capital and labour) can lead to underutilization of farm land.

The literature review suggests that even in the absence of tourism, occupational changes—from farming to non-farm jobs—are occurring in rural Thai communities (Ritchie 1992 and 1993). To a large extent, this has been an effect of government policies favouring industrialization and urbanization (Turton 1989). However, the processes of change in this area have been relatively slow when compared to those in BSR where tourism development has played a major role. It seems reasonable, therefore, to say that tourism is a catalyst of occupational change.

#### *4.2.1.2 Alternative Job Opportunities*

The literature review indicates that tourism-related jobs, when compared to farming occupations, do not consistently provide either higher or lower incomes to local people. For example, Hussey's (1989) study of a rural Balinese village reveals lucrative jobs in tourism, especially those in the locally run guesthouse business, while Kent (1977) maintains that local people on some Pacific islands earned less income from service-related jobs in tourism than from their previous farming jobs. Samy (1977) and Beekhuis (1981) suggest that tourism creates too many "low-level" jobs and too few opportunities for local participation in management. Whether or not tourism provides occupational advantages, depends on various factors, such as 1) what kind of job is obtained (e.g. business owners make more profits than service-related employees), and 2) the community's economic status (i.e. the poorer the community was, the more important these new opportunities are).

In BSR, tourism-related jobs yielded comparatively higher incomes than agricultural jobs. Ninety three percent of the villagers indicated that tourists brought

*much* income to **BSR**, and foreign tourists in particular were identified (by 84 percent) as major contributors. Average annual income per household from primary and secondary occupations in tourism was 51,955 *baht* (SD 47,910, Minimum 14,400, Maximum 350,000, Mode 24,000) or \$ 2,598 and 29,676 *baht* (SD 38,513, Minimum 2,500, Maximum 222,400, Mode 10,000) or \$ 1,484, respectively.<sup>3</sup> These incomes are significantly higher than the average total household income of 20,000 *baht* (\$ 1,000) for *Ban Wang Lao* (a non-tourism village just to the north of **BSR**)(*Ban Wang Lao*, 1991). The people of *Ban Wang Lao* maintain the traditional farming lifestyle which characterized **BSR** prior to tourism development.

After only 6 years of tourism development in **BSR**, over one third of households had become involved in tourism-related jobs as a primary occupation and another one third as a secondary occupation. About one fifth of the total number of individuals considered to be of working age were engaged in tourism-related jobs as a primary occupation, while slightly over one fifth took them as secondary employment (Table 4.3). About one third of the respondents, however, felt that they were unable to take primary jobs in tourism because they lacked the land, money, knowledge or skills required to do so (68 %) or because they were concerned by the seasonal nature of the employment provided (32 %).

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<sup>3</sup> This was not a total annual household income because it included only that income generated by household members working in tourism-related jobs—on average only .658 and .71 person per household had primary and secondary jobs, respectively, in tourism (see Table 3), while on average 2.78 people per household worked and earned income. In other words, income from other household members working in farming (which was still a dominant occupation in **BSR** (see Table 1) and other non-tourism jobs, was not included.

TABLE 4.3 Households Having Primary and Secondary Occupations in Tourism

	Frequency	Percent
<b>Number of household members having a primary job in tourism:</b>		
Mean .658 SD 1.017		
<b>Households with at least 1 person engaged in tourism-related job as a primary occupation</b>	67	36.4 <sup>1</sup>
<b>People engaged in tourism-related jobs as a primary occupation</b>	121	14.9 <sup>2</sup>
	121	21.2 <sup>3</sup>
<b>Number of household members having a secondary job in tourism:</b>		
Mean .707 SD 1.121		
<b>Household with at least 1 person engaged in tourism-related job as a secondary occupation</b>	66	35.9 <sup>1</sup>
<b>People engaged in tourism-related jobs as a secondary occupation</b>	130	16.0 <sup>2</sup>
	130	22.8 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>From the total of 184 households

<sup>2</sup>From the total of 813 people of all ages

<sup>3</sup>From the total of 572 people in working age (15-60 years old)

Over time, there may be a tendency for more BSR villagers to select tourism-related jobs as their primary occupation. Some 69 percent indicated that the relatively good incomes associated with tourism businesses appeared promising as main income sources. With respect to the souvenir business in particular, 92 percent of souvenir shop owners confirmed that their businesses had yielded higher incomes than their previous occupations (which were primarily in farming).

Additionally, the chi-square test revealed that primary occupations had a significant relationship with income at the .01 level of confidence. While almost two thirds of these villagers engaged in non-farming occupations (merchants and workers) maintained that they now have higher incomes than they did prior to tourism

development, only one third of those engaged in farming reported similar increases (Table 4.4). The survey of souvenir shop owners revealed that 100 percent of the respondents were in the business because of the high income provided.

Twenty three percent of all the households surveyed produce items for tourist consumptions and 86 percent of these produce crispy snacks in particular (made from

TABLE 4.4 Primary Occupation by Income

Occupation	Income			Total
	Now is better	Same	Past was better	
Farmer	42	41	37	120
	(35.0)	(34.2)	(30.8)	(100.0)
Non-farmer	33	10	12	55
	(60.0)	(18.2)	(21.8)	(100.0)
Total	75	51	49	175
	(42.9)	(29.1)	(28.0)	(100.0)

$\chi^2 = 9.90137$   
( $P < .01$ )

cassava, coconut milk and sugar). Ninety five percent of those involved in all products claim to have satisfactory returns.

Numerous studies have revealed that tourism-related jobs can successfully attract both local and outside people to tourist areas (Forster 1964, Wilson 1977, George 1987, and Hussey 1989). In some cases, these new jobs are better paying, but this is not always so. Service-sector employees, in particular, often have problems coping with the higher prices induced by tourism development (Wilson 1977). This is certainly true in BSR (for additional discussion see 4.2.1.3 below).

Nevertheless, some tourism-related opportunities—such as those for souvenir business owners and land business brokers in the case of BSR—can be lucrative. Tourism can provide good opportunities for those local people who have the necessary capital and skills to operate their own business. For those who do not have such assets, tourism tends to offer only relatively low paying service-sector positions.

#### *4.2.1.3 Hotel Work: Attractive Jobs for Young Outsiders*

Jobs in tourism attracted not only BSR villagers, but also people from outside the village. Young people, in particular, were attracted by, and willing to work in service sector positions. In-migration to areas of tourism development is common, especially when surrounding areas are predominantly rural. For example, Brown (1974) records this phenomenon on Jamaica's north coast, while Hussey (1989) reports similar observations in Bali. The following section discusses the characteristics of the sample identified for the hotel employee survey, and what they thought about the Golden Triangle.

##### *i) Characteristics of the Sample in the Hotel Employee Survey*

The average age of the sample respondents was 25 years and 40 percent of the sample were male. Fifty three percent were classed as single and 65 percent had no children. Two hotels at the Golden Triangle attracted a lot of employees from *Chiang Saen* district as well as from *Chiang Rai* province (37 percent and 31 percent respectively). At first, it seemed remarkable that only 2.6 percent of the respondents were from BSR. However, during the in-depth interviews, it was revealed that 1) although older BSR villagers were willing to take tourism-related jobs outside the

hotel business, they did not like their children to work as hotel employees because of the low pay rates. There was even less interest from those families that had made substantial profits from land sales; and 2) most hotel jobs required at least 9 years of education and this was a major constraint for most **BSR** residents.<sup>4</sup> The results of these in-depth interviews with 3 people—2 local ex-hotel employees and a third man whose son was unable to obtain a hotel job—are described below.

The first ex-employee, a 17-year-old female with 9 years education, quit her chamber maid job after a few months because her parents did not feel the job was appropriate. She, then went back to school for her certificate in commerce. The second ex-employee, a 20-year-old male with a certificate in marketing from a vocational college in *Chiang Mai* (which required an additional 2 years after grade 9), worked as a cook's helper for a couple of months. He finally quit because of low pay. At the time of the field work for this study, he was still unemployed and trying to go back to school for a degree in business administration. This young man's family was successfully involved in tourist-related jobs. His parents had already made more than 5 million *baht* (\$ 250,000) from land sales and also owned a jewellery shop at the Golden Triangle. The third interview was conducted with a farmer, who worked seasonally as a tourist boat driver. He complained that his son was not qualified for

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<sup>4</sup> Until the development of tourism in **BSR**, most villagers did not feel that education beyond the compulsory level of 6 years would make any difference to their children. Having appreciated the value of education, the villagers were convinced to support their children for more education. They believed that additional education could help their children to be able to speak some English or other foreign languages, or to manage their growing businesses. In 1992, however, only a couple of young **BSR** residents graduated with a degree.

a hotel security job because he had only completed grade 6. The man maintained that hotel jobs were only available for non-locals who had higher levels of education. These 3 cases help to shed some light on why more hotel jobs were taken by outsiders.

In-migration to **BSR** as a result of tourism opportunities is evident in the survey of hotel employees. Only 2.6 percent of the respondents were **BSR** villagers; the remaining were from elsewhere including: *Chiang Saen* (37 percent), *Chiang Rai* (31 percent), northern region (13 percent), and other regions (17 percent). Most of these employees (68 percent) now live in **BSR**. Forty one percent occupied a dormitory provided by the their employer, 31 percent rented a room in **BSR**, 12 percent stayed at parents' or relative's houses either in or near **BSR**, while the remaining rented accommodation outside of **BSR**. For those who lived in rented accommodation, the average rent was 680 *baht* (\$ 34) per month. This money can be regarded as another tourism-generated source of income for **BSR** villagers.

Having lived in once a remote traditional farming village, most **BSR** people tended to be happy and friendly with outsiders living in the village. Some 92 percent of households surveyed recognized that many outsiders had moved to live and work in their village. Over half of these (57 percent) reported that they welcomed these newcomers, both because they made good neighbours (67 percent) and they provided rental income (33 percent). In-depth interviews revealed that many villagers were happy to have more people living in their neighbourhood. Some of the interviewees simply said "*at least having outsiders living in the village makes our neighbourhood more*

*lively and not too quiet*". The 43 percent who did not like the newcomers listed the following as primary reasons: competition for jobs (88 percent); and offensive behaviour (12 percent). It should be emphasized that the outsiders, who were considered to be competing for villager jobs were those who had moved to BSR to open their own tourism business (e.g. souvenir selling, tourist boat running operation) and not those who were employees. This appears to be supported by the hotel employee survey in which 75 percent of the employees felt that BSR villagers were friendly to them.

It should be emphasized that job satisfaction does not always mean that people are happy with their income earned from such jobs. The sampled employees have worked for an average of 22 months at their present hotel and for an average of 18 months in their present position (some employees changed positions while working in the same hotel). Seventy eight percent of the respondents were satisfied with their jobs. There were various reasons expressed for this satisfaction including: interesting and knowledge-gaining (58 percent), good welfare and income (32 percent) and close to home (10 percent). The main reason expressed by those employees who were not satisfied with their jobs included: poor income (62 percent); hard work and bad management (15 percent); and wanted higher positions (15 percent). When asked directly if they were satisfied with their salaries, up to half of the employees said no. Interestingly, almost 40 percent of employees who said they were satisfied with their jobs were not satisfied with the salaries (Table 4.5). The average hotel salary of 2,907 *baht* (\$ 145) per month is just slightly higher than the

TABLE 4.5 Job and Salary Satisfaction

Job satisfaction	Salary satisfaction		Total
	Satisfied	Not satisfied	
Satisfied	71	47	118
	(60.2)	(39.8)	(100.0)
Not satisfied	2	32	34
	(5.9)	(94.1)	(100.0)
Total	73	79	152
	(48.0)	(52.0)	(100.0)

2,676 *baht* (\$ 134) per month average salary identified by respondents for their previous employment positions. However, the new average salary is still considered low because it is just slightly higher than what one can earn with the wage of 70 *baht* which is the standard minimum wage of Thailand. Most of those respondents who had left their old jobs to work in tourist hotels, certainly expected higher salaries. This is another case confirming that service workers in tourism tend to be poorly paid (see Wilson 1977, Kent 1977, and Harrison 1992a).

Most respondents had worked in various places before including: *Chiang Rai* (29 percent), Bangkok (19 percent), *Chiang Saen* (16 percent), *Chiang Mai* (12 percent) and northern region (8 percent). More than half of the employees' previous jobs (53 percent) were unrelated to their present ones. According to in-depth

interviews, this was one reason why some of them were not happy with their present jobs. They felt unprepared to do the work that was required. In one sense, frequent job changes among hotel employees can be regarded as a reason why they may find it difficult to upgrade to higher positions (e.g. managerial/supervisory). Both work experience and training can be very important in providing opportunities for advancement (Beekhuis 1981).

*ii) How Did the Employees Like the Golden Triangle?*

Only one fifth (22 percent) of the respondents wanted to live permanently at the Golden Triangle. Their reasons were: because it was close to their home land (80 percent) or because they had a good job there (20 percent). Forty two percent of respondents did not want to live at BSR. They identified the following as reasons: needed to move elsewhere for additional advancement and experience (70 percent); wanted to work close to home (27 percent); and wanted to set up their own business (3 percent). As might be expected with such a young and relatively mobile population, the remaining (36 percent) were unsure of further movements.

Half of the employees were satisfied with tourism at the Golden Triangle both because of its potential for further development (50 percent) and its strengthening of the local economy (50 percent). The reasons expressed for dissatisfaction with tourism at the Golden Triangle were: bad roads, lack of cleanliness and orderliness (84 percent), and high costs of living (16 percent).

When asked about future tourism trends, some 83 percent thought tourism at the Golden Triangle would develop further while 13 percent thought tourism would

slow down. Four percent expressed uncertainty. Those who felt tourism would expand identified additional tourism business investment—including the casino which was under construction during the survey (36 percent), improved roads (35 percent), better attention from the government (21 percent) and the Golden Triangle's potential of attracting more tourists (8 percent), as their reasons. Destruction of nature and scenery at the Golden Triangle (65 percent), lack of cleanliness and orderliness (25 percent) and expensiveness (10 percent) were the reasons identified by those who were not optimistic about the future of tourism at the Golden Triangle. Similar environmental concerns were revealed in the household survey. Fifty nine percent of villagers agreed that environmental problems existed at the Golden Triangle, while littering and waste water were identified as key concerns by 62 percent and 38 percent respectively. The environmental problems associated with tourism which have been identified elsewhere (see for example Beekhuis 1981, Lea 1988, Hussey 1989, Romeli 1989, and Edwards 1990) also exist in BSR. These problems include visual pollution, lack of cleanliness and orderliness, littering, and water pollution from hotels. Such problems demand immediate attention from the government. Otherwise, effective management of these impacts may become too difficult to achieve; as was the case for *Pattaya*, a famous seaside resort in eastern Thailand (Dearden and Boonchote 1989).

#### *4.2.1.4 New Economic Activities: Self-learned Skills*

When compared to farming, tourism-related jobs in BSR have proven attractive and, as discussed in previous sections, many local people have changed

their primary and/or secondary occupations. Souvenir selling has been one of the most preferred and profitable jobs. As many as 103 souvenir shops were in business as of May 1992. Seventy nine percent of these are operated by individuals who were formerly involved in farming, while 9 percent are operated by individuals who shifted from other non-merchant occupations. Perhaps what is most significant is that these individuals acquired their business skills in the absence of any external support. This section discusses how local people developed new economic activities in 3 separate areas—the restaurant, souvenir and guesthouse businesses.

*i) Restaurant Business*

When the first tourist visitors—who were few in number—came to the Golden Triangle, BSR villagers began to sell snacks and drinks. Most of the early Thai visitors, who were usually day trippers, visited the Golden Triangle during festivals, (e.g. *Songkran*, New Year and religious holidays). Some villagers were able to make money on these occasions. In fact, one local restaurant owner claimed that she first started her "food shop" (which has since become 1 of 5 large restaurants in the area to cater to visitors) more than 10 years ago. At this time, visitors could only reach the Golden Triangle from *Chiang Saen* via a 10-kilometre dirt road or the *Mekong* river.

Over time, an increasing number of tourists led to the expansion of restaurant businesses and small food vendors in BSR. Many of these were distributed along the main road along the *Mekong* river. As of 1992, 17 restaurants in BSR including 5 large, and 12 smaller, establishments were serving domestic and foreign tourists. Sixteen of these are owned by local residents. The restaurant associated with the

resort is the one exception. In addition, there are 9 small general stores selling food as well as other everyday needs. Located in the residential area and beyond normal tourist zones, these stores cater mainly to villagers. Some of these store owners also quit farming to run their own shops. Because the tourism boom contributed to a healthier economy in the village, these stores have tended to yield good profits. The restaurant and general store business has become an important economic activity adopted and developed by former farmers who sought better opportunities in the expanding tourist sector.

#### *ii) Souvenir Business*

Tourists travelling to the Golden Triangle also led to the establishment of the souvenir business. Although villagers started selling souvenirs to tourists about 10 years ago, it was not until 1986 that people began to take the business seriously. In that year, an investor from the town of *Chiang Saen* purchased a plot of land from a local household for an exceptionally high price and proceeded to open the first well-run, large scale souvenir shop in BSR. Her collections included more common souvenirs as well as exotic antiques collected in the *Chiang Saen* area<sup>5</sup> and other countries in the region (Myanmar, Laos and even *Sipsongpunna--Xishuangbanna*—in southern China).

In early 1987, a group of villagers interested in souvenir selling asked for the cooperation of the village head and village committee in allocating land for a

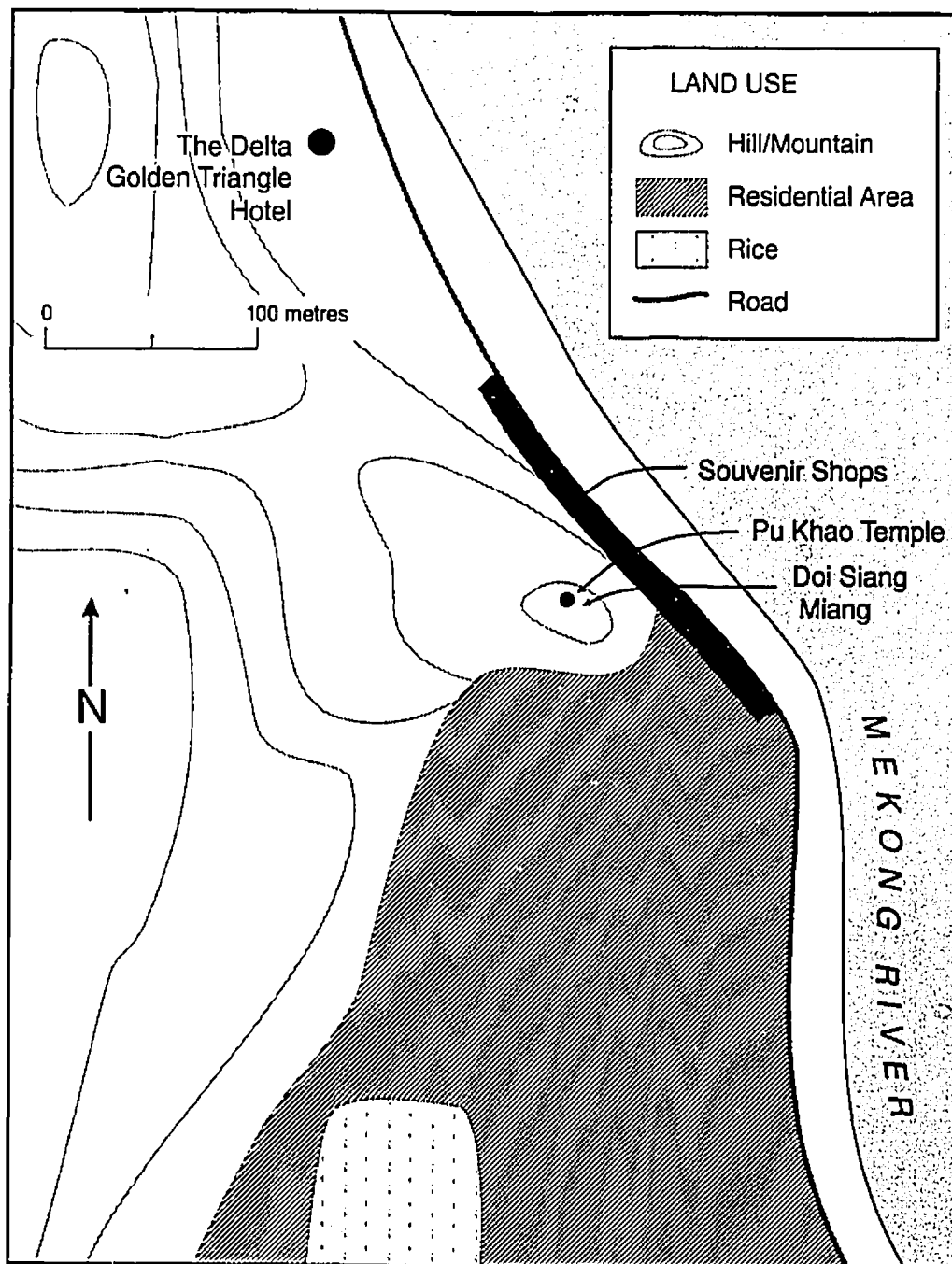
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<sup>5</sup> *Chiang Saen* was one of the first Thai settlements in *Suwannaphum*—where Thailand is located today. The area is well known for its archaeological wealth.

souvenir shop site. Accordingly, a strip of public land along the west side of the main road (Figure 4.1), was divided into blocks of 6 by 6 metres and allocated to the villagers for souvenir sales. The original intent was to operate these business only during the *Songkran* festival, during which thousands of tourists visited the Golden Triangle. The shop owners were willing to contribute 100 *baht* (\$ 5) each to a village fund for public use. This would also cover expenses incurred by **BSR**'s participation in the annual *Chiang Saen Songkran* festival held in the town of *Chiang Saen*. Later on, however, some sellers found that their shops were busy enough to run on a year round basis in spite of the seasonal nature of souvenir sales. In 1989, the *Chiang Saen* district office levied an income tax on these shop owners resulting in disputes between the people and the government. The business owners would not agree to pay the tax because they resented the lack of assistance provided by the government during early struggles to develop their businesses. When **BSR** was still relatively unknown, the government paid no attention to the business area, which, at that time, was just a strip of land along the main road. It was not until business turned profitable that government interest was aroused. Consequently, there was resistance to the proposed tax. Finally, however, shop owners were forced to file their income tax, or face legal repercussions.

The plots of land along the main road—on which 86 out of 103 souvenir shops in **BSR** were located—had originally been allocated for shops owned by **BSR** villagers only. The souvenir shop owner survey revealed that three quarters of the souvenir shops (77 out of 103) are still run by their original owners, who are all **BSR** villagers

FIGURE 4.1 Site of Public Land Originally Allocated for Souvenir Shops



and Thai citizens. The remaining 26 shops have been leased to both other villagers (4 Thais, 3 immigrants<sup>6</sup>) or to outsiders (8 Thais, 9 immigrants and 2 hill tribes--1 *Akha* and 1 *Yao*). The original owners, however, still profit from the collection of annual rental

To gain some insight into how people of the farming village made the transformation to souvenir business operators, the following typical case<sup>7</sup> may be useful.

#### *Sang's Case*

After having lived with *Sang's* parents for 3 years following their marriage, *Sang* (who has 4 years of education) and her husband, *Noi* (who has no formal education) set out to establish their own household in 1986. With a 2-year old daughter, the couple built a house on a small plot of land provided by *Sang's* parents. Hired as a farm labourer, *Sang* undertook various tasks including weeding, transplanting rice, and cultivating rice, cassava and corn. *Noi* worked as a driver for a passenger truck operating between **BSR** and the town of *Chiang Saen*. After 2 years in their small thatch-roofed house on stilts, the couple decided to try their hand at

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<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that there are no immigrants from Laos in the souvenir business in **BSR**, even though the country is situated just across the Mekong river. In fact, very few people of Laotian nationality live in the village. All immigrants involved in the souvenir business in **BSR** were *Tai Yai* from Myanmar, holding *Bat Si Chompu* or Pink Cards (a temporary identification card for immigrants). These immigrants are referred to by locals as *Puak Bat Si Chompu* or "the pink card people".

<sup>7</sup> The information for the case was obtained from in-depth interviews.

souvenir sales at the Golden Triangle. After being allocated a block of land in 1986, *Sang* had to learn many new things, e.g. how to obtain merchandise, how to bargain with customers and how to communicate with foreigners. *Sang* admitted that in the beginning she was frustrated and embarrassed to discuss prices with customers, particularly foreigners who spoke French or English. She realized that it would be beneficial to improve her foreign language skills. For this reason, she decided to attend a short English course offered free of charge by the local school. Unfortunately, the training was discontinued after the first course because there was no volunteer teacher available. *Sang*, however, had improved her English skills and confidence as a result of the course. *Noi*, as a driver, often organized trips with 3 or 4 fellow shop owners to collect goods in *Chiang Mai*, *Mae Sai* and Myanmar. They were able to save money by renting a truck and sharing any incurred costs. *Sang* usually remained in the shop. Although both worked hard, especially during the busy season, their efforts were rewarded. After 5 years in the business, they had acquired a new modern house worth over 700,000 *baht* (\$ 25,000)—which they built and paid for—a new motorcycle, jewellery and at least 100,000 *baht* (\$ 5,000) worth of stock.

### *iii) Guesthouse Business*

In the days when there was no tourist accommodation available in **BSR**, small groups of 2-3 foreigners would occasionally stay over night at *Sob Ruak* temple. Eventually, about 10 years ago, a couple of villagers started the guesthouse business at the Golden Triangle by establishing the *Golden Hut* and *Golden Triangle Guesthouses*. The rates were set at 30 *baht* (\$ 1.50) a night (Cummings 1984). By

1992, there were some 22-24 guesthouses at the Golden Triangle. These can be categorized into 2 groups: those for employees in the area, and those for tourists. Sixteen guesthouses supply rooms for hotel employees. These range in size from 3 to 10 rooms and rent for 400-900 *baht* (\$ 20-45) per month. In addition, there are a couple of separate houses which rent for 1,500 *baht* (\$ 75) per month. Most of these guesthouses are located in the village residential area – either as a part of a landlord's house or as a separate unit. A couple of guesthouses have been adapted from former rice storage barns. By leasing these rooms on a monthly basis, the farmer/landlords are able to ensure that they have some reliable income, despite the fluctuations of the rice farming business—i.e. changing market prices, weather, pests and occasional difficulties in finding farm labour.

Six guesthouses cater specially to tourists. These range in size from 5 to 15 units (rooms or bungalows) and rent for 100-1,000 *baht* (\$ 5-50) per night. All of these guesthouses, with the exception of one large facility containing about 10 bungalows, are run by **BSR** villagers. For those running tourist guesthouses—typically on a nightly basis—the seasonality of tourism may result in uneven incomes throughout the year. The rainy months of June to September are normally poor for business. In general, however, these guesthouse operators appear to be happy in their new occupations.

At least two conclusions can be drawn from the situations so far described. First, tourism development has provided **BSR** villagers with new opportunities to improve their standard of living. Many villagers have shifted their occupations from

farming to more profitable tourist-related businesses. To succeed in this new economic endeavour, however, they have had to work hard and learn many new things. This leads to the second conclusion that local people were capable of learning what was required to set up their own businesses without government support or external intervention. Many locals turned away from their traditional lifestyles as farmers in a small self-sustaining village and chose to confront the challenges of tourism generated by newcomers from different cultures and corners of the world. This, of course, is not an easy task for people with very limited formal education and few previous contacts with the outside world. Elsewhere, Hussey (1989) observed similar successes by the local people in a rural Balinese village.

In **BSR**, some key factors have played an important role in the struggle of local people to capitalize on the opportunities provided by tourism (see Kelleher 1992). Firstly, the village head, who is an established, respected and traditional leader in the community has taken the matter of helping his villagers seriously. Secondly, from the onset of tourism development, the villagers have used their own ways of thinking and cooperative approaches when working together and with the village head. These factors contributed significantly to the success of the local people in developing economic ventures in the absence of external support. However, if the government was able to provide some assistance in the form of land allocation for souvenir shops, training courses in English, basic business skills, and handicraft making, even greater benefits could be achieved by local people and the government.

#### *4.2.2 Women's Different Roles*

The major reason why tourism is usually regarded as a valuable means of strengthening the economy of an area is that it provides jobs for local people (de Kadt 1979, WTO 1982, Farver 1984, Hussey 1989). This view persists despite some controversy surrounding the desirability of many low-paying service jobs—referred to as "*servant class*" by Kent (1977). It is important to note, however, that these jobs are often taken by women rather than men (de Kadt 1979). **BSR** is not an exceptional case.

Tourism impacts on occupational change also have an effect on women's roles, particularly with respect to economic aspects of the household (UNESCO 1976, de Kadt 1979, Price 1988). All of the respondents in the household survey agreed that tourism helps women get more jobs while only 50 percent agreed when asked the same question about men. This was further confirmed by the response to another question "*Who get more jobs in tourism, men or women?*". Four out of five respondents answered "*women*". In addition, the souvenir shop survey revealed that almost nine tenths of souvenir shops were run by women. Ninety percent of household survey respondents also agreed that women obtain higher incomes than men from tourism-related jobs (such as souvenir-shop owners and employees, or as employees, and waitresses in restaurants). This situation in **BSR** also reflects the findings of the World Tourism Organization (1982) which suggest that tourism offers more jobs to women than to men. The opportunities provided by a tourism industry, enable women to earn money for work which was once considered as having no economic

value (UNESCO 1976). Tourism also provides new opportunities for employment, such as operating souvenir businesses, as has been evident in **BSR**. This increased earning power of women has led to enormous changes in a community where males have traditionally been the primary income earners in the household.

In the days when farming was the primary occupation in **BSR**, men and women shared the work in the fields, although heavier tasks, such as ploughing were considered to be a "*man's job*". It is fairly typical of northern Thailand in general that both sexes work in field and swidden, as Cohen and Wijeyewardene (1984) observed. Women usually work in the rice fields, particularly at those tasks which require communal labour, such as transplanting, and harvesting. This is also true in other regions in Thailand. The men traditionally were, and still, are the social and economic leaders of the community.

It should be stressed, however, that in Thailand's rural areas, housewives are responsible for household "*money keeping*". **BSR** is not an exception. More than 80 percent of housewives, whether they are primary income earners or not, still maintain this duty. All of them took on this responsibility immediately after marriage. This task of money management is considered to reflect the status of women in traditional Thai societies. Women may be regarded as "*followers*" in community life, but their roles within the family can be very significant—as significant as or more significant than those of men in some cases (see Bell 1990). This is certainly true in **BSR**. In-depth interviews revealed that the money keeping responsibilities of women are

considered important to maintaining a good marriage. There is strong support for women's roles as money keepers and violation of this norm is rarely tolerated.

The acknowledged importance of women's roles in Thai communities is evident. In addition to their role in managing household funds, some women are also accepted as heads of household (although they are not registered formally as such). By and large, Thai women are also valued for their opinions and decision making roles. Tunyavanich (1987) observed the importance of, women's participation and decision making in rural-based water and sanitary development projects in northeastern Thailand. The high regard for, and influence of women in Thai society may be explained by the following:

- 1) prevailing views of women (heavily based on Buddhist ideology) as mothers who give births to sons who will be ordained as Buddhist monks to carry on the religion (Keyes 1984). In other words, women's roles in giving birth to "*would be*" monks, grant them considerable religious merit,

- 2) the matrilineal social structure of Thai society in general (Bell 1990) and in Northern Thailand, in particular (Davis 1984),

- 3) Thai views of women's roles in the household as a measure of their power in society (Bell 1990), and

- 4) a long tradition of cooperation in household tasks with women as evidenced by men sharing in household chores, such as cooking (Cohen and Wijeyewardene 1984).

Given this societal support and the existence of adequate opportunities women can increase their importance within the household and society in general. In **BSR**, where tourism provides them with these opportunities, women are successfully mastering a variety of new business ventures. Nevertheless, several studies (such as La Flamme 1979) have also indicated that changes in the economic roles of women can also lead to increased family conflict and higher divorce rates (de Kadt 1979, and Price 1988).

Have the changes in women's economic roles in **BSR** caused any conflicts between men and women? Surprisingly, in-depth interviews with a variety of people suggest that such conflicts are very rare. While women have become more economically active in merchant positions, most men have retained farming positions which have become less significant over time. Although men have declined in importance as income earners, their consent must still be sought before any major decisions are made within the household. At this point, men still retain their leadership status. Taking care of the land is still considered important within this changing rural village. Although women's occupational roles are changing, the **BSR** villagers do not at present totally depart from the agrarian culture which has such deep roots in their community (see Moerman 1987, Ritchie 1992 and 1993). This can be seen in the household survey in which two thirds of the heads of household indicated that they were farmers, while only one third identified themselves as merchants and workers (see **4.1 Characteristics of Sample in Household Survey**).

### *4.2.3 Changes of Farming Life Styles*

This section discusses 2 aspects of change in the life styles of farmers in **BSR** during the last 6 years. These changes reflect new choices in 1) main crops, and 2) farm labour.

#### *4.2.3.1 Main Crops*

Although the chi square test shows that present and previous crops are significantly correlated (at the level of .001), it is evident that fewer farmers now grow only rice. Compared to 6 years ago, there has been a reduction of almost 50 percent in the number of households growing only rice as a main crop (from 83 households six years ago to 49 households in 1992). Many farmers have now begun to grow rice in combination with other main crops, such as corn, cassava and fruit (6 years ago, only 26 households grew rice in combination with other crops, while in 1992, there were 58 households which did so; representing a 123 percent increase). Rice growing, which was mainly for household consumption, has been gradually replaced by mixed cropping which focuses more on cash crops (Table 4.6). In other words, the village has become less subsistence-oriented. The locals now rely more on purchased staples (such as rice) and utilize cash crops for supporting household income. This trend is much more apparent in **BSR**, than in nearby villages, such as *Ban Wang Lao* and *Ban Wiang Kaeo* (both to the north of **BSR**) where sticky rice is still the dominant main crop.

It seems apparent that communities experiencing tourism development, such as **BSR**, tend to transform much more rapidly from subsistence to more market

oriented economies, than do those where tourism is not a factor. It should be noted, however, that mechanization and urbanization also contribute to decreasing subsistence in farming communities; mechanization tends to increase production

TABLE 4.6 Main Crops Now as Compared to Main Crops 6 Years ago

Previous crops	Present crops			Total
	Rice	Rice+other	Other	
Rice	42	36	5	83
	(50.6)	(43.4)	(6.0)	(100.0)
Rice + other	3	20	3	26
	(11.5)	(77.0)	(11.5)	(100.0)
Other	4	2	4	10
	(40.0)	(20.0)	(40.0)	(100.0)
Total	49	58	12	119
	(41.2)	(48.7)	(10.1)	(100.0)

$$\chi^2 = 24.04937$$

$$DF = 4$$

$$P < .001$$

while decreasing labour needs, while urbanization tends to attract farm labour from rural areas to wage-earning positions in town (Turton 1989).

#### 4.2.3.2 Labour in Farming

Although household labour is still important in farming in Thailand, since 1978, hired labour has been increasing substantially, while exchange labour has been declining (Turton 1989). Such changes have also occurred in BSR where farming households now depend more on hired labour than they did previously. This can be

seen in Table 4.7 which indicates that one third of households using a mixed source of labour in 1992 had relied solely on household labour only 6 years ago.

TABLE 4.7 Source of Farming Labour Now by That of 6 Years ago

Previous source	Present source		Total
	Household	Other	
Household labour	48	20	68
	(84.2)	(32.8)	(57.6)
Other	9	41	50
	(15.8)	(67.2)	(42.4)
Total	57	61	118
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

$\chi^2 = 31.91049$   
 DF = 1  
 P < .001

It has been a traditional practice in rural villages in Thailand, including BSR to have a *Long Kak* (labour exchange in farming). Labour exchange has been particularly important in rice farming where the tasks are highly labour intensive. Farmers take turns doing farm work for their neighbours, and vice versa. From 1986-1992, however, there was a slight decline in this practice in BSR. While 111 households had held a *Long Kak* in 1986, only 95 did so in 1992. It should also be noted that although the *Long Kak* is still practised, in-depth interviews revealed that there has been a significant decrease in the total number of people participating. For example, traditionally, nearly every working age person in the family joined a *Long Kak* held by a neighbour. Now, however, only a couple of household members take

part as others are working off-farm (in areas such as in tourism) for higher wages. During the last few years, the labour exchange practice has become less intensive, while the use of wage labour has been increasing.

One of the reasons for the decrease in labour exchange is the increasing wage rate, which according to the household survey, has risen from an average of 28 *baht* to 53 *baht* (\$ 1.4 to \$ 2.65) per day. Higher wage rates combined with higher household expenditures, have meant that more people are choosing to work for money instead of exchanging labour as they had done before. In-depth interviews confirmed that this was a problem among rice farmers. It is hard for them to find exchange labour as well as to hire people to farm because of the higher wages associated with off-farm jobs. To a large extent, this problem has been brought about by tourism. Some villagers even claim that if the situation continues, they will eventually have to quit rice farming altogether because they will be unable to afford labour costs.

Almost 100 percent of the villagers responded that the household expenditures in 1992 were greater than those of 6 years ago. In addition, there are new expenditures, for food, charcoal, liquid propane gas (LPG), and farm labour. **BSR** was once a relatively self-sufficient village in which people grew enough rice and vegetables to consume year round. They hunted, fished and collected, relying on the species from nearby rivers, as well as the animals, leaves, herbs and firewood from nearby forests. Now, however, many more forests have been cleared, more land has been sold to outsiders and the water in the rivers, particularly during the dry season,

has been somewhat polluted. This means people now have to buy what once used to be plentiful. Similarly, they now have to pay for farming labour which was once available freely in the form of exchange labour. These new expenditures make it especially difficult for the poor who are unable to gain access into the tourism industry, and continue to earn today almost the same amount as they did years ago. This issue of social differentiation induced by tourism will be discussed later in the chapter.

Those who have benefited from the higher land values brought about by tourism have fewer problems than those who did not sell their land or who had no land to sell. It is interesting that one quarter of the respondents admitted that they had no savings, while another one half of them had placed their savings in the bank (the first commercial bank was opened in the town of *Chiang Saen* in 1989). Another one quarter, had used different methods or a combination of methods to deal with their savings—e.g. banking, investing in property, buying gold or simply keeping it at home. The majority of respondents claimed that their total savings were less than 100,000 *baht* (\$ 5,000), while about 6 percent recorded over 1 million *baht* (\$ 50,000). Although the amounts reported by the respondents are probably slightly understated, the average savings in BSR are still above normal when compared to other rural farming villages. The nearby farming village of *Ban Wang Lao* for example has an average annual household income of less than 20,000 *baht* or \$ 1,000 (*Ban Wang Lao*, 1991) and hence a much lower potential for savings.

In conclusion, there is a trend towards increasing wage labour and decreasing household and exchange labour. Although the changes are not yet completely apparent, i.e. people still practise labour exchange as they always have, the number of people participating in traditional labour exchange continues to decrease. Hired labour must now be sought if work is to be completed on time. It is very likely that farming in BSR will continue to decrease significantly. Difficulties in finding labour and rising labour costs are the main contributing factors. This is additional evidence of the potentially destructive effects of tourism on agriculture.

#### *4.2.4 Changes of Consumption Patterns*

Until a few years ago, BSR was a self-sustaining village. Within the last few years all this has changed. The following section explores changes of consumption patterns in 4 areas: food, cooking fuel, water and acquisition of new assets.

##### *4.2.4.1 Food Changes*

Nearly ten percent of the households included in the household survey still depend primarily on collecting and hunting<sup>8</sup> for food. Some 21 percent rely on both traditional practices and food purchases, and the remaining 69 percent depend almost

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<sup>8</sup> Collecting and hunting includes getting wild vegetables, leaves and stems (in the forest or their own rice fields in rainy season); fishing in rivers and ponds; and trapping for birds and other small animals, such as *Chamot* (a civet cat of the genus *Viverra* or *Viverricula*), *Nim* (a pangolin of the genus *Manis*), *Toon* (a bamboo rat of the genus *Rhizomys*) and *Takuat* (a monitor lizard of the genus *Varanus*). The animal hunted was not only consumed as household food, but also for sale. At least one household in the main survey's sample regularly earned money from selling such animals. It is noteworthy that for farmers (67 percent of the respondents), sources of household food include household produces, such as rice, vegetables grown in the backyard and along the Mekong bank (in the dry season), chickens raised by the household and so on.

exclusively on food purchases. This demonstrates the changes that have occurred in how the people obtain their food now as compared to a few years ago. In-depth interviews confirmed that only 10 years ago, collecting and hunting was still a main source of food for BSR villagers. The variety and quality of food have also changed; fifty five percent of the respondents said that within the last 6 years, their households have changed the types of food they consume. These same respondents also indicated that their households now have a greater variety and better quality of food. To illustrate these changes more clearly, the following case may be helpful.

*Sukdi's case*

With their own low-land rice field of 6 *rai*<sup>9</sup>, *Sukdi* and his wife, *Chan*, farmed rice until 1988. At this time, *Chan* started a small souvenir shop at the Golden Triangle and *Sukdi* began to run a tourist boat on the *Mekong* river. Since that time they have leased their rice field to a neighbour and have not farmed themselves at all. Before leasing their farm, *Sukdi* and *Chan*, with their 2 young sons and a daughter, had depended exclusively on their own rice crop and on food collected and hunted from the lands and rivers nearby. In those days, wild vegetables and leaves as well as fish, were not difficult to find. Their own chickens provided another household source of protein as well. Occasionally, *Chan* also purchased meat from the market in *Chiang Saen* town.

After 1988, *Sukdi* and *Chan* kept themselves busy with their new occupations. Although these jobs were sometimes seasonal, they both found that there was no

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<sup>9</sup> "Rai" is a Thai unit of area equivalent to 1,600 square meters or 0.4 acre.

longer time to collect and hunt for their food. Having leased the rice farm, the family had to depend upon rice purchased from the market, or from neighbours who were still farming. *Chan* admitted that, on her way home each day after work, she shopped for food in the local market as well as in the general stores so that she could cook for her family. She stated: "*We are really too busy and tired even to do laundry. Certainly, we have no time to collect and hunt for our food as we had done before*". The family did also have their laundry done by a local laundry shop—another new business which was opened in the village in 1990. The laundry business caters mainly to hotel employees—who often work in shifts and may be too busy to do laundry—and to those souvenir sellers, especially during the high season. This is another aspect of change influencing daily life in the village. It is not difficult to find other cases similar to that of *Sukdi's* family.

Changes in food consumption were also discussed in-depth interviews undertaken with a public health official, the principal and a school teacher in **BSR**. The details are as follows:

Before tourists began to come to **BSR**, the food choices for villagers were limited to what was available in their neighbourhood. Restaurants catering to tourists—both Thai and foreign—have brought new varieties of food to the local people. Less than 10 years ago, sea food was completely unavailable in **BSR**. "*It was common that people never had sea food in those days*", confirmed the teacher. Even some types of Thai fruit, such as mangosteen, were unknown to school children only a few years ago. Adults also used to consider the fruit "*exotic*". Beef and pork were

once considered "*good food*" as well, and available only during ceremonial parties. Now, such foods have become common-place for the villagers.

The school principal indicated that expensive types of whisky and brandy have also become popular, both among government officials and among well-to-do villagers. School children's lunch packs have also changed. The traditional sticky rice and dry fish has been replaced by a greater variety and quality of food. The public health official pointed out that malnutrition rates for BSR residents have been decreasing significantly during the last few years. Five years ago, some 14.8 percent of babies and children under 5 years old were diagnosed with level 3 malnutrition (considered severe and requiring a hospital care). Now, only 10 percent of children of this age category have level 1 (or very slight) malnutrition problems. All of the interviewees agreed that tourism has contributed to improved nutrition among local people. This is not only because of the better variety and quality of food available in local restaurants, but because tourism contributes to higher income which, in turn, makes "*better*" food more affordable.

#### *4.2.4.2 Changes in Cooking Fuel*

Although about 40 percent of people still use only firewood as cooking fuel, there is a trend towards use of a new type of fuel, liquid propane gas (LPG). Many also use some combination of firewood, LPG, and charcoal (Table 4.8). Cooking with LPG is much more convenient than cooking with firewood and many villagers now earn enough money to purchase an LPG stove. There are two additional reasons for the increasing popularity of the LPG stove: 1) many people engaging in tourism-

related jobs found it too difficult to find, as well as to cook with, either firewood or charcoal, and 2) firewood has become rare in the community. Those who depend on firewood have to collect it themselves from their own firewood plots or from the forests, while most of those people who used charcoal (70 percent) made it themselves, rather than purchasing it.

It is noteworthy that BSR has traditionally been self-sustaining in terms of firewood production. Villagers allocated *Paa Feun*—a plot of land large enough to yield firewood for each household throughout the year. Usually located outside of the village residential area, fuel wood plots were planted with a select species of rapid growing trees called *Kilek* (*Cassia siamea* Lamk.). This species is grown both for firewood and for its leaves, which provide food as well as medicinal herbs. Because

TABLE 4.8 Household Cooking Fuel

	Frequency	Percent
<b>Household cooking fuel:</b>		
Firewood	73	39.7
Charcoal	11	6.0
LPG	11	6.0
Firewood + charcoal	32	17.4
Firewood + LPG	31	16.8
Firewood + charcoal + LPG	26	14.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>100.0</b>

the trees require minimal care, are fast growing and do not need to be replanted after cutting, they are excellent for such purposes. In-depth interviews revealed that

firewood production has been practised for generations in this *Tai Yai* village<sup>10</sup>. According to the household survey, 39 percent of BSR households have a fuel plot, 5 percent used to have one (with an average of 2.5 *rai*) but sold them about 3 years ago. By 1992, 8 out of 9 of the firewood plots which had been sold were left idle, while another one became a cassava farm. For those 72 firewood plots which were still in use, their sizes ranged from .25-8.50 *rai* with an average size of 1.5 *rai*.

#### *4.2.4.3 Water Sources*

In BSR, the main source of water for drinking and for "other-use" continues to be shallow dug wells (83 percent). However, a new source of water is now provided by drilled wells. Within the last 6 years, 7 percent of the respondents' households built their own drilled wells. The reasons for building drilled wells, which are more expensive and more technically complicated than shallow dug wells, include: 1) greater reliability of water supply throughout the year (dug wells may dry out during the dry season) and 2) higher household incomes. It should be noted that drilled wells are also necessary for commercial restaurants and guesthouses.

#### *4.2.4.4 Acquisition of New Assets*

Other changes observed in BSR relate to the acquisition of new assets. Villagers have recently been able to purchase items that they could never afford before, such as cars, motorcycles, small tractors, washing machines, refrigerators,

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<sup>10</sup> *Paa Feun* is found only in BSR, but not in nearby villages, such as *Ban Wang Lao* which is a *Thai Lue* (an ethnic group moved to live in some northern parts of Thailand from *Sipsongpanna* in Yunnan, southern China centuries ago) village. This may be because *Paa Feun* is an idea practised only by *Tai Yai* people.

television and stereo sets, video players and water pumps. It is noteworthy that these goods were purchased during 1989 and 1990 when land sales were at a peak (Table 4.9). It should be emphasized that although the main road to BSR was completed in 1987, it was not until 1990 that the majority of cars (14 out of 27 in the village) were purchased. Similarly, although electricity was made available in BSR in 1985, it was not until 1989 and 1990 that most electrical appliances were purchased. Tourism contributed to the higher land prices and profitable business ventures which enabled many villagers to acquire new assets. This are clear signs of increasing materialism in the village. La Flamme (1979), in his study of tourism in the Bahamas, similarly observed how tourism brought a dramatic increase in material standards of living for local residents—particularly those community workers in the tourist circle.

It seems logical to say that, to a great extent, tourism has had primarily positive effects on the consumption patterns of local people in BSR. The larger variety and better quality of food, the more convenient means of cooking, the more reliable and convenient water sources, as well as the availability of practical household appliances and vehicles can all be regarded as an improvement in the quality of life. On the other hand, a new emphasis on material possessions and "*luxury*" goods, in particular, may contribute to changing social values. The potential for increased social conflict may also arise with increasing social differentiation.

Both positive and negative consequences of tourism have been observed elsewhere. Pizam (1978) suggested that tourism contributed to positive changes in consumption patterns which resulted in a better quality of life among residents of

TABLE 4.9 The Acquisition of New Assets

	Frequency	Percent
Households with car(s) <sup>11</sup>	26	14.1
Cars acquired in 1990 (peak year of acquisition)	14	53.8
Households with 1 motorcycle	81	44.0
Motorcycles acquired in 1990 (peak year of acquisition)	23	24.7
Households with 2 motorcycles	12	6.5
Motorcycles acquired in 1990 (peak year of acquisition)	6	50.0
Households with a tractor	29	15.8
Tractors acquired in 1989 (peak year of acquisition)	9	31.0
Households with a television set	140	76.1
Number of sets acquired in 1989 and 1990 (peak years of acquisition): 1989 and 1990 (34 acquired each year)	68	48.6
Households with a video player/recorder	31	16.8
Number of sets acquired in 1989 (peak year of acquisition)	7	22.6
Households with a stereo set	66	35.9
Number of sets acquired in 1990 (peak year of acquisition)	22	33.3
Households with a washing machine	28	15.2
Washing machines acquired in 1990 (peak year of acquisition)	12	42.9
Households with a refrigerator	82	44.6
Refrigerators acquired in 1990 (peak year of acquisition)	23	28.0
Households with a gas stove	63	34.2
Gas stoves acquired in 1990 (peak year of acquisition)	23	36.5
Households with a water pump	64	34.8
Water pumps acquired in 1989 and 1990 (peak years of acquisition)(14 acquired each year)	28	43.8

Cape Cod. Pizam and Milman (1986) agreed that consumption patterns of hosting communities are upgraded because of income derived from the additional

<sup>11</sup> Only 1 household had 2 cars. The second one was bought in 1990.

employment opportunities provided by tourism. A similar observation can be made for **BSR**.

In contrast, some authors, such as Nurkse (1970) point out what he considers to be the more negative pattern of consumption reinforced by tourism development. Nurkse examines changes resulting from "*demonstration effects*" whereby local people "*imitate*" tourists in their selection of food, drink, dress, spending etc. He argues that the demonstration effect leads to "*increased consumption or attempts at increasing consumption, rather than investment and makes an increase in saving particularly difficult*" (p.267). Such a demonstration effect may have contributed to the increased consumption of expensive liquor by local residents of **BSR**. Another example of the demonstration effect among **BSR** villagers in the recent formation of tour groups for travel to locations within the kingdom and to Cambodia. An organizer of a tour group simply said that "*other people are coming to our place, why don't we do that ourselves?*"

The potential for increased consumption without corresponding investment or saving is well demonstrated by a local man who sold almost all of his land for a large sum of money (more than one million *baht* or \$50,000) and then completely changed his spending habits and way of life. After buying a car and then spending a couple of years eating out in expensive restaurants, drinking, and travelling frequently, the money was gone. Unfortunately, he no longer had his farm land on which to work. By 1992 he became a poor man but was reluctant to work again in wage labour. The

impacts of tourism on local consumption patterns are documented in other studies, such as UNESCO (1976), Pizam (1978) and Mendis (1982).

Changes in consumption patterns in BSR indicate, on one hand, that the community is transforming from a rural to an urban community with resulting increases in quality of life. On the other hand, some of the changes, especially those related to material possessions, contribute to increasing social differentiation. The rich are able to acquire a great variety of new and expensive possessions and the associated comforts of a modern way of living, while the poor, unfortunately, cannot afford to do so. Thus, the gap between the two groups is widened and social differentiation is exacerbated. This supports Jafari's contention (1974) that tourism causes an increase in the degree of social differentiation, especially in less developed countries. This issue is examined in some detail in section **4.6.2.3 Social Problems** under i) **Increasing Social Differentiation**.

#### ***4.2.5 Social Problems***

##### ***4.2.5.1 Crimes***

Several studies (such as, Farrell 1979, Chesney-Lind and Lind 1986, and Mader 1987) indicate direct links between tourism development and crime rates. A study in a Balinese tourist village by Hussey (1989), reveals a high rate of robbery and thieving, while Mendis (1982) reveals similar findings in Sri Lanka. According to Sethna (1980), residents in the Caribbean believe that tourism contributes to increased drug use and crime. Mader (1987) suggests that tourism arouses desires in

local people which they may be unable to satisfy legally thereby resulting in increased criminality.

In spite of tourism development, **BSR** continues to be a relatively traditional and peaceful village. Two thirds of the respondents in the household survey reported no criminal problems in the village, while the remainder said that there were occasional burglaries. In-depth interviews with local police confirmed that such burglaries had occurred and that a couple of local young men—one with mental problems, the other an alcoholic had been responsible. Probation was recently given to the latter.

#### ***4.2.5.2 Gambling***

Gambling is fairly popular in **BSR**. Seventy three percent of the respondents acknowledged that there was gambling in the village. The most popular form of gambling (reported by 60 percent of the respondents) called "*Makongthi*", is enjoyed by both the young and the elderly. Originating in Myanmar, the game consists of a puzzle which is given to the player by a seller. The seller may also provide a manual for puzzle solving. Each puzzle relates to a particular type of animal, such as, a spider, butterfly, crow, turtle, eel, monkey, lion, etc. After solving the puzzle, the player then buys a ticket on which the type or types of animal of interest have been written. The player may spend as much as he chooses on a ticket up to a certain limit set by the seller. If the player wins, a prize of 50 *baht* (\$ 2.5) per 1-*baht* ticket will be paid. In-depth interviews with various sources suggest that the game had not been played in either *Chiang Saen* or **BSR** for years, but was enthusiastically revived in 1990 and is now more popular than ever. Some sources suggest that because people

are now better off, they are able to afford the game. Two games are held in the village each day—morning and afternoon—and many villagers have lost a lot of money in this manner.

Other gambling games in the village include card playing (which was reported by 10 percent of the respondents), which is only allowed during the 3-5 day cremation ceremony periods, and the underground lottery (which was reported by 2 percent of the respondents). Twenty eight percent of the respondents reported all of these 3 games. Slightly over half of the villagers considered gambling a village problem. Some 59 percent of these suggested it led to more family conflicts, while 41 percent said it contributed to increased burglary. The remaining villagers said gambling caused no problem if players had money to play. When asked whether gambling had increased or not during the last 6 years, about half of the respondents said yes, while the remainder said that it had not changed. Two explanations for the gambling increase in **BSR**, reported by respondents, were that people had more money to play (suggested by 87 percent) and that people were willing to take a risk to get rich (suggested by 13 percent).

Finally, the respondents seemed to be divided as to whether or not they were happy with the casino project in the area.<sup>12</sup> Forty four percent said yes, 44 percent said no and 12 percent were indifferent. Those that said yes felt that the casino might bring more development and help to strengthen the local economy. Those that said

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<sup>12</sup> The casino will be opened in *The Golden Paradise Resort* located on Myanmar land just across the *Ruak* river.

no either did not like gambling in the area (39 percent) or feared an increase in burglary if local people were allowed to play in the casino (11 percent). The varied responses to this question corresponded to the results obtained by Pizam and Pokela (1985) who studied perceived impacts of casino gambling on a community. They maintain that gambling has always been regarded as a "questionable" activity. Sometimes it has been considered immoral and decadent, but at other times it has been considered acceptable entertainment. Moreover, gambling has been linked to organized crime, as well as to personal, family, and social misfortune. Because of these and other factors, Pizam and Pokela concluded that gambling will always be a controversial issue although the response of local people may differ from place to place. For example, instead of the mixed response by villagers observed in **BSR**, the majority of residents of some communities in the Caribbean are strongly opposed to gambling and betting in the hotel casinos (see Sethna 1980).

#### *4.2.5.3 Drugs*

Despite the Golden Triangle's notorious reputation with respect to drugs, especially, opium and its opiates such as heroin, **BSR** has no drug problems. Not one opium addict was found in the village. The elder in the village, however, recalled that, in the days before modern medicine, opium was used for medicinal purposes, especially to relieve pain and fatigue. It must be emphasized that in some remote villages, especially those of hill tribes, opium may still be a part of life. For example, in an *Akha* village at *Doi Sa Ngo* about 8 kilometres northwest of **BSR**, there are still some opium addicts, in spite of government attempts to eradicate the drug.

In-depth interviews with some foreign tourists who have stayed in local guesthouses at the Golden Triangle revealed that at least one of them tried opium during trekking expeditions in the mountainous terrain of *Chiang Rai*. This man admitted that the opportunity to smoke opium was one of his motivations in taking the trekking tour. To some extent, this suggests that there are some demands on the drugs in the trekking circle in northern Thailand (see Harron 1991, Dearden and Harron 1993).

In **BSR**, however, villagers were annoyed when they were asked for opium by foreign tourists. This may have something to do with the fact that although **BSR** is located in the heart of the Golden Triangle, the people there have had no involvement in the drug business—whether it be through planting, trafficking, refining or using. This is a different situation from that which exists in the nearby areas of Myanmar and Laos. There is, however, a small tourist museum called "*Ban Phin*" (House of Opium) in **BSR** which displays a collection of opium-related artifacts found in nearby areas (see Figure 4.4 and 4.5). No other types of drug use were found in the village. In spite of tourism development, **BSR** appears to have had no drug problems.

#### *4.2.5.4 Prostitution*

Several studies (such as, Hussey 1989, Tyler 1989, Dick 1988, Farver 1984, and Mendis 1982) conclude that tourism contributes to prostitution in host communities, especially in less developed countries. For example, Brown (1988) emphasizes that

"[Tourism] *has internationalized and vastly increased the volume of [prostitution] trade...*".

Contrary to these findings, the study in BSR revealed no prostitution problems.

This may be due, in part, to the very traditional and religious character of the community as well as the very close relationships among villagers. Nearly all of the villagers are from 4 dominant families, *Phrom Punya* and *Gote Yi* (the 2 oldest families) and *Supan* and *Sung-kawadi*. For this reason most people are related to each other in one way or another and behaviour which conflicted with traditional norms would not be readily tolerated. In-depth interviews actually revealed that, about 3 years ago, during the tourism boom, an outsider tried to introduce prostitution to BSR. However, after a few months, it proved unsuccessful. Prostitution continues to be highly unacceptable to these *Tai Yai* villagers. The long-time isolation of the village and its unique *Tai Yai* ethnicity may also be contributing factors in their intolerance of prostitution. Moerman (1987) agrees that small closely knit communities which have been isolated in the past and retain a unique ethnicity, are somewhat protected from dramatic change.

### ***4.3 Cultural Impacts***

The effects of tourism on local culture can be both positive and negative (e.g. Beekhuis 1981, Greenwood 1982, and Graburn 1984). Beekhuis, in particular, explores both aspects of tourism development. On the positive side, he expressed that:

*In some countries, the interests of tourist has preserved elements of local cultures which would otherwise have been lost...And tourism has also stimulated and supported the local cultures. (1981, p.331).*

Many studies lend support to this contention. For example, Bossevain (1988) points out that tourism in a Maltese community has not contributed to commercialization and the destruction of local culture. He observes that religious pageantry, being the main event in the community, did not seem to lend itself to commercialization. UNESCO (1976) points out that, in many countries, tourism has had beneficial effects on cultural preservation and revival, especially with respect to historical sites and traditional architecture. As well Mitchell (1988) observes that tourism has, in fact, encouraged the development of Caribbean cultural heritage, particularly in the areas of performing arts, indigenous crafts, and historic preservation. Similarly, Liu and Var (1986) point out that most native Hawaiians felt that tourism had benefited them both economically and culturally.

On the negative side, Beekhuis noted that:

*Tourism has fostered undesirable changes in lifestyle and native culture. Some worry that local food, costume, language and customs have disappeared. (Beekhuis 1981, p.331).*

Tourism development in **BSR** has had relatively positive impacts on local culture. Forty two percent of respondents agreed and 40 percent strongly agreed that tourism encouraged cultural activities in the village (see **Revitalization** under **5.4 People's Adjustment to Tourism Development**). In addition, most respondents believed that tourism had no affect on traditional ceremonies, younger people's respect for their elders, and the way the villagers dressed. The majority of respondents did not feel

that tourism affected their ability to conserve traditions or contributed to their decline (Table 4.10).

In-depth interviews with the chief monk confirmed that tourism development contributed to increased participation in religious affairs in a variety of ways. Those villagers who profited most from land sales were willing to donate substantial amounts of money to the temple for construction of new buildings and improvements to existing ones. For example, a multimillion *baht* construction project for a religious building, which had been abandoned for a few years because of inadequate funds,

TABLE 4.10 Cultural Impacts of Tourism

Statements	1*	2*	3*	4*	5*
1. Since tourism developed in the village, local traditions are now beginning to fade away.	39	96	19	30	-
	21.2%	52.2%	10.3%	16.3%	-
2. Since tourism developed in the village, fewer people have participated in traditional ceremonies.	50	88	20	26	-
	27.2%	47.8%	10.9%	14.1%	-
3. The villagers have changed the way they dress according to tourists.	81	90	7	5	1
	44.0%	49.0%	3.8%	2.7%	5%
4. If there had been no tourism in the village, the villagers would better conserve their traditions.	60	63	32	29	-
	32.6%	34.2%	17.4%	15.8%	-
5. Since tourism has developed in the village, the younger decrease their respect for the elder.	55	85	19	25	-
	29.9%	46.2%	10.3%	13.6%	-
6. Tourism encourages cultural activities.	4	9	21	77	73
	2.2%	4.9%	11.4%	41.8%	39.7%

\*1 Strongly disagree \*2 Disagree \*3 Indifferent \*4 Agree \*5 Strongly agree

was completed in 1992 when villagers donated the entire amount required. With respect to participation in religious ceremonies, the monk indicated that more people, both young and old, attended ceremonies now as compared to the days before tourism. According to the chief monk, this may be because people now have more time to participate in religious ceremonies. In the past, most family members were busy almost year-round with farming tasks.

Those villagers who ran souvenir businesses (predominantly women) often had to take care of their shops during religious ceremonies, and other local festivities. However, many of these business people were also able to attend some of these activities by asking their spouses or other employees to take care of their shops during their absence. It should be noted also that the number of people who have to take care of the shops represents a fairly small percentage of the village population (At one person per shop this would constitute only 6.6 percent of the population or 103 out of 1,550). In the extreme case that all of these individuals were absent, the number of participants in village ceremonies would still be higher than in pre-tourism times. Although attendance figures have been higher, there has been a trend towards spending less time in ceremonies and festivities. In the past, families often spent two to three days in a row involved in festivities, whereas now they may spend just one day.

The village head and the principal also confirmed that requests for participation from villagers—both in terms of money and labour—have been more successful than before. For example, considerable assistance was generated for the

village and temple development programmes, the village *Songkran* festival programme, the village's reservoir development programme and the school children's lunch and sport programmes. Perhaps most importantly, tourism development has led to cultural revitalization in the village. This is discussed in some detail in **Revitalization** under **5.4 Adjustment to Tourism Development**.

Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that *"It is inappropriate to generalize cultural impacts."* (Duffield 1982). This issue should only be assessed within the local context because each tourism location may have different attributes (Liu and Var 1986, Allan 1988). If one is going to attempt to generalize cultural impacts from one place to another, key factors such as the volume of tourism flows, the motivation of the tourists, and whether they come in large groups or as individuals, must be kept in mind (Witt 1990). In addition, Witt (1990) stresses that how one judges cultural impacts will depend upon how one views "culture". As he puts it:

*...If you see culture specifically as something which has to be preserved, then the negative potential of the flows of tourism seem to be important. If, however, you see culture as a set of values which are changing, then tourism makes tribute to foster this process of evolution. (p.178).*

#### **4.4 Land Ownership Changes**

Tourism has been viewed as an important contributing factor in high land prices within or near tourist areas (Wilson 1977, Mendis 1982, Van Houts 1982, and Hussey 1989). Mendis maintains that:

*...in the case of land, especially in the resort areas, tourism is surely responsible for pushing up prices to unrealistic and artificial levels. Land prices in some resort areas have shot up ten-fold and even twenty-fold or more, over the last decade. (1982, p.7).*

Van Houts (1982) not only observes the effects of tourism on land prices, but also stresses the need for government control of land if future problems are to be avoided. He states that:

*An important phenomenon with the building of a tourism project is the evolution of the real estate-price in the area involved. The revaluation of the ground would be in favour of the landed gentry or speculators. Therefore, it is a must for the public authorities to get control of the land. (1982, p.3).*

**BSR** has experienced similar effects. A prominent phenomenon in **BSR** is the rapid escalation of land prices which has occurred within the last 6 years. As a result, many villagers have sold their land and houses along the *Mekong* River and moved to new locations on land farther from the river where land prices are lower. The following section discusses land sales and purchases in **BSR**.

#### ***4.4.1 Land Sale in BSR***

The household survey indicates that almost half of the **BSR** households (44 percent) sold at least one plot of land during 1986-1991 (Table 4.11). A total of 133 land sale transactions occurred during this period. Attractive prices was the main reason for their sale. It is noteworthy that 26 percent of respondents indicate that they sold land because of being encircled (this will be discussed later in 4.6.2.3). Finally, 12 percent of respondents indicated that they sold land primarily because they wanted money for a new house.

Actual sale prices, however, varied widely from 1,000 to over 13 million *baht* (\$ 650,000) per *rai* (see Table 4.12) depending upon land location and when the

TABLE 4.11 Land Sales in BSR (between 1986-1991)

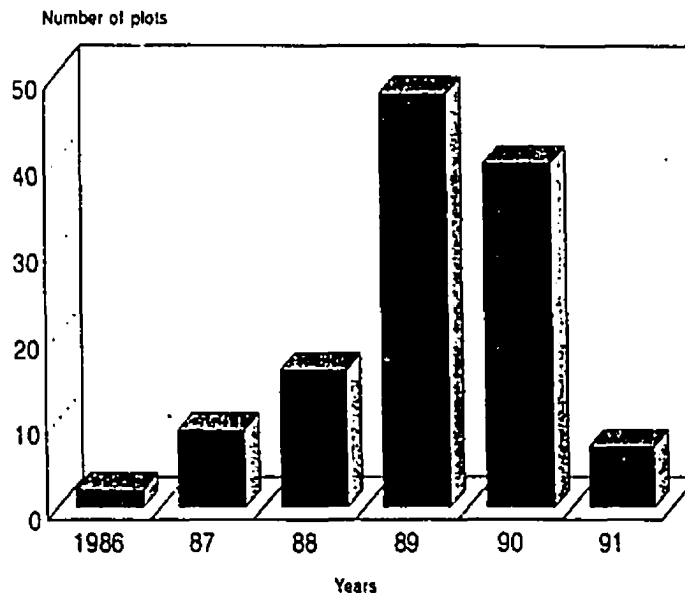
	Frequency	Percent
<b>Plots of land sold per household</b>		
None	103	56.0
1	55	29.9
2	21	11.4
3	3	1.6
4	2	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>100.0</b>
*Households that sold at least 1 plot of land	81	44.0

TABLE 4.12 Land Selling Prices in BSR (baht/rai)

Mean	579,325
SD	1,655,171
Minimum	1,000
Maximum	13,000,000
Number of transaction	133

land was sold. The land along the *Mekong* river and the main road was, obviously, the most expensive while that in the inner areas of the village (where villagers' houses were located) was much less expensive. A plot of land sold to a neighbour for housing purposes was priced much lower than that sold for speculation. Timing was also important; land sold 4 years ago did not secure as high a price as that sold 2 to 3 years later. The land business thrived in 1989 when land prices reached their highest peak. Fifty plots of land out of a total of 209 plots were sold or resold in a single year (Figure 4.2).

**FIGURE 4.2** Land Sale in *Ban Sob Ruak* during 1986-1991



As in other tourist areas (see Beekhuis 1981, George 1987, and Hussey 1989), tourism development is the major cause of high land prices in BSR. Ninety seven percent of the respondents in the household survey agreed that this was so. The Golden Triangle attracted so many tourists to the area that investments in tourism-related businesses, whether small or large, became profitable. According to 76 percent of the survey respondents, speculation was the principal motivation for land investors in BSR. Land speculation is common in many countries which undergo rapid tourism growth (de Kadt 1979, Davis and Simmons 1982, George 1987, and Pearce 1987). Sixteen percent of the household survey respondents believed that land in BSR was attractive because of its potential as a good tourism business site. Without tourism development, land prices could not have increased so significantly. Ninety-nine percent of the survey respondents agreed that land prices in BSR were

more expensive than those in nearby areas. Ninety-seven percent also believed that tourism was the dominant contributing factor. Furthermore, 68 percent of the villagers were certain that land prices in BSR would continue to rise and most of these (98 percent) felt that this would be a result of further tourism development at the Golden Triangle. Those who did not believe that land prices in BSR would continue to increase suggested that peak prices had already been reached (82 percent), or that there was no more attractive land to sell (18 percent).

#### *4.4.2 Land Purchase by BSR Villagers*

During the past 6 years, as many as 86 plots of land were purchased by BSR residents at an average price of 293,918 *baht* (\$ 14,696) per *rai* (Table 4.13). Improvements in the local economy resulting from land sales and tourism-related business ventures contributed to this large number of land transactions. Before tourism development, when land prices were low, people were not very interested in buying or selling land. In fact, the wealthier land owners frequently allowed poorer farmers to cultivate parts of their land at no charge. This is not the case today, however, given the much higher value of land. In-depth interviews revealed that some people purchased land simply because they were afraid, if they waited, land would become too expensive to afford, while others were interested in making money from speculation. This is also reflected in the household survey which indicates that the three main reasons for purchasing land were for housing (36 percent), farming (36 percent) and for speculation (28 percent).

TABLE 4.13 Land Purchased by Local People (*baht per rai*)

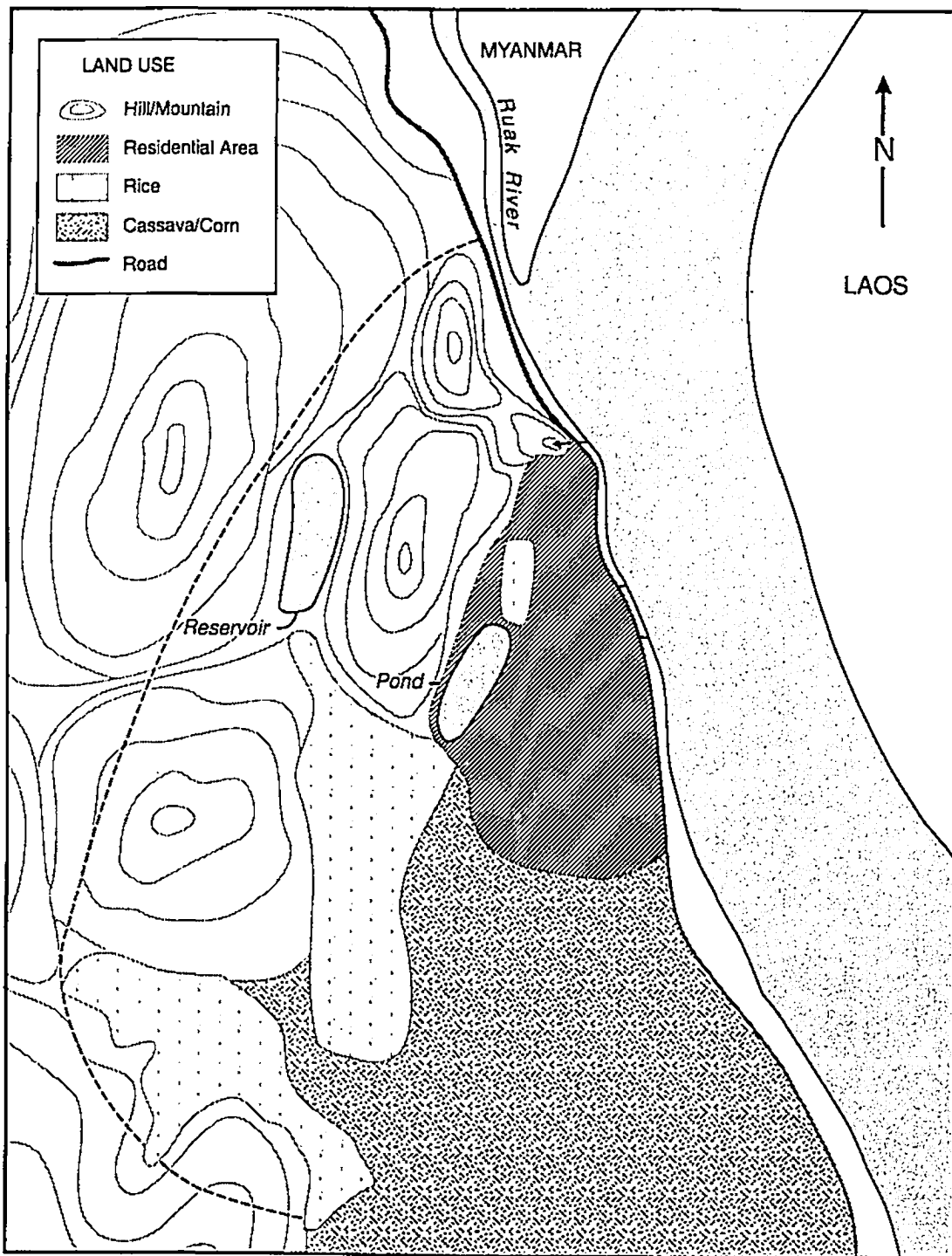
Mean	293,918
Standard deviation	842,466
Minimum	1,000
Maximum	6,021,000
Number of transactions	86

#### *4.5 Land Use Impacts*

Tourism development, particularly in rural areas, usually plays an important role in raising land prices (Mendis 1982, Van Houts 1982, and George 1987). Sooner or later, land use for tourism purposes is likely to replace more traditional land uses because the typically higher revenues associated with tourism businesses enable acquisition of new lands that have become unaffordable to the farmers. Thus, it is common to see land use changes in tourist destinations and surrounding areas (Kent 1977, Wilson 1977, Beekhuis 1981, and George 1987). In spite of its relatively short experience with tourism development, BSR has witnessed such changes. Two issues relating to land use change in BSR will be discussed in the following section. These include: the building of souvenir shops, restaurants, guest houses and hotels; and the increased crowding occurring in the village residential area.

To provide a physical description of the study area and to facilitate the forthcoming discussion, a map of land use is presented in Figure 4.3.

FIGURE 4.3 Land Use Map of *Bar Sob Ruak*



The *Mekong* river, which constitutes the border between Thailand and Laos, runs somewhat parallel to the main road, from north to south as an eastern border of the village. The lands between the main road and the river as well as those fronting the east side of the main road were the most expensive and most popular among land buyers. Prior to tourism development, the area between the river and the main road was the primary location for residential homes. Many of these homes were later demolished to clear the land for investors. Some houses along the eastern section of the main road were also demolished for the same purpose. Most of the houses, as well as a primary school and a temple were concentrated in the residential area adjacent to low-land rice farming areas. Hilly areas and upper lands are on the west side of the rice fields. The ways in which tourism affected land use changes in these areas will be discussed below.

#### *4.5.1 Souvenir Shops, Restaurants, Guest Houses and Hotels: Clearly Visible Changes*

Authors such as Mathieson and Wall (1982), Bryden (1973), Prasad (1987), and Hussey (1989), suggest that tourism may lead to alteration of existing land uses in host communities to suit tourist purposes (e.g. establishment of hotels and other types of commercial buildings). This is what occurred in **BSR**. One of the most visible changes in **BSR** after the onset of tourism was the establishment of souvenir shops, restaurants, guest houses and hotels. Land that was once either unoccupied or used for villager dwellings has since become the site of about 150 new tourist-related businesses including 103 souvenir shops, 17 restaurants, 22 guesthouses and 2 five-star

hotels. This does not include new boating dock facilities, a small gas station and new houses built by local people. As already mentioned, most of the tourism-related businesses were situated along the main road and the *Mekong* river. One exception is the hotel located on several acres of hill top adjacent to the *Ruak* river; about 1 kilometre north of the village residential area and the group of souvenir shops on *Doi Siang Miang* (Figure 4.4). These structures, without a doubt, are the most visible land use changes induced by tourism in BSR (Figure 4.6).

#### *4.5.2 Increased Crowding in the Village Residential Area*

Land sales also contributed to crowding in BSR, especially, in the residential area. This section discusses the factors which led to this crowding.

Tourism development plays a very important role in increased competition for land resulting in changes in land uses and land values (Butler 1975, Van Houts 1982, Valarche 1985, Pearce 1987, and Hussey 1989). Land use conflicts arising as a result of tourism can lead to serious problems for host communities (Roehl and Fesenmaire 1987), especially when poor local people lose their agricultural land and are unable to find other land to work. Beekhuis (1981) examined the link between tourism and loss of farming land and stated that "Skyrocketing" land values due to tourism development took vast areas out of agriculture. Similarly, Wilson (1977, p.47) maintained that "*Tourism causes land prices to skyrocket, which, in some areas, pushes the farmer off his land.*" This is echoed by Ekachai (1990) whose observations in Thailand suggest that such loss of farming land for speculation and tourist development can even destroy entire communities. Residents' lifestyles may be changed for

FIGURE 4.4 Location of Tourism Business in and around *Ban Sob Ruak*

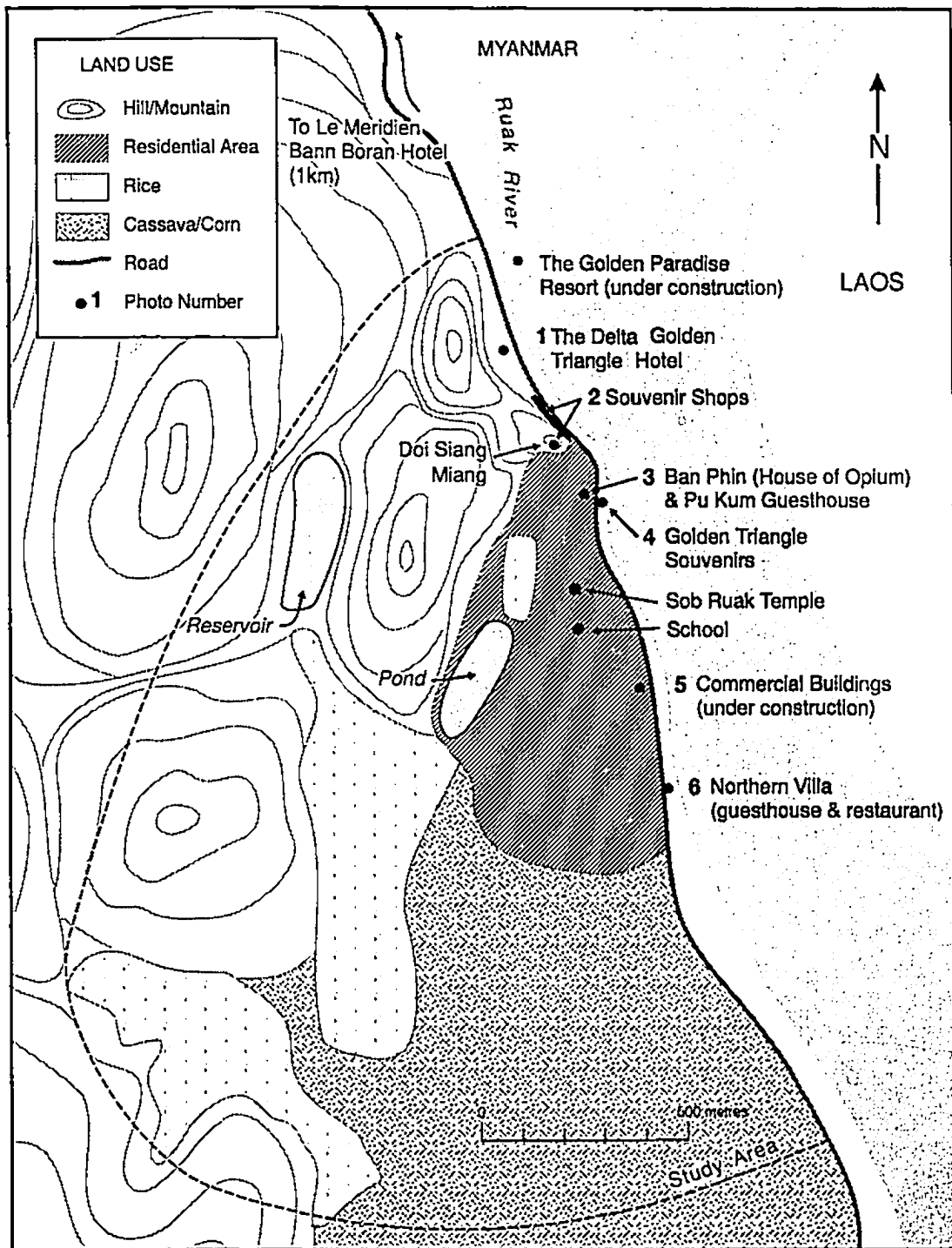


FIGURE 4.5 Tourism Business in and around *Ban Sob Ruak*

1 Delta Golden Triangle Hotel



2 Souvenir Shops

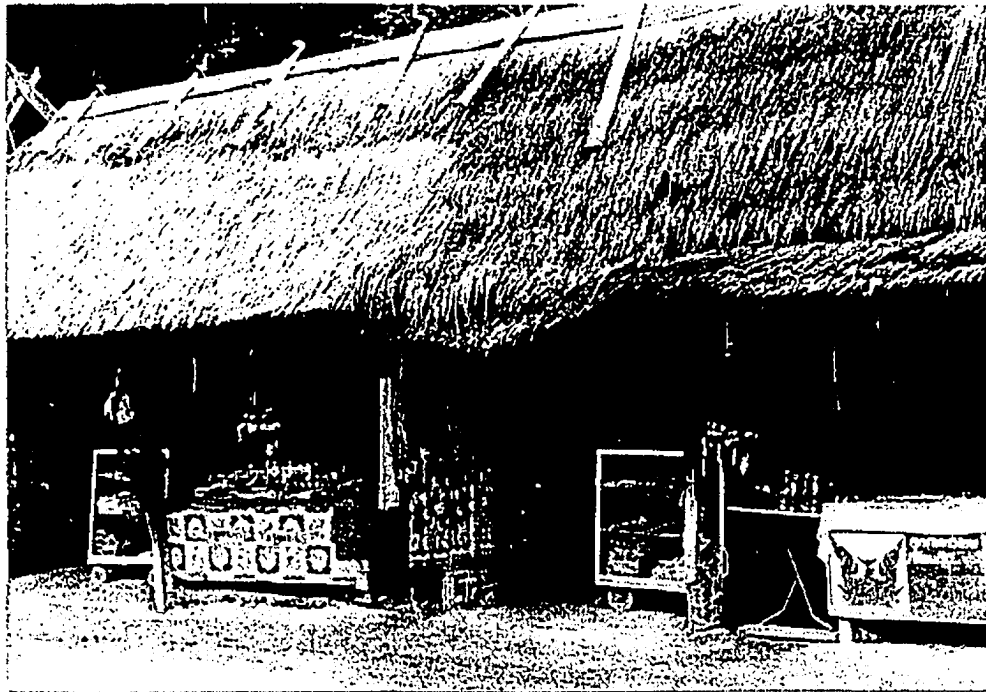


FIGURE 4.5 *Continued*

3 Ban Phin (House of Opium) &amp; Pu Kum Guesthouse.



4 Golden Triangle Souvenirs.



FIGURE 4.5 *Continued*

5 Commercial Buildings (Under Construction).



6 Northern Villa (Guesthouse and Restaurant).



FIGURE 4.6 New Buildings: Visible Changes



the worse by the shifting of farmers from agricultural pursuits into low-paying, unskilled labour positions and the loss of arable land.

In **BSR**, changes of land ownership also contributed to land use changes. Unlike several of the cases mentioned above, most of the land sold in **BSR** during the last 6 years was housing land. Changes of ownership in farming land as compared to housing land, was relatively low. A few years ago, it was common to see demolished houses along the main road in **BSR** and along the *Mekong* river. Half of the total households in the village had demolished their houses at least once since 1986, while 1 in 10 households had done so twice or more (Table 4.14). These demolitions (mostly of thatch-roofed houses) were often undertaken just prior to land sales in order to clear the land for new owners.

Most of the villagers who demolished their houses because of land sales built new houses in the village residential area. Some, however, bought cheaper plots of land in nearby villages and left **BSR**. Certainly, they could get a much larger plot compared to the one they had sold. The impacts of tourism on population in **BSR** were two-fold; some residents sold land in **BSR** and moved out of the village, while others moved into the village seeking tourist related employment.

Those villagers who stayed in **BSR** but moved closer to the village centre, usually needed to purchase a plot of land for a new home, unless they already owned land in the area. This influx led to crowded conditions in the village residential area. The plots purchased were typically small, subdivided portions (about half a *rai* or

TABLE 4.14 Land Sale and House Demolition and Construction

	Frequency	Percent
Did you demolish and move to build a new house within the last 6 years?		
No	51	27.7
None demolished, 1 built	41	22.3
1 demolished, 1 built	72	39.1
2 demolished, 2 built	13	7.1
3 demolished, 3 built	3	1.6
4 demolished, 4 built	4	2.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>100.0</b>
*Households that demolished their houses at least once	92	50.0

smaller) being sold by fellow villagers or relatives at very reasonable prices (ranging from 5,000-100,000 *baht* per rai between 1986-1992). These prices were relatively affordable in comparison to those charged for land along the main road and the *Mekong river*.<sup>13</sup> Often, these small land plots were located on existing housing land or in the back yards of land owners. This situation differed from that in the past when a house was generally located on a large piece of land with some fruit trees (e.g. lychee, longan and mango). These changes contributed to increased crowding in the residential area of the village.

Those villagers who, after selling their land in **BSR**, chose to purchase less expensive land in nearby villages and built their new homes there, usually continued to engage in rice farming. Both the principal and teachers in the village school

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<sup>13</sup> This contributed significantly to a very wide range of land prices (from 1,000 to 13,000,000 *baht* per rai)(see Table 12 and 13).

indicated that during 1989-1990 about 15 pupils (out of 150) moved with their families to other villages.

It is now common to see new, modern, tile-roofed, concrete houses in place of the traditional, thatch-roofed wooden houses (see Figure 4.6). Some of these homes were built by individuals who had just moved to the residential area while others were replacement home built by original owners. In the latter case, house owners may have sold land elsewhere to acquire enough money to replace their old houses.

It should be noted that the particular value attributed to housing by local residents contributed to visible changes in BSR during the tourism boom. The villagers believed that houses were an important status symbol. Those who were able to acquire enough money usually considered building a new house one of their first priorities. Unfortunately, many of those who did not have enough money were willing to go into debt to satisfy their desire to own a new house. There were only a few individuals in BSR, however, who found themselves in this situation. Most of the villagers who purchased new homes had received sufficient income from previous land sales.

It was not considered unusual that, just a few months after the completion of a new house, an owner would sell that plot of land, demolish the house in preparation for a new buyer, move to a new location and then build another new house. The following case studies describe this situation:

*Case 1: Sangdi*

In 1989, Sangdi sold her land along the main road (between the *Mekong* river and the road, which was the most expensive area) to a land buyer from *Chiang Rai*. She demolished her house and built a new one on her mother's land in the village residential area. In the next year, her mother sold that plot of land and gave some money to *Sangdi* as well as to her other daughters and sons. Having received this money, *Sangdi* demolished her second house, bought a plot of land about 100 metres west of the main road and then built a new modern house on it. In 1992, she sold this land along with her house, and proceeded to buy a new plot located just west of the residential area, and closer to the rice field, where she built a new house—her third one this time. *Sangdi* lived at this location during the study period. Each time, *Sangdi* has moved progressively further from the more expensive *Mekong* river area (Figure 4.7). She, informed the researcher, however, that she would be happy to move again for a sufficient profit.

*Case 2: Suthep*

*Suthep*, having profited substantially in the land business in 1989, demolished his old wooden house and rebuilt a second one on the original plot. Two years later, he sold the land and house, bought a new plot in the village residential area, and then built a new modern house (Figure 4.7).

*Case 3: Tom*

After selling her property, which has become the site of a large souvenir shop called the "*Golden Triangle Souvenir*" located between the *Mekong* river and the main

road, *Tom* moved to the village residential area and built a new concrete house (Figure 4.7). In 1992, she was again negotiating to sell her land and house and had plans to purchase a new plot in **BSR**.

These 3 cases may help to demonstrate not only how and why the villagers moved to new locations, but also how well they managed to exploit the financial opportunities provided by tourism development. To summarize, land transactions in **BSR** altered settlement patterns, and led to increased crowding in the village residential area. Prior to tourism development, houses were concentrated primarily in 2 areas: 1) the present residential area, and 2) along the *Mekong* river and main road. Land sales led to the relocation of people from the latter area—particularly on the side adjacent to the river—to the village residential area (Figure 4.8). This resulted in crowding as houses were built on increasingly smaller plots of land.

In conclusion, tourism induced market forces in **BSR** can be directly linked to changes in land use. Tourist demands on land propelled prices rapidly upward, encouraging villagers to sell land in "*high value*" areas and to re-locate to the less expensive residential area. Although some studies, such as those by Moerman (1987), and Ritchie (1992, 1993), suggest that Thai rural communities have not changed dramatically during the last 30 years, **BSR** has undergone enormous physical transformation within less than 10 years. Although it may be argued that tourism is not necessarily the only cause of land use change in **BSR**, it is undeniable that it has been one of the most effective catalysts for the dramatic transformation which has occurred.

FIGURE 4.7 House Relocations of Sangdi, Suthep and Tom

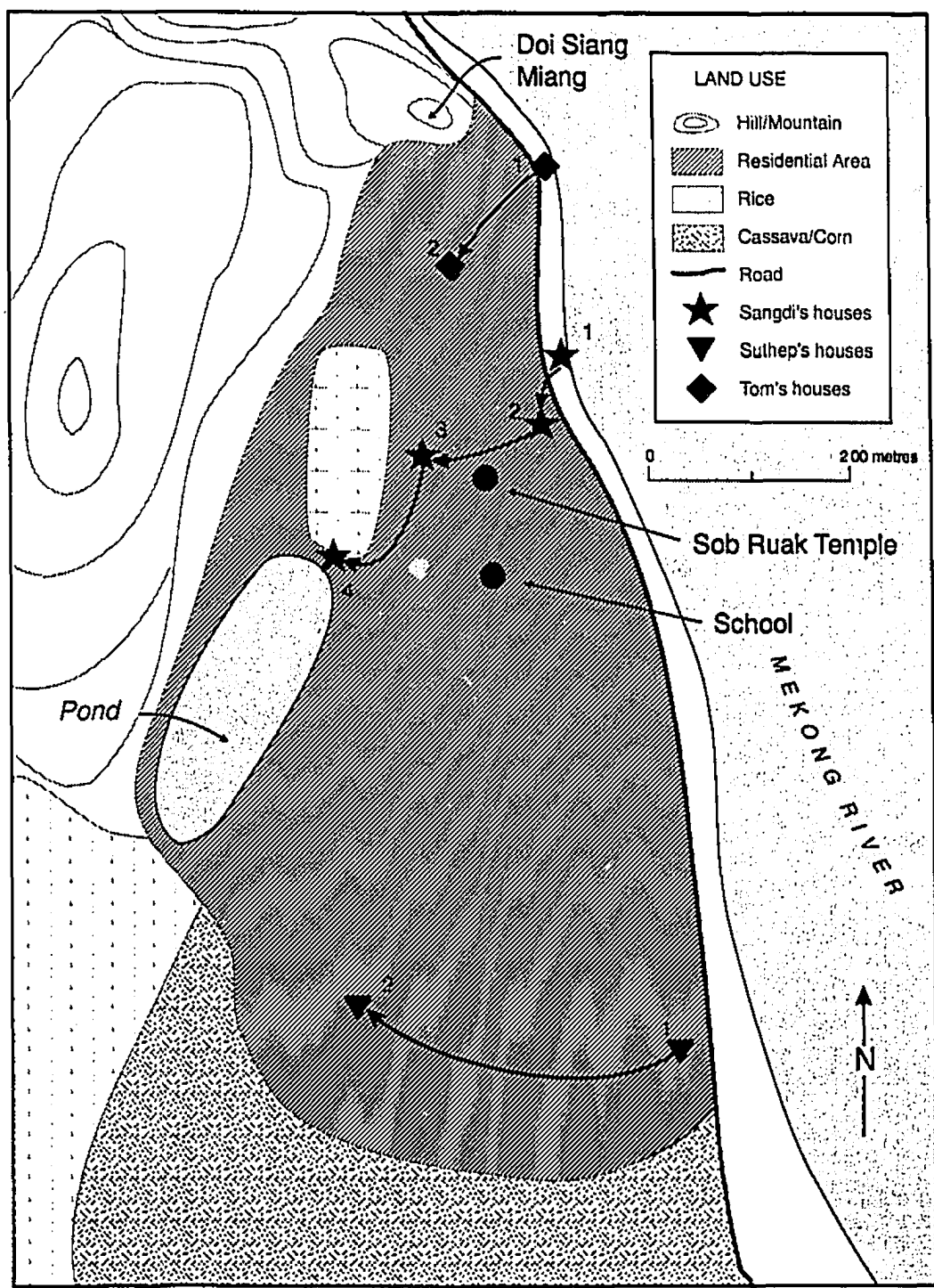
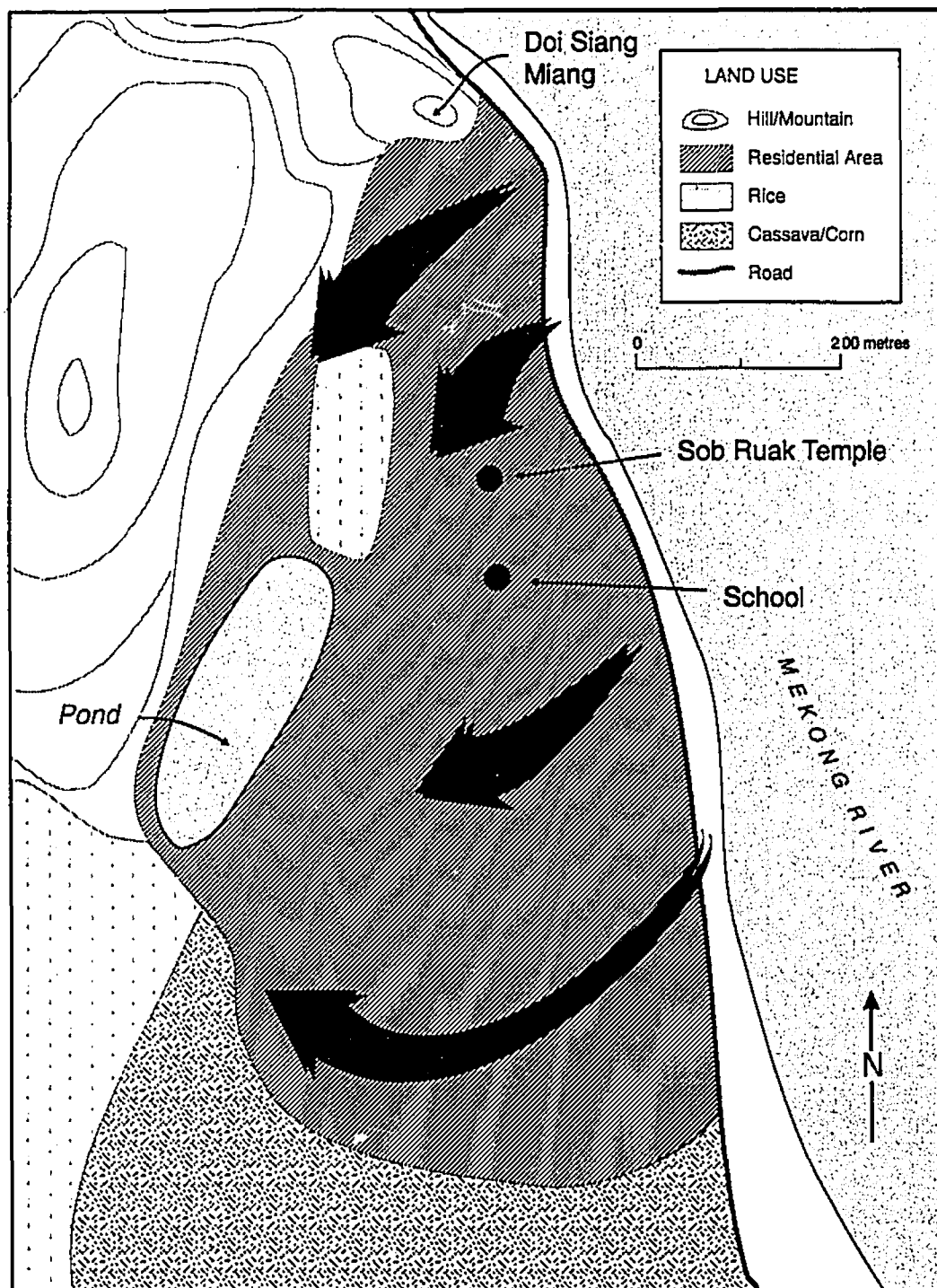


FIGURE 4.8 Changes of *Ban Sob Ruak's* Residential Area

#### *4.6 Loss of Control over Land Resources*

It is evident that land ownership changes in BSR were dramatic. This section addresses the question of "*Who were the land investors?*". The issue is an important one because land use is affected by how new owners use their land. Hirsch (1991, p.48), in his study of three villages in western Thailand, linked land use changes to capital involvement suggesting that "*...capital effects control either over land itself or the way in which it is used*". This is the case in BSR.

##### *4.6.1 Who Were the Land Investors?"*

Both the household survey and the in-depth interviews suggest that the majority of land speculators were from outside BSR. More than 90 percent of the participants in the household survey responded to this effect. However, it is difficult to determine specifically where they came from. Ninety one percent of respondents identified land buyers as outsiders. However, 37 percent said they did not know where land buyers came from, while 41 percent suggested Bangkok, 15 percent suggested other provinces, and 7 percent suggested *Chiang Rai*. This discrepancy is understandable because in many cases, business was undertaken through a village broker. Even in-depth interviews with well informed sources, such as the village head, the principal, and local businessmen, did not prove very helpful in answering this question. Nevertheless, it is apparent that most land investors were outsiders.

The feelings of local people towards non-native land buyers were reasonably positive. Fifty-seven percent of the respondents were satisfied, for the reasons that buyers paid good prices (89 percent) and brought desirable developments to BSR (11

percent). The 21 percent who expressed dissatisfaction with the buyers, felt that they were competing with local people for farm land (69 percent) and causing undesirable changes, such as higher prices of everyday needs in the village (31 percent). The remaining 22 percent responded that they were indifferent.

#### *4.6.2 Problems Caused by Loss of Control over Land Resources*

Loss of control over local resources is often identified as an impact of tourism (Butler 1980, Keller 1982). Eager to make profits in growing tourist areas, outsiders, whether they be from nearby areas or from other countries, invest in local resources and business ventures (Hussey 1989). In BSR, the loss of control over land resources to outsiders contributed to various adverse environmental and social consequences.

##### *4.6.2.1 Underutilization of Land*

Tourism development is viewed as a contributing factor in underutilization of land (George 1987). The promise of future price increases and potential profits encourages underutilization of agricultural land. The degree to which farming land is adversely affected can be directly correlated with the degree of expected change (Ibid.). Because the major motivation for land purchases in BSR was speculation, new land owners often left their land idle while waiting for price increases. This section explores what happened to different types of land within the study area, after it was sold (see Figure 4.3). For the purposes of the study, land has been divided into housing land, farming land (low-land rice, corn and cassava), and hilly land.

Housing land constituted the majority of land sold within the last 6 years. This was primarily due to its prime location—along the *Mekong* river and the main road;

making it desirable for tourism businesses, such as resorts, guest houses, restaurants and stores. The expectation of new land owners was that these parcels would garner high profits. For this reason they became very popular (Table 4.15 and 4.16) and expensive.

TABLE 4.15 Types of Land in the Study Area

Types of land	Number of plots	
	Frequency	Percent
Housing land	167	79.9
Rice land	25	12.0
Cassava/corn land	15	7.2
Public land	2	.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>100.0</b>

TABLE 4.16 Types of Land by Number of Times Sold

No. of times sold	Types of land (plots)			
	Housing	Rice land	Cassava/Corn land	Total
1	48	1	6	55
2	21	2	6	29
3	3	-	1	4
4	2	-	-	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>90*</b>

\* These plots of land were sold and resold for 133 times between 1986-1991.

Most speculative land owners preferred to have their land cleared in preparation for any new construction planned by prospective buyers. Therefore, it

was not unusual to see unused land in these areas. Almost 9 out of 10 villagers indicated that most of the land sold was not used for productive purposes.

Low-land rice farming lands were not often sold (3 plots compared to 74 plots of housing land) (see Table 4.16). These owners, however, also tended to leave the land idle. Only one new owner chose to lease his land (at a very low rate) for household rice farming. The two other owners left their land unused.

Once used as tobacco farms, sections of land to the south of the residential area were later developed as cassava farms (see Figure 4.3). Because these parcels tended to be flat and within close proximity to tourist destinations (near the popular Golden Triangle sign) (see Figure 1.3), they were attractive to speculators. Thirteen out of 15 plots were sold between 1986 and 1992 (see Table 4.15, 4.16). In 1992 only 4 plots were still used as corn farms; the remainder were left idle during the wait for higher prices.

Hilly land—mostly forest reserve<sup>14</sup>—is often unlawfully claimed by villagers for their own use as corn or cassava farms or house sites, or for sale. Land encroachment in Thailand has been studied elsewhere by Feder (1988), Parnwell (1988), and Hirsch (1990, 1991). According to Hafner and Apichatvullop (1990), the major contributing factor in conspicuous forest encroachment in Thailand is loopholes in Thai land codes:

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<sup>14</sup> Forest land designated as forest reserve according to the National Forest Reserve Acts

*Thai land codes contain numerous 'loopholes', recognizing traditional 'squatters' rights' over land, allowing for the harvesting of forest products for domestic use,...One result has been that the open and free access to the country's forest lands has continued amid confusion over legal and traditional rights to access. (p.334).*

Expansion of farm size, and exploitation of forest resources are often mentioned as causes of encroachment. This occurred in BSR when farmers attempted to increase production. The easiest way for them to do that was to clear new land for farming (see Figure 4.9). However, in BSR, the higher land values resulting from tourism motivated villagers to clear forest land for sale rather than for expanding farm size. According to in-depth interviews with the former village head and some well informed villagers, more than 10 plots of hilly land (corn or cassava farms) were sold to outsiders within the last 6 years. Prices ranged from less than 4,000 *baht/rai* 4-5 years ago to more than 100,000 *baht/rai* in 1992, and varied with distance from the residential area. Land buyers, in these situations, were taking a risk that the land would not be reclaimed by the government. For this reason, land prices were much lower than those in the residential area.

In addition to the sale of illegally claimed farms, the field check revealed that, within the last 4 years, more than 10 houses have been built on newly excavated land in the hilly areas. These owners excavated marginal slopes—by cutting into the hill and levelling the area for house construction. These houses were usually located near the foot of the hill adjacent to the residential area (Figure 4.10 and 4.11). In some cases, poorer villagers cleared reserve land either in the hilly area or in higher areas

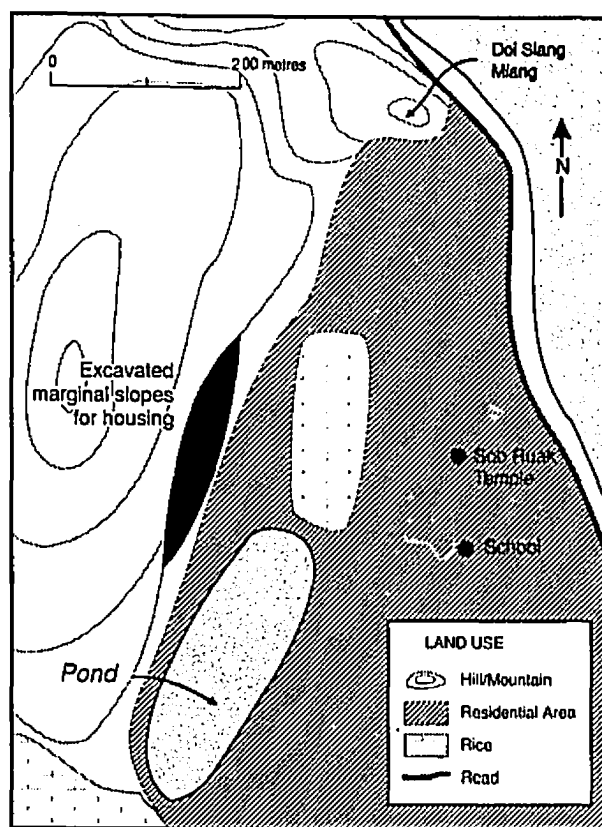
FIGURE 4.9 Hilly Areas were Cleared for Farming



just in the hopes of making low-priced sales. These lands were normally left idle during the wait for higher prices.

On the one hand, it is evident that tourism contributed to underutilization of land in **BSR**. On the other hand, the associated loss of control over land resources to outsiders also contributed to exploitation of forests and public land. As already discussed, tourism development also contributed to higher costs of living by pushing up wages, particularly those for farm labour. This caused problems among poorer farmers who required additional hired labour because of the decline in availability

FIGURE 4.10 Location of Excavated Marginal Slopes for Housing



of exchange labour. Although the latter is a trend which has been observed for Thailand in general (Turton 1989), BSR seems to be worse hit because tourism has attracted many farm workers away from farming and into tourism-related positions. In other words, the loss of control over both labour and capital resources led to both exploitation and underutilization of land.

These findings, to a large extent, supports those of Hirsch (1990). Hirsch observed similar conditions in two villages in west central Thailand where the government attempted to integrate the communities into the broader national

**FIGURE 4.11 Houses on Excavated Marginal Slopes**



economy. He suggested that loss of control over factors of production, such as land, labour and capital can lead to exploitation of forest resources (e.g. wildlife for food, wood for fuel, and other forest products both for consumption and for cash) and long term environmental problems. Nevertheless, tourism is not the only source of recent changes in **BSR**. The processes of modernization reflected in government policy and implementation as well as industrialization, urbanization, and education are also contributing factors.

#### 4.6.2.2 *Environment Problems*

A couple of land-based environmental problems are associated with the loss of local control over land resources. For example, soil erosion generated by the development of hilly areas for agriculture (e.g. pineapples), led to soil deposition in rice farming areas, prohibiting rice production. Therefore, the farmers, not knowing how to address the problems, were forced to sell their land to outsiders (*"the rich people"*). The arrangements made between sellers and buyers involved the buyers finding a replacement plot of rice field somewhere outside BSR which was of equivalent value to the one they were interested in purchasing. If the replacement plot had less value than the original, the buyer would have to make up the difference.

Water pollution is often identified as an externality of tourism development, especially in less developed countries where water treatment is neglected or inefficient (e.g. Beekhuis 1981); *Pattaya*, a famous seaside resort in Thailand, provides an example of this problem (Dearden and Boonchote 1989). It is certainly another environmental problem associated with loss of local control over land resources in BSR. In-depth interviews revealed that polluted water (either untreated or improperly treated) was discharged from a hotel into the *Mekong* river. This water, which was described as *"blackish and smelly"*, as well as the *"greasy"* water being discharged from restaurants located on the bank of the *Mekong* river created problems for villagers who traditionally used water from the river for vegetable farms along the river bank as well as for bathing and household uses. According to some

villagers, the water was too dirty, especially during the dry season, to be used for bathing.

#### *4.6.2.3 Social Problems*

##### *i) Increasing Social Differentiation*

In general, villagers felt positive towards tourism development in **BSR**, especially in terms of its economic viability. This was evident in the perceptions of villagers regarding economic impacts of tourism (see **4.7.2.2 Perception Towards Economic Impacts of Tourism**). It is possible, however, that the perceptions of poorer villagers may differ somewhat from those of the general population. For this reason a more specific investigation was also undertaken to determine how poorer villagers were affected by tourism in **BSR**. Using the results of the household survey, as well as specific case studies, the degree of social differentiation attributed to tourism development in general, and to the loss of control over land in particular, are discussed in this section.

#### *Social Differentiation and Tourism Development*

Although 70 percent of respondents agreed that the poor could benefit from tourism-related jobs, this, of course, was dependent upon whether or not they were able to get these jobs. If they were able to obtain employment, it was considered likely that they would be somewhat better off economically. If not, however, what would be the result? This question leads to the issue of income variation in tourism-related jobs. In **BSR**, it is true that local people who are involved in land transactions and in souvenir and restaurant businesses are relatively well-off. However, the

majority of those (usually young people) involved in service jobs as waiters and waitresses, shop keepers, or hotel employees were poorly paid. Those who already have land or money to invest in tourism businesses are much more likely to make additional profits from the industry (see Hussey 1989). At the same time, those who do not have any start-up capital are likely to end up working for low wages. This helps to explain why BSR villagers who were relatively well off were not enthusiastic about their children taking service jobs.

Because the rich were becoming richer from tourism-related opportunities, while the poor were becoming poorer as a result of their inability to exploit these opportunities, socio-economic differences were magnified. When survey participants were asked whether tourism made the poor poorer and the rich richer, 55 percent said yes. When asked why, 64 percent said that the poor became poorer because of a lack of capital (money and/or land) to invest in tourism-related business. Eighteen percent said that the poor became poorer as a result of rising prices and stable or declining incomes. This situation was exacerbated by the unpredictability of market prices for crops. Eleven percent stated that there was a lack of opportunities for the poor to access upgrading and training programmes which would provide the skills required to work in the tourism business. Another eight percent pointed out that the poor had no more land to work. Those who did not agree that tourism made the poor poorer, and the rich richer believed that if the poor worked harder, they would also be able to tap into the opportunities associated with the tourism industry. This, however, would only be possible if they were able to obtain jobs.

New values which are sometimes introduced by tourism (possibly through the demonstration effect and increased incomes) often lead to an emphasis on material possessions, thereby further accentuating the gap between the rich and the poor. **BSR** provides a very good example of this phenomenon. The rich, who were able to afford expensive modern houses, put a certain degree of pressure on poorer people who still lived in thatch-roofed houses. Because houses have been considered a status symbol perceptions of social differentiation were heightened. This is why some poorer people decided to build new homes despite that it meant going into debt.

In addition to the household survey, a specific case study was also undertaken to clarify whether or not tourism widened the gap between the rich and the poor. In-depth interviews with the present and former village heads and with well informed villagers helped to identify 2 of the poorer households in **BSR** that were willing to participate in the studies. Multiple visits to the families were carried out by the researcher. The first case study is discussed in the next section. The second one will be discussed later under social differentiation and loss of control over land.

#### *Wiang's family*

Wiang, a 46 years old widower with 2 sons—the elder, 15, crippled by polio and the younger, a fifth grader—cultivated just 1 crop a year on a 5 *rai* rice field located some 4 kilometres from the village. After the death of his wife 5 years ago, *Wiang* not only farmed rice, but also depended heavily on collecting and hunting for household consumption. When the farming season was over, he usually went fishing in the *Ruak* river or bird trapping for an additional source of income. He was

determined not to sell his farm because it was the only thing he had to leave to his 2 sons. At the time of this study, the family was living in an old thatch-roofed house built of bamboo, and *Wiang* was attempting to undertake repairs before the onset of the rainy season. Unfortunately, his crippled son who could not speak or walk by himself was unable to help him with this task.

*Wiang* believed that tourism provided substantial opportunities for the wealthier residents. If they were interested in the tourism business they had both the money and the land to invest. "*Money is for money*", *Wiang* said. But, for those who were poor like himself, the industry not only offered no benefits but even made his situation worse in some ways. Economically, he had nothing to gain because he was unable to acquire any of the tourism-related jobs because of a lack of capital, skills and knowledge. He also believed that he was too old to start a completely new occupation. He felt that he was comparatively much poorer now than before tourism because while his income had remained the same, the incomes of those involved in the tourism industry had increased. As well, prices had risen, making his situation even worse. Because *Wiang* now has to struggle much harder than before to support his family, there was little hesitation when he stated "*Tourism is just good for the rich*".

In summary, it can be said that tourism tends to intensify social differentiation in host communities for a variety of reasons (see Jafari 1974). First, the tourism industry tends to lead to general price increases which affect both tourists and residents. Poorer people, however, tend to be affected to a greater degree. Second, tourism offers unequal opportunities to the rich and the poor; the rich have capital

to invest, while the poor have neither the capital nor the working skills to enter the industry. Third, in one way or another, tourism contributes to changing consumption patterns in host communities; greater value is typically placed on material goods. Robben (1982, p.19) maintains that "*Tourism has promoted luxury objects and valuable relationships as indicators of worth...Today, the accumulation of wealth...contrasts one man's failure with another man's success*". This, certainly, accentuates the gap between the rich and the poor.

All of these factors tend to exacerbate the situation of the poor relative to the rich. In an effort to explain the link between tourism and social differentiation, Greenwood (1972) related these two issues to economic growth. He suggested that tourism affects various aspects of social and economic life, particularly because of its tendency to strengthen local economies. This economic growth, in turn, tends to increase social differentiation within the community.

### *Social differentiation and loss of control over resources*

In addition to the increases in social differentiation which may result from the changes described, tourism can also increase social differentiation through loss of control over land. The people who sold land in BSR did so because of high land values. This caused no problems for the rich who tended to own considerable land. However, some poorer people, after selling their land, were unable to acquire any new land to farm. In some cases, this was because they chose to use their money to

purchase a new house.<sup>15</sup> As Hirsch (1990) points out, it is very difficult for poor farmers to live without land because land is a major factor of production in agrarian communities. Consequently, in BSR, many of the poorer villagers were forced to take low-paying jobs. This, at least, was the conclusion of some respondents in the household survey (see Table 4.19). Eight percent of the respondents suggested that tourism made the poor poorer because they had no more land to work. This was usually because they had sold their small farms and did not gain enough money to invest in any ways. Many ended up as under-paid labourers.

In-depth interviews also revealed another impact of land sale on poorer villagers. Prior to tourism development, when land values were not high, the poor were often allowed to make their living without charge, on land owned by others. However, as land values escalated, many of these owners sold their properties and the poor no longer had land to work. Even though much of the land sold to outsiders has been left idle, the new owners have not permitted others to use the land. In-depth interviews also confirmed that this was a serious problem. At least, 8 households were involved. Five of them had once owned their own land, but had then chosen to sell it. The other three households had farmed on a well-to-do neighbour's land without charge, prior to the owners' decision to sell. These people were subsequently forced into unemployment or into low-paying labour positions as farmers or construction workers. Some of the younger villagers took positions as

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<sup>15</sup> As previously discussed in 4.5.2, people believed that houses were a good status symbol. This was reflected in the reason why they sold land that approximately three fifths just wanted money for a new house.

waiters or waitresses or as assistants in souvenir shops. This loss of local control over land, therefore, tended to reinforce existing social differentiation (see Girling 1986).

It is also noteworthy that poorer villagers tend to exploit local resources thereby contributing to increased environmental deterioration (Hirsch 1990). In BSR, the clearing of forests in hilly areas and the excavating of marginal slopes for housing purposes exemplify this situation. The case study described below is intended to shed additional light on how loss of control over land can contribute to increased social differentiation.

### *Thong's family*

Thong 47, his wife *Rom*, and a son who finished grade 6 a couple of years ago, lived on their own small parcel of land (less than 1 *rai* in size) on the periphery of the village residential area. In 1988 (the beginning of the land boom in the village), the couple sold their land to a speculator and gave some of the money they earned to a daughter and son who had moved out to live with their spouses a few years previous. *Thong* and *Rom*, after using almost all the remaining money to rebuild their house, worked mainly as hired labourers in rice, cassava and corn farms. Their daily wages were less than 60 *baht* (\$3). Because of the seasonality of their jobs, *Thong* sought additional work in construction, while *Rom* stayed home to make fishing nets to sell to neighbours. The nets sold for about 600 *baht* (\$30) each and *Rom* could usually finish one net within a month for a profit of 400 *baht* (\$20).

The couple indicated that they hoped to save enough money to start jobs in tourism. *Thong* wanted to acquire his own boat which he could operate for tourists.

Although this work would be seasonal, it could fill the gap during the dry season when farming jobs were normally not available. During the rainy season, when few tourists came to the Golden Triangle, he could return to work as a farm labourer. *Rom* wanted to have enough money to start her own souvenir shop which, to her knowledge, could be very profitable. However, even if the money was available, she had some concerns that her lack of experience and skills in dealing with customers—especially foreigners who did not speak Thai—would be problematic. She expressed an interest in obtaining some help in this regard from the government. She felt she needed a career training programme in which some basic employment skills and/or English were offered to prepare her either for work in a factory work or in tourism. *"If I am equipped with some appropriate skills and knowledge, I would be able to live better than I do now"*, *Rom* said. These goals, however, had never been realized. In 1992, they were both still poor and seeking farming jobs. *"We should not have sold our land"*, *Thong* confessed.

### *ii) Encircled Land: Being Forced to Sell*

Some villagers were forced to sell their land because it had become encircled by somebody else's land. Land buyers, usually outsiders, sometimes tried to encircle a particular plot of land in order to restrict access and thereby drive down its value. They would then be able to purchase it later at a lower-than-normal price. It was pointed out in the reason for selling section included under **4.4.1 Land Sale in BSR**, that over one quarter of land plots were sold because of encirclement. In-depth interviews with 2 land brokers revealed that when there was a demand for a large

plot of land (consisting of several of smaller plots) in a particular area, some of the villagers who owned the land wanted to hold out for a higher price, while others were satisfied with the going rate. Eventually, however, as the surrounding plots were sold, encirclement reduced accessibility, driving down the value of these remaining plots.

#### ***4.7 Local People's Perceptions Towards, and Feeling about, Tourism Development***

The reactions of local people to tourism are a good reflection of the host community's perception towards tourism. As Dogan (1989) points out:

*To the extent that the effects of tourism are perceived negatively, the reaction of people tends to take the form of resistance; to the extent that they are perceived positively, people react to them by wholly or partly incorporating them into their culture". (p.217).*

In other words, if residents have good attitudes towards tourism and tourists, the tourists are likely to feel welcomed by the host communities. Hoffman and Low (1981) in their study of the probit technique<sup>16</sup> determined that resident attitudes were the single most important factor in determining whether a visitor returned to a particular destination. Furthermore, to investigate the perception of residents is one way of measuring social and cultural impacts of tourism (Sheldon and Var 1984). The following section, comprising 4 parts, examines perception of BSR villagers towards

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<sup>16</sup> A technique claimed by the authors to offer a number of insights that are not revealed by other methods of travel survey data analysis when the question of interest is qualitative in nature.

tourism and its impacts. The various economic, social, cultural and land use aspects of these perceptions are discussed as well as the results of variance and regression analyses.

#### ***4.7.1 Perceptions Towards Tourism***

The majority of BSR villagers perceived that the Golden Triangle was popular, especially among foreign tourists. When comparing 1992 with previous years, 58 percent of the respondents in the household survey perceived that **more** tourists visited the Golden Triangle, while 13 percent said **much more**. Some 21 percent perceived that the numbers had remained the same while 4.9 percent and 2.7 percent respectively perceived "*fewer*" and "*much fewer*" numbers. About 59 percent of respondents felt that tourist distribution was not constant year round. An equal proportion of respondents were also positive that the majority of tourists were foreigners. About one quarter thought that, on average, the same number of foreign and Thai tourists visited the area. Sixteen percent, however, said that more Thai tourists visited the Golden Triangle. In terms of future trends, some 82 percent were positive that tourism would continue to increase at the Golden Triangle.

#### ***4.7.2 Perceptions Towards Tourism Impacts***

Before discussing villager perceptions towards tourism impacts, the perception rating scales developed for the study will be described.

##### ***4.7.2.1 Perception Rating Scales***

In order to measure perceptions towards specific tourism impacts as well as perceptions towards overall impacts of tourism, a rating scale (composed of 24

statements—6 for each aspect, i.e. economic, social, cultural and land use), was developed. A score was assigned to each response—1 for strongly disagree, 2 for disagree, 3 for not sure, 4 for agree and 5 for strongly agree. For negative statements, such as "*Income from tourism is not equally distributed among villagers.*", the scores were reversed. Consequently, the maximum score for each aspect of tourism impacts was 30 and the minimum score was 5. To measure perceptions towards each aspect of impacts, the score of 30 was divided into 5 groups, i.e. a score of 6-10 was considered as strongly negative, 11-15 as negative, 16-20 as indifferent, 21-25 as positive and 26 and over as strongly positive. Perceptions towards overall tourism impacts were calculated by adding the individual scores from each aspect of impacts. Thus, the maximum score for perceptions towards overall tourism impacts was 120, and the minimum score was 24. This range of possible scores (24-120), was then divided into 5 classes, 24-42 was considered as strongly negative, 43-61 as negative, 62-82 as indifferent, 83-101 as positive and 102 and over as strongly positive.

#### ***4.7.2.2 Perceptions Towards Economic Impacts of Tourism***

**BSR** villagers were generally positive in their perceptions towards economic impacts of tourism. This is evident from the responses to statements regarding economic impacts. For example, nearly 100 percent of the respondents agreed that tourism helped to strengthen the local economy and was a major cause of development in the area. The majority of the respondents also agreed that tourism brought more jobs to villagers and helped to decrease temporary migration for employment reasons. Significantly, 60 percent of the respondents believed that revenues from

tourism were more important than those from agriculture. This demonstrates that tourism has become a significant source of income for **BSR** residents and that they now may be more inclined to take tourism-related jobs, than to remain in farm labour. The only economic drawbacks to tourism perceived by villagers relate to income distribution. Almost half of the respondents felt that incomes from tourism were not equally distributed among villagers (Table 4.17). In general, however, most villagers had very positive perceptions regarding the economic impacts of tourism (48 percent were positive and 47 percent strongly positive (Figure 4.12).

#### *4.7.2.3 Perceptions Towards Social Impacts of Tourism*

The survey responses suggested that the villagers also had relatively positive perceptions towards the social impacts of tourism. The majority of respondents did not agree that tourism contributed to: weaker family ties, decreased village participation in development programmes or to less friendliness and more selfishness among villagers. Most respondents agreed that tourism helped women to increase their economic roles within the household and contributed to increased local pride in the village. Additionally, almost two thirds of the respondents believed that tourism-related jobs were more socially acceptable than those in agriculture (Table 4.18). The perceptions towards social impacts of tourism were reflected in the high percentages of positive (65 percent) and strongly positive (31 percent) responses (Figure 4.13).

TABLE 4.17 Responses to Statements on Economic Impacts of Tourism

Statements	1 <sup>a</sup>	2 <sup>a</sup>	3 <sup>a</sup>	4 <sup>a</sup>	5 <sup>a</sup>
1. Tourism helps strengthen BSR's economy.	-	-	2	148	34
	-	-	1.1%	80.4%	18.5%
2. Tourism brings more jobs to villagers.	-	2	20	60	102
	-	1.1%	10.9%	32.6%	55.4%
3. Tourism helps decrease villager's temporary migration for jobs.	-	2	37	42	103
	-	1.1%	20.1%	22.8%	56.0%
4. Revenues from agriculture are more important for BSR than that from tourism.	74	37	26	23	24
	40.3%	20.1%	14.1%	12.5%	13.0%
5. Tourism is a major cause of development in the village.	-	1	7	33	143
	-	5%	3.8%	17.9%	77.8%
6. Incomes from tourism are not equally distributed among villagers.	1	60	32	91	-
	5%	32.6%	17.4%	49.5%	-

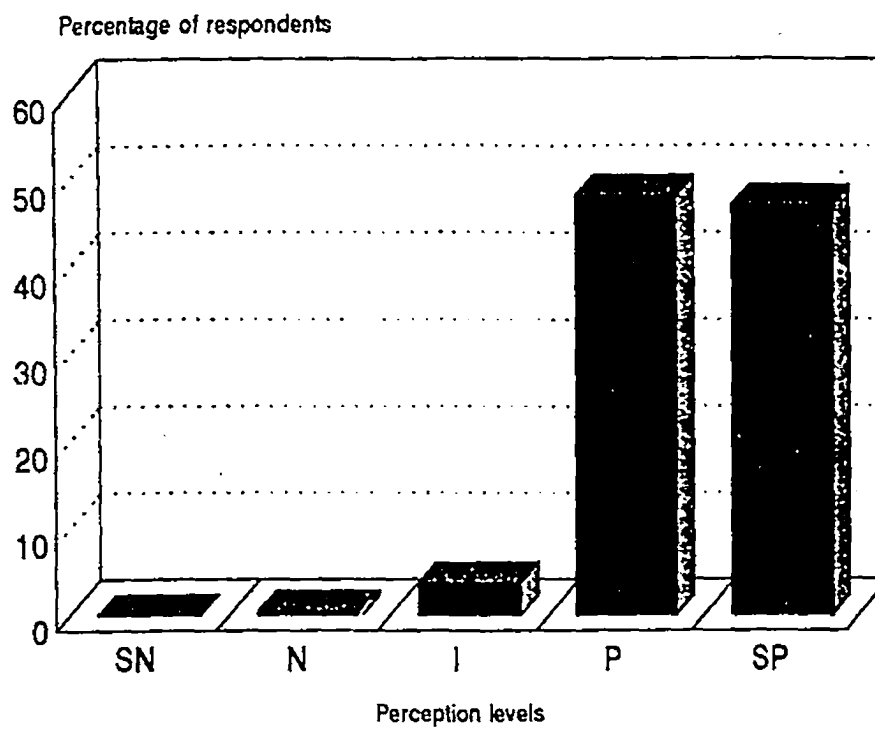
<sup>a</sup>1 Strongly disagree

<sup>a</sup>2 Disagree

<sup>a</sup>3 Indifferent

<sup>a</sup>4 Agree

<sup>a</sup>5 Strongly agree

**FIGURE 4.12 Villager Perceptions towards Economic Impacts of Tourism**

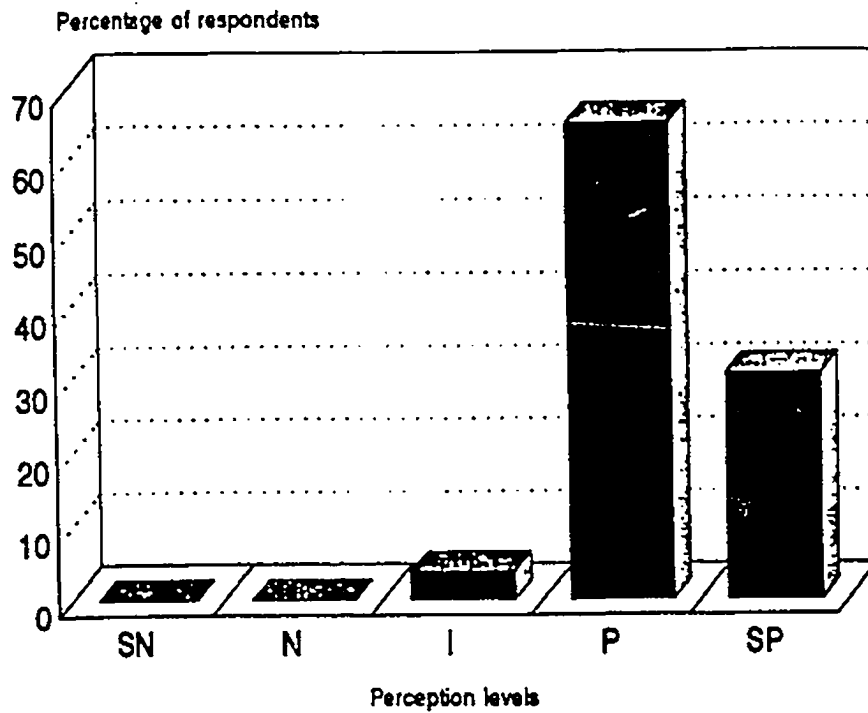
SN=Strongly negative N=Negative I=Indifferent P=Positive SP=Strongly positive

TABLE 4.18 Responses to Statements on Social Impacts of Tourism

Statements	1°	2°	3°	4°	5°
1. Tourism in BSR is a major cause of loosening family ties.	33	126	9	12	4
	17.9%	68.5%	4.9%	6.5%	2.2%
2. Since tourism developed in the village, fewer villagers have participated in village development activities.	49	75	48	9	3
	26.6%	40.8%	26.1%	4.9%	1.6%
3. Since tourism developed in the village, the villagers have become less friendly and more selfish.	30	97	11	46	-
	16.3%	52.7%	6.0%	25.0%	-
4. Since tourism developed in the village, women have increased their economic roles in the household.	3	7	14	97	63
	1.6%	3.8%	7.6%	52.7%	34.3%
5. Tourism-related jobs are better accepted by the society than those in agriculture.	-	50	16	98	20
	-	27.1%	8.7%	53.3%	10.9%
6. Tourism makes villagers proud of their village.	2	2	17	104	59
	1.1%	1.1%	9.2%	56.5%	32.1%

- \*1 Strongly disagree
- \*2 Disagree
- \*3 Indifferent
- \*4 Agree
- \*5 Strongly agree

FIGURE 4.13 Villager Perceptions towards Social Impacts of Tourism



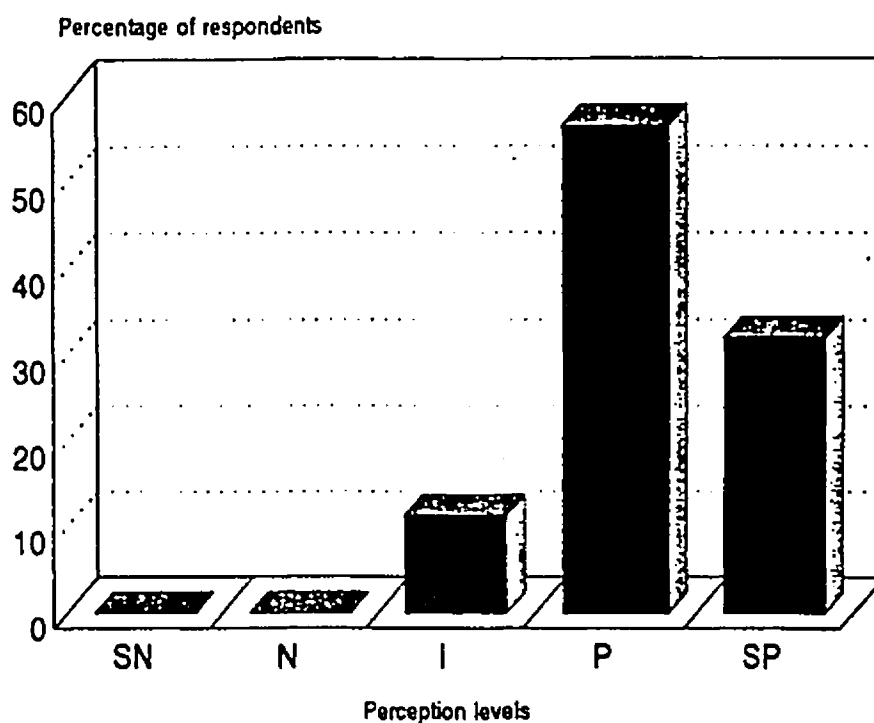
SN=Strongly negative N=Negative I=Indifferent P=Positive SP=Strongly positive

#### 4.7.2.4 Perceptions Towards Cultural Impacts of Tourism

Local people also expressed positive perceptions regarding the cultural impacts of tourism. Ninety three percent of respondents disagreed that villagers had changed their way of dressing as a result of tourism. Similarly, most respondents disagreed that tourism contributed to: a weakening of local traditions, a lower participation rate in traditional ceremonies, or a decreased respect among the youth for their elders. The majority also did not believe that tourism was a hindrance in conserving local traditions. In fact, 4 out of 5 respondents believed that tourism

encouraged cultural activities (see more details in **Revitalization** under 5.4 **Adjustment to Tourism Development**) (see Table 4.10). In summary, the majority of villagers perceived that tourism, in general, had positive impacts on local culture (57 percent were positive and 32 percent strongly positive (Figure 4.14).

FIGURE 4.14 Villager Perception towards Cultural Impacts of Tourism



SN=Strongly negative N=Negative I=Indifferent P=Positive SP=Strongly positive

#### 4.7.2.5 Perceptions Towards Land Use Impacts of Tourism

BSR villagers expressed more reservations with respect to tourism impacts on land use. Fifty percent of respondents "agreed" and 24 percent "strongly agreed" that

most land sold in recent years was left idle. All respondents agreed that tourist areas at the Golden Triangle lacked cleanliness and orderliness. Forty seven percent of respondents disagreed that tourism land speculation contributed to cheap labour, while 59 percent disagreed that land use for tourism purposes would lead to the restriction in the future use of farm land. The perceptions of most respondents towards the impacts of tourism on land transactions in **BSR** were very positive. The entire sample agreed that tourism contributed to higher land values, and 90 percent approved of recent land sales (Table 4.19). Overall perceptions towards land use impacts were primarily indifferent (78 percent) although 16 percent expressed positive perceptions and 6 percent expressed negative perceptions (Figure 4.15).

#### *4.7.2.6 Perceptions Towards Overall Tourism Impacts*

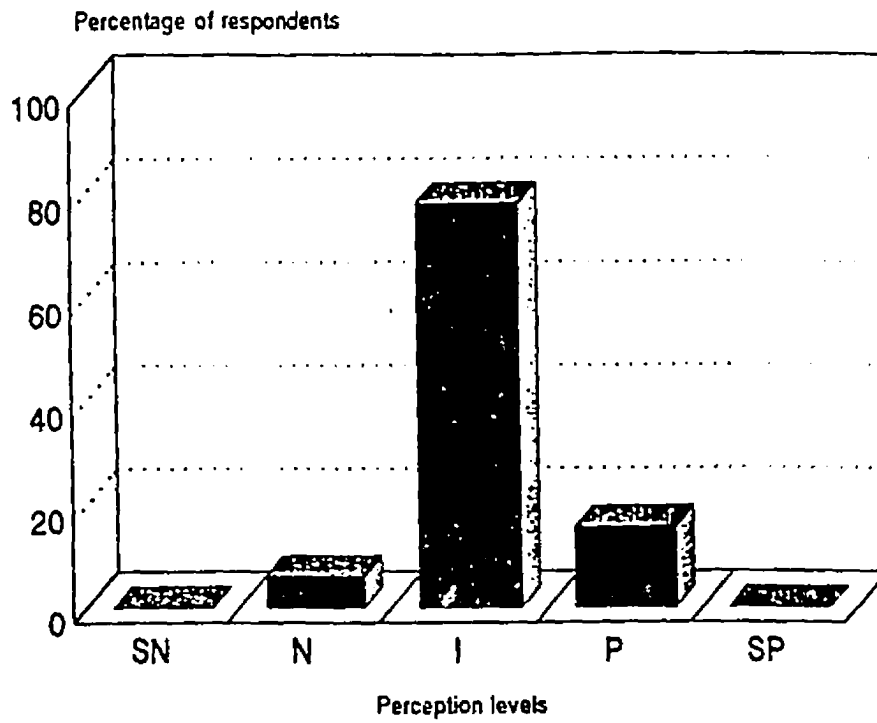
By adding up the scores obtained from the four separate aspects of tourism impacts (i.e. economic, social, cultural and land use) a perception score for overall tourism impacts was calculated. Ninety four percent of respondents were positive towards overall tourism impacts, while the remaining 6 percent were indifferent (Figure 4.16). This suggests that villagers were generally pleased with tourism development in **BSR**. It would seem that this is primarily because of the important role played by tourism in strengthening the local economy and culture. In general, the residents of **BSR** seem to feel that tourism has not had significant negative impacts on social life or land use in the village. In the longer term, however, it possible that these perceptions towards tourism may change.

TABLE 4.19 Responses to Statements on Land Use Impacts of Tourism

Statements	1*	2*	3*	4*	5*
1. BSR villagers get very good prices from land sales because of tourism.	-	-	-	96	88
	-	-	-	52.2%	47.8%
2. The villagers should not have sold their land.	64	101	12	5	2
	34.8%	54.9%	6.5%	2.7%	1.1%
3. Tourism land speculation caused an increase in cheap ex-land-holder labour.	14	72	38	45	15
	7.6%	39.1%	20.6%	24.5%	8.2%
4. Tourist areas at the GT lack cleanliness and orderliness.	-	-	-	103	81
	-	-	-	56.0%	44.0%
5. Most of land sold in recent years has not been used for productive purposes.	2	3	43	92	44
	1.1%	1.6%	23.4%	50.0%	23.9%
6. Future use of farming land in BSR will be restricted by expanding touristic use of land.	2	106	14	62	-
	1.1%	57.6%	7.6%	33.7%	-

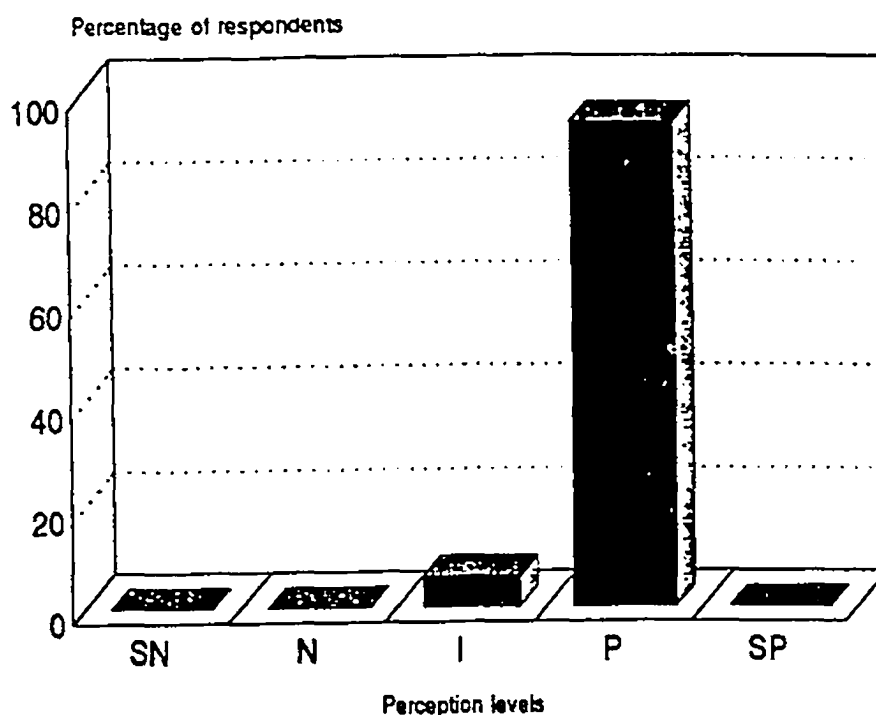
- \*1 Strongly disagree
- \*2 Disagree
- \*3 Indifferent
- \*4 Agree
- \*5 Strongly agree

FIGURE 4.15 Villager Perceptions towards Land Use Impacts of Tourism



SN=Strongly negative N=Negative I=Indifferent P=Positive SP=Strongly positive

FIGURE 4.16 Villager Perceptions towards the Overall Impacts of Tourism



SN=Strongly negative N=Negative I=Indifferent P=Positive SP=Strongly positive

Doxey (1975) suggests in his "*irridex*" (index of tourist irritation) that reaction to tourists by local people will undergo change over time, according to the various stages of tourism development. Similar to Butler (1980), Doxey identified reactions ranging from "*euphoria*" to "*apathy*", and "*irritation*" to "*antagonism*". In the early stages of development, tourists are likely to be greeted with enthusiasm by local people, especially because the new industry brings new opportunities for employment as well as increased revenue. This state of "*euphoria*" may be particularly noticeable in areas such as BSR where there are few alternative forms of employment. As more tourists

begin to visit an area, contacts between tourists and local people tend to become less personal and more commercialized. The industry begins to be taken for granted and local people develop a more "apathetic" or even "antagonistic" attitude towards tourism activity (de Kadt 1979, Chesney-Lind and Lind 1986). Doxey's model suggests a unidirectional and predictable sequence, for attitude and reaction changes of residents over time.

Butler (1975), on the other hand, contended that a community's emerging attitude towards tourism is likely to be more complex, and will be affected by the varying degrees of contact and involvement its residents have with the industry. Dogan (1989) concluded that:

*In general, it may be said that in a community previously dominated by a particular response to tourism, a diversity of responses will emerge as tourism develops, and groups with different interests and characteristic responses to tourism will be formed within the community. (p.232).*

Although tourism in BSR has been developing for a few years and has entered a relatively advanced stage—with large numbers of tourists and a fair number of high quality facilities—local people still exhibit reactions akin to those in Doxey's euphoria stage. A possible explanation for this may lie in the very rapid pace of the tourism development process in BSR. Development has proceeded so rapidly that local people are still overwhelmed by the beneficial effects of tourism. The economic advantages, in particular, appeared very attractive after the failures in the tobacco farming industry which plagued BSR just prior to tourism development. As Dogan (1989) suggests, however, the responses of various groups of people to tourism may begin to differ as development proceeds. Consequently, it may be a good idea to

monitor villager reactions over the longer term to determine whether or not they do change and why.

#### *4.7.3 Results of the Analysis of Variance*

This section explores the relationship between various variables and perceptions towards tourism impacts through use of analysis of variance. The findings are as follows:

1) Non-farmers had significantly more positive perceptions towards economic, social and overall impacts of tourism than farmers (Tables 4.20-4.22). As earlier discussions suggest, **BSR** villagers, in general, were happy with tourism development in the area. It is evident that non-farmers in **BSR** receive the most economic advantages from the tourism business. Some individuals have been transformed from average income earners to millionaires within a very few years. Conversely, farmers who have continued to grow low-land rice and cassava (rather than selling their land) have gained very little from tourism. It is understandable that non-farmers (now engaged primarily in land and souvenir sales) were much more likely to appreciate the positive effects of tourism. As Sheldon and Var (1984, p.40) point out: *"...those whose job depends on tourism tend to have more favourable attitudes to tourists"*.

2) Non-native villagers<sup>17</sup> had significantly more positive perceptions towards land use impacts of tourism than did native villagers of **BSR** (Table 4.23). It is understandable that those who were born and raised in **BSR** were more likely to feel attached to the local area than those who had moved to **BSR** more recently. The

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<sup>17</sup> Those who were not born and raised in the village.

**TABLE 4.20 An Analysis of Variance Comparing Perceptions towards Economic Impacts of Tourism between People with Different Primary Jobs**

Main job	N	Mean	SD	F	P
Farmer	121	22.1818	2.7172		
Non farmer	60	24.5333	2.3104	33.0588	<.001
Total	181	22.9613	2.8114		

**TABLE 4.21 An Analysis of Variance Comparing Perceptions towards Social Impacts of Tourism between People with Different Primary Jobs**

Main job	N	Mean	SD	F	P
Farmer	121	18.5868	2.6977		
Non-farmer	60	19.9833	2.7463	10.6220	<.01
Total	181	19.0497	2.7854		

**TABLE 4.22 An Analysis of Variance Comparing Perceptions towards Overall Impacts of Tourism between People with Different Primary Jobs**

Main job	N	Mean	SD	F	P
Farmer	121	77.0000	6.9064		
Non-farmer	60	80.1333	6.6879	9.9296	<.01
Total	181	78.0387	6.4518		

TABLE 4.23 An Analysis of Variance Comparing Perceptions towards Land Use Impacts of Tourism between Native and Non-native People

Main Job	N	Mean	SD	F	P
Native	113	15.4336	1.8462		
Non-native	71	16.1831	1.8617	7.1393	<.01
Total	184	15.7228	1.8830		

native villagers tended to be more sensitive to land use changes in their village and held less positive perceptions towards land use impacts of tourism.

#### *4.7.4 Prediction of Perception Towards Tourism Impacts*

The tourism literature suggests that resident perceptions towards tourism differ according to a number of variables, for example, length of residence, amount of tourist contact, and personal and locational characteristics have been determined to be important (Brougham and Butler 1981). Belisle and Hoy (1980) reported that the distance of resident homes from the tourist zone was also highly correlated to resident perceptions, while the socio-economic status of residents was not. If these variables correlate substantially with resident perceptions, they can be used as predictors of these perceptions.

This section explores the possibility of predicting villager perceptions towards tourism impacts through use of stepwise regression analysis. The hypothesis for the analysis was that perceptions towards economic, social, cultural, land use and overall impacts of tourism can be predicted by particular independent variables (age, education, years of residence in BSR, household income earners, income earners

working in BSR, household members having primary and secondary jobs in tourism, plots of land bought and sold within the last 6 years, savings, and annual household income from primary and secondary jobs in tourism).

It was determined, however, that there was a multicollinearity problem in the analysis. In other words, there were high correlations among the independent variables making the stepwise multiple regression analysis unsuitable for the derivation of predicting equations. When there are several highly correlated independent variables, and the first variable has been selected to appear in an equation, the next correlated variable (which was highly correlated with the first one) would not be selected. This was because the variance of the dependent variable (here, a perception score) which could be explained by the second variable was not large enough. In other words, most of the variance of the dependent variable had already been explained by the first variable.

To address this problem, factor analysis was employed to create new factors (i.e. combinations of correlated variables) to be used in the multiple regression analysis. The equations derived from the regression analysis, however, demonstrate very poor predicting power. Each equation (bearing only one factor) accounted for only 12-18 percent of the variance in the perception. In other words, there is no variable or factor that can significantly predict perceptions (see Appendix G for the equations and more details on the analysis).

One possible reason for the low correlation between independent variables and perception may be that villagers were still feeling overwhelmed with the impacts

of tourism, especially with respect to potential economic advantages. For this reason, most people continued to have positive perceptions towards tourism impacts, regardless of how tourism was actually affecting them. For example, even some of those people who gained little or no income from tourism still had a good impression of the industry. More than 10 percent of respondents were satisfied with tourism just because their neighbours benefited in some way from the industry, be it from room rentals, hotel work or the souvenir business.

It may be concluded that although BSR villagers were generally pleased with tourism impacts at the Golden Triangle, especially in terms of economic, social and cultural aspects, they were beginning to observe some of the adverse effects of tourism on land use. In 1992, most villagers perceived that tourism was good for them and no variable was found that could significantly predict perceptions towards tourism impacts. Over time, however, when different interests and benefits emerge in the community, villagers might develop different perceptions towards tourism. Therefore, it may be worthwhile to continue to monitor resident perceptions.

#### ***4.7.5 Villager Feelings with respect to Tourism at the Golden Triangle***

The majority of villagers (91 percent) were satisfied with tourism at the Golden Triangle. The main reasons suggested were that tourism contributed to higher incomes (77 percent) and to development (23 percent). The 5 percent (10 individuals) who were dissatisfied with tourism indicated environmental deterioration (littering, water and visual pollution) and economic troubles (a more expensive standard of living) as the major reasons. Most of the people who were not happy with

tourism at the Golden Triangle were native farmers from households in which nobody was involved in tourism-related jobs. An additional 3 percent were indifferent to tourism.

Only one respondent out of the 184 sampled expressed a dislike for tourists. The remainder cited "*contribution of jobs*" as the main reason for liking tourists. Fifty percent of respondents like both Thai and foreign tourists without any particular preference citing their contribution to a healthier economy as the main reason. Forty percent preferred foreign tourists because they were willing to pay higher prices. In the souvenir shop owner survey, foreign customers were preferred by 73 percent of the owners for the same reason.

Although most villagers were pleased with tourists in general, some 30 percent expressed a dislike for particular characteristics, such as littering (especially, domestic tourists) (38 percent), impoliteness (in bargaining and in dressing, particularly when visiting the temple) (27 percent), too much bargaining (14 percent), difficulties in communication (9 percent), asking for opium (7 percent), and driving too fast (4 percent). In general, however, BSR villagers wanted more tourists to come to the Golden Triangle. Almost four fifths wanted both Thai and foreign visitors, while 15 percent wanted more foreign tourists only and 5 percent wanted more domestic tourists only.

When asked about improving tourism at the Golden Triangle, 95 percent of villagers agreed that the tourism should be improved. The reasons provided were: to encourage additional development and to attract more tourists to the area (47

percent), to attract more tourists (33 percent) and to make tourist spots clean and tidy (21 percent). Those who did not want to improve tourism at the Golden Triangle, suggested that tourism had already made things too expensive. Villagers suggested that the help they needed from government to improve tourism at the Golden Triangle involved: making the tourist area clean and tidy (50 percent), improving the main road (28 percent), and establishing training programmes, particularly in foreign languages and basic business skills (22 percent). The villagers also wanted the government to provide more general improvements to BSR. Four important recommendations raised by the villagers in this regard were road improvements (37 percent), water supply (30 percent), waste disposal (27 percent), and career training programmes for those who wanted to be involved in tourism-related jobs (7 percent).

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this final chapter is to bring together the results of the study, within the context of modernization theory, and to examine the idea of using tourism as a tool for rural development. Comprising 6 sections, the first section provides a summation of the study results particularly as they relate to the first three research questions. The second section discusses the controversial issue of tourism impact assessment, while the third section addresses differences between "*modernization*" and "*development*", focusing specifically on whether tourism effects can be called "*development*". The fourth section discusses dynamism of tourism development. In an effort to answer the final research question of the study, the fifth section discusses the issue

of adjustment to tourism development among **BSR** villagers. Finally, the sixth section, examines tourism as a tool for rural development purposes.

### *5.1 Summary*

The study was undertaken in a rural farming village of the *Tai Yai* ethnic group, *Ban Sob Ruak (BSR)*, in the Golden Triangle of the northernmost province of *Chiang Rai, Thailand*. The aim of the study was to investigate changes induced by rapid tourism development in the village. Geographically, the transformation of **BSR** can be regarded as changes of place, while sociologically, such changes can be understood within the context of modernization. These two aspects of change are, of course, intimately related and in this study have been examined within the context of modernization theory, and the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. The study employed a triangulation method which included data gathering through use of surveys, in-depth interviews, field checks, aerial photos, and consultative meetings.

The first three research questions were answered as follows<sup>1</sup>:

1) It is apparent that, during a period of less than 10 years, tourism has contributed to significant changes in **BSR**. Incredibly elevated land values, dramatic shifts in land ownership, occupational changes (from farmers to tourism-related jobs), the changing economic roles of women in the household, and increased household

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<sup>1</sup> An answer to the final research question (question 4) will be discussed later in section four of this chapter.

incomes are the most obvious socio-economic impacts. The new buildings in **BSR**, such as the five-star hotels, restaurants, guesthouses, souvenir shops, and other commercial structures, the more crowded conditions in the residential area (a result of more local people moving in from outlying areas), and the underutilization of land are all evidence of land use changes. The completion of new religious buildings (which had been abandoned for years because of a lack of funds), the improvements to old temple buildings made possible by generous donations from local people, and the high levels of public participation and support in both religious and other traditional ceremonies, as well as in development programmes, can be regarded as cultural impacts of tourism.

Perception rating scales reveal that residents of **BSR**, in general, have a very positive perception towards tourism impacts. Nevertheless, increased social differentiation and materialism, water and visual pollution, and increased exploitation of forest resources by the community can be regarded as drawbacks of tourism development,

2) tourism-induced loss of control over local resources, especially land, has tended to increase social differentiation and depletion of forest resources by the community, and

3) In spite of limited formal education, little prior contact with people outside the community and an absence of external support, **BSR** residents have been largely successful in developing the business skills required to benefit from tourism

development. The most profitable ventures appear to be souvenir businesses which are run primarily by women.

### *5.2 Tourism Impact Assessment: Any Theory Available?*

The study findings from **BSR**, particularly those related to the positive economic effects of tourism, may well explain why governments of less developed countries are eager to adopt tourism as a key to economic development. Harrison (1992b, p.2) asserts that "*There are good reasons to focus on tourism to less developed countries, in particular. Their governments are anxious to promote economic growth and tourism—especially international tourism—is one means to this end*". Increased employment and income opportunities—which are obvious impacts of tourism in **BSR**—are usually regarded as major reasons for governments to promote tourism.

However, as well as economic impacts, there are often other consequences of tourism, such as cultural and environmental changes, which may negatively impact host communities. In the case of **BSR**, few negative cultural impacts came to light. However, environmental deterioration, such as the water pollution caused by a hotel, and restaurants along the *Mekong* river, seems to be emerging.

The entire field of tourism impact assessment is quite controversial, however. The impacts may vary substantially from place to place according to various factors, such as the socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the tourism destination, and the nature and number of tourists. Singh (1992, p.9) goes as far as to suggest that

*"The pros and cons of tourism are often mystifying"*. The work of Singh and others has a number of implications:

1) Tourism research demands considerable effort. The reason for this may be the nature of tourism itself. As Singh (Ibid.) points out *"Tourism has many faces, and each face has several profiles. Only a highly skilled interdisciplinary team of researchers is capable of achieving desired results...This, indeed, is a challenging task"*. It may be that the complications involved in conducting tourism research have contributed to inadequate or insufficient research in this particular field, and a shortage of well-developed tourism theory.

Nash (1981), in fact, suggests that researchers have been unsuccessful in developing a theory of tourism. He points out that theories have tended to be too global or too local, or too macro and too micro. Although this observation was made more than a decade ago, it may still be appropriate today. It is doubtful that any encompassing tourism theory has yet been established because of the complexity and variability of the tourism context. Perhaps, the most that can be hoped for is a linking of individual theories to provide a more generic understanding of tourism impacts.

2) Tourism research has a tendency to be idiographic rather than nomothetic (Singh 1992). The current case study is an example of idiographic tourism research investigating tourism impacts in a particular village. Because individual places frequently possess different characteristics, a case study approach is often appropriate to capture these details. The idiographic approach is considered by Brown (1990 p.192) to be a practical way to explore changes of place during a development

process. He asserts that "*Proposed...is a less nomothetic, more idiographic perspective that takes account of places as entities in their own right and their unique experience of change*". This statement, to some extent, echoes Francis Bacon's view of science as proceeding by cumulative induction from the examination of cases (Johnston 1991).

In fact, Brown (1990) believes that investigations which emphasize differences between places will lead to better generalizations, thereby helping to enrich understanding of development processes operating in less developed countries. He argues that:

*highlighting similarities between places has been important...[to understand development]. But a more current need is to focus on place differences in order to gain a better understanding of local variation and its role in Third World development (or change) at all spatial scales. Ultimately, generalizations should emerge, and that remains an objective—but generalizations which are rich in detail, recognize the heterogeneity of development processes, and emphasize visible mechanisms underlining regional change. (Brown 1990, p.154).*

In one sense, Brown's comments provide some suggested direction for tourism researchers, in the development of tourism theory. Because tourism is widely regarded by less developed countries as a means to modernization, and is a frequent contributor to changes in destination communities, it is important to be able to arrive at generalizations. At the same time, there is a need to acknowledge the rich details of place and the heterogeneity of development processes, in the development of successful tourism theory.

3) More tourism research is still required, in spite of the fact that after the 1960s, the world of tourism scholars has demonstrated a serious effort to explore more tourism truths, especially in less developed countries. As Singh points out (Ibid,

p.7) "*tourism grows faster than tourism research*". Although complete understanding of tourism effects towards host communities cannot be achieved, social scientists, in general, and tourism researchers, in particular, still need to concentrate on this matter. Tourism theory is still required to shed light on tourism impacts, especially those which occur in less developed countries where the livelihood of people increasingly depends on the tourism industry.

### *5.3 Tourism, Modernization and Development*

Although tourism has often been regarded as one of a number of possible development strategies (Harrison 1992b), it is often difficult to judge whether or not the effects from tourism do, in fact, constitute "*development*". Although the term "*development*" usually implies some idea of progress, change, or evolution, there is no agreed upon definition of development (Harrison 1988). Because it is essentially a normative term, "*development*", has been used at various times to mean: economic growth, structural economic change, autonomous industrialization, capitalism or socialism, self-actualization, and individual, national, regional and cultural self-reliance (Ibid).

Some authors, such as Goulet (1992), regard development as a "*two-edged sword*" generating both gains and losses for destination communities. While the major gains of development typically include improvements in material well-being, technological progress, increased freedom of choices (especially among women and children), Goulet emphasizes that one of the important negative effects of develop-

ment is to generate value conflicts over the meaning of the good life. The question often arises "*whether societies should rely more dominantly on material or on moral incentives to elicit desired behaviour from members*" (Goulet 1992, p.472).

It seems reasonable to view development as "*a far-reaching, continuous and positively evaluated process of social, economic and political change which involves the totality of human experience*" (Harrison, p.155). Tourism can also be viewed as a form of "*modernization*". Compared to "*development*", "*modernization*" seems to be more easily defined. "*Modernization*" or "*Westernization*" typically refers to the transfer of capital, technology, expertise, and "*modern*" values from the West to less developed countries (Harrison 1992b). It may also involve changes which undermine or conflict with a more "*traditional*" stability (Harrison 1988).

The changes which occurred in **BSR** after the onset of tourism led to its transformation from a traditional farming village, to the more modern village that it is today. Such a transformation corresponds with the movement from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* described by Tonnies. It also represents a significant "*change of place*"; a once quiet, self-sustaining village which depended primarily on subsistence agriculture, **BSR** has become a busy tourist destination for world visitors. The livelihood of local people depends increasingly on providing services to visitors. The resulting changes have been both physical and socio-economic.

Because modernization can induce a wide range of changes, it can lead to conflicts. The changes may range from a trivial introduction of new fashion, to extensive structural modifications (Ibid). In **BSR**, the latter has included occupational

changes from farming to tourism-related jobs, increased household income, changes in family structure (especially in the role of women), and a decline in agricultural pursuits.

Although changes induced by modernization can cause conflict, it is not inevitable. The reasons for this are that 1) existing situations may be modified to incorporate the changes, and 2) what is "new" may be able to incorporate or reinforce much of the "traditional" (Harrison 1988). The situation in **BSR** exemplified these types of adjustment. So far, no conflicts have arisen as a result of changes induced by tourism. In part, this is because tourism occurred in the village at an opportune time. People in **BSR** were experiencing a depression in the farming industry, particularly in tobacco, and were looking for economic alternatives. Tourism induced changes have therefore been welcomed. Furthermore, changes have been, for the most part, compatible with, or appropriately incorporated into, traditional practices. For example, more people now participate in traditional and religious ceremonies and festivals. As well, individuals who had benefited from land transactions donated enough money to complete a long abandoned building project designed for religious purposes. In other words, the people of **BSR** have made use of socio-economic changes to enrich their traditions.

To clarify the difference between development and modernization, Harrison (1988) states that:

*The former is a movement towards a valued state, which may or may not have been achieved in some other social context and which may not be achievable. The latter is a similar process. It is what is actually happening, for good or ill: a series of patterns with consequences that can be described, argued about and evaluated. If rated good or 'progressive', the changes may be considered as a contribution to development, but they need not be evaluated in this manner (p.156).*

This statement, to some extent, suggests that "*development*" is subjective, and depends upon the criteria and "*values*" used for judgement. Therefore, "*what specific individuals, groups or classes consider progress, or development, may or may not coincide with the empirical reality of modernization*" (Harrison 1992b, p.10)(also see Berger, Berger and Kellner 1974, Toyl 1987, and Harrison 1988).

Consequently, it is difficult to judge whether or not the effects from tourism should be considered "*development*". While, it is not difficult to establish that villagers in BSR are more "*modernized*" than they were before tourism (for example many own new modern houses, cars, and household appliances, and consume more luxury goods), it is very difficult to determine whether such changes can be called "*development*".

In fact, any attempt to define development requires some means of assessment (Harrison 1992b). For example, criteria may be established to determine if tourism contributes to the reduction of poverty, unemployment and inequality among villagers in a destination community. If so, it could perhaps be considered an agent of development. However, the operationalizing of such criteria (e.g. creating indicators for inequality) must be carefully undertaken.

#### *5.4 Dynamism of Tourism Development*

Over time, the type of tourism and tourists in a particular destination can change. As Butler (1980) observed in his concept of a tourist area cycle, in the very beginning of tourism development—the *exploring stage*, backpackers seeking adventure visit an area. Through various stages of tourism development—*involvement*, *development*, and *consolidation*, both types of tourism and tourists tend to change, e.g., from adventurous to mass tourism, and from backpackers to mass tourists. This is true in BSR where a small number of backpackers visited the village for cultural purposes in the first stage of tourism development more than 10 years ago. The first wave of change, however, was evident after the province of *Chiang Rai* had completed the main road linking the village and the town of *Chiang Saen*. The road construction project was a part of general provincial improvement plans. By that time, local people began to get involved in providing basic tourism facilities, such as souvenir shops, and restaurants. From then on, a larger number of tourists—both local and foreign—have visited BSR. Mass tourism has emerged in the village. Land prices also became higher by this period of time.

The second wave of change occurred after news about the construction of a casino in the area spread. This brought about even more dramatic changes to BSR. For example, land prices went up rapidly and reached the peak in 1989, and large-scale investment from outside was attracted to the area. Even more tourism facilities were developed, and, certainly, mass tourists have continued to be dominant in the area up to now.

So far, the local people's satisfaction with tourism in **BSR** has been high, due mainly to the perceived positive economic impacts. Nevertheless, there are some signs of potential problems in the future. Emerging environmental problems—water pollution, forest destruction in surrounding areas, the new generations' perception and reaction towards tourism, and increased investment from outside—meaning increased loss of control over local resources by the community, may be regarded as such potential. Whether the current levels of high satisfaction extend into the future partly depends on how well the inhabitants of **BSR** adjust to the situation. This is reviewed in the next section.

### *5.5 Adjustment to Tourism Development*

International tourism, as a key element in modernization, can affect countries both socially and culturally as a result of its economic implications (Harrison 1992b). For example, in **BSR**, tourism led to higher incomes for local people which in turn contributed to changes in women's economic roles in the household, and to higher levels of participation in traditional ceremonies. These social and cultural changes occurred largely as a result of economic changes brought about by tourism development. Changes induced by tourism give rise to adjustment by local people. This leads to the final research question (question 4), which asked how did **BSR** villagers adjust themselves to tourism development?

The synthesized results, and field work experience obtained during the course of this research are discussed here in an effort to answer this question. As the

tourism literature suggests (see 2.2.2 Concepts of Adjustment to Tourism Development), people may adjust to tourism development in various ways. Dogan (1989) proposes that resistance, retreatism, boundary maintenance, revitalization, and adoption are the five major strategies employed to cope with development changes. It is suggested that local people in BSR employed at least two of these strategies to cope with the changes brought about by tourism, revitalization and adoption.

*Revitalization* Although culture is not the major attraction of the Golden Triangle, BSR has a relatively unique and interesting cultural heritage. Its religious traditions and *Tai Yai* ethnicity serve as an attraction for some visitors. More typically, however, tourists, especially foreigners, come to the Golden Triangle because of notorious reputation as a former centre for opium production and trade or because of its unique location at the juncture of 3 countries—Myanmar, Laos and Thailand. BSR commands an excellent view of the common geographical boundary where the *Mekong* and *Ruak* rivers meet and divide the 3 countries.

The villagers were proud of their cultural heritage and therefore eager to demonstrate and interpret important cultural sites and activities to the large number of tourists that were drawn to the area. These included ruins of an ancient temple and Buddha images from the kingdom of *Chiang Saen* (*Hirun Nakorn Chai Buri Sri Chiang Saen*). These were located at *Phra Dhat Pu Khao* temple (or *Pu Khao* temple) which was created by *Phraya Lao Kaeo Kao Ma Muang*, a *Chiang Saen* Monarch in 759 AD (The Province of *Chiang Rai*, 1992), The History of *Chiang Rai* Province, 1990 and *Chiang Rai*'33, 1990). Various traditional ceremonies, such as, *Songkran*,

*Buad Luk Kaeo, Wai Jao Ban, Wai Jao Muang* as well as the traditional craftsmanship of semi precious stone cutting were also demonstrated.

Although some festivals and Buddhist ceremonies, such as, *Songkran, Buad Luk Kaeo* and *Wai Jao Ban*, have been well attended in the village, the village head and local residents wanted to ensure that the ceremonies would continue to be practised in the traditional ways. Thus, the specific details of the ceremonies were maintained as much as possible, both to conserve traditions and to promote awareness of traditional festivals among visitors.

Each year, for as many as 10 days in the middle of April, the Golden Triangle was overrun by thousands of tourists (both domestic and foreign) coming to participate in *the Songkran* festival. This was certainly the peak period for tourism at the Golden Triangle<sup>2</sup>. For the past few years, BSR has participated fully in the *Songkran* festival fair which includes both local and international boat racing (the latter including participants from China, Myanmar, Laos and Thailand), local and ethnic beauty contests and dances (with participants from the 4 listed nations above and from the various hilltribes). The fair is held by the *Chiang Saen* District Office at the town of *Chiang Saen*.

According to in-depth interviews with the village head and the village meeting reports from 1987-1992, BSR villagers have taken this festival seriously by partici-

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<sup>2</sup> This was evident during the *Songkran* festival in 1991 when the village chief in collaboration with some villagers could collect parking fees on the local school field and nearby areas—earning up to 20,000 *baht* (\$1,000) per day (2 *baht* per car, 10 *baht* per bus).

pating fully. They have been involved in such activities as selecting and training males and females to represent the village boat racing teams, arranging and holding a beauty pageant to select the Miss *Songkran* representative, as well as donating money to make all of these possible.

*Wai Jao Muang*, another ceremony that was considered to be important by the present village head, was revived from near oblivion into a full-scale celebration in 1992. Over a thousand people, both from **BSR** and nearby villages, came to participate in the ceremony. In the morning, participants prepared the food and decorated it with the traditional banana leaves and flowers as an offering to the *Jao Muang* (the spirit that takes care of the community). A rooster, considered as a sacrifice to the spirit, was set free in the nearby forest. The animal was supposed to live happily without any interference from anybody. After lunch was held, colourfully decorated rockets (made of bamboo) were fired into the sky, paying respect to the protecting spirit. Awards were given to winners after the rocket competition. Music and movies, which attracted a large crowd, were shown at night. The success of the ceremony fuelled villager support and helped to ensure its continuance as an annual event.

In addition to festivals and ceremonies, **BSR** villagers were also determined to familiarize visitors with the unique artifacts of the *Chiang Saen* kingdom including ancient Buddha images and temple ruins. Hence, religious ceremonies were held on site at *Pu Khao* temple (on the top of *Doi Siang Miang*—a hill north of **BSR**). Thousands of people visited the temple site each year.

Finally, as both a promotional effort and to help strengthen the local economy, the village head and board, in collaboration with the Department of Career Promotion, attempted to prepare a course in semi precious stone cutting for interested **BSR** villagers. The intention was to turn locally available gem stones, such as jade and ruby, into souvenirs. At present, most of the souvenirs being sold at the Golden Triangle are made elsewhere, such as *Mae Sai* and *Chiang Mai*.<sup>3</sup>

If profits from tourism are intended to be distributed to poorer people, efforts such as this should be taken seriously by the village board and the government. Such craft making can contribute additional economic benefits to the community, especially to poorer residents (Parnwell 1993). Other promising handicraft alternatives include weaving and wood carving.

These revitalization activities were catalyzed by tourism and made possible, in part, by tourism-related funds. A major reason for revitalization efforts was to demonstrate local pride to visiting tourists. The villagers enjoyed having tourists participate in their traditional ceremonies. The revitalization, therefore, was a strategy for adjusting to the changes brought about by tourism development.

*Adoption* Another form of adjustment utilized by **BSR** villagers was that of adoption. When dealing face to face with visitors from around the world, operation of the demonstration effect may have come into play. In other instances, a desire for

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<sup>3</sup> Compared to souvenirs made elsewhere, **BSR** products—e.g., silk screen T-shirts and knitted sweaters—are very small in quantity. Sixty percent of the respondents in the souvenir shop owner survey said that there was nothing for sale in their shops made in **BSR**. Of those who carried **BSR** products, 44 percent carried crispy snacks, 32 percent silk-screen T-shirts, and 25 percent other things, such as knitted sweaters.

communication and shared experiences may have led to the absorption of new products, styles and behaviours into the existing lifestyles of villagers. Food, drink and language are examples of the types of things adopted from visitors. Food adoption, in particular, was discussed in some detail in the section dealing with changes of consumption patterns. Briefly, however, local villagers adopted formerly "exotic" food and drinks (e.g. seafood and some fruits) as well as other western foods and beverages—into their everyday meals.

BSR villagers—especially, those working in souvenir shops, restaurants and guesthouses needed to learn the standard Thai language, as well as some English and French in order to deal effectively with tourists. Some Chinese was also useful in dealings with tourists from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Even those young people who had received the compulsory 6 years of education needed additional practise in standard Thai to more effectively serve the domestic market. Certainly, English and French were much more difficult to learn.

While some shop keepers were only interested in picking up a few of the necessary foreign words and phrases, others were interested in more comprehensive language acquisition for the sake of their business. The demand for foreign language training was reflected in both the household and souvenir shop owner surveys since language skills were necessary for most people's jobs. In the broader context of *Chiang Rai* province, the demand for language training far exceeded that which could be met by education institutions. For example, there were long waiting lists in the English and French language departments at the *Ratchapat* Institute (former *Chiang*

*Rai Teachers' College*)—some of those on the lists were working as employees at the Golden Triangle.

Whether absorbed or purposefully acquired, non-native languages have been adopted by villagers in an effort to make themselves more comfortable, and their business more profitable, in a touristic area. In conclusion, the villagers have adjusted to tourism development in 2 ways—through revitalization and adoption.

Other forms of adjustments, such as retreatism, boundary maintenance, and resistance, have not been observed in the village. A possible reason is that these adjustment strategies are more likely to occur when residents perceive negative effects from their contact with tourists. When local people do not approve of the changes brought about by tourism, they are more apt to retreat to their own culture and avoid contact with tourists. Alternatively, local people may want to establish a boundary between themselves and tourists, and present local culture to tourists in a different context. Strategies such as retreatism and boundary maintenance can help to revive local culture. In cases where conflicts caused by tourism are intense, local people may react violently towards tourists or tourism facilities. In the case of **BSR**, however, the positive perceptions of local residents towards tourism impacts, may explain why such adjustments have not been observed. Nevertheless, in the long run, as tourism development continues, community irritation and stress may tend to increase (Doxey 1975). This may eventually result in the development of new adjustment strategies which may include retreatism, boundary maintenance, or resistance.

### *5.6 Tourism as A Tool for Rural Development*

Several studies in developed countries, especially in north America and Europe, have shown that tourism can be a positive influence in rural areas (Geiz 1986, Liu and Var 1986, and Edwards 1989). Experiences in BSR have also been positive. Interestingly, this is in spite of the fact that tourism in the village was developed without the explicit planning involvement of government agencies or the village board. It is suggested that tourism, if well managed, can play an even greater role in stimulating rural development (Chow 1980). This claim, to some extent, implies that 1) tourism can be an effective tool for rural development, especially in less-developed countries, and 2) in order for tourism to fulfil such a function, it must be carefully planned and managed. It is very likely that tourism in BSR will be of greater benefit to rural development efforts if a proper planning process is undertaken.

Unfortunately, the tourism literature indicates that very little tourism planning has been undertaken in most less-developed countries. Nevertheless, some of the experience gained in developed countries which has focused on tourism planning for the profit of destination communities (see for example, Loukissas 1983, Murphy 1985, and Gilbert 1989) may be applied to a rural development efforts in less developed areas.

A community approach to tourism planning as discussed by Murphy (1985) seems to hold considerable promise for application in less developed countries. Murphy suggests the use of an ecological orientation in planning which treats

destination communities as ecosystems. Tourism resources are viewed as part of a destination community's ecosystem, and envisaged as a renewable resource, subject to the same pressure of overuse and degradation as forests, water, and air. This ensures that tourism resources are used in a nondegradational, and low-stress way. This helps to ensure community support and to protect the various environmental or cultural values which first made the area appealing.

It can be argued, however, that while sophisticated tourism planning has become relatively integrative, an important element has been overlooked; that of the needs and desires of local people in destination communities. By and large, it is important to replace the top-down approach, that has favoured governmental goals and business interests, with an approach centred on the goals and aspirations of the communities affected by tourism (Murphy 1985).

To reach the goal of tourism planning for the benefit of the destination community, planners should examine tourism as a system of four components, including 1) characteristics of environment and accessibility, 2) commercial and economic considerations, 3) social and cultural issues, and, 4) the managerial framework. This system is interactive; the four components affect the local community and, in turn, receive feedback from the community. It is of the utmost importance that the planning process focus on local residents and incorporate their participation and responses, if they are to profit from the tourism industry (Ibid). This is a practical way to ensure that a community is content with its role as tourist

destination, and it also provides an effective strategy for the use of tourism as a tool for rural development.

Because it is based on the potential of local people, it is anticipated that this interactive planning strategy can be applied in **BSR** without difficulty. Residents of **BSR** who have already participated significantly in tourism development without external support, will be more than happy to be involved in a planning process for their community. If given serious attention from the local government body, it is not inconceivable that tourism can be successfully put to use as an effective tool for rural development.

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## Appendix A: Data Requirements

### *1 Data Requirements on Villagers*

#### *1.1 Demographic, economic and background data:*

Age,  
 Sex,  
 Education,  
 Marital status,  
 Nationality,  
 Number of household members,  
 Birth place, years of residence,  
 Reason for moving to **BSR**,  
 Feeling of villagers towards outsiders living in **BSR**,  
 Main and second occupation now and 6 years ago,  
 Sources of labour in farming now and 6 years ago,  
 Main crops now and 6 years ago,  
 Wage per day now and 6 years ago,  
 Gains or loss in rice farming last season and 6 years ago,  
 Why still farm rice if lost?,  
 Second occupation now and 6 years ago.

#### *1.2 Tourism impacts on occupations and income:*

Types of goods produced for sale to tourists,  
 Number of household income earners having main and second occupation in tourism,  
 Household's income earned from main and second occupations in tourism,  
 Reasons why villagers can rely on tourism-related occupations,  
 Do men or women get more jobs and more income in tourism?,  
 Do more men or women move into tourism-related occupations?,  
 What age group moved into tourism-related occupations most?

#### *1.3 Tourism impacts on land use and ownership changes:*

Number of household with land,  
 Number of household buying or selling land within the last 6 years,  
 Number of plots bought or sold per household,  
 Prices and reasons for buying or selling land,  
 Number of houses demolished or built within the last 6 years,  
 Reasons for demolishing or building,  
 Differences of land prices between **BSR** and nearby village,  
 Reasons for the differences,

Villager's feelings towards non-local land buyers,  
 Reasons for such feelings,  
 Reasons why people bought land in **BSR**,  
 Does tourism cause high land prices?

**1.4 Villagers' Feelings towards Tourism Impacts:**

Villagers' feeling towards tourism at and tourists to the Golden Triangle (GT),  
 Reasons for such feelings,  
 Do villagers prefer Thai or foreign tourists?,  
 Reasons for such preferences,  
 Villagers' feeling towards the number of tourists to GT,  
 Would villagers like more tourists to GT?,  
 Do tourists brings much income to **BSR**?,  
 Who bring more income to **BSR**, Thai or foreign tourists?,  
 What villagers dislike about tourists.

**1.5 Tourism at the Golden Triangle:**

Are there seasonal differences in tourist visitation?,  
 On average, do more Thai or foreign tourists visit GT?,  
 Tourism trends at GT,  
 Should tourism at GT be further developed?, Why?,  
 Do villagers need any help from the government?,  
 What kind of need do they need?

**1.6 Changes in Household:**

Who is the household money keeper?,  
 When did he or she start doing this?,  
 Amount of household savings,  
 How do villagers save and invest money?,  
 What are expenditures villagers never had 6 years ago?,  
 How do villagers get most of the food?,  
 Did types of food consumed by villagers change within the last 6 years?,  
 How did villagers change their food?,  
 What kind of cooking fuel do villagers use?,  
 How do villagers get the fuel?,  
 Do villagers own firewood lot?,  
 Size of firewood lots (*rai*),  
 (For those who quit their firewood lots) How long have they quit?,  
 Why?  
 Now, for what purpose are those previous firewood lots used?,  
 Changes in sources of water (both for drinking and for other uses).

**1.7 Problems of the village:**

Kinds of criminal problems in BSR,  
 Did those problems increase in BSR within the last 6 years?,  
 Do villagers like the fact that a casino will be open in a nearby resort?,  
 Why?,  
 Are there any environmental problems in BSR?,  
 Are the problems tourism-related?,  
 Villagers' recommendations to improve BSR.

**1.8 Villagers' perception towards economic, social, cultural and land use impacts of tourism**

These data are of interval scale ranging from 1-5.  
 (Please see details in Appendix B: Questionnaire for Villagers)

**2 Data Requirements on Hotel Employees****2.1 Personal data:**

Sex,  
 Age,  
 Marital status,  
 Number of children,  
 Education,  
 Home land, type and location of accommodation,  
 Rent.

**2.2 Occupation data:**

How long have they worked in GT?,  
 How long have they worked in present positions?,  
 What are their positions?,  
 Are they satisfied with their jobs?, Why?,  
 Their salaries,  
 Are they satisfied with their salaries?,  
 What and where were their previous jobs before coming to GT?,  
 What were their salaries for those jobs?,  
 Do they want to work at GT for good?, Why?,  
 (For those who moved to live in BSR only) How do the BSR villagers react to the outsiders living in the village?,  
 Are hotel employees satisfied with tourism situations at GT?, Why?,  
 Trends of tourism at GT according to hotel employees.

***3 Data Requirement on Souvenir Shop Owners:***

Home land,

Nationality,

Are the ones who work full time male or female?,

Previous occupation,

Are their present incomes higher or lower than those from previous occupations?,

Do they own or rent the shop?,

How much is their rent?,

How long have they run their shops?,

Are most of their customers Thai or foreigners?,

If foreigners, where are most of them from?,

Where do shop owners get most of their goods?,

Are goods made in BSR?,

What is the goods?,

Do shop owners prefer Thai or foreign customers?, Why?,

Would shop owners like to change their occupation?, Why?

**Appendix B:  
Questionnaire for Household Survey  
(Translated from Thai)**

**I Demographic and Economic Data**

1. Name \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ years. Sex \_\_\_\_\_ House number \_\_\_\_\_  
 Education \_\_\_\_\_  
 Marital status ( )single ( )married ( )divorced ( )separated.  
 Nationality \_\_\_\_\_

2. Number of household members \_\_\_\_\_ Male(s) \_\_\_\_\_ Female(s)

**Age of household members:**

Ages	Males	Females
Less than 15 year		
15-20 years		
21-30 years		
31-40 years		
41-50 years		
51-60 years		
More than 60 years		
Total		

Grand total \_\_\_\_\_

3. How long have you lived in *BSR*?  
 ( ) Born here.  
 ( ) Born somewhere else, but have lived in *BSR* for \_\_\_\_\_ years.  
 Why did you move to *BSR*? \_\_\_\_\_

4. What is your main occupation?  
 ( ) Farmer.  
 What is/are your main crop(s)? \_\_\_\_\_  
 What is your main source of labour? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you use exchange in farming?

Yes.

No. When was the last time that you used exchange labour? \_\_\_\_\_

If you farm rice, do you gain or lose?

Gain.

Lose. Why do you still farm rice? \_\_\_\_\_

Trader or merchant.

What do you sell?

Souvenir

Food

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Employee/labourer in general (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

5. What is your second occupation?

None.

Farmer.

What is/are your main crop(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

What is your main source of labour?

Household labour.

Hired labour. What is the wage per day? \_\_\_\_\_

*baht*

Do you use exchange labour in farming?

Yes.

No.

When was the last time that you used exchange labour in farming? \_\_\_\_\_

If you farm rice, do you gain or lose?

Gain.

Lose. Why do you still farm rice? \_\_\_\_\_

Trader or merchant. What do you sell?

Souvenir  Food  Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Employee/labourer in general (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Other occupation (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

6. What was your main occupation 6 years ago?

Farmer.

What was/were your main crop(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

What was your main source of labour?

Household labour.

Hired labour. What is the wage per day? \_\_\_\_\_ baht  
Did you use exchange labour?

Yes.

No.

If you farmed rice, did you gain or lose?

Gained.

Lost. Why did you still farm rice? \_\_\_\_\_

Other occupation (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

7. What was your second occupation 6 years ago?

Farmer.     Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

8. Compare between your present and past main occupations, which one(s) yield(s)/yielded better income?

The present occupation yields much better income.

The present occupation yields averagely better income.

Averagely the same.

The past occupation yielded better income.

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

9. Does your household produce anything for sale to tourists?

No.

Yes. What is the product? \_\_\_\_\_

Does the product yield good income?  Yes.     No.

10. How many of your household members work (and gain income)? \_\_\_\_\_

How many of your household members work (and gain income) in *BSR*? \_\_\_\_\_

(The following questions cover every income earner in the household including the one being interviewed.)

**Main occupation**

No.	Sex	Age	Main Occupation	Months/yr*	Ann Inc**	T/Nt***

Total number of household members with tourism-related main occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Annual household income from tourism-related main occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
*baht*

- \*Number of months per year occupied by main occupation
- \*\*Annual income
- \*\*\*T =Tourism related  
 NT=Non Tourism-related

**Second occupation**

No.	Sex	Age	Second Occupation	Months/yr*	Ann Inc**	T/Nt***

Total number of household member with tourism-related second occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Annual household income from tourism-related second occupation \_\_\_\_\_  
*baht*

11. What is the difference between household expenses now and 6 years ago?  
 Present expenses are higher.  
 What expenses were never paid 6 years ago?  
 Expense on sticky rice.  
 Expense on food except sticky rice.  
 Expense on laundry.  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Averagely the same.  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
12. Do you think that the *BSR* villagers can rely on tourism related occupations?  
 Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 No, because \_\_\_\_\_
13. Do you think that tourism at the Golden Triangle helps the *BSR* women have more jobs?  
 Yes, for example, what jobs? \_\_\_\_\_  
 No.
14. Do you think that tourism at the Golden Triangle helps the *BSR* men have more jobs?  
 Yes, for example, what jobs? \_\_\_\_\_  
 No.
15. Men or women get more tourism-related jobs?  
 Men.             Women.
16. Do you agree that women get more income from tourism-related jobs than men?  
 Yes.             No.
17. Do you agree that poor people can be better off because of tourism-related jobs?  
 Yes.             No.
18. Do you agree that tourism makes the poor poorer, the rich richer?  
 Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 No, because \_\_\_\_\_
19. Within the last 6 years, are there any people outside *BSR* moving to live in the village? If yes, why?  
 Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 No. (proceed to question 21)  
 Don't know/not sure. (proceed to question 21)

20. How do the *BSR* villagers feel towards those outsiders living in the village?

- Satisfied, because \_\_\_\_\_
- Unsatisfied, because \_\_\_\_\_
- Indifferent.

## II Data on Tourism Impacts on Land

21. Does your household have its own land?

- Yes, only the land for housing.
- Yes, both the land for housing and farming.
- No. (proceed to question 24)

22. Within the last 6 years, did your household buy or sell any land in *BSR* or nearby areas?

1. Bought \_\_\_\_\_ plot(s) of land as follows:

No.	Size	Price/rai	Type*	Year	Reason to buy

\*Types of land: land for housing, rice farming and gardening.

2. Sold \_\_\_\_\_ plot(s) of land as follows:

No.	Size	Price/rai	Type*	Year	Reason to sell

23. Within the last 6 years, did your household demolish or build a house?  
 Neither demolished nor built a house.  
 Only built a new house without demolishing an old house.  
 Demolished an old house for \_\_\_\_\_ times, and built a new house for \_\_\_\_\_ times.  
 Why? \_\_\_\_\_
24. Do you think land prices in *BSR* are higher than nearby villages?  
 Yes, because  
 *BSR* is a touristic area.  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_  
 No.
25. Do you think land prices in *BSR* are going to be higher?  
 Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 No, because \_\_\_\_\_
26. Where are most of the people who bought the land in *BSR* from?  
 From *BSR*.  
 From *Chiang Saen* district.  
 From *Chiang Rai* province.  
 From the North of Thailand.  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
27. How do you feel towards the fact that people outside *BSR* bought the land in your village?  
 Satisfied, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 Indifferent.  
 Unsatisfied, because \_\_\_\_\_
28. Why did the people buy the land in *BSR*?  
 For speculation.  
 For their own tourist business.  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

### III Data on Tourism

29. How do you feel towards tourism at the Golden Triangle now?  
 Satisfied, because  
 tourism offers jobs/income.  
 tourism causes development in the area.  
 other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

- Indifferent, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 unsatisfied, because tourism contributes to  
 environmental problems.  
 criminal problems.  
 higher prices of things.  
 other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
30. Is the number of tourists to the Golden Triangle constant throughout the year?  
 Yes.       No.
31. Do you think the *BSR* villagers like to have tourists visiting the Golden Triangle?  
 Yes.  
 No.  
 Indifferent.
32. Do the *BSR* villagers prefer Thai or foreign tourists?  
 Thai tourists because \_\_\_\_\_  
 Foreign tourists because \_\_\_\_\_  
 Do not like both because \_\_\_\_\_  
 Like both because \_\_\_\_\_
33. Do more Thai or foreign tourists visit the Golden Triangle?  
 More Thai tourists.  
 More foreign tourists.
34. How do you think about the number of tourists visiting the Golden Triangle?  
 Too few.       Few.  
 Average.       Many.  
 Too many.
35. Would you like more or less tourists visiting the Golden Triangle?  
 More Thai tourists only.  
 More foreign tourists only.  
 More both.  
 Fewer Thai tourists only.  
 Fewer foreign tourists only.  
 Fewer both.  
 Not more or less for both.
36. Do tourists to the Golden Triangle bring good income to the *BSR* villagers?  
 Yes.       No.       Don't know/not sure.
37. Do Thai or foreign tourists bring better income to the *BSR* villagers?  
 Thai tourists.    Foreign tourists.    Don't know/not sure.

38. Is it true that many *BSR* villagers left their old jobs to work in tourism-related occupations?  
 Yes.       No.       Don't know/not sure.
39. Do more men or women move to tourism-related jobs?  
 More men.       More women.
40. Which group of the following people move to tourism-related jobs most:  
 Young people.  
 Middle-aged people.  
 Old people.
41. Is there anything about tourists that you do not like?  
 Yes, for example \_\_\_\_\_  
 No.
42. What is the trend of tourism in the Golden Triangle?  
 Tourism continues to develop.  
 Tourism is declining.  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
43. Do you think tourism at the Golden Triangle should be further developed?  
 Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 No, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 Don't know/not sure.
44. Do the *BSR* villagers need any help from the government regarding tourism in the Golden Triangle?  
 No.  
 Yes, they need  
 foreign language training. What language(s)? \_\_\_\_\_  
 a training course on elementary business management.  
 landscape improvement of the area.  
 waste disposal service.  
 other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

45. Please check only one number (1-5) for each statement.

- 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree,  
3 = not sure, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree.

**Villagers' Perception towards Impacts of Tourism**

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
<b>I. Economic Aspects</b>					
1. Tourism helps strengthen <i>BSR</i> 's economy.					
2. Tourism brings more jobs to the <i>BSR</i> villagers.					
3. Tourism helps decrease villager temporarily migration for jobs.					
4. Revenues from agriculture are more important for <i>BSR</i> than revenues from tourism.					
5. Tourism is a major cause of development in the village.					
6. Income from tourism is not equally distributed among villagers.					
<b>II. Social Aspects</b>					
7. Tourism in <i>BSR</i> is a major cause of loosening family ties in households.					
8. Since tourism developed in the village, fewer villagers have participated in village development activities.					
9. Since tourism developed in the village, the villagers have become less friendly and more selfish.					
10. Since tourism developed in the village, women have increased their economic roles in the household.					
11. Tourism-related jobs are better accepted by the society than those in agriculture.					
12. Tourism makes villagers proud of their village.					

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
<b>III. Cultural Aspects</b>					
13. Since tourism developed in the village, local traditions are now beginning to fade away.					
14. Since tourism developed in the village, fewer people have participated in traditional ceremonies.					
15. The <i>BSR</i> villagers have changed the way they dress according to the tourists.					
16. If there had been no tourism in the village, the villagers would better conserve their traditions.					
17. Since tourism has developed in the village, the younger decrease their respect for the elder.					
18. Tourism encourages cultural activities ,i.e., traditional ceremonies, e.g., <i>Songkran</i> .					
<b>IV. Land Use Aspects</b>					
19. <i>BSR</i> villagers get very good prices from land land selling because of tourism.					
20. The <i>BSR</i> villagers should not have sold their land.					
21. Tourism land speculation caused an increase in cheap ex-land-holder labour.					
22. Tourist areas at the Golden Triangle lack cleanliness and orderliness.					
23. Most of the land sold in the recent years has not been used for productive purposes.					
24. Future use of farming land in <i>BSR</i> will be restricted by expanding touristic use of land.					

#### IV Data on Changes in the Household

46. Who is the money keeper in your household now?

Husband. Did he start to do this within the last 6 years?

Yes. How many years ago? \_\_\_\_\_

Why did he start doing this? \_\_\_\_\_

Originally, who kept the money? \_\_\_\_\_

No, he has done this long time ago?

Wife. Did she start to do this within the last 6 years?

Yes. How many years ago? \_\_\_\_\_

Why did she start doing this? \_\_\_\_\_

Originally, who kept the money? \_\_\_\_\_

No, she has done this long time ago.

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Did she/he start to do this within the last 6 year?

Yes. How many years ago? \_\_\_\_\_

Why did she/he start doing this? \_\_\_\_\_

Originally, who kept the money? \_\_\_\_\_

No, she/he has done this long time ago.

47. How does your household save and invest money?

Put in the bank.

Buy land.

Buy gold.

Loan out money.

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

48. Would you give a rough estimation of your household's savings and investment?

Less than 10,000 *baht*.

More than 10,000 but not more than 100,000 *baht*.

More than 100,000 but not more than 1,000,000 *baht*.

More than 1,000,000 *baht*.

49. Within the last 6 years, did your household buy any of the following for the first time?

Items	Year of purchase
<input type="checkbox"/> TV	
<input type="checkbox"/> Video player/recorder	
<input type="checkbox"/> Laundry machine	
<input type="checkbox"/> Gas stove	
<input type="checkbox"/> Refrigerator	
<input type="checkbox"/> Water pump	
<input type="checkbox"/> Motorcycle	
<input type="checkbox"/> Pick-up truck/car	
<input type="checkbox"/> Ploughing machine	

50. How do you get most of the food for your household?

- Buying. How often do you buy food? \_\_\_\_\_
- Collecting/hunting.
- Both.

51. Within the last 6 years, have you changed types of food for your household?

- Yes. How has it been changed? \_\_\_\_\_
- No.

52. What kind of fuel for cooking is used in your household?

- Fuel wood. How do you get it? \_\_\_\_\_
- Charcoal. How do you get it? \_\_\_\_\_
- LPG.
- Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

53. Does your household have its own "fuel-wood plot"?

- Yes, still have it now. What is the size of it? \_\_\_\_\_ rai.
- No, not any more. What was the size of it? \_\_\_\_\_ rai.
- Until what year did you have it? \_\_\_\_\_
- Why did you quit your "fuel-wood plot"? \_\_\_\_\_
- Now, your previous "fuel-wood plot" is used as \_\_\_\_\_
- No, never had one.

54. What is the source of drinking and other-use water for your household?

- Drinking water:  Private open dug well.  
 Public open dug well.  
 Private drilled well. Built in (year)  
 Public drilled well.

Other-use water:  Same source.

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

#### V Data on Problems in the Village

55. Are there any environmental problems in the Golden Triangle area?

No.

Yes. Please specify the problem(s) and indicate if the problem(s) is(are) related to tourism.

\_\_\_\_\_  R\*  NR\*\*

\_\_\_\_\_  R  NR

\_\_\_\_\_  R  NR

\* R = related

\*\*NR = not related

56. Are there any criminal problems in the area?

No.

Yes. Please specify \_\_\_\_\_

57. Is there any gambling in the area?

No.

Yes. Please specify \_\_\_\_\_ When did it start? \_\_\_\_\_

Within the last 6 years, has there been more gambling in the area?

Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_

Same as before.

Less than before.

58. Is gambling a problem of the village?

Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_

No, because \_\_\_\_\_

59. Are you happy with having a casino in the area?

Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_

No, because \_\_\_\_\_

Not sure.

60. Please give any recommendations to further develop *BSR*.

- 1) \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix C:

Letter of Request for the Provincial Governor's Cooperation



ที่ ทบ ๐๕1๐1/๐4๗๑

คณะรัฐมนตรีและคณะมนตรีความมั่นคงแห่งชาติ  
มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล ศาลากลาง  
นครปฐม ๗๓17๐

14 กุมภาพันธ์ 2535

เรื่อง ขอลาขอความเห็นในการเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูล

เรียน ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดเชียงราย

ข้าพเจ้า นายวิชัย นุรักษ์ มีข้าราชการประจำระดับ 6 ภาควิชาสังคมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล ดำเนินการวิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโท เรื่อง ผลกระทบทางสังคม เศรษฐกิจ และการใช้ที่ดินของการท่องเที่ยวในบริเวณสามเหลี่ยมทองคำ ประเทศไทย เพื่อเสนอต่อมหาวิทยาลัยวลัยลักษณ์ ประเทศนครศรีธรรมราช ในการนี้ นายวิชัย นุรักษ์ มีความประสงค์ขอลาขอความเห็นและขอเข้ากราบเรียนขอความเห็นจากท่านต่อผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดเชียงรายและขอความเห็นจากท่านต่อผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดเชียงรายและขอความเห็นจากท่านต่อผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดเชียงราย (หมู่ 1 ตำบลเวียง) นอกจากนี้ยังมีความจำเป็นที่ต้องขอลาขอความเห็นจากท่านต่อผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดเชียงรายและขอความเห็นจากท่านต่อผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดเชียงรายและขอความเห็นจากท่านต่อผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดเชียงราย เพื่อที่จะได้นำข้อมูลดังกล่าวไปประกอบการพิจารณาของข้าพเจ้า

คณะรัฐมนตรีและคณะมนตรีความมั่นคงแห่งชาติจึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดพิจารณาให้ความเห็นแก่ข้าพเจ้า นายวิชัย นุรักษ์ เพื่อการนี้ด้วย ขอขอบพระคุณด้วย

*(Handwritten signature)*  
รองศาสตราจารย์  
นายวิชัย นุรักษ์  
(นายวิชัย นุรักษ์) (นายวิชัย นุรักษ์)  
ผู้อำนวยการจังหวัดเชียงราย  
ด.ช.วิ.ช.น.

สำนักงานเลขาธิการคณะรัฐมนตรี  
โทร. 4419102

ข้าพเจ้าเรียน นายอำเภอเมืองเชียงราย, ที่ดินอำเภอเมืองเชียงราย, ที่ดินอำเภอมันเือง และ  
ผู้ว่าราชการจังหวัดเชียงราย  
ที่ขอ: ม.ล.วิชัย นุรักษ์

*(Handwritten notes and signatures)*  
วิชัย น.ช. ๕๕.  
- เห็นควรให้  
อ.วิชัย น.ช. ๕๕.  
ที่ ก.ช. ๕๕. ๕๕.  
ให้ไปขอความเห็น  
จากนายอำเภอ  
- เห็นควรให้  
ส่งนายวิชัย น.ช.  
๕๕.

## Appendix D:

## Letters of Request for the Cooperation of the Hotel General Managers

๒๑๒ หมู่ ๑ ตำบลเวียง  
จ. เชียงแสน  
จ. เชียงราย ๕๓๑๕๐

๑๔ มีนาคม ๒๕๓๕

เรียน ผู้จัดการทั่วไปโรงแรมเทลต้าไกลเด็นโทรแองเกิ้ล  
สิงที่ส่งมาด้วย แบบสอบถามพนักงาน จำนวน ๑๐๐ ฉบับ

ด้วยผมนายธวัชชัย บุญโชติ ผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ ประจำภาควิชาสังคมศาสตร์ คณะสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล กำลังศึกษาต่อระดับปริญญาเอก สาขาภูมิศาสตร์ ณ มหาวิทยาลัยวิกตอเรีย ประเทศแคนาดา มีความประสงค์ขออนุญาตให้ทางโรงแรมฯ ช่วยส่งแบบสอบถามจำนวน ชุดแก่นักงานและลูกจ้างของโรงแรมฯ เพื่อประกอบการทำวิทยานิพนธ์ เรื่อง ผลกระทบทางสังคม เศรษฐกิจ วัฒนธรรมและการใช้ที่ดิน ณ สยามเหลี่ยมทองคำ ทั้งนี้วัตถุประสงค์ของแบบสอบถามจะเน้นหนักที่การสร้างงานอันเกี่ยวเนื่องกับการท่องเที่ยวเป็นหลัก ซึ่งข้อมูลดังกล่าวนี้มีความสำคัญอย่างยิ่งต่อการทำวิทยานิพนธ์ครั้งนี้

ดังนั้น ผมจึงขอความอนุเคราะห์ให้ทางโรงแรมฯ ได้โปรดกระจายแบบสอบถามดังกล่าวไปยังพนักงานและลูกจ้างในแผนกและระดับต่างๆของโรงแรมฯ เพื่อให้กรอกคำตอบ และได้โปรดรวบรวมแบบสอบถามที่กรอกแล้วเพื่อผมจะได้มาขอรับคืนต่อไป ขอขอบพระคุณมา ณ โอกาสนี้ และหวังเป็นอย่างยิ่งว่าทางโรงแรมฯ จะให้ความอนุเคราะห์อย่างดียิ่งเพื่อความสำเร็จของวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ และเพื่อประโยชน์ทางด้านการพัฒนาการวิจัยเกี่ยวกับผลกระทบของการท่องเที่ยวในประเทศไทยต่อไป

ขอแสดงความนับถือ

(นายธวัชชัย บุญโชติ)

๒๑๒ หมู่ ๑ ตำบลเวียง

อ. เชียงแสน

จ. เชียงราย ๕๓๐๕๐

๒๖ มีนาคม ๒๕๓๔

เรียน ผู้จัดการทั่วไปโรงแรมบ้านโบราณ  
 ลี้ที่ส่งมาด้วย แบบสอบถามพนักงาน จำนวน ๑๐๐ ฉบับ

ด้วยผมนายธวัชชัย นุชโชติ ผู้ช่วยคณาจารย์ ประจำภาควิชาสังคมศาสตร์ คณะสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล กำลังศึกษาต่อระดับปริญญาเอก สาขาภูมิศาสตร์ ณ มหาวิทยาลัยวิกตอเรีย ประเทศแคนาดา มีความประสงค์ขออนุเคราะห์ให้ทางโรงแรมฯ ช่วยส่งแบบสอบถามจำนวน๑๐๐ชุดแก่พนักงานและลูกจ้างของโรงแรมฯ เพื่อประกอบการทำวิทยานิพนธ์เรื่อง ผลกระทบทางสังคม เศรษฐกิจ วัฒนธรรมและการใช้ที่ดิน ความเหลื่อมทองคำ ทั้งนี้วัตถุประสงค์ของแบบสอบถามจะเน้นหนักที่การสร้างงานอันเกี่ยวเนื่องกับการท่องเที่ยวเป็นหลัก ซึ่งข้อมูลดังกล่าวนี้มีความสำคัญอย่างยิ่งต่อการทำวิทยานิพนธ์ครั้งนี้

ดังนั้น ผมจึงขอความอนุเคราะห์ให้ทางโรงแรมฯ ได้โปรดกระจายแบบสอบถามดังกล่าวไปยังพนักงานและลูกจ้างในแผนกและระดับต่างๆของโรงแรมฯ เพื่อให้กรอกคำตอบ และได้โปรดรวบรวมแบบสอบถามที่กรอกแล้วเพื่อผมจะได้มาขอรับคืนต่อไป ขอขอบพระคุณมา ณ โอกาสนี้ และหวังเป็นอย่างยิ่งว่าทางโรงแรมฯ จะให้ความอนุเคราะห์อย่างดียิ่งเพื่อความสำเร็จของวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ และเพื่อประโยชน์ทางด้านกาพัฒนาการวิจัยเกี่ยวกับผลกระทบของการท่องเที่ยวในประเทศไทยต่อไป

ขอแสดงความนับถือ

(นายธวัชชัย นุชโชติ)

**Appendix E:**  
**Questionnaire for Hotel Employee Survey (Translated from Thai)**  
**(Self-administered)**

*Answers to this questionnaire will be kept in secret for academic use only. Your sincere answers will be very useful to this study.*

1. Sex  male  female Age \_\_\_\_\_ years.  
 Marital status  single  married  separated  divorced  
 Number of children \_\_\_\_\_  
 Education:  Grade 4  
 Grade 6  
 Grade 9  
 Grade 12  
 Post-secondary ed., 2 year training programme  
 Post-secondary ed., 4 year training programme  
 Bachelor's degree  
 other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. Where is your home land?  
 *Ban Sob Ruak* (proceed to 4)  
 *Amphoe Chiang Saen* (out of BSR)  
 *Amphoe* \_\_\_\_\_ *Changwat* \_\_\_\_\_
  
3. Have you moved to live in BSR?  
 Yes.  
 No.
  
4. Where do you live now?  
 Room provided by the employer. (proceed to 6)  
 Parents' house or relative's house. (proceed to 6)  
 Own house. (proceed to 6)  
 Rent a room in BSR.  
 Rent a room out of BSR.  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. How much is your rent? \_\_\_\_\_ baht/month.
  
6. How long have you worked in the Golden Triangle?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ year(s) \_\_\_\_\_ month(s)
  
7. How long have you worked in the present position?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ year(s) \_\_\_\_\_ month(s)

8. My present position is \_\_\_\_\_
9. Are you satisfied with your job?  
 Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 No, because \_\_\_\_\_
10. My salary is \_\_\_\_\_ *baht*
11. Are you satisfied with your salary?  
 Yes.  
 No.
12. What was your previous job before you come to work at the present place?  
 (Please specify job) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Where did you do that job?  
 In BSR.  
 In *Amphoe Chiang Saen*.  
 In *Amphoe* \_\_\_\_\_ *Changwat* \_\_\_\_\_  
 What was your salary while you did that job? \_\_\_\_\_ *baht*.
13. Do you think you will live here for good?  
 Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 No, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 Not sure.
14. (For those who moved to live in BSR only) How do the BSR villagers react to the outsiders living in the village?  
 Friendly.  
 Not friendly.  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
15. Are you satisfied with tourism situations in the Golden Triangle?  
 Yes, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 No, because \_\_\_\_\_  
 Indifferent, because \_\_\_\_\_
16. What is the trend of tourism in the Golden Triangle?  
 Better than now because \_\_\_\_\_  
 Worse than now because \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**Thank you very much for your cooperation.**

**Appendix F:**  
**Questionnaire for Souvenir Shop Owners**  
**(Translated from Thai)**

1. Is **BSR** your native land?  
 Yes.  
 No. Where is your native land? \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. The one(s) who work(s) full time at your shop is (are) male or female?  
 Male.  
 Female.
  
3. What was your previous occupation?  
 Farmer.  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  
4. Compare your incomes from the present and previous occupations, which one are higher?  
 Previous incomes were higher.  
 Present incomes are higher.
  
5. Do you have an ID card or Pink card (issued by the government for landed immigrants)?  
 An ID card.  
 A Pink card. What is your nationality?  
 Myanmar.  
 Laos.  
 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  
6. Do you own or rent your shop?  
 Own.  
 Rent. How much is the rent? \_\_\_\_\_ *baht/year*.
  
7. How long have you run this shop? \_\_\_\_\_ year(s) \_\_\_\_\_ month(s).
  
8. Are most of your customers Thai or foreigners?  
 Thai.  
 Foreigners. Where are they from? \_\_\_\_\_
  
9. Where do you get most of your goods? \_\_\_\_\_
  
10. Is there any goods that is made in **BSR**?  
 Yes. Give some examples of the products \_\_\_\_\_  
 No.

11. Do you prefer Thai or foreign customers?

- Thai customers because \_\_\_\_\_
- Foreign customers because \_\_\_\_\_

12. Would you like to be in this souvenir business or change your occupation?

- Would like to be in this business because \_\_\_\_\_
- Change to other occupation because \_\_\_\_\_

### *Appendix G:*

#### *Results of Factor Analysis and Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis*

The results can be summarized as follows:

**I** The factor analysis created 4 factors to be used in the stepwise multiple analysis:

**Factor 1** (the employment factor) is represented by

1) number of household members working in **BSR** (bearing 91 percent loading in the factor),

2) number of household members income earners (91 percent loading),

and

3) number of household members having main job in tourism (82 percent loading).

**Factor 2** (the time factor) is represented by

1) length of residency in **BSR** (years) (78 percent loading), and

2) age (of the respondents) (77 percent loading),

**Factor 3** (the wealth factor) is represented by

1) household savings (83 percent loading),

2) number of land plots bought in the last 6 years (75 percent loading),

and

3) number of land plots sold in the last 6 years (61 percent loading).

**Factor 4** is represented by number of household members having second job in tourism (84 percent loading).

II The stepwise regression analyses revealed that:

1) The employment factor (Factor 1) accounted for 12 percent of the variance of perceptions towards economic impacts of tourism (Y). The equation:  $Y = 25.1818 + .7579$  Employment Factor,

2) The wealth factor (factor 3) accounted for 18 percent of the variance of perceptions towards cultural impacts of tourism (Y). The equation:  $Y = 24.0545 + 1.1417$  Wealth Factor,

3) The time factor (factor 2) accounted for 13 percent of the variance of perceptions towards land use impacts of tourism (Y). The equation:  $Y = 16.4922 + .7013$  Time Factor, and

4) No factor can predict perception towards social and overall impacts of tourism.

Details of the analysis results are shown below:

FACTOR VARIABLES=AGE ED YRINSR INCOMMEM WORKSR MJINTOUR SJINTOUR PCBSGHT  
 PCSSOLD SAVINGS INCAUT INCSJT  
 /ROTATION=VARIMAX  
 /PLOT=EIGEN  
 /SAVE=REG (ALL FSLS).

This FACTOR analysis requires 19888 ( 19.4K) BYTES of memory.

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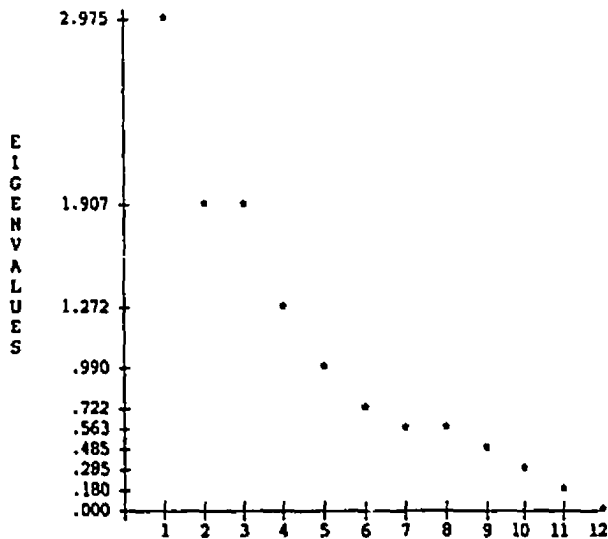
----- FACTOR ANALYSIS -----

Analysis Number 1 Listwise deletion of cases with missing values

Extraction 1 for Analysis 1, Principal-Components Analysis (PC)

Initial Statistics:

Variable	Communality	Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
AGE	1.00000	1	2.97463	24.8	24.8
ED	1.00000	2	1.97308	16.4	41.2
YRINSR	1.00000	3	1.90724	15.9	57.1
INCOMMEM	1.00000	4	1.27157	10.6	67.7
WORKSR	1.00000	5	.98953	8.2	76.0
MJINTOUR	1.00000	6	.72209	6.0	82.0
SJINTOUR	1.00000	7	.61233	5.1	87.1
PCBSGHT	1.00000	8	.56257	4.7	91.8
PCSSOLD	1.00000	9	.48462	4.0	95.8
SAVINGS	1.00000	10	.28533	2.4	98.2
INCAUT	1.00000	11	.18021	1.5	99.7
INCSJT	1.00000	12	.03681	.3	100.0



PC Extracted 4 factors.

----- FACTOR ANALYSIS -----

Factor Matrix:

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4
AGE	.33095	-.39390	-.57026	.15402
ED	-.24285	.54554	.27777	-.00794
YRINSR	.21097	-.41441	-.63925	.01396
INCOMEM	.85396	-.21434	.30061	.13345
WORKSR	.84326	-.15954	.33809	.15291
MJINTOUR	.81189	.25308	.19393	-.32890
SJINTOUR	-.11305	-.34777	.48986	.59945
PCSBGHT	.01005	.56540	-.28313	.42073
PCSSOLD	.62686	.24730	-.32227	.39929
SAVINGS	.04970	.70755	-.25666	.39375
INCHUT	.48545	.45749	.09296	-.41374
INCSJT	-.13474	-.03785	.59623	.27607

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality	Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
AGE	.61359	1	2.97463	24.8	24.8
ED	.43381	2	1.97308	16.4	41.2
YRINSR	.62508	3	1.90724	15.9	57.1
INCOMEM	.88336	4	1.27157	10.6	67.7
WORKSR	.87423				
MJINTOUR	.86899				
SJINTOUR	.73303				
PCSBGHT	.57695				
PCSSOLD	.71740				
SAVINGS	.72401				
INCHUT	.62478				
INCSJT	.45129				

Varimax Rotation 1, Extraction 1, Analysis 1 - Kaiser Normalization.

Varimax converged in 8 iterations.

Rotated Factor Matrix:

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4
AGE	.10035	.77281	.07395	-.02858
ED	-.12291	-.59790	.23850	-.06584
YRINSR	-.03946	.77768	-.01600	-.13596
INCOMEM	.90689	.17421	-.06526	.16219
WORKSR	.91121	.11445	-.03067	.17287
MJINTOUR	.81973	-.11315	.00934	-.42912
SJINTOUR	.08695	-.08661	-.06902	.84451
PCSBGHT	-.08550	-.05326	.75205	-.03496
PCSSOLD	.47259	.33768	.61418	-.05309
SAVINGS	-.03925	-.14985	.82927	-.11096
INCHUT	.47767	-.26807	.09315	-.56220
INCSJT	.09978	-.40825	-.09388	.51561

----- FACTOR ANALYSIS -----

Factor Transformation Matrix:

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4
FACTOR 1	.92958	.28803	.13064	-.18936
FACTOR 2	.00139	-.59136	.69073	-.41614
FACTOR 3	.36806	-.73448	-.36634	.43688
FACTOR 4	.02040	.16695	.60960	.77466

4 PC EXACT FACTOR SCORES WILL BE SAVED WITH ROOTNAME: FSULS

FOLLOWING FACTOR SCORES WILL BE ADDED TO THE ACTIVE FILE:

NAME	LABEL
FSULS1	REGR FACTOR SCORE 1 FOR ANALYSIS 1
FSULS2	REGR FACTOR SCORE 2 FOR ANALYSIS 1
FSULS3	REGR FACTOR SCORE 3 FOR ANALYSIS 1
FSULS4	REGR FACTOR SCORE 4 FOR ANALYSIS 1

This procedure was completed at 10:08:03

REGRESSION VARIABLES=ATT1 FSULS1 FSULS2 FSULS3 FSULS4  
 /DEP=ATT1  
 /METHOD=STEPWISE.

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\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \*\*\*\*\*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. ATT1 attitude toward economic imp

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. FSULS1 REGR FACTOR SCORE 1 FOR ANALYSIS 1

Multiple R .34665  
 R Square .12017  
 Adjusted R Square .10357  
 Standard Error 2.07026

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	31.02549	31.02549
Residual	53	227.15633	4.28597

F = 7.23885 Signif F = .0095

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
FSULS1	.757988	.281726	.346654	2.691	.0095
(Constant)	25.181818	.279154		90.208	.0000

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
FSULS2	-.114048	-.121587	1.000000	-.883	.3811
FSULS3	.007263	.007743	1.000000	.056	.9557
FSULS4	.061632	.065706	1.000000	.475	.6369

End Block Number 1 PIN = .050 Limits reached.

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This procedure was completed at 10:08:26

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \*\*\*\*\*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. ATT2 attitude toward social impac

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000

End Block Number 1 PIN = .050 Limits reached.

No variables entered/removed for this block.

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This procedure was completed at 10:10:51

FIN.

End of Include file.

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \*\*\*\*\*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. ATTJ attitude toward cultural imp

Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 POUT .1000

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. FSULS3 REGR FACTOR SCORE 3 FOR ANALYSIS 1

Multiple R .42990  
R Square .18481  
Adjusted R Square .16943  
Standard Error 2.42025

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	70.38393	70.38393
Residual	53	310.45243	5.85759

F = 12.01585 Sig. F = .0011

----- Variables In the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
FSULS3	1.141668	.329354	.429900	3.466	.0011
(Constant)	24.054545	.326346		73.709	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
FSULS1	.056127	.062165	1.000000	.449	.6552
FSULS2	-.098006	-.108549	1.000000	-.787	.4346
FSULS4	-.139462	-.154464	1.000000	-1.127	.2648

End Block Number 1 PIN = .050 Limits reached.

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This procedure was completed at 10:16:51

FIN.

End of Include file.

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \*\*\*\*\*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. ATT4 attitude toward land use Imp  
Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 PCUT .1000

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. FSULS2 REGR FACTOR SCORE 2 FOR ANALYSIS 1

Multiple R .35358  
R Square .12502  
Adjusted R Square .10002  
Standard Error 1.65217

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	13.65079	13.65079
Residual	35	95.53840	2.72967

F = 5.00090 Signif F = .0318

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
FSULS2	.701341	.313621	.353581	2.236	.0318
(Constant)	16.492150	.272476		60.527	.0000

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
FSULS1	.130925	.138607	.980665	.816	.4201
FSULS3	.283190	.301149	.989476	1.841	.0743
FSULS4	.153858	.164042	.994644	.970	.3391

End Block Number 1 PIN = .050 Limits reached.

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This procedure was completed at 10:21:15

\*\*\*\*\* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \*\*\*\*\*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. ATTFIN attitude toward tourism in  
Block Number 1. Method: Stepwise Criteria PIN .0500 PCUT .1000

End Block Number 1 PIN = .050 Limits reached.

No variables entered/removed for this block.

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This procedure was completed at 10:28:57

FIN.

End of include file.