GLOBAL TOURISM AND COMMUNITY LIFE: TOWARD A RESPONSIBLE TOURISM FRAMEWORK

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ABSTRACT

This research assesses the impacts of tourism on those living in the Tha Tien community located in the old royal center of Bangkok, Thailand. By utilizing a place-making concept, the researcher constructs an analytical framework that explains how external forces reshape a place and provides a better understanding of the interaction and confrontation between tourism and the community. As defined in this research, four key attributes of place-based communities include the physical environment, place image and identity, community connections, and political capability.

The results from the case study analysis demonstrate that small-scale, locally-owned tourism development tends to benefit the community as it leads to the revitalization of the local economy, the improvement of the physical environment, and the preservation of historic buildings. On the other hand, large-scale market-led tourism development engenders the potential degradation of place attributes in various ways. While the local people's perceived image of their community is quite positive, the public and private place marketers view the area as degraded, unsafe, and unattractive. As a result, the public and institutional sectors have initiated controversial plans to conceal the area, remove structures deemed to interfere with the streamlined heritage concept, and has even proposed to uproot the neighborhood. Meanwhile, the private sector has developed tourism-marketing activities that bypass the community and its local culture. Conflicts over tourism benefits have undermined the close connections among residents. Most importantly, centralized tourism development has led to the weakening of local political capabilities and the exclusion of locals from tourism decision-making.
To minimize the above impacts and establish responsible tourism in the Tha Tien community, the study provides a set of policy recommendations based on four key principles: tourism planning, heritage marketing, place-based development, and participation. The main objective of tourism planners is to balance between the destabilizing forces of tourism and the enhancement of the sense of place. Planners need to encourage institutions, local people, and the tourism industry to create a social fabric that not only serves commercial purposes but also reinforces mutual respect, beneficial relationships, and social identities.
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<td>ADB</td>
<td>Asian Development Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>B&amp;B</td>
<td>Bed and Breakfast</td>
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<td>BMA</td>
<td>Bangkok Metropolitan Administration</td>
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<td>BOI</td>
<td>Board of Investment</td>
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<td>BTD</td>
<td>Bangkok Tourism Division</td>
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<td>CBD</td>
<td>Central Business District</td>
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<td>CCDKR</td>
<td>Committee for Conservation and Development of Krung Rattanakosin</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPB</td>
<td>Crown Property Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCP</td>
<td>Department of City Planning</td>
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<td>DTCP</td>
<td>Department of Town and Country Planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>EIA</td>
<td>Environment Impact Assessment</td>
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<td>KMITL</td>
<td>King Mongkut’s Institute of Technology Ladkrabang</td>
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<td>NCHR</td>
<td>National Commission on Human Rights</td>
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<td>NESDB</td>
<td>National Economic and Social Development Board</td>
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<td>NESDP</td>
<td>National Economic and Social Development Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organization</td>
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<td>NTO</td>
<td>National Tourism Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>ONEP</td>
<td>Office of Natural Resource and Environment Policy and Planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>SME</td>
<td>Small and Medium Enterprise</td>
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<td>TAT</td>
<td>Tourism Authority of Thailand</td>
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<td>THAI</td>
<td>Thai Airways International</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environment Programme</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Tourism Organization</td>
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<td>WTTC</td>
<td>World Travel and Tourism Council</td>
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1. The Global-Local Dilemma: A Challenge to Urban Communities

Tourism is not only considered the world's largest industry, but is also undoubtedly part of the macro forces described in much of the literature on globalization. Tourism becomes important in globalization because the consumption of tourism experiences represents a key growth sector in many contemporary economies. For decades, tourism has long been a major source of revenues for several countries, particularly in the Third World. Based on their limited financial resources, governments of developing countries have had to be selective in fostering activities with the greatest economic and social potential. Facing debt burdens and worsening trade terms, many of them have turned to the promotion of their tourism industry in the hope that it will bring foreign exchange, investment, and employment opportunities.

Many cities worldwide have entered into a vigorous international competition for attracting tourists and gaining position in the global tourism market. Governments have adopted image advertising to promote cities as uniquely wonderful places to visit, while constructing a range of facilities and infrastructure used to attract and nurture tourists. Urban regimes\(^1\) have especially focused on the competition for tourists because, unlike other economic sectors where central cities lose out to peripheral areas, in the case of

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\(^1\) The regime concept was originally developed to explain urban politics in American cities. The concept rejects both pluralist assumptions that governmental authority is adequate to make and carry out policies, and structuralist assumptions that economic forces determine policy. It instead "explores the middle ground between" them (Stone 1993).
tourism, the urban core dominates the industry. This is because older central cities contain various built-in advantages to tourism development, for example, history, architectural heritage, inimitable cultural assets and qualities, and clusters of tourist facilities.

While tourism has become increasingly important to many cities and destination communities, the most challenging issue is how they can sustain their social relations, local identity, and sense of place in the face of globalized tourism political economy. Despite the gains achieved in tourism growth, the globalization of mass tourism can generate a potential negative impact on the destination cities in terms of their culture and social relations. Uncontrolled mass tourism can cause social changes in the host societies, including changes in traditional lifestyles, family relationships, and individual behavior or community structure. The tourism industry also generates various cultural impacts on host communities as it transforms local traditions through the commodification process. Tourists consume images or representations of a society; and the reality is covered by multiple levels of representation, which leads to the problem of “staged authenticity” (MacCannell 1989). Citizens, on the other hand, have a minimal degree of participation in tourism decision-making processes, as most of tourism plans and policies are formulated by the national government agencies, especially in Third World countries, in a top-down fashion.

Like other developing countries, Thailand has attempted to encourage tourism industry expansion in order to boost foreign investment and reverse downward financial trends. Throughout the past few decades, tourism has become increasingly important to
Thailand in its shift from an agricultural to a more industrialized and service-based economy. In particular, after the economic and financial crises that swept East and Southeast Asia in mid-1997, the Thai government has brought the region to a crossroads in its policies toward tourism development. To counteract the economic turmoil, the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) – the country’s leading national tourism organization – initiated a series of promotional campaigns to attract tourists and propel the industry back to its status as the top foreign exchange earner. One of TAT’s major campaigns is to promote the country as a destination for cultural tourism by focusing on the royal heritage of the Rattanakosin City, the old royal center of Bangkok that has been developed into Thailand’s most popular tourist-historic city. Since the 1980s, cultural heritage became the promotional catch phrase for several national events aiming to attract overseas tourists. With the same goal in mind, beginning in the mid-1990s, the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) inaugurated new policies and programs to revive the Rattanakosin area by seeking to attract more service-oriented growth industries like tourism.

From a macro-economic perspective, the tourism industry in Krung Rattanakosin performs quite well. However, beneath that condition is a tendency toward negative consequences undermining such growth, particularly those of the social impacts. Driven by rapid tourism growth, the process of exploitation has had a significant impact on the quality of life and local culture. An influx of visitors makes the old town area crowded, together with the problem of traffic congestion and a lack of parking. Local residents find their places and spaces dominated by those with different behaviors, languages, and
financial circumstances. Residents are loosing local control over their cultural resources, as most tourism-related businesses are owned or operated by outsiders. They also suffer from a loss of sense of place, as their surroundings are transformed to accommodate the requirements of tourism. The contradiction emerges between the ways in which tradition and heritage are perceived at the local level and the ways in which they are promoted at the national level.

Krung Rattanakosin can be analyzed in terms of conflicts between two disciplines: urban conservation and tourism development. Traditionally, preservation planning in Thailand has focused upon the intrinsic quality of buildings and sites. The implementation of this approach, for more than a century, has resulted in the creation of comprehensive and rigorous legal frameworks enforced by state agencies. Governments award the designation "national monument" to individual buildings, sites, or whole towns using national legislative or financial instruments. The logic of preserving the built environment leads ultimately to a complete halt to development and change and a fossilization of the physical fabric and structure of the city. On the other hand, tourism planning and marketing have been primarily oriented toward the needs of tourists and the provision of interesting tourist experiences. Conservation in the interest of tourism arguably ignores the depth and dynamism of the urban environment in favor of the recreation of aesthetic and external qualities intended to appeal to the visitor's perceptions. Driven by the growth of heritage tourism, Krung Rattanakosin is identified as a 'product' and its various users are viewed as 'consumers'. Like other goods, the historic city and
urban past is modified into a tradable commodity. This leads to the conflict between preservation and development, as stability and change are juxtaposed.

An area that has been affected by the growth of the tourism industry is the old inner-city community of Tha Tien located in Krung Rattanakosin. Since the mid-20th century, the Rattanakosin precinct has experienced a decline of its residential population and an out-migration of its larger business and financial concerns (Askew 2002). Inner areas of Bangkok have developed new or complementary specialized tourism-related functions. As a neighborhood of Krung Rattanakosin, Tha Tien has experienced a similar phenomenon. The Tha Tien community, for example, has been through a long process of physical and socio-economic evolution. The community has been transformed from a location of royal residence in the 19th century, to a commercial and water-based transportation hub of Bangkok in the mid-20th century, and to the prime area for contesting urban regeneration and tourism development in the 21st century. Such an evolution needs to be understood not only in terms of its changing urban economy and its relationship to regional and world processes, but also in its relationships to the specific histories, functions, sociopolitical relations, and characteristics of the area. The experience of Tha Tien community reflects the continuing development of inner city settlements as well as the interaction and confrontation between a growing capitalist market economy of tourism and a small-scale urban society.

One of the most threatening impacts of tourism-related government action is the proposed eviction of the Tha Tien community for the creation of a riverfront park, tourist-friendly walkways, and aesthetically pleasing vista of Wat Phra Chetuphon or Wat
Pho² – a Buddhist temple located adjacent of the Grand Palace. Attempts to uproot the community for tourism development inevitably will cause great disruptions of the lives and livelihoods of local residents, albeit with different degrees of warnings, access to compensation, and consultation about the resolution of their predicament. The process of state-sponsored regeneration and tourism-related development also threatens the Rattanakosin City’s formerly place-based neighborhoods by promoting a more homogenized landscape, which consequently erodes distinctiveness and difference. Such process poses the challenges to tourism development in the old urban community, in which the inequality of different stakeholders – those who are affected by the causes or consequences of tourism development – becomes a serious issue.

In terms of tourism management, decision-making, and the production of leisure spaces, conflicts and tensions among key players emerge. The most common incidents of conflicts occur between the government and community. Problems include the extent to which host residents feel a sense of ownership and participation in decision-making processes. The formation of several tourism plans and projects reveals that the development approach in Bangkok’s historic town has long been driven by the government. Hence, attention needs to be paid to the allocation of tourism resources, the generation of tourism policy, and the politics of tourism development, which have been ignored or neglected by a majority of tourism studies.

² Originally built in the 16th century, the temple was reestablished by King Rama I (1782-1809) as a royal institution and subsequently restored by King Rama III (1824-1851) as a school of universal learning (e.g., the arts, Buddhist philosophy, astrology, and medicine) (Bell 2003). It is also known as the birthplace of traditional Thai massage. Today, Wat Pho is one of the main tourist attractions in the Rattanakosin City.
In this regard, this dissertation seeks to contribute to a body of knowledge of tourism development and urban planning by considering the influence of global tourism on community life of those living in the place-bound locality of Tha Tien. The researcher attempts to understand how tourism has been adopted as alternative to the urban regeneration in the Rattanakosin City and how it has impacted social relations and the dynamism of the human environment in the context of Thai society. The concept of place and place-making process is used as an analytical framework for the analysis and is of central importance to the quality of community life. Essential to the maintenance of a place-based community is a distinctiveness of the physical landscape, a feeling of togetherness or connections among inhabitants, a sense of place or affective sentiment held regarding a particular locale, and constructed meanings and values of people-place interactions. The celebration and enhancement of community life and place attachment need to be incorporated into urban conservation and heritage tourism development policies. As Orbasli (2000) notes,

“Visiting historic towns is not about going to a museum or reliving history, and urban conservation is not about preserving the past as an archaeological ruin; it is about enhancing an area which has qualities built upon from the past, as a contemporary living environment. Tourism has to be made to work for historic towns, enhance rather than destroy, support rather than siphon, most of all value and depth, the heart and the spirit of a place. For tourism too, it is the local distinctiveness that is the added value. A valued environment in which people want to live and work is also going to be appreciated by visitors” (p.4).

Contrary to Orbasli’s statement, the Thai government has shown little consideration and sensitivity to the place and is responding poorly to the needs of the
local communities. Today, several conservation and development plans, rehabilitation strategies, and detailed studies exist for the Rattanakosin City, in general, and some of its residential neighborhoods, in particular. However, most of these plans focus mainly on the protection of the city’s character, the conservation of historic buildings, and the improvement of physical landscape. The Rattanakosin Master Plan, for example, focuses on the restoration of the old royal city and the creation of visual vistas and open spaces at the expense of uses deemed unsympathetic to the aesthetic paradigm for the heritage district. Proposed eviction plans of several inner-city communities including Tha Tien reflect that local urban pasts and places, or what Örbasli (2000) calls ‘the contemporary living environment’, are overlooked by the public sector. Moreover, there is an absence of a comprehensive tourism master plan that provides a framework for long-term tourism development in the historic city. Whereas many of the strategic plans have acknowledged the need to involve local people in planning and decision-making process, actual practices do not reflect these concerns.

Another major contribution of this research is to establish a guiding policy framework for community-based tourism development in Thailand by adopting a concept of ‘responsible tourism’ as well as to provide practical implications of such concept in the case study. Responsible tourism is a new robust paradigm for developing and managing tourism. The term responsible tourism does not refer to a brand or type of tourism. Rather, it encompasses a framework and a set of practices that aims to promote economic resilience, environmentally-friendly practices, and socio-cultural vitality in tourist destinations through planning, management, marketing, and good governance
mechanisms. It is about tourism stakeholders (i.e., governments, local communities, and tourism businesses) considering the impacts of their actions, and taking responsibility for maximizing the positive impacts of tourism while minimizing the negative ones. Under this concept, tourism development should be analyzed at multiple levels of governance, especially at the local and regional levels. Resident-responsive tourism is thus viewed as a central mobilizing concept around which governments could construct more equitable planning for tourism development and simultaneously overcome resistance to tourism within some segments of the community.

This dissertation also makes an attempt to contribute to the methodology literature by exploring the use of the interpretive paradigm and qualitative methods in the fields of urban planning and tourism study. In this research, an in-depth qualitative case study is adopted as an alternative approach to the assessment of tourism impacts on the social dimensions of a place-bound community. The researcher seeks to understand a complex phenomenon of urban tourism in a context-specific setting of Thailand, obtains insights into the Tha Tien community, and captures the lived experience of participants. Thus, instead of scientific methods and sophisticated statistical techniques, naturalistic inquiry using qualitative methods (i.e., a series of semi-structured interviews, observations, historical analysis, and mapping exercises) is chosen. This qualitative-oriented research aims to provide a new perspective that helps scholars to understand the phenomenon in a different way from the master paradigm of positivism alone.
2. Rationalization for Research

This research focuses primarily on the interaction and confrontation between the capitalist development of tourism and local people living in a place-bound community in which social life is rooted. Attention is given to the intersection of global-local processes, because it is not fully appreciated. "As a source of social change, globalization is often neglected as a reflective phenomenon in which local actors contribute as much to its character and nature as it itself tries to influence and shape cosmopolitan citizens" (Teo, Chang and Ho 2001: 4). 'Globalization from below', in which globalization is depicted not as an 'out there' but 'in here' phenomenon, which involves "transformations in everyday lives" (Giddens 1999: 12), offers a perspective, which is very relevant to tourism. In the era of globalization, tourism has increasingly meshed with and locked into local communities. While tourism provides local communities with economic advantages, local communities are also one of the significant factors in the proliferation of global tourism. In this regard, tourism offers one of the best investigations in the commingling of global trends with local nuances (Sofield 2001). As Franklin and Crang argue, "it seems almost impossible not to see tourist studies as one of the most exciting and relevant topics in these transnational times...and yet it is not" (2001: 5). This is partly because mainstream research still treats tourism as a predominantly exotic set of specialized consumer products that occur at specific places and times.

Essential to this research is the conceptualization of tourism as a social force with transformative capabilities. The main argument is that tourism involves connections with, rather than escapes from, social relations and the multiple obligations of everyday social
life. Over a decade ago, Britton noted that, in the study of tourism, geographers have "tended to treat elements of tourism and travel in isolation from other spheres of social and economic life" (1991: 466). More specifically, little recognition has been given to the dynamic, manifestly complex, and interdependent relationship between tourism and societal contexts (Dredge 2001). "Studies have mostly neglected issues of sociality and copresence and overlooked how much tourism is concerned with (re)producing social relations" (Larsen, Urry and Axhausen 2006). Tourism, thus, deserves considered analysis from the social sciences' perspectives in this regard.

The central focus of this study is the enrichment of community life, which is explained by the place-making process. As defined in this research, place is the socio-spatial patterns of human interrelations, meanings, and values embedded in a particular geographical area. Place is a space made distinct through social relations, which include both human-to-human and human-to-environment relations. Places become a fundamental construct in the study of tourism because they are the entities and settings through which humans define their lives, identities, and societies engaging in everyday life. The existence and continuation of place-bound localities also increase the quality of social life and supports human flourishing. The essence of responsible tourism is not only to improve the physical surroundings, but also to celebrate and enhance the sense of place, local identity, and social relations.

In the field of recreation and tourism research, place-related concepts (e.g., sense of place, place attachment, place meanings, place bonding, place dependence, and place identity) have been addressed by a number of scholars (see Williams et al. 1992; Farnum
et al. 2005). Although substantial interest has occurred in the last two decades, some authors have critiqued the lack of conceptual and empirical advances in its study (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001; Stedman 2003). More specifically, most of the case studies are drawn from various destination countries located in the American and European continents, for example, the USA (Bricker and Kerstetter 2002; Snepenger et al. 2004; Stewart et al. 2004; Hammitt et al. 2006), Belize (Medina 2003), Ecuador, the Netherlands (Van Rekom and Go 2006), Spain (Waldren 1996), and the UK (Meethan 1996; Saxena 2006). Only a few of works are devoted to the investigation of tourism and place-related concepts in Asian countries such as Korea (Jeong and Almeida Santos 2004), China (Oakes 1997; Kolas 2004), and Singapore (Chang and Huang 2005). Picard and Wood’s (1997) edited book on the relationships between tourism, identity, and the state in Southeast Asian societies provides an exceptional reference to the politics of heritage tourism and place identity. Evidently, however, there is an absence of these kinds of research in a specific context of Thailand where tourism is the leading economic sector. Thus, utilizing the analytical framework of tourism impact and place-making concept in the case study of Tha Tien community would provide a better understanding of how and the extent to which a place-bound locality has been altered by tourism development.

3. Research Goals and Objectives

The primary research goal for this doctoral study is to determine and explain the processes through which key components of a place-bound community are modified for the purpose of tourism development.
Building upon the stated research goal, five inter-related objectives are:

(1) To investigate the way in which the physical environment of the community has been transformed by tourism development.

(2) To demonstrate the difference between the locally-perceived community image and the destination image reconstructed by place marketers and examine the extent to which place identities have been affected by tourism promotion activities.

(3) To investigate and explain the degree to which community connections, both formal and informal forms of connectedness, have been altered by the tourism industry and its associated development.

(4) To trace the change of political structures in the community as a result of tourism development, and examine the degree to which the community has been involved in tourism decision-making processes.

(5) To consider the implications of the confrontation between tourism development and the place-bound community and develop alternatives for responsible tourism development.

4. Research Proposition

The research proposition is that large-scale, capitalist development of tourism is not conducive to the place-making process as well as to the enrichment of community life, because it leads to the diminishing quality of major place attributes: the physical environment, place identity, community connections, and political capability. The manipulation of the physical environment to create landscapes upon which tourists gaze
and consume can erode the distinctive character of a place and interrupt the human-environment bonds. The commodification of local history and culture by place marketers can give rise to tensions and potential conflicts in a place as local people may feel that the cultural materials that are designed to reflect the community’s characteristics are inappropriate. Competing meanings of a place among different social actors can emerge as the touristic commodified image of a place reconstructed by the place marketers often contradicts the local people’s perceptions of that place.

5. Limitations of the Study

The particular choices that have been made over the course of research have resulted in several limitations of the study. The researcher, however, hopes that the recognition of these limitations will create opportunities for future research. Five limitations are noted below.

5.1 Time dimension of the research. The research findings and analysis is mainly based on data obtained from four months of field research (September – December 2006), which is a relatively short period. As effects can change over time, what was considered deleterious at one time may be considered beneficial at another, and vice versa. Moreover, the community by its very nature is not static. This means change is inevitable and urban areas are subject to vast changes. The research basically provides a snapshot view of the effects of tourism, which may be misleading. This suggests that longitudinal studies of the same topic and location are required to provide a better understanding and broader view of the interface between tourism and local communities.
5.2 The generalization of case study research. The benefits and challenges of undertaking case study research are outlined in the methodological chapter. However, it is important to note that a critical limitation of this type of research is the difficulty to generalize the findings from a specific single case. The effects of tourism are contingent upon a range of factors, for example, the nature of the interactions between hosts and guests, the circumstances that surround these interactions, the scale of tourism activities, and the kinds of tourism development strategies. Thus, to increase the external validity of research findings and be able to pass judgment on the desirability of tourism, more case studies in the same city or country, located in a directly comparative framework, need to be undertaken.

5.3 Scale of the inquiry. As mentioned earlier, the consequences of global tourism and its associated development are influential and manifest at the local level. Thus, this research concentrates on the impacts of tourism development in the community context. In retrospect, an effort needs to be made to connect these scales to the national level, as funding and policy appear to play an important role in the development process.

5.4 Dimensions of tourism impacts. Based on the specific research inquiry, the study focused more on the social impacts of tourism, rather than on the other dimensions. However, following the political economy approach, the weakness associated with studying one aspect in isolation is recognized (Dredge 2001). Hence, attempts have been made to demonstrate the relationship between tourism and the broad range of spatial and political aspects in urban space.
5.5 Thai focus. This study is carried out in the context of Thailand, a country whose people, culture, social classes, and political structures are distinctive. Despite the specific location, the research framework and underlying concepts should be able to apply in other countries that are similarly experiencing the growing role of tourism as an economic driver. A comparison between the trajectory of tourism development in a Thai community and one in an other country would allow for a fruitful investigation into the approaches to the establishment of responsible tourism and the relationships between tourism and globalization.

6. Organization of the Research

The next two chapters review the literature pertinent to this research and inquiry. The second chapter outlines existing concepts, theories, and other studies that are associated with connecting the themes of globalization, tourism, community, and place. First, the chapter describes the meaning and significance of global tourism and its complex relationships with the local communities. Then, conceptualizations of place and place-making processes are reviewed. A connection between the quality of place and global tourism is drawn on the basis of two phenomena: commodification of place and cultural politics. The chapter presents a conceptual model of tourism impact assessment that incorporates the concept of place-making as the central focus. The model indicates how the external forces of tourism development affect social life and reshape a place. Several studies and works are discussed to provide examples and support the discussions and arguments. The third chapter is devoted to developing a better understanding of the conceptual basis of responsible tourism. The concept, characteristics, and goals of
responsible tourism are defined. A framework of responsible tourism development is established and its fundamental principles – planning theories, governance, and destination management – are reviewed. The chapter concludes by highlighting the relevance of responsible tourism idea in an urban context.

In the fourth chapter, the research design approach and methodological decisions are discussed as the practical underpinnings that guide this work. This chapter also portrays the researcher's role, data collection procedures, and recording techniques conducted during the four-month field research in Bangkok. Given the goals of the study, a critical constructivist methodology – a qualitative, humanistic research approach that foregrounds the social construction of knowledge – is appropriate and necessary to provide the basis for addressing the questions that drive the research. For the same reasons, a qualitative case study approach is adopted. Historical research, key informant semi-structured interviews, observations, and community mapping exercises are the main data collection techniques. Lastly, the chapter includes discussions about the validity and reliability of the qualitative-oriented research design approach, as well as the coding techniques and data analysis used in this study.

The fifth chapter aims to set the context for the analysis of global tourism impacts on the community life of the Tha Tien community. The chapter describes the evolution of global tourism in Thailand and Bangkok from the 19th to 21st century. Then, it outlines the history of urban development, the conservation policies, and the heritage tourism development of Krung Rattanakosin, in particular. An example of the Pom Mahakan community is discussed to illustrate public resistance to market-led urban development in
the historic city. Some experiences from this example can be linked to the analysis of the Tha Tien community, which is now facing the same threat of tourism-driven involuntary displacement.

The sixth chapter presents an in-depth analysis of tourism development and its impacts on social life in the case study of the Tha Tien community. The chapter begins with an overview of the community’s history of urban development. This demonstrates the physical transformation and socio-economic restructuring in Tha Tien over the past two centuries. Next, the chapter provides background information in terms of the community’s built environment, landownership, demographics, and local economy. Then, built on the conceptual model of conventional global tourism and its relation to place-making (described in the second chapter), the tourism impacts on community life are analyzed. This section illustrates the extent to which tourism development has led to the changing conditions of four place attributes: the physical environment, place identity, community connections, and political capability.

The concluding chapter of this dissertation discusses the connection between the research findings and a place-based community within the nexus of local-global development practices. It also highlights the potential establishment of good destination governance as local residents organize themselves to resist the centralized tourism-related development with considerable assistance from the educated middle classes (i.e., the academics and non-profit organizations) and the Thai monarchy. The chapter further tackles the contestation between tourism-led urban development and social life in the historic city of Krung Rattanakosin. It emphasizes the significance of “popular urbanism”
(Askew 2002) that has been neglected by the Thai government and excluded from the mainstream heritage tourism discourse. The chapter then seeks to construct a responsible tourism development model for the Tha Tien community by providing some policy recommendations based on urban tourism planning, heritage marketing, place-based development, and public participation. The concluding remarks argue that the continuity of distinctive place-bound localities requires a shift from the capitalist, centralized tourism development approach to a more integrative, community development approach.
CHAPTER 2

GLOBAL TOURISM, URBAN DEVELOPMENT, AND PLACE MAKING

1. Introduction

This chapter is the literature review that aims to provide a deeper insight into existing concepts, theories, other studies and discussions that are relevant to the goals and objectives of this dissertation. The literature could be potentially enormous, so its selection was based on what the researcher considered essential and adequate for the purpose of this study. As a result, the selected literature focus on the body of research available specifically related to four interconnecting themes: globalization, tourism, community, and place. Within these broad themes, specific literature was chosen, summarized, synthesized, and reorganized. This chapter is divided into four sub-topics: (1) globalization, tourism, and local communities, (2) community life, place, and place-making, (3) place and process in the tourism political economy, and (4) conceptual framework of tourism impacts on a place-bound community.

2. Globalization, Tourism, and Local Communities

In today’s world economy, globalization is acting as one of the most predominant forces. It seeks to encapsulate processes operating on a global scale and is increasingly invoked in the analysis of tourism (Mowforth and Munt 1998). The process of globalization has broken down the barriers among various local economic systems, progressively integrating nations with one another. Amongst the social scientists, it is agreed that globalization refers to “the ever-tightening network of connections which cut
across national boundaries, integrating communities in 'space-time combinations' (Hall 1992) and causing the perception that the world is a single interdependent whole, a shrinking world where local differences are steadily eroded and subsumed in a homogenous mass or single social order” (Mowforth and Munt 1998). Globalization is not simply about economics, but it also encompasses socio-cultural and political relationships that have been stretched and interwoven across the globe. It is both complex and multi dimensional and needs to be conceptualized, at a basic level, as a case of flows of people, money, commodities and cultural practices across national boundaries (Hannerz 1996) as much as within (Gillespie 1995; Eade 1997).

Based on the above interpretation, globalization is recognized as an organizing concept through which the extent and impacts of global change in terms of economics, culture, society, and politics are explored (Allen and Massey 1995). Globalization is not a new phenomenon, as it has been taking place for hundreds of years as a part of an ongoing transition in the development of global capital (Mowforth and Munt 1998). During the past decade, the concept has also played a vital role in cultural construction and identity formation (Hitchcock and King 2003), especially with the growing importance of postmodern or postcolonial perspectives in developing countries. With regard to the dialectical relationships between the global and the local, globalization both acts to homogenize and to differentiate local cultures and identities (Souchou 2001, Ang 2001). According to Kahn (1998), “globalization is as likely to generate difference, uniqueness, and cultural specificity as it is to produce a genuinely universal or homogeneous world culture” (p. 9). McGrew (1992) captures the richness of the concept
and the impact of this acceleration by expanding on two distinct dimensions, which he
terms scope (or stretching) and intensity (or deepening):

"On the one hand it defines a process or set of processes which embrace most of
the globe or which operate worldwide: the concept therefore has a spatial connotation.
Politics and other social activities are becoming 'stretched' across the globe. On the
other hand, it also implies intensification in the levels of interaction, interconnectedness,
or interdependence between the states and societies, which constitute the world
community. Accordingly, alongside the 'stretching' goes a 'deepening' of the impact of
global processes on national and local communities" (p. 107).

For the purposes of this thesis, tourism refers to "the set of activities of a person
traveling to and staying in places outside his/her usual environment for less than one year
and whose primary purpose of travel is, other than the exercise, an activity remunerated
from within the place visited" (WTO 1994). Tourism is no single product but, rather, a
wide range of products and services that interact to provide as opportunity to fulfill a
tourist experience that comprises both tangible parts (e.g. hotel, restaurant, or air carrier)
and intangible parts (e.g. sunset, scenery, mood). Moreover, it is considered as a reverse
export industry, which consumers or buyers have to travel to the exported countries. For
economic geographers, this means that the tourist industry poses many unusual
development implications (Debbage and Daniels 1998).

Basically, tourism composes of two key interconnected components: demand and
supply. The demand factors consist of the international and domestic tourist markets,
including local residents who use the tourist attractions, facilities, and services. The
supply factors consist of tourist attractions and activities, accommodations (e.g., hotels,
motels, guesthouses), tourist facilities and services (e.g., tour and travel operations, restaurants, shopping, banking and money exchange, medical and postal facilities and services), transportation (e.g. air, road, rail, water), and other infrastructure (e.g. water supply, electric power, sewage, solid waste disposal, and telecommunications). The attractions help encourage tourists to visit the area, transport services enable them to do so, accommodations and supporting facilities serve their needs, and infrastructure supports the key functions of all supply factors. Many of these services may be combined and offered by tour operators located at the destination, origin, or with links to both.

The emerging term of 'global tourism' represents the phenomenon in which international tourism, which has caught the world's attention since the early 1960's, has been unwittingly drawn into globalization's sphere of influence. The intensity that McGrew mentions earlier is reflected in the way that destination countries and communities are increasingly pulled into the processes of interconnection. Tourism is sometimes viewed as one of the most significant forces in homogenizing world (Teo and Li 2003). The tourism sector becomes important in the globalization processes because the consumption of tourism experiences is a key growth sector in many contemporary economies. The revolutions in telecommunications, finance, and transportation also accelerate the dynamics of global tourism. In the context of global tourism, new places (or destination communities) once being located in the peripheral areas are continually integrated into the tourism process.

Judging by conventional economic indicators such as gross output, value added, capital investment, employment, and tax contributions, global travel and tourism is
definitely the biggest industry in the world (WTTC 2003). According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO 2004), the volume of worldwide international tourist arrivals in 2002 was 703 million. In the same year, the international tourism receipts amounted to an estimated US$ 474 billion, up from US$ 460 billion in 2001. The travel and tourism industry is one of the world's largest employers, generating nearly 195 million jobs, or 7.6 percent of all employees. Tourism is the world's leading industrial contributor, producing 10.2 percent of the world's gross domestic product (GDP), and accounting for capital investment in excess of US$685 billion in direct, indirect, and personal taxes each year. In the period from 1975 to 2000, tourism increased at an average rate of 4.6 percent a year, while the average nation's GDP growth was merely 3.5 percent. In other words, global tourism grew on average 1.3 times faster than GDP value. The WTO further forecasts that international arrivals will increase to 1.6 billion persons by the year 2020.

Besides the statistical significance, global tourism has become increasingly important to destination countries, as well as individual destination local communities. Global tourism is more than just the movement of large numbers of people. It encompasses the consumption of a complex array of tangible goods, for instance, food and drink, souvenirs, transport and supporting facilities in the form of lodges, hotels, and convention centers. Tourism also sustains a large number of occupations, advertising campaigns, recognizable attractions, and diverse forms of financial investment. In some developing countries, tourism is used as a principal means of economic development because it is perceived as a clean industry that wreaks less damage than extractive
industries (Russell and Stabile 2003). In addition to these economic values, tourism offers social, cultural, and environmental benefits that add to its allure. Through traveling, tourists gain restorative holidays that fulfill many human needs (WTO 1999). The industry is argued to contribute to the preservation of cultures at a time when globalization is criticized as a force for cultural homogenization (Cohen and Kenneday 2000). The growth of ecotourism demonstrates that the industry can stimulate public awareness of as well as provide support to the restoration or conservation of the natural resources (Richardson 1993).

Simultaneously, local communities are also one of the significant factors contributing to the proliferation of global tourism. Communities stand as a primary resource upon which tourism depends, and their existence in a particular geographical place at a particular time may be used to justify the development of tourism itself (Richards and Hall 2000). Communities are a key reason for tourists to travel, to experience the way of life and material products of different places. Communities also shape the natural landscapes, consumed by tourism. Communities, while providing the crucial social glue between locality and inhabitants, are recognized as the essential links between the local and the global. As Sassen (1991) points out, the global only becomes manifest where it is rooted in the local, because this is where the power relationships and integrations of globalization are seen and felt, even though they may be formulated elsewhere. From this point of view, local communities are indeed the essential receivers and transmitters of the forces of globalization.
The above discussions illustrate that the relationships between global tourism and a destination community are complex and highly contingent and thus the relative mix of the two cannot be simply assumed (Hoffman et al. 2003). While the community needs tourism for its economic and socio-cultural prosperity, global tourism also needs the local for its existence. More specifically, “the dichotomous and yet synchronous process of localization and globalization is inseparable” (Turner 1994). We are living in the contemporary world where the interconnectedness of global-local economic and cultural flows is central, not merely contextual (Hannerz 1996). The transnational flows of people (i.e., labor migrants and tourists), capital, technology, commodities and ideas are continuing to shape the everyday lives of people. Global tourism has increasingly meshed with and locked into the local communities, as what Burn (2001) calls the “local-global nexus”.

As local communities become essential to contemporary global tourism, their continuing viability and enrichment must be integral to considerations of tourism development. In the following section, the conceptualization of community life and its relation to the idea of place and place-making will be discussed.

3. Community Life, Place and Place-Making Process

For a better understanding of the term community life, the concept of ‘community’ needs to be clarified. The Northern Tourism Conference on Community and Resources, held in Canada in 1991, declared a community to be “an area with close links between people and their habitat” (Haider and Johnston 1992: 583). John Urry (1995) extended the Bell and Newby’s (1976) analysis of the concept of community to include
four different uses of the term. First, the idea of community refers to the association with and belonging to a specific geographical space. Second, it is used for defining a particular local social system including culture and religion. Third, it can be used to represent a feeling of "communitas" or togetherness. In this light, attachment to place becomes an integral part of community. Fourth, it also refers to the ideology of the often hidden power relations, which are in fact the basis of communities. The last interpretation of community as an ideology evidently permeates the literature of sustainability, and most of sustainable tourism policies consciously address the necessity of enhancing long-term benefits for the community.

The recognition that the community is a basic unit of tourism development emerges from the changing concept of the term. Postmodernist theorists make a great contribution on the use of the term by incorporating the idea of 'place' into its meaning. Lash and Urry (1994) argue from a postmodern perspective that initially the community was threatened with extinction through modernist rationalization, its social embedment was diminished through the increasing mobility of society, and its geographic significance was eroded through global communications. They highlight a significance of the place-based notion of community that reemerges as a vehicle for rooting individuals and societies in a climate of economic restructuring and growing social, cultural, and political uncertainty. As the state begins to be questioned about its accountable and effective role, social communities come to be seen as "essential building blocks in the 'new sociations' and political alliances of the emerging 'third sector'" (Richards and Hall 2000).
Based on above discussions, the researcher not only focuses on the significance of the humanistic dimension of the place-based locality, but also acknowledges the uncertainty nature of the society in the postmodern world. The term ‘community life’, discussed in this study, is thus defined as the state of being able to sustain the continuing viability of the community. This requires the quality of several key elements of the community and social life, for example:

1. People’s way of life – that is how people live, work, play, and interact with one another on a day-to-day basis.
2. The community – the cohesion (social network), stability, character (sense of community), services and facilities.
3. The local capability within the political systems – the extent to which people are able to participate in decisions that affect their lives, the level of democratization, and the resources provided for this purpose.
4. The environment – the quality of natural and physical environment in the neighborhood, physical safety, and access to and control over resource.
5. Livelihoods – a (usually financial) means of securing the necessities of life.

To view community life, the concept of place and place-making is specifically used as an analytical construct in this research. Yet, it is important to note that community life is not totally subsumed by place-making.

The topic of place and place-making has received a growing attention from a number of scholars and become a viable subject in many fields. Anthropologists examine the relationship between place and identity (Fitchen 1991; Rodman 1992). Architects emphasize the design of the total built environment in a place to achieve pleasing

Sociologists, while concerned more with social than spatial dimensions, search for a better understanding of various aspects of a place such as social change, politics, interactions, inequality, and memory (Theobald 1997; Hillier and Rooksby 2005).

Throughout the past decade, scholars from various disciplines have developed comparative conceptualizations of place, leading to a greater interpretive meaning of the term. Human geographers theorize place in the context of its formation processes through ‘social relations’. Their main concerns include how space is transformed by human activity and how these activities connect to diverse other places. Tuan (1977) provides theoretical rationale for defining the concept of place. For Tuan, places involve meanings and values that facilitate human intimate connections with particular geographical areas. Similarly, Low and Altman (1992) define place as “space that has been given meaning through personal, group, or cultural processes.” On the other hand, Massey (1994, 1995) argues that place is the creation of “social relations stretched out” and the “spatial reach of social relations.” To her, place becomes dynamic, contested, and multiple in its symbolic qualities and representative identities. Place is defined as radical site of struggle and resistance. This view of place challenges traditional views that interpret place as
simply fixed and located geometric space. Most importantly, it objects to humanistic ideas about sentiment, meaning, and place attachment. The researcher, however, argue that the continuation and enrichment of place requires a balance between both humanistic and contradictory qualities. In other words, human bonding with place or place attachment needs to be kept and strengthened. Meanwhile, place has to develop its connections with other places and be able to accommodate a dynamic and contingent process of change. This is because, in the postmodern world, place habitants are struggling with broader forces and acting in attempts to secure a meaningful sense of spatial identity. Feminist geographers have contributed to the development of the notion by adding such issues as the emplaced conditions of embodiment\(^3\) (Nast and Pile 1998; McDowell 1999) and the influence of sensory positionality on perceptions of landscape (Rose 1993; Nash 1996). Contemporary philosophers, in a similar fashion, have expanded the concept of place in relation to the body as the basis of human existence (Casey 1997; Malpas 1999). Malpas (1999), for instance, finds identity formation and human subjectivity as “necessarily embedded in place, and in spatialised, embodied activity.” He interrelates concepts of agency, spatiality, and experience, in which embodiment is “one’s extended, differentiated location in space...[and] essential to the possibility of agency and so to experience and thought” (p. 133).

Built on the above conceptualizations, the researcher defines the comparable yet different meanings of the terms ‘place’ and ‘place-making’ used in this research. Place is

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\(^3\) Based on a critical self-reflexivity perspective, Nast and Pile (1998), for example, explore how bodies and places simultaneously (re)create one another and draw a connection between body-place relationships and politics.
the socio-spatial patterns of human interrelations and values embedded in a physical
environment, which is effectively controlled or influenced by its inhabitants or users.
Place-making is, therefore, the process of creating a place-bound locality. From this
definition, there are four key emphases in the use of the term place in this study. First,
place is mainly made and shaped by those living in or using that place for a considerable
period of time, perhaps with the assistance of outside professional placemakers (e.g.,
architects and planners). Under this emphasis, certain places like Disney’s new town of
Celebration or gated communities where inhabitants have little control over their physical
environment are not discussed in this research. Second, place is a space made distinct
through social relations, which include both human-to-human and human-environment
relations. These relations are different from commodified relations commonly found in
economic spaces. Friedmann (2007) calls them “relations of caring”, which have a purely
affective value and are priceless. However, both types of social relations may exist in the
same place, for example, the local marketplace where people are trading goods and at the
same time developing close relationships with each other. Third, place involves the
assignment of distinctive meaning to space by people. Within a place-bound community,
inhabitants establish strong attachment and association to the environment, which play a
key role in defining their collective identity. Fourth, place is a site of resistance and
functions as a terrain where people struggle to carve and secure a sense of identity. Place
thus encompasses a dynamic and contingent process of change.

As described above, people develop affective and personal bonds to specific
places. Such people-place bonds are important to the community, because without these
bonds, a place-bound locality can lose its character, meanings, and value, and eventually fall apart. If that happens, tourists can only experience a destination without the spirit of place. Hence, tourism, which is one of the most powerful external forces, need to help enhance a complex phenomenon of human bonding with places. There are two important terms often used to indicate human connections to place. One of the most encompassing terms is 'sense of place', which refers to the entire group of cognitions and affective sentiments held regarding a particular geographic locale (Jorgensen and Stedman 2001) and the meanings one attributes to such areas. Sense of place can arise from one’s interaction with the environment and the interconnectedness of four systems: biological properties, environmental features, psychological developments, and socio-cultural processes (Altman and Low 1992). Another commonly employed term is 'place attachment', which is the environmental psychologist’s equivalent of the geographer’s sense of place (Williams and Vaske 2003). As defined by Shumaker and Taylor (1983: 221), place attachment is “the person-place bond that evolves from specifiable conditions of place and characteristics of people.” Such a bond includes “cognitions of satisfaction and expectations of stability, feelings of positive affect, greater knowledge of the locale, and behaviors that serve to maintain or enhance a locale” (ibid.: 237). Place attachment also implies “a strong emotional tie, temporary or long lasting, between a person and a particular physical location” (Sime 1995: 26) and, as Stokowski (2002) and Manzo (2003) have noted, it is typically presumed that these emotions are positive. In comparison, sense of place is used in a more general way referring to both affective and cognitive components of place, while place attachment is explicitly used to connote the
affective bonds people have with place. Despite their minor distinction, both terms are used interchangeably in several studies (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001), as their connecting theme is the formation of human bonding with places.

In the early 20th century, the importance of people’s attachment to places was not considered directly relevant to the management of public lands (Smaldone 2002; Cheng et al. 2003). Such judgment was implicitly rooted in the idea of capitalism that places were essentially commodities. Places were viewed primarily as the sum of their functional attributes such as housing, health services, open space, and transportation systems. As a result, public management policies revolved around the objective features and utilitarian values of the land. This view is countered by what now seems to be the prevailing idea that places are composed of individualized and unique qualities as well as the relationships people have with places. Thus, under a more holistic evaluation, places hold deep meanings and value for their users (Williams and Stewart 1998; Moore and Scott 2003).

This dissertation mainly concentrates on places that are embedded in the built environment of cities, notably neighborhoods and communities. Put in plain term, places discussed in this study refer to locality-bound communities, which contain the ongoing interaction or everyday life patterns between people, activities and territory or space; strong place attachment; and community identity. They do not include other types of places such as those that are more tied to natural landscapes or nomadic treks, rural communities, sacred or symbolic places, and corporate landscapes.
Why do we have to study places and how they come into being? In his recent work, Friedmann (2007) gives a clear answer to this question. He explains, “We study places – their loss and recovery, their character and transformation – because they are the stuff of stories, part of the little histories of the world. The study of places is therefore important to us because the stories we tell about them are intrinsically of interest: they give meaning to our life and sometimes they are constitutive of our identity as well.” In the researcher’s viewpoint, planners should be more concerned with places because their existence and continuation enhances human life and human flourishing. A better understanding of place and place-making process can prevent planners from launching urban projects that may lead to “place breaking” (ibid.) – a situation in which the already existing places are eliminated by displacing populations from their neighborhoods or by seriously disrupting place-based relations. The study of places also helps planners broaden their views from merely concentrating on commodified relations in economic spaces to encompassing affectively valued yet priceless relations in localities.

4. Place and Process in the Tourist Political Economy

Based on the definition discussed earlier, place-making or the creation of place-bound localities is not a static, a priori or objective phenomenon, but is a dynamic and ongoing process (Lefebvre 1991). Among a variety of exogenous factors influencing the place-making process, the tourism industry is one of the most powerful driving forces that dramatically reshape places. In recent decades, cities have fought hard to insert themselves into the “space of flows” of global tourism (Castells 2000). As a result,
destination places are drawn into a sphere of accumulation and capitalism, in which tourism is viewed as a product of a globalized culture of consumption.

In the field of tourism research, the interconnection between place and the tourism industry is widely documented, although emphasis tends to be given to the investigation of place marketing and the use of imagery rather than to the translation or the relationship between the two terms. Places constitute the essence of the tourist experience, as they initiate desire to travel and explore. Places are therefore the basic products to be sold in the competitive markets of the tourism industry (Philo and Kearns 1993). At the same time, it is not enough to demonstrate that tourism makes important contributions to economic development and social wellbeing of those living in many places. The industry also helps many previously abandoned places gain public recognition. Some places or cities through their revitalization strategies have managed to make a smooth transition from an industrial wasteland to tourist Mecca such as Baltimore, Boston, and Alexandria.

Whilst being patronized by tourists, places also represent an array of experiences and goals acted out by diverse people in locales including those who live there. Every place has its own histories; specific meanings; relations between local, national, and global economies; and possibilities for different identity positions. Theorists have recognized that places are more than sources of identification and affiliation that lead to meaning and purpose of life. Places, particularly leisure places, are also social constructs perpetuated by interest groups who have distinct values (Williams 2002). This makes place become an essential subject and concern for public place-management authorities, whose responsibility is not only to expand economic development but also to enhance
locality-bound places. As Snepenger et al. (2004) address, “places provide fundamental subjects for the study of tourism because they are the entities and settings through which humans define their live and societies engage in everyday life.”

For a better understanding of place and place-making process in the tourist political economy, there are two phenomena that need to be examined: the commodification and cultural politics of place. The following are the scholarly reviews of the literature related to both phenomena.

4.1 The Commodification of Place: Conceptualization and Assessment

The influence of global tourism on places can be described by the “selling places phenomenon” (Philo and Kearns 1993) whereby places are transformed into commodities to be consumed. Commodification is the process by which objects and activities come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value⁴ in the context of trade, in addition to any use-value⁵ that such commodities might have (Watson and Kopachevsky 1996). Put in simple terms, the concept of commodification refers to the dominance of commodity exchange value over use value and implies the development of a consumer society where market relations subsume and dominate social life.

MacCannell (1989) provides important clues, which help broaden the concept of commodity for today. In his perspective, all tourist attractions are cultural experiences. He also introduces another type of value embedded in modern commodities: sign-value.

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⁴ Exchange value refers to a money-price of a commodity (i.e., an item or service) produced for, and sold on, the capitalist market (Marx 1990).

⁵ Use value is inextricably tied to “the physical properties of the commodity” (Marx 1990: 126); that is, the material uses to which the object can actually be put, the human needs it fulfills.
Tourism, as commodity, is best grasped as an expression of the "semiotics of capitalist production" (ibid.). Signs, rather than constituting simply an epiphenomenal consequence of material transactions and economic relations, become a source of value (Fainstein and Gladstone 1999). Introducing the idea of sign-value then takes us closer to the reality of the postmodernism period, where individuals seem far more fascinated by, and are interested in, the "spectacle" – the chaotic flow of signs and simulated images – than by any supposed use-value of commodities (Watson and Kopachevsky 1996).

Clearly, when one speaks of commodification in tourism, this must be in terms much broader than mere objects, and include services, activities, and experiences. The tourist experience can be explained by Urry's (1990) concept of "tourist gaze". This gaze is formulated partly through the collection of already existing representations of the tourist destination – representations that promise a difference from the tourist's everyday routines of work and home. The gaze thus becomes a lens through which the tourist experiences sites, cultures, and identities as different from his or her own (ibid.). In short, the tourist experience emerges from the consumption of signs, symbols, cultural experiences, and the actual gaze.

Britton (1991) characterizes the "commodification of place" as a situation in which places are marketed by the tourist industry as desirable products. Tourism, he argues, must "sell" the features of a particular place by persuading the consumer that by purchasing the tourist product, he or she will receive more than the product is itself capable of delivering. The consumer will receive meaning and experience, which cannot be gained in other ways. Places are not necessarily sold as ends in themselves, "but
because visits to them, and the seeking of anticipated signs and symbols, are a vehicle for experiences which are to be collected, consumed, and compared" (ibid.: 465). Following a critical approach to tourism, Britton bemoans the loss of authentic cultural traditions to the corruption of tourism. He notes that the commodification of place associated with tourism “generates a ‘flatness’ where depth of appreciation, understanding, and especially meaning, is replaced with a new kind of superficiality in the most literal sense: a loss of depth of feeling, meaning or understanding is compensated for with transitory exhilaration, glitter, particular kinds of euphoria, and intensities of feeling” (ibid.: 465-466). A search of authenticity, or at least the perception of it, becomes a vital force for the growth of tourism, as it bolsters motivation for travel to remote areas among tourists as well as stimulates a desire to offer authentic experience among the hosts.

Connell’s (1993) analysis of tourism in Bali is a good example of applying the commodification of place approach in tourism studies. He points out that regarding all tourist developments on the island, “Bali” itself is “conspicuously missing”, as the authentic Balinese culture has been replaced by mass tourism centered on hotels, resorts, and package tours. Connell defines authenticity merely as a game played between tourists and industry suppliers. After all, what we expect as authentic Balinese culture is but a representation initiated by the Dutch colonists at the beginning of the twentieth century (Picard 1993). For Connell, place commodification is simply tourism’s version of the inevitable rationalism and standardization of modernity. He writes, “not only have international forms of tourism and spectacles – from surfing to river rafting – replaced rather than supplemented local forms, but local cultural forms have been displaced to the
tourist periphery" (p. 653). Connell adds that tourism has led to "the casual eradication of distinctive places and the generation of a standardized landscape" (p. 658).

However, Connell's critique on the commodification of Balinese culture as a result of tourism is only part of the story. Tourism in Bali involves a more complex phenomenon than what Connell refers to as the increasingly standardized representations of Bali. Such phenomenon needs to be raised for consideration in this research. Picard (1996), for example, provides an alternative view of tourism impact on Balinese culture. He points out that the distinction between Balinese culture and externally generated tourism is highly problematic. In his perspective, the boundaries between the inside and the outside become blurred, as tourism is inevitably closely connected with an ongoing process of cultural construction. The example of Bali illustrates that local people are not merely the receivers, but the contenders of powerful forces of global tourism. They attempt to turn tourism into their own advantage and engage in the construction, transformation, and re-presentation of their own culture (Hitchcock and King 2003).

Besides Bali, several researchers have investigated the issue of tourism, cultural commodification, and place identity in other Southeast Asian nations. One critical problem found in these countries is that the public authorities with interests in and responsibilities for historic sites imposes their own mandate on local communities and tries to modify those sites for tourism consumption, all in the name of conservation and nation building. This can result in the diminishing of ethnic identities, local cultural meanings, and perspectives on heritage (Black and Wall 2001). Worden (2003), for example, examines the relationships between national identity and heritage tourism in
Melaka. His analysis reveals that the state has attempted to construct a national Malay-focused identity by utilizing Melaka's pre-colonial traditions and heritage as a representation of the modern Malaysian nation. However, the city's experience involves two major drawbacks. First, the waterfront area and historic harbor are destroyed by reclamation projects and reconstructed in a way that the state thought Melaka should have been and ought to be. Second, non-Malay material cultures, especially those of the Chinese, are neglected in state-sponsored heritage promotion and representations. Another example is the confrontation between the presentation of heritage at the national level and the perceptions of that heritage at the local level in the Toraja village on the island of Sulawesi (Adams 2003). In 2001, the village was designated as the UNESCO World Heritage Site. Initially, the Torajan culture was produced by the village's elite for cultural, social, and political benefits in response to Dutch administrative priorities. Now, it becomes part of Indonesian nation-building process and the growth of tourism. Adams concludes that the construction of heritage landscapes is not a natural process, but rather a product of complex exchanges, competitions, and collaborations among local groups, national entities and international organizations.

Therefore, prior to applying the commodification of place approach in the following case study analysis, an assessment of this approach needs to be undertaken. Fainstein and Gladstone (1999) argue that "commodification is a powerful analysis dealing with the political economy of the tourism industry, but incomplete, because it does not explicitly examine assumptions concerning the production of culture and its connection to social relations in space" (p. 29-30). The fundamental claim of this critique
is situated under an unspecified utopia of unmediated experience controlled by the tourist and host and a corresponding devaluation of those who receive pleasure from trips to Disney World, Hard Rock Cafes, or other theme parks. The analysis of commodification reflects the moral judgment: "real enjoyment should not involve escapism, and self-created entertainment is better than that which is simply purchased and consumed" (Fainstein 1994).

Some theorists, such as Venturi et al. (1977) and Brown (1987), on the contrary, celebrate the attractiveness of the tourist landscape and accuse its derogators of snobbery. For them, the contrived spectacle performs important psychological and social functions, so it needs to be understood, not dismissed. Lash and Urry (1994), though not exactly supporting the tourist scene, seem to approve its contemporary evolution. They assert that as the economy moves from the stage of organized to disorganized capitalism, tourism similarly advances from the highly organized forms of mass tourism to a more fragmented phase. In their viewpoint, contemporary tourists are not simply manipulated by the marketers, but are more self-conscious than their predecessors as well as are able to select among the providers of symbols and control their own interpretations. In this regard, Lash and Urry's idea is divorced from that of the earlier critics like MacCannell (1989), who consider tourists as deluded consumers searching for authenticity, which can never be fully realized because it is constantly staged through the process of creating representations. From Lash and Urry's positive angle, commodification allows an individual to shape his or her consciousness through choice. Despite imposing standardization, commodification contributes to "reflexive modernity" (Giddens 1990)
because it produces the distance between the subject and the object of the tourist gaze (Fainstein and Gladstone 1999). In other words, touristic production allows the visitor to be both participant and observer, engaged and critical, thus preeminently reflexive.

Another thoughtful critique of the concept of commodification comes from Oakes (1998), who suggests that the use of this term reveals very little about the place itself. Based on his analysis, at least two problems in tourism studies emerge. First is the general problem, defined by Crick (1989) as a “lack of the local voice”. Oakes argues that for those who follow the political economy approach, “the discussion of how local people fit into the tourism picture generally takes on a simplistic and emphatically critical tone” (p. 64). Hence, such phrases as ‘loss of traditional culture’ and ‘erosion of a way of life’ are often used to highlight the impacts of tourism on host communities. Second, which is a consequence of the first problem, is the confusion regarding questions of culture and authenticity and their relationship to modernity. Although critical studies of tourism provide a sophisticated apparatus for understanding the tourist political economy, their focus often neglects the complex cultural negotiations being undertaken at the local level among those directly affected by the industry.

In the researcher’s viewpoint, there is nothing wrong with the commodification of place as long as it is initiated and carried on by locals, not outsiders, and the result is not the deterioration but rather the reinforcement of the solidarity and people-place bonds. For example, some host societies have to commodify their places in exchange for the tourist revenue. However, instead of exploiting, they adapt their traditions in subtle ways to suit the needs of tourists (Sanger 1988), or improve the physical surroundings to
accommodate tourist activities. Such creative reactions can help local people enhance their livelihoods, sustain their traditions, and strengthen their social relations when working together. In some cases, the threat and experience of the loss of traditional culture yields in people a creativity and insistence on freedom. While tourism is said to weaken tradition, it may also raise historical consciousness and lead to the restoration of ancient monuments and the like. Commodification reflects a particular form of tourism under capitalism. At the same time, it can bring enjoyment to tourists, who, by their very nature, often seek exotic experience to fulfill their desires. The reality of life for the people being visited is just the routine from which they are escaping, so finding that out gives tourists few benefits. On the contrary, seeing Paris as populated with lovers or Bali as the site of magnificently visual culture makes tourists more pleasant than discovering the civil unrest, crime, drug and social problems in both cities. This reflects that tourism is almost always two-edged. Therefore, a greater attention needs to be given to the contradictory effects of tourism because the industry “is not a universal juggernaut, flattening everything in its path in the intentional or unintentional service of global homogenization and uniformity. Study after study has documented how individuals and groups have responded actively to both the constraints and opportunities brought by tourism development” (Wood 1997: 5). In short, in evaluating the effects of global tourism, we must recognize that some compromise of values is inevitable and that it is necessary to assess each instance situationally.
4.2 Cultural Politics in Place

As discussed above, there are some shortcomings inherent in interpretations of the commodification of place. Many researchers have thus begun to conceptualize tourism as not a strictly outside force influencing a local culture, but as a dynamic component of that culture itself. This perspective is called 'cultural politics' or an inevitable outcome of the entanglement between culture and politics. It helps researchers integrate a more dynamic conception of place into tourism studies (Oakes 1998). As summarized by Wood (1993: 57), the research trend in assessing the relationship between tourism and culture has shifted away from the "normative problematic" in tourism studies toward three new directions. First, "an increased awareness of the social construction and invention of both tradition and authenticity has undercut the distinction between positive and negative impacts central to the normative problematic." Second, "an increased awareness of how tourism both engenders and becomes implicated in a broad range of cultural politics has brought attention to domestic stratification and conflict much more to the fore of tourism studies, exposing concepts of society-wide interests as naïve and obfuscating." Third, "various 'post-modern' observations about culture highlight the positional nature of cultural judgments and suggest interesting and productive ways to reframe the questions we ask about the relationship between tourism, culture, and development." Wood's summary puts forth a set of research imperatives that nicely fit together with those laid out earlier.

Specifically, the notion of cultural politics points to a conception of culture as a highly disputed expression, in which subjectivity, identity, and ideology are prominent
Cultural politics happen at “the intersection between culture and power” (Burns 2004). Culture becomes political because under a competitive market travel firms are increasingly forced to seek more undiscovered destinations, or to reinvent existing destinations (Hall 1998a). The cultural politics approach suggests that tourism should be examined as a historically produced discourse (Torgovnick 1990) that recognizes the inseparability between localization and globalization (Burns 2001). Wood (1993), again, formulates the underlying concept of this approach:

“Not tradition but its ongoing symbolic reconstruction; not authenticity but its attribution; not inherited identities but relational, improvised and contested ones; not internalized values as much as available templates and strategies of action; not culture but cultural invention and local discourses – the central questions to be asked are about process, and about the complex ways tourism enters and becomes part of an already ongoing process of symbolic meaning and appropriation” (p. 66).

From Wood’s explanation, the cultural politics approach is thus linked to the idea of ‘place-based identity’, which results from the ongoing struggle between external forces of change and the local need to maintain their control over those forces. In other words, cultural politics are affected by both internal and external factors (Burns 2004). As a discrete activity, tourism represents a commercialization in which places are arguably commodified through marketing of standardized images. Under the cultural politics approach, tourism also introduces “a whole new set of possibilities that may be appropriated by locals as they reconstruct a sense of place” (Oakes 1998). Basically, in the formation process of place-based identity, representations are not only developed and marketed by the tourism industry but also subject to appropriation by locals who are
aware that their local cultural traditions have indeed changed and are in need of reinvention. For example, in her ethnographic study of commoditizing culture in a formerly Maya village, Medina (2003) finds out that tourism has motivated the villagers to utilize ‘new channels’ (i.e., publications of archaeologists and epigraphers) to access Maya culture and identity they could no longer learn through old ways or lived experience as Mayan languages and ritual practice disappear. To serve the tourism market, a number of villagers have begun to produce stone sculptures and traditional ceramics, while local guides have developed their knowledge of ancient Maya culture.

In an attempt to relate the study of tourism to the concept of place, the role of local society needs to be taken into consideration. Generally, local people have unequal access to the means of representing and marketing a place to tourists. This situation greatly affects their sense of place, as those who enjoy such access will have more power in constructing a particular place-based identity. Others may construct alternative identities to contest those constructed by the powerful neighbors. However, these local representations may oppose those dominating the broader tourism industry itself. More complicatedly, this is an ongoing process, and simultaneously occurs at many different scales (i.e., community, province, or nation). In this study, the researcher does not propose a typology that deals with all these complex situations, but rather reminds the reader that such local social complexities need to be included in the analysis of tourism impacts. In the following section, the idea of place and place-making will be used to further conceptualize the impacts of tourism on social life.
5. Conceptual Framework of Tourism Impacts on Place Making

It is widely known that the tourism industry and its related developments affect local communities in some ways. These impacts occur because tourism, both domestic and international, brings about the mix of people from diverse social and cultural backgrounds, with a substantial spending power that has a considerable impact on the economy of the destination. Tourism impacts can be typically classified into three main dimensions: economic, environmental, and socio-cultural. Ideally, these impacts should be positive, both in terms of benefits to destination areas and their residents. The positive impacts include improvements of local economic conditions, social and cultural understanding, and protection of environmental resources. However, uncontrolled mass tourism can bring various negative effects to the destinations such as the degradation of natural resources (WTO 1994), the unequal distribution of economic benefits (Pearce 1989), the commodification of material and non-material forms of local culture (Evans 1994), and the disruption of social relations (Haralambopoulos and Pizam 1996).

The early work on tourism impacts focused primarily on the economic aspects, as they are more quantifiable and measurable. In addition, it was presumed that the tourism revenue could make up for any negative impacts. In reality, however, economic gains derived from tourism may be offset by adverse and previously unmeasured socio-cultural consequences. More recently, thus, attention has been shifted towards the socio-cultural impacts, which are often viewed as unquantifiable and negative.

In this research, emphasis is given to understanding the impacts of tourism on community life of the host society. However, instead of following the traditional
categorization of impact assessment (i.e., economic, environmental, and socio-cultural impacts), the research focuses on investigating changes to a place-bound locality driven by the capitalist development of tourism. The main argument is that conventional global tourism that has succumbed to the effects of “marketization” (Higgins-Desbiolles 2006) can harness scarce local resources and opportunities for its own private wealth accumulation. Such dynamics in a destination will eventually lead to the consumption and changing conditions of places. To capture these changes, a conceptual framework of tourism impact assessment that is associated with the concept of place-making is introduced (see Figure 2.1).
Figure 2.1: Conventional Global Tourism and its Relation to Community Life

- Poor planning
- Corruption
- Centralized power
- Lack of resources
- Poor enforcement

GLOBAL TOURISM

PUBLIC SECTOR

PRIVATE SECTOR

COMMODIFICATION

PLACE MAKING

- Physical Environment
  - Erosion of Historic Buildings
  - Loss of Vernacular Architecture
  - Theme Park

- Image & Identity
  - Invented History
  - Destination Image

DIMINISHING COMMUNITY LIFE

- Conflicts & Tensions
- Influx of Migrant Workers
- Weakening of Social Cohesion
- People

LOCALITY

- Lack of Public Participation
- Powerlessness of Local People
- Political Capability

LIMITED COMMITMENT TO DESTINATION

PROFIT MAXIMIZATION

RESOURCE EXPLOITATION

LIMITED COMMITMENT

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Based on a literature review of place and its formation processes, the researcher proposes that there are four key attributes of place-making that greatly affect community life: the physical landscape, place-image and identity, community connections, and political capability. The underlying assumption is that the quality of the physical environment, the locally-rooted image and identity, strong community connections, and a high level of political capability constitute a place. In this framework, three main external tourism-related forces – global tourism, the public place-management authorities, and business enterprises – potentially undermine the enrichment of community life. Through the commodification and cultural politics process, they reshape a place by interrupting and changing conditions of place elements in various ways. These changes inevitably have serious impacts on the existing interaction pattern of people and place or community life of inhabitants of that place. Both positive and negative impacts of the capitalist development of tourism on each of these four place attributes are thoroughly discussed as follows.

5.1 Physical Environment

The physical landscape, including both the natural (e.g., water, land, and trees) and built environment (e.g., individual buildings, quarters, and the broader urban morphology of a location), is the material foundation of a place. Empirical evidence affirms that tourism activities are closely associated with the physical consumption of a place. As Harrison (1992: 20) notes, “Perhaps the most obvious effect of tourism is on the physical landscape.” The manipulation of the natural environment creates landscapes upon which tourists gaze (and consume). The tourism industry also requires a range of
supporting facilities and costly infrastructure such as accommodations, restaurants, convention centers, and transportation services that need to be built in the destination. Developed specifically for tourism, these facilities are, at the same time, available for the use of local people. The construction of tourism facilities is not only part of the urban place-making process but also has a considerable impact on the physical environment of the host community.

The transformation of a place's physical environment results from the actions of both producers and consumers. Basically, producers manipulate the physical landscape by direct actions such as building facilities, renovating historic buildings into restaurants or museums, and implementing all kinds of planning activities notably land use regulations and incentive policies (Dietvorst and Ashworth 1995). These actions can cause various undesirable impacts on a place and consequently on its inhabitants, for example, inappropriate new buildings and land uses, locally insensitive rehabilitation of heritage sites, and, at its extreme, the overwhelming of the morphology of a town (Glasson et al. 1995). The degree of such impact was measured by the extent to which the architectural design elements including façade, form, height, color, and texture altered the place landscape and aesthetic. The phenomenon of ‘tourism urbanization’ (Mullins 1991) has already occurred in several metropolitan areas worldwide, for instance, Las Vegas and Orlando in the United States (Gladstone 1998), the Sunshine Coast and the Gold Coast in Australia (Mullins 1990), and Cancun in Mexico (Hiernaux-Nicolas 1999). The adverse effect is that new buildings with poor design may diffuse the meaningful relationships for those that live in that place and inevitably lead to feelings of loss and a
yearning for a better place. Public authorities, entrepreneurs, private organizations, and local communities are all involved in this production process. Meanwhile, tourists also contribute to the transformation of the physical structures of the places visited such as the deterioration of historic buildings, traffic congestion, crowding, and wear on infrastructure.

Despite the negative impacts of tourism on the physical landscape, there are many counterbalancing attributes that should be taken into account. For example, tourism demand may bring the renewal of formerly derelict sites and resources to maintain historic buildings for the benefit of both local residents and tourists (Glasson et al. 1995). Abandoned properties and historic buildings are renovated to serve such new use as attractions, restaurants, and shops as can be seen in many European countries. Other examples in Southeast Asian countries include the revitalization project in Singapore where the ethnic enclaves of Chinatown, Little India, and Kampong Glam have been conserved with a degree of adaptive reuse (Henderson 2002), and a well-known heritage trail in Hong Kong (Cheung 1999). It may heighten an awareness of valued environments and enhance an importance of conservation practices among local population. Revenue from tourism can be used in the conservation and protection of individual buildings for future generations. Besides, the provision of additional services for visitors, such as better signing, street lighting, street benches and facilities for the disabled can simultaneously benefit the host community.
5.2 Place Identity and Image

Place identity refers to how one views oneself in relation to the environment (Proshansky et al. 1983; Smaldone 2002). It captures humans' use of places in constructing and maintaining self-identity (Williams 2002; Manzo 2003). In recreation and tourism literature, place identity is used exclusively as an individual-level phenomenon. When people talk of common group identities, they tend to speak of "community identity" (Stewart et al. 2004), not place identity. Community identity simply refers to citizens’ felt sense of their community, which is often reflected in the way individual residents think about themselves and interact with their community (Cuba and Hummon 1993; McCool and Martin 1994). It would be difficult for those living in a place-based locality without a collective identity to maintain stability and a sense of shared purpose when coping with socioeconomic problems and challenges of modern life (West 1996). Therefore, to ensure the continuing viability of place, new development should attempt to promote and strengthen a distinctive social identity instead of leveling it out.

Images and representations are critical for identity politics, as identities are constructed within representations (Grossberg 1996; Hall 1996). Basically, image is the set of beliefs, ideas, impressions and perceptions that individuals have mentally constructed of a place (Kotler et al. 1994). This mental construct is based on a series of more or less material knowledge that individuals have about place and on a series of perceptions of a more emotional and affective nature. The identity of place can be envisaged as a series of overlapping "imaged worlds" or cultural landscapes, which are
experienced and constituted by human agency (Appadurai 1990). This is disclosed in the work of Waldren (1996), who traces the shifting contours of insider/outsider identities in the touristic village of Deia in Mallorca, Spain. In her study, the categories of insider and outsider (or host and guest) are conceptualized in relation to the symbolic practices through which the villagers identify themselves in connection with each other and different groups of outsiders.

As is widely acknowledged, tourism and its very nature of commoditization can cause the transformation of place images and community identities (Morgan and Pritchard 1998). A collection of tourism products and services is sold and marketed with the promise of an experience. These selling practices are supported by a phalanx of images and representations of place. Tourism images and identities are packaged according to particular dominant ideologies, value systems, and meanings (Shields 1990). Conflicts among social groups (i.e., the producers, the consumers, and the represented) can emerge, as their image formations and interpretations are taking place under different interests, goals, and value systems. Most place marketers primarily aim to create new images of a place in order to replace either vague or negative images held by residents, investors, and tourists (Holcomb 1993). Their goal is to attract tourists who embody a quest for authenticity, which might only be 'staged' (MacCannell 1989). Through their marketing, the marketers also create identities, which represent certain ways of seeing reality (Morgan and Pritchard 1998). Local residents, on the other hand, construct their own place images and identities, which sometimes contradict those promoted by the tourism marketers or those held by visitors. For them, tourism imagery and place

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identities crafted by marketers may seem to be the distortion of their historical and social
relations. In their study of controversial issues related to the inclusion and empowerment
of black South Africans, Goudie et al. (1996) point out that many tourist developments
are perpetuating romanticized and distorted images of black cultures. Destination
governments can accelerate the process in which local identity is diminished by global
tourism, when they decide to open up borders and parts of their countries to tourism in
order to foster international trade (Sugiyarto et al. 2003). Some scholars, for instance,
have raised concerns pertaining to Tibetan identity after the recent opening of Tibet to
Western tourism by the Chinese government. As Cowen (2002) notes, “Coca-Cola and
tourists may succeed in doing what decades of coercive communist intervention failed to
achieve, that is, weakening traditional Tibetan attachments to their rich brocade of
history, rituals, temples, and Buddhist religion.”

When discussing the impacts of tourism on place identity, the issues cannot be
divorced from questions of political power, inequality, marginalization, violence, and
oppression (Jackson 1993; Jarvis 1994; Morgan and Pritchard 1998). Oftentimes,
dominant groups in society construct definitions of identity to serve their own ends. This
can lead to competing identities employed to discriminate against particular individuals
or groups (Hall 1996; McCrone 2001). Hall (2003), for example, claims that the rich and
complex ethnic history of Monterey is almost completely absent in the official historic
tours and buildings available for visitors. This is because heritage representation is mainly
based on the image of elite Americans, rather than that of minority groups. Jeong and
Almeida Santos (2004) examine the Kangnung Dano Festival in Korea, which is another
excellent example of cultural politics in action. The festival is dependent on adult men, who are allowed to perform rituals, while women, youth, and newcomers are excluded from being active performers. The authors thus conclude that local identity is explicitly and implicitly defined by a dominant group that actively exclude the perspectives of marginalized members of the community. Likewise, the example given by Dodson and Kilian (1998) of power struggles over Cape Town’s Waterfront development clearly demonstrates issues of race, class, and social exclusion involved with host populations.

However, the future for local identities in a globalizing world may not always be that gloomy. MacCannell (1983) argues that tourism can promote the restoration, preservation, and fictional recreation of ethnic attributes. Confrontation with tourists and the increased awareness of local culture and history may enhance both the identity and the well-being of local residents (Van den Berghe 1995). The host population can be aroused by tourist interest to realize that they are special, in a positive sense. Several researchers discover that tourism can become an impetus for strengthening local identity rather than diminishing it. For example, Van Rekom and Go (2006) investigate how local identities within two well-known destinations – Volendam in the Netherlands and the Otavalo Valley in Ecuador – have been retained in the globalizing tourism environment. Supported by the evidence from case studies, they argue that the rise of commercial tourism-related activities represent an important factor in fostering the local identity, as it “provides an incentive to fruitfully maintain and take advantage of the identity markers” (ibid.: 779).
5.3 Community Connections

Another significant attribute of a place emphasized in this study is ‘community connection’ (Mancini et al. 2003) which refers to the cohesion or social networks among those who live in the same place. Community connection consists of two dimensions: community engagement and sense of community. Community engagement refers to relatively objective and externally observable social structures, such as formal networks, associations, and institutions. Sense of community comprises more subjective and intangible elements, such as generally accepted attitudes and norms of behavior, shared values, reciprocity, and trust. Although these two core components of community connection are mutually reinforcing, one can exist without the other (Krishna and Uphoff 1999). Both civic and government-mandated organizations represent structural social capital in which the cognitive element is not necessarily present. Similarly, many relations of mutual trust persist without being formalized in organizations. This description of social capital according to its forms has proven quite useful as a basis for empirical analysis.

Like its impacts on other attributes of place, tourism can generate both positive and negative effects on community connections. On one hand, the capitalist development of tourism can lead to the weakening of connections or bonds among those living in the same place. The economic benefits generated by the industry attract a number of migrant workers from outside the host community. These people belong to the destination community spatially, but not socially. They are often seen as problematic, acquire a negative image (Lazaridis and Wickens 1999), and are considered as strangers, who lack
the organic ties of kinship, origin, and occupation with the groups (Simmel 1950). In some cases, while the number of outsiders is increasing, long-term residents are out-migrating as a result from several factors such as high living cost and high land prices in tourist destination, change of demographic structure, and loss of place attachment. For example, Fagence (2003) examines the tourism impacts on the sociocultural dimension of Amish and Mennonite communities in Pennsylvania (USA) and Ontario (Canada). She reveals that "there is evidence of the resuction in land ownership by Old Order communities, and their ‘forced’ migration away from the concentration of tourism activity" (p. 72), regardless of other factors such as the real estate development and suburban expansion. The extreme adverse impact is the forced relocation of entire communities in order to give way to the tourism-related development projects. Such actions undoubtedly dismantle functioning production systems and social networks as well as disintegrate ongoing human activities, relationships, and attachments to places.

On the other hand, tourism can increase community connections when members of a community are brought together through a tourism initiative. Several researchers have discussed the enhancement of community cohesion induced by tourism. For instance, in his study of tourism effects on the barong dance-drama in Bali, Sanger (1988) discovers that "performances for tourists reinforce the solidarity and social cohesion of the village – which is an important ‘ideal’ for Balinese communities" (p. 95). This is because they provide villagers an opportunity to work together as a team and to meet each other more often. Ashley et al. (2001) assess various dimensions of livelihood impacts of pro-poor tourism development projects in six case studies worldwide.
Regarding such impacts on social capital and community organization, the authors report that in all of the case studies “community institutions have been strengthened” and “in several cases tourism developments have enhanced cohesion and a sense of purpose” (ibid.: 25). In Kiltimagh, Ireland, a number of enterprise development awards added to the community’s pride as well as increased community cohesion (McGettigan et al. 2006).

5.4 Political Capability

The last element of a place is political capability, which refers to the capacity to represent oneself or others, access information, form associations, and participate in the political life of a community (World Bank 2002). In this thesis, political capability is a viable attribute of place-making because with a greater degree of political capability inhabitants can mobilize local resources to improve their quality of life. Community-based organizations can also help local people express their preferences and hold governments accountable for providing quality services and other improvement projects. A place where residents are incapable of making their voice heard or influencing policy decisions affecting their lives, is more likely to be prone to the unfavorable transformation by exogenous forces. In the worst case, this may lead to the “place-breaking” (Friedmann 2007).

Tourism development is highly associated with the politics of place and power relations of those involved in the place-making process. Decisions affecting tourism policy, the nature of governments in tourism, the structure of tourism organizations, and the nature of tourism development emerge from a political process (Hall 1994). This
process involves the values of actors (i.e., individuals, interest groups, public agencies, and private organizations) in a struggle of power (Britton 1991). Many tourism researchers have stressed the need for the study of power arrangements in tourism policy analysis and collaborative planning in particular (Hall 1994, 2003; Reed 1997; Mowforth and Munt 1998). Reed (1997) examines power relations in community-based tourism planning in Squamish, Canada, and discovers that power relations are common features in tourism areas. Others have addressed the importance of power distributions in community tourism practices. Blank (1989), for example, points out that “community leadership is heterogeneous...drawn from a number of power base”. He further suggests that resistance to building a community tourism product may result from political leaders, a dominant industry, local businesses, residents, environmentalists, and public agencies at all levels. Hall (1994) asserts, “Power governs the interaction of individuals, organizations, and agencies influencing, or trying to influence, the formation of tourism policy and the manner in which it is implemented.”

Oftentimes, conflicts between tourism managers and place habitants emerge because tourism development is almost exclusively administered by outside parties, while the host society has less control. The main issue of such conflicts is the extent to which host residents feel a sense of ownership, belonging, and participation in decision-making processes. Basically, the tourism stakeholders differ not only in term of their available resources, interests, responsibilities and opportunities but also the degree of power. Among various groups of tourism stakeholders, the resident community is usually viewed as the marginalized or less powerful stakeholder. Local people are often neglected in the
planning and decision-making process and are often seen by tourism developers either as a common resource to be exploited or as an obstacle to be overcome in order to implement development strategies (Reid 2003). For example, the urban redevelopment and reimaging of Glasgow, which led to its being labeled European City of Culture in 1990, revealed a series of tensions between the planners and promoters of the city and the working-class communities, which were effectively excluded from the high-cultural experiences subsequently offered to tourists (Boyle and Hughes 1991). In the historic Town of Salt in Jordan, the local residents and shopkeepers were ignored by the governing bodies in Amman, who favored an imported approach to present the town as a tourist attraction (Orbasli 2000). In some cases, the powerlessness of local communities is heightened when they are involuntarily displaced and subsequently resettled due to the force of tourism development. For instance, in Guatemala, 300 campesino families were evicted in June 1996 from their property to give way for a Spanish businessman’s plans to build a tourist complex (Flynn 1996).

Conflicts and tensions with regard to tourism development can also occur within the community. These internal tensions are often associated with the issue of power relations among local groups in the community. Besides holding unequal power, each class of society has different links, identifications and associations with history and the environment. Conflicts usually arise when the ruling classes solely control and impose their own socio-cultural values on the place and its representatives. Dodson and Killian (1998), for instance, have highlighted the impact of tourism development on the local community in the Victoria and Alfred waterfront area of Cape Town, pointing in
particular to criticisms of the development for mainly tourists and affluent, White, middle-class residents. Residents of nearby Black townships have been effectively excluded from the relatively expensive facilities of the waterfront. Through a case study of the highland Toraja village of Kété Kesú on Sulawesi Island, Indonesia, Adam (2003) also showed that the representation of Toraja culture was partly a product of the Torajan elites’ struggles for their cultural, social, and political advantages.

As can be seen from the research and empirical evidence presented above, tourism has induced the transformation of place attributes in different ways and to various degrees. Drawn from the discussion of tourism and its relation to place-making, there are two main points that need to be highlighted. Firstly, the four attributes of place-making (the physical environment, place image and identity, community connections, and political capabilities) are not totally independent, but rather interconnected. Hence, the transformation of one attribute can cause the change of others. For example, place identities are associated with images and also connected to tangible environments, material history, traditions, and discourses of power and control. For residents, certain environments and events function to link the past with the present (Cuba and Hummon 1993) resulting in a felt sense of coherence (Linde 1993) and, to varying degrees, creating and reaffirming community identities (Stewart et al. 2004). As a result of the political nature of place identity, dominant groups in society frequently construct place images and identities, while marginal groups are inclined to exclusion. This can result in competing place identities that involve a variety of conflicting ideologies. Similarly, the complex phenomenon of community connections also involves many factors including
the characteristics of the physical environment (William et al. 1992; Stedman 2003), constructed place meanings, images and identities (Stokols and Shumaker 1981). In addition, places that contain close social connections and high level of civic engagement are more likely to have greater degree of political capacity and democratic participation (Putnam et al. 1993).

Secondly, touristic commoditization is almost always double-edged, causing both positive and negative impacts on place attributes. On one hand, tourism is said to erode historic buildings, disturb people's way of life, engender conflicting place image and identity, weaken community connections, and generate power imbalance. On the other hand, it may also raise historical consciousness and lead to preservation, improve living standards, strengthen local identity, enhance community connections, and empower local communities. Therefore, in evaluating the effects of global tourism, we have to turn our attention to the contradictory effects of tourism. We need to recognize that some compromise of values is inevitable and it is necessary to assess each instance situationally. More importantly, besides employing the normative problematic approach, the differentiated quality of local society as well as the complex constructions of place-based identity need to be included in the analysis of tourism impacts and place making.

6. Summary

This chapter provided a concrete framework for the research of global tourism and its relation to community life by employing the conception of place. In the beginning, the importance of the tourism industry in the globalization era was described. Then, the chapter affirmed the close connections between global tourism and local communities. As
widely recognized, central to the contemporary world is the interconnectedness of global-local economic and cultural flows. In this light, global tourism has increasingly engaged with local communities and these relationships are complex and highly contingent.

Next, the conceptualizations of place and place-making drawn from disciplines like human geography and philosophy were thoroughly reviewed. Based on these comparative conceptualizations, the researcher defined the term place as the socio-spatial patterns of human interrelations and values embedded in a physical environment, which is effectively controlled or influenced by its inhabitants. Place-making is thus a way of creating place-bound locality. Four emphases in the use of the term place include the locally constructed physical environment, social relations among those living in a place, the assignment of distinctive meaning and attachment to space, and a dynamic process and possibilities of change. The study of places is important for planners because the existence and continuation of places enhance human life and human flourishing. A better understanding of place and its process not only prevents planners from implementing urban projects that may lead to place breaking, but also broadens our views from merely focusing on economic spaces to embracing affectively valued, yet priceless, relations in localities.

In this chapter, a connection between place and tourism was drawn on the basis of two essential phenomena. The first one is commodification of place, which refers to the dominance of commodity exchange-value over use-value and implies the ascendancy of a consumer society where market relations subsume social life. In the tourist political economy, the force of commodification challenges the ability of public place
management authorities to keep the community's identity and sense of place unique. The new activities related to tourism interfere with the existing interaction pattern of people and place, and therefore hold the risk of unbalancing the pattern. The second phenomenon is the cultural politics of place, in which culture represents a highly contested expression and encompasses subjectivity, identity, and ideology. Under this notion, tourism is conceptualized as a dynamic component of a local culture instead of an external force influencing that culture. The main argument of the cultural politics approach is that the differentiated quality of local society as well as the complex constructions of place-based identity need to be included in the analysis of tourism impacts and place-making.

A proposed conceptual framework of tourism impact assessment that locates community life as the central focus is explained. In this model, the idea of place-making is used as an analytical construct to categorize the effects of tourism on community life. Four interconnected key attributes of place are identified: the physical landscape, place image and identity, community connections, and political capability. Conventional tourism development can lead to the changing conditions of these attributes in both positive and negative directions. In other words, the capitalist development of tourism is always double-edged. The main argument is that global tourism and its associated development is not conducive to the place-making process as it leads to the diminishing, rather than the flourishing, of these place attributes. The types and degree of tourism impact upon destination communities depend on several factors such as the kinds of activities tourists undertake, the kinds of entertainment and service tourists expect from
the hosts, and the interactions between tourists and local residents. Therefore, in evaluating the impacts of global tourism on community life, contradictory effects of the industry need to be taken into consideration. For the analysis of a case study, the potential impacts of global tourism on the changing conditions of four place attributes are summarized in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1: Potential Impacts of Tourism Development on Four Place Attributes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place Attribute</th>
<th>Positive Impact</th>
<th>Negative Impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Environment</td>
<td>• Conservation &amp; renovation of historic buildings</td>
<td>• Deterioration of historic buildings due to massive use or poor redevelopment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Improvement of local facilities</td>
<td>• Inappropriate new buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place Identity</td>
<td>• Strengthening local identity due to the increased awareness of local culture and history, and restoration of ethnic attributes</td>
<td>• Distortion of locally-perceived image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Diminishing local identity as local culture and history is commodified for economic gains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Marginalization of the identity of particular groups from the mainstream identity promoted by dominant groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Connection</td>
<td>• Residents are brought together through a tourism initiative</td>
<td>• Influx of in-migrants who lack the ties with local residents and the built environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Internal conflicts and tensions with regard to tourism benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Forced relocation of the local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Capability</td>
<td>• Formation of local organization to foster the tourism development</td>
<td>• Widening the gap between the powerful and marginalized groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of public participation in tourism decision-making process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: The Researcher.*
To minimize the negative impacts of tourism development as well as enrich the place-bound localities, a new framework for developing and managing tourism is required. The next chapter will present a model of responsible tourism and its principles that aim to empower local communities and ensure their continuity and flourishing of people-place relations.
CHAPTER 3
RESPONSIBLE TOURISM FRAMEWORK

1. Introduction

As portrayed in the previous chapter, global tourism has led to the transformation of destination communities in various ways and with different degrees. Whilst potentially contributing benefits to some places, the capitalist development of tourism is arguably the most powerful exogenous force diminishing the quality of place attributes. Such undesired impacts include the transformation of the physical landscape of a place, the commodification of place image, an erosion of community identity, a weakening of community connections, and the formulation of market-led, centralized tourism development policies. In extreme cases, this may lead to the place-breaking phenomenon.

The main concern in this thesis is that these negative changing conditions of one or more place attributes will subsequently undermine the community life of host populations.

To mitigate adverse tourism impacts on community life, ‘responsible tourism’ is purposely adopted in this research as a conceptual basis that aims to encourage a more comprehensive understanding of tourism and its social consequences. Unlike other alternative forms of tourism discussed later in this chapter, responsible tourism provides a broad perspective on the practical implication of tourism that cuts across many aspects of the society and involves multiple stakeholders. Essentially, it underlines the importance of social vitality and quality of a place, which is the main consideration of my research. Thus, the responsible tourism framework can be a useful guide to help planners protect a
delicate fabric of place-bound localities from being overwhelmed by the reckless influx of mass tourism and global capital.

This chapter seeks to establish a pathway to the pursuit of responsible tourism development in cities. It contains four sub-topics. Firstly, the concept, characteristics, and goals of responsible tourism are defined. Attention is paid to providing a better understanding of what “responsible tourism” means and how this form differs from other alternative forms of tourism. Secondly, three interconnected planning theories—collaborative planning, citizen participation, and empowerment—are reviewed. These planning theories are expected to benefit planners and destination managers who attempt to create responsible tourism strategic plans and policies. Thirdly, the emerging development-oriented paradigm of governance is examined. The main argument is that the more encompassing process of governance will lead to the success of policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation. More inclusive governance that involves key actors (e.g., governments, private sector, and citizens) will also enhance the quality of tourism development. Fourthly, destination management, which should be required for mitigating tourism impacts, is discussed in terms of its principles and approaches. This chapter concludes by highlighting the relevance of the responsible tourism idea in an urban context. A better understanding of how tourism functions in contemporary cities will be a basis for a case study analysis of urban tourism dynamics and its effects on community life as well as for the implication of responsible tourism development framework in urban tourist destinations.
2. Responsible Tourism Development

2.1 Conceptualization, Characteristics and Goals

The term ‘responsible tourism’ has emerged recently as a new framework for developing and managing tourism. As a new development concept, responsible tourism is still in the conceptual building stage. Yet, it reflects growing trends of rising public awareness of the harmful effects and irresponsibility of numerous tourism activities. The term incorporates various sub-fields of planning (e.g., community planning, regional planning, international planning and cooperation) and development.

Responsible tourism is not a brand or type of tourism. Rather, the term refers to a “tourism management strategy embracing planning, management, product development and marketing to bring about positive economic, social, cultural, and environmental impacts” (DEAT 2003). More specifically, Husbands and Harrison (1996) define responsible tourism as “a framework and a set of practices that chart a sensible course between the fuzziness of ecotourism and the well-known negative externalities associated with conventional mass tourism.” To them, the idea of responsible tourism provides an effective approach to conceive social and eco-cultural tourism products in the real world. The fundamental point of responsible tourism is that with certain techniques and strategies all forms of tourism, including mass tourism, can be practiced in ways that minimize and mitigate adverse impacts.

Conceptually, responsible tourism is about governments, local communities, private investors, and tourists knowing what the impacts of their actions are, and taking
responsibility for maximizing the positive benefits of tourism while minimizing the
negative ones. This means every involved party has a role in the responsible tourism
framework. Tourism operators, for instance, are responsible for providing more
rewarding holiday experiences for visitors, enabling local communities to enjoy a better
quality of life, respecting local cultures, and conserving natural resources. Likewise,
during their visit, tourists need to be aware of their potentially offensive behaviors and try
to respect local customs. The public sector, notably governments at all levels, can play a
role in the development of responsible tourism through legislation and regulation,
funding and fiscal incentives, land use planning, building control, and environment
impact assessments (EIAs).

The primary argument for responsible tourism is that multi-level collaboration
and stakeholder involvement is necessary for the policymaking and development process.
Stakeholder collaboration is defined as “a process of joint decision-making among
autonomous, key stakeholders...to resolve planning problems...and/or to manage issues
related to the planning and development [of tourism]” (Jamal and Getz 1995). Healey
(1997) contends that planning should draw on the webs of relations found in local areas
and build the capacities of stakeholders. Generally, tourism stakeholders include
governments, private enterprises, local people, civic organizations, tourists, and
international aid and development agencies. The involvement of stakeholders can yield
various potential benefits to a destination such as avoiding cost of resolving long-term
conflicts, enhancing political legitimacy, generating more effective and innovative plans,
and promoting a shared ownership of resulting policies.
Tourism, when practiced and developed responsibly, is expected to achieve the three following ultimate goals (Knott et al. 2004):

(1) Economic resilience. Responsible tourism highlights the equal distribution of tourism benefits among host communities, the business sector, and tourists themselves. Local economic benefits can be maximized through increasing linkages, reducing leakages, and ensuring that communities are involved in tourism development. Responsible tourism also promotes equitable business practices, pays and charges fair prices, builds partnerships, and supports small local enterprises.

(2) Socio-cultural vitality. Responsible tourism attempts to provide an inclusive social experience, while ensuring that socio-cultural diversity is maintained. Local cultures need to be presented in an authentic way by allowing host communities to determine the manner of their presentation. Endeavor is made to ensure that tour operations do not disrupt or lead to the displacement of local people; and ensure that the type and scale of tourism is appropriate to local conditions and operate within the limits set by local appropriate infrastructure.

(3) Ecological responsibility. Responsible tourism focuses on the management of natural diversity sustainably, and where appropriate restores it. Every tourism-related development should not exceed the carrying capacity of a given locale, introduce invasive species or disease, or dispose undesirable byproducts. It should use appropriate systems for minimizing waste and over-consumption, integrate environmental considerations into all economic considerations, and ensure any development is environmentally just.
While these three ultimate goals of responsible tourism development are equally important, little research effort has been given to exploring the socio-cultural dimension of tourism probably as a result of its unquantifiable nature (Brunt and Courtney, 1999). In this research, therefore, particular attention is devoted to minimizing adverse impacts of global tourism on community life. The aim is to develop a guiding principle for managing tourism development that brings social vitality to the host communities.

2.2 Locating Responsible Tourism among other Alternative Forms of Tourism

Over the past decades, the impacts of tourism have received greater attention in discourses and studies on related development. On one hand, the industry has a remarkable capability for generating growth in destination areas. On the other hand, it has led to a range of problems related to environmental, social, cultural, economic, and political issues in destinations. As a result, a number of new forms of tourism (in contrast to mass or mainstream tourism) have been invented in response to a need for alternative, more environment- and host-friendly tourism practices.

To understand where responsible tourism fits in the more general context of tourism, the difference between the term and other forms of tourism is beneficial. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to define and discuss every type of tourism that has proliferated in the last two decades, a reference should be made to some specific categories associated with responsible tourism. Table 3.1 presents a collection of terms used as descriptors of the new forms of tourism compiled from the vocabulary of relevant academic papers, journals, and international organization’s publications. Despite their slightly distinctive yet sometimes overlapping definitions, these forms are a step in the
direction of low-impact tourism and toward making a positive difference through tourism.

Table 3.1: Terms used as Descriptors of Alternative Forms of Tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Forms of Tourism</th>
<th>Definitions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsible Tourism</td>
<td>“Tourism management strategy embraces planning, management, product development and marketing to bring about positive economic, social, cultural, and environmental impacts” (DEAT 2003).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agro-tourism</td>
<td>“Tourism that encourages visitors to experience and learn about agricultural life for periods of a day, overnight, or longer-term. Visitors may have the opportunity to work in the fields alongside farmers, coffee growers, or fishermen” (WTO 1994).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community-based Tourism</td>
<td>“A process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain” (Gray 1989).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecotourism</td>
<td>“All nature-based forms of tourism in which the main motivation of the tourists is the observation and appreciation of nature as well as the traditional cultures prevailing in natural areas” (WTO-UNEP 2002).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Tourism</td>
<td>“A movement of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts and cultural tours, travel to festivals and other cultural events, visit to sites and monuments, travel to study nature, folklore or art, and pilgrimages” (WTO 1994).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage Tourism</td>
<td>“Tourism centered on what we have inherited, which can mean anything from historic buildings, to art works, to beautiful scenery” (Yale 1991).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-poor Tourism</td>
<td>Tourism that “generates net benefits for the poor (i.e., benefits are greater than costs). Economic benefits are only one (very important) component – social, environmental and cultural costs and benefits also need to be taken into account” (DFID 1992).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainable Tourism</td>
<td>“Tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems” (WTO 2001).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Compared to the overarching paradigm of responsible tourism, several new forms of tourism shown in the above table are by no means comprehensive. Agro-tourism, a subcategory of ecotourism and rural tourism, mainly focuses on farming sector and sustaining rural life in general, so its activities are incapable of being carried out in urban areas. Ecotourism tends to be more of an environmental-oriented approach, in which the socio-cultural component is downplayed (Weaver 2005). Many researchers comment that case studies of ecotourism projects provide at best a micro-solution to a macro-problem of mass tourism (Wheeler 1991; Clarke 1997). Heritage tourism is both “special interest and place specific” (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000) and often pays greater attention to the physical relics of the past rather than the contemporary living environment or host communities. Some forms of alternative tourism (e.g. ecotourism, adventure tourism, and agro-tourism) are merely created to satisfy the increasingly segmented niche markets or used as marketing tools (Thomlinson and Getz 1996), so they are sometimes ethically inferior (Hall and Butler 1995; Scheyvens 1999). In the South Pacific, for example, ecotourism “has been promoted within a particularly narrow band of conservation and business thought, which has often failed to appreciate the role of social and political values” (Rudkin and Hall 1996: 223).

Among numerous forms of new tourism, the term ‘sustainable tourism’ is the most prevailing paradigm discussed in the tourism research literature (Lane 1994; Mowforth and Munt 1998). However, this dominant paradigm is unsuitable to use as a conceptual framework of analysis in this study as a result of its various interpretational

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6 The overlap between heritage tourism and cultural tourism is so close that the terms are often used synonymously (Costa and van der Borg 1993).
and practical problems. The term has been criticized as being too parochial, or tourism-centric, as it fails to provide a conceptual vehicle for policy formulation (Wall 1993). The notion of sustainable tourism is an "essentially contested concept" (Hall 1998b) and means a great number of different things, depending on backgrounds and perceptions of those who are defining and using it (Hunter 1997; Garrod and Fyall 1998). The 'muddy pool' (Harrison 1996) of debate on sustainable tourism is "patchy, disjoined and at times flawed" (Liu 2003). Indeed, "little appears to have been written, in depth, on the meaning and implications of sustainable tourism development" (Hunter and Green 1995: 69). Most research "had advanced little beyond the stage of formulating and discussing various principles and assumptions" (Komilis 1994: 65). Practical problems involved in the concept result from the scale issues, as the focus of analysis has been mainly on the local, destination level (Wall 1997; Burns 1999). Oftentimes, governments and the industry misuse the concept to justify or legitimize their policies and activities, as they perceive the idea of sustainable development as a "holistic, future-oriented, and socially equal global-scale process" (Saarinen 2006).

Another critical shortcoming of sustainable tourism concept is that it provides little contribution to the social dimension of tourism analysis. Sustainability in tourism is addressed in a vague notion (Cohen 2002) of which a central theme emphasizes on the harmonious relationship with the natural environment (Butler 1991; May 1991), based upon a "quintessentially Western environmentalism" (Munt 1992: 213). Socio-cultural issues have thus been given secondary attention (Pearce 1995), are slipped in (Harrison 1996), are weak (Ashley et al. 2001), are marginalized (Pearce et al. 1998), or are
ignored (Cole 2006). For example, in seven edited collections on sustainable tourism from the 1990s only 17% of articles dealt with community issues (Viken et al. 1999). Therefore, instead of using the dominant yet debatable paradigm of sustainable tourism, the more encompassing and practical-oriented idea of responsible tourism is brought up as a conceptual basis in this research.

3. Framework of Responsible Tourism

To promote economic resilience, environmental sound, and socio-cultural vitality in the destinations, the concept of responsible tourism needs to be carried out. Figure 3.1 shows the organizational structure of responsible tourism framework that incorporates three fundamental means of facilitating positive change in tourism development: governance, planning, and destination management. Instead of acting in isolation, these means are supportive of one another. Multi-level of governance structures – national, regional, and local levels – act as a filter for responsible tourism. Planning is a very important part of process by which governments at all levels manage tourism. Citizen participation is viewed as one of key dimensions of effective governance structures. Likewise, empowered local communities are more likely to participate and influence the outcomes of decisions, which consequently results in sound destination governance. At the same time, regulatory structures of governance based on the principles of accountability, transparency, and participation should plausibly establish destination management and planning endeavor at the center of responsible tourism. The following are detailed discussions of and literatures on the three main components of the responsible tourism framework.
Figure 3.1: Responsible Tourism Development Framework

Source: The Researcher.
3.1 Destination Governance

Inherently obvious in the framework of responsible tourism development is the necessity for effective governance mechanisms. Over a decade, the term ‘governance’ has emerged as a core feature in the field of development. Generally speaking, the term refers to “the processes, in increasingly complex and fragmented societies ... whereby some degree of societal order is achieved, goals decided on, policies elaborated and services delivered” (Atkinson 2003: 103). More specifically, commentators define it as “the emergence of ‘negotiated self-governance’ in communities, cities and regions, based on new practices of coordinating activities through networks and partnerships” (Newman 2001: 24). The concept involves a “reconfiguration of relationships and responsibilities, encompassing complex alliances of actors and networks across permeable institutional boundaries and an expanded vision of the public domain” (Cornwall 2004: 1). It emphasizes new interactive relations between the government and society under which co-regulation, co-steering, co-production, cooperative management, and public-private partnerships become necessary (Kooiman 1993). Consequently, these shifting scales, scope and culture of the relationships of governance have resulted in the repositioning of local governments to become one among many agencies involved in decision-making in the local regulatory frameworks, in policy-making, and in seeking access to the resources and capacities to implement policy (Tickell and Peck 1996).

In contrast to the term government, which centers on the organization of the state, governance is a more encompassing process by which public decisions are made and put into practice (Douglass and Ooi 2002). In such a process, the state and its institutions,
civil society\textsuperscript{7}, and the private sector together undertake interactive activities through networks and partnerships (Newman 2001) aiming to create policies and projects that represent public interests (Frischtak 1994). To make global tourism become responsible to local communities, governance at all levels needs to play an active role in filtering, prioritizing and implementing tourism development. The formation of national, regional and local governance structures can also connect key sectors – industry, government, communities and tourists – to an inclusive framework. Improved local governance is also extremely crucial as it is the “central arena for public participation and the democratic exercise of citizen’s rights” (Farazmand 2004).

As mentioned above, the concept of governance underlines the link of the government, industry and host communities, as single entity to facilitate positive change in responsible tourism and problem solving. Fundamentally, an involvement of the state in tourism development is required to assure that such development causes the least negative impact and yields the most benefits to the majority of host populations. Richter (1989) pointed out that political and administrative action was a key determinant of the success or failure of tourism. Morah (1996), citing of nearly a half dozen program assessments going back to 1964, concluded that implementation and administration were the most significant challenges to tourism development in developing countries. However, without engaging communities or private enterprises, the public sector has little actual control over issues of responsible tourism. While having political responsibility to respond to the desires of their populaces, national, regional and local

\textsuperscript{7} The term is usually used to refer to the intermediate sphere between the state and the market (Friedmann 1992).
governments are experiencing problems of non-compliance and lack of enforcement. Governments, especially at the national level, tend to selectively enforce regulations and react to only the most manifest forms of social mobilization and protest. Besides, many nation states are now facing the weakening of their political legitimacy and integrity (Newman 2001) due to challenges from both within (e.g., the fragmentation of class politics, growing diversity and demand for recognition of different interests, and corruption) and outside (e.g., the process of globalization and pressures from international organizations). At the same time, tourism development cannot depend upon market forces alone because private enterprises mainly aim toward profit maximization without much consideration of negative social, environmental or cultural impacts. Left to their own motives and methods, government, civil society and private sector are often more likely to produce counter-productive or limited outcomes than they are to successfully address tourism problems (Douglass and Ooi 2002).

The notion of governance also contributes to the application of planning theories by introducing a new conception of power. Governance theory analyzes power not as ‘social control’ but as ‘social production’ within networks of interactions (Callon and Law 1995). This means, rather than viewing power as a structurally defined force held by a single individual or institution, power is conceived of as a dispersed effect, mobilized through the performance of interactions, composed and reproduced in the myriad networks. The focus on the interactive nature of the production of power is purposeful for the possibilities of local government empowerment and collaborations, as it suggests that
if power is enacted in networks of interaction, the outcomes can be shaped by the actors enrolled in such interaction.

Many researchers have stressed the importance of governance to responsible tourism development. For example, Trousdale (1999), in his case study research of community planning in Boracay Island, the Philippines, contended that better planning should be coupled with improved governance in order to move from knowledge to implementation. Göymen (2000) explored the role of the state with regard to stages of tourism development in Turkey during the 1980s to 1990s. He discovered that the country’s governance systems had been transformed from a state-sponsored and managed development to different forms of public-private partnerships. His suggestion for Turkey to maintain her position in the international tourism league is that the country has to complete the transformation towards improved governance, which is a critical factor of competitiveness. Caffyn and Jobbins (2003) examined the implications of the governance systems in Morocco and Tunisia for the effective development and management of coastal tourism. The evidence from case studies illustrated a similar result: “rigid government structures of a top-down, command and control nature do not have the capacity to govern the complex dynamics of coastal zones” (ibid.: 242).

Several international organizations (e.g., ADB, the World Bank, UNDP, and OECD) have identified the key elements of governance. Due to the different ethos and experience, their perceptions of what constitutes good governance are varied. For example, the World Bank (1992), in Governance and Development, defines four dimensions of governance: public sector management, accountability, legal framework
for development, and transparency and information. In *Governance: Sound Governance Management* (ADB 1995), four key elements of good governance are accountability, participation, predictability, and transparency. In the UNDP policy document, *Governance for Sustainable Human Development* (UNDP 1997), good governance is characterized by participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, and strategic vision.

Drawn from the above recurring themes, the three common pillars of good governance used in this study are accountability, transparency, and participation.

Accountability, at its simplest, means decision-makers, or those who exercise authority, are responsible for their actions and performances (ADB 1995, 2007; World Bank 1992). This may be achieved differently in different countries or political structures, depending on the history, cultural milieu, and value systems involved. Transparency prescribes clear rules and procedures and demands disclosure (Nikomborirak 1999). The availability of information constitutes an important dimension of transparency (World Bank 1992). Transparent decision-making processes are recognized as a means of preventing corruption (ADB 1995, World Bank 1992). Finally, participation is closely associated with the democratic process whereby all stakeholders are given an equal voice in the management of affairs (Nikomborirak 1999). Its principle derives from an acceptance that people are not only the ultimate beneficiaries of development, but also the agents of development (ADB 1995). Conceptually, the three elements of governance tend to be mutually supportive and reinforcing. Accountability is often related to participation, and is also the safeguard of transparency. Similarly, transparency and information openness
cannot be assured without institutional accountability. Stakeholder involvement would be helpful for ensuring the accountability of public institutions. At the same time, a transparent system also facilitates governmental accountability and true public participation.

3.2 Urban Planning

As described earlier, responsible tourism refers to a management strategy embracing sub-fields of planning and development. Thus, some planning theories associated with tourism development need to be reviewed. In this research, attention is given to three interconnected theoretical perspectives: collaborative theory, citizen participation, and empowerment. All of them are viewed as viable principles for planners in generating tourism policies and plans in a responsible way. This section covers not only the definition of each theory, but also potential benefits and practical constraints of its implications in tourism development.

3.2.1 Collaborative Planning

The fundamental principle of collaborative planning involves making connections among ideas and among people; setting in motion joint learning; coordinating among interests and players; building social, intellectual and political capital; and finding new ways to work on the most challenging tasks (Innes 1997). Emphasis is placed on the fact that planning communications are not just exchanges of words but they reflect a variety of institutional, political, and power relationships. Through these exchanges, a collective sense of meaning is gradually created and subsequent actions will be heavily influenced
by these shared understanding (Healey 1993, 1997; Innes 1995). Forester (1989) and Innes (1995) assert that the main challenge for planners is how to build the capacity of diverse stakeholders, so they are able to express concerns about their locality. In addition, planners are also encouraged to become more aware of the role of politics and power in decision context (Forester 1999).

In the field of tourism, the integration of collaboration and stakeholder involvement into the policymaking and development process has been given enormous attention from academics and practitioners. Several researchers have worked on determining key characteristics of the collaboration process (Gray 1989; Parker 2000). Some have investigated the application of the concept to the local tourism policymaking (Bramwell and Sharman 1999; Vernon et al. 2005), planning (Getz and Jamal 1994; Reed 1999; Timothy 1999), and management processes (Gill and Williams 1994; Aas et al. 2005). Some have proposed guiding principles to establish successful initiatives (Jamal and Getz 1995). Others have attempted to develop an analytical framework to assess whether collaborative arrangements are inclusionary and bring in collective learning and consensus building (Bramwell and Sharman 1999; Aas et al. 2005).

There are several potential benefits derived from stakeholder collaborations in the tourism development process. For example, collaboration can help involved parties avoid the costs of resolving conflicts among them in the long term (Healey 1998). Collaborative relations may be more politically legitimate if they give stakeholders a greater influence in the decision-making that affects their lives (Benveniste 1989). In addition, through collaborations, the coordination of policies and related actions can be improved, while
environmental, economic, and social impacts of tourism can also be promoted. This results in more efficient and responsible outcomes (Lane 1994). According to Bramwell and Broom (1989), collaboration “adds value” to the tourism initiatives as they are built on the store of knowledge, insights, and capacities of stakeholders in the destination. Roberts and Bradley (1991) also suggest that the sharing of ideas among stakeholders results in a richer understanding of issues and leads to more innovative policies. Such cooperative working may promote a “shared ownership” of the resulting policies, and thereby channel energies into joint implementation of “co-production” (Susskind and Elliott 1983).

While offering numerous advantages to stakeholders and destinations, tourism collaborations are facing many difficulties. For instance, the resource allocations, policy ideas, and institutional practices embedded within the society may often restrict the influence of particular stakeholders on collaborative arrangements (Bramwell and Sharman 1999). The identification and legitimization of all potential stakeholders are critical to the implementation of collaborative approach (Roberts and Simpson 1999). This is because of the diversity of stakeholders who, by their very nature, have uneven access to available resources; different interests, responsibilities and opportunities; and most importantly, unequal degree of power. Many scholars highlight that power is the key factor in determining the initiation and success of collaboration in destinations (Hall 1994; Jamal and Getz 1995; Reed 1997). In many cases, problems emerge because “it is frequently assumed that collaboration can overcome power imbalances by involving all stakeholders in a process that meets their needs” (Reed 1997:567). In fact, the inequality
among participants will still exist, especially if they lack resources or capacity. Hence, the marginalized or less powerful stakeholders should not only have a right to be involved in the decision-making process, but they also need the resources and capacity (e.g., skill and knowledge) to participate.

3.2.2 Citizen Participation

The importance of citizen involvement in planning was recognized as far back as the 1960s, when planning was still primarily defined as a modernist, state-directed activity (Faludi 1973). Public participation has become a democratic virtue, providing a means of informing the planning process and a way of legitimizing and validating planning decisions. For decades, attempts to promote citizen participation in planning have been growing in number. Friedmann (1973), for instance, urges the adoption of a transactive style of planning with emphasis on interpersonal relationships and skills. Inspired by Habermas’s (1984) theory of communicative action, Forester (1999) proposes the concept of deliberative practice in which planners work with and learn from others. More recently, commentators have emphasized the role of civil society as the key to democratizing planning (Friedmann 1998; Holsten 1998; Fischer 2000).

In the realm of tourism, an enhanced role of communities is widely regarded as a crucial dimension of both policy development and implementation (Murphy 1985; Inskeep 1991; Gunn 1994; Marien and Pizam 1997; Bramwell and Sharman 1999). Such recognition has led to the creation of the community-based tourism planning and development in which planners need to encourage members of the host community to
participate in decision-making about tourism activities that affect their lives. Much
discussion is devoted to the merits of specific techniques of involvement (Ritchie 1985;
Marien and Pizam 1997). The broader processes of citizens and industry leaders
‘crafting’ a vision for development of a destination are also examined (Ritchie 1993;
Jamal and Getz 1997). Some scholars suggest that there are different degrees of intensity
of participation in the planning process (Haywood 1988; Simmons 1994). Two important,
yet similar, models often cited in various studies are Arnstein’s (1969) classic ladder of
participation\(^8\) and Pretty’s (1995) more contemporary work on typology of participation\(^9\).
Both models emphasize the importance of the power relationships. They greatly benefit
planners and practitioners in developing and evaluating their participation programs that
allow for differing degrees of external involvement and local control.

Various potential benefits of community participation in tourism development and
planning process have been documented. For example, involvement in planning is likely
to result in more appropriate decisions and greater motivation on the part of the local
people (Hitchcock 1993). Additionally, the protection of the environment and other
tourism resources will be supported (Tourism Concern 1992), as a sense of belonging and
ownership is enhanced through public participation process. The community-based
approach tries to ensure that a large share of tourism’s benefits will be yielded to local
residents, avoids the cost of resolving adversarial conflicts, and adds value by building on

\(^8\) Arnstein (1969) describes increasingly intense citizen inputs on a continuum whose opposite
poles are manipulation (or being consulted) and citizen control (being able to determine every
aspect of the development process), and which distinguishes between tokenism and citizen power.

\(^9\) Pretty’s (1995) typology contains seven levels of participation ranging from manipulative
participation (people are only representatives on official board, but they are unelected and have
no power) to self-mobilization (people participate by taking initiatives independently).
the existing store of local knowledge, insights and capabilities (Bramwell and Lane 1999; Hall 2000). As Tosun and Timothy (2003) note, the local community is more likely to know what will work and what will not in their local conditions. They also suggest that community participation can add to the democratization process, which subsequently encourages various forms of equity and empowerment.

The creation of active citizen participation in tourism development, often known as community-based tourism development, however, needs to overcome various challenges and barriers. Most of them are similar to those affecting collaboration and stakeholder involvement approach, for example, a lack of information, education, appropriate skills, experience, interest, and resources (Forester 1989; Healey 1997). Involving diverse actors in regular meetings and decision-making is usually complex, time consuming, and costly (Marien and Pizam 1997; Swarbrook 1999). Thus, the local government with limited skilled human and financial resources is incapable of undertaking participatory approaches. Studies of community participation in remote areas of less developing countries reveal further barriers: the concept of citizen participation is new (Mitchell 1994); decisions are made by bureaucrats in a highly centralized political system; planners believe that local people are uneducated and too ignorant to be involved; and importantly local people do not have knowledge to participate (Timothy 1999; Cole 2006). Tosun and Jenkins (1996) argue in relation to Turkey that the tourism-related government bodies are not accessible to the majority of indigenous people. Wahab (1997) points out that local communities often devote more attention to other problematic issues such as the lack of clean and hygienic food and drink than tourism
development. Other community participation constraints include the lack of co-ordination and cohesion within the tourism industry\textsuperscript{10} (Jamal and Getz 1995); the lack of qualified personal in the field of tourism; and ignorance of the benefits of planning among public authorities (Din 1997).

In addition to the above constraints, one of the main concerns in developing community-based tourism planning is the degree of participation and the extent of power allocated to citizens in determining the end product. Often, citizens are included in the advisory committee, but their functions are merely to rubber stamp proposals. The purpose of false inclusion is merely to educate local people, engineer their support, or nurture their feelings, without giving them power to negotiate or make decision. In some cases, even though citizens receive information about their rights, responsibilities, and options, there is no channel provided for feedback, so people have little opportunity to influence the program. For example, in a case study of Scotland's Tourism Management Programs (TMPs) described by Caffyn (2000), a Community Forum was established. Its main purpose was to provide local input for the TMP work programs and raise issues of concerns. However, Caffyn noted that the level of participation, when related to Arnstein's (1967) model, was relatively low, as the Forum simply responded to the TMP agenda.

Therefore, an important task for planners is to ensure that a local initiative in tourism policymaking is inclusive and promotes collective learning and consensus building. At the same time, planners should emphasize balancing power differences

\textsuperscript{10} This refers to the coordination among the government agencies, between the public and private sector, and among private enterprises.
among participants. Community participation is about true active participation and, as argued here, a pathway to achieve ‘empowerment’, which is considered as a goal in itself and as a driver of responsible tourism development.

3.2.3 Empowerment

Empowerment, in its broadest sense, is the expansion of freedom of choice and action (Sen 1999). It refers to a process that helps individuals or groups increase their authority and control over factors and decisions that affect their lives (Scheyvens 1999). Empowerment is situated at the top end of the “participation ladder” (Arnstein 1969), where members of a community are active agents of change and they have the ability to find solutions to their problems, make decisions, implement actions, and evaluate their solutions (Cole 2006). Although the situation in which local communities have absolute control over their own lives seems very ideological and perhaps incongruous with the development of the larger society, planners need to encourage communities to involve in planning process and enhance their capabilities to participate.

The application of the empowerment concept to tourism development corresponds to the community-based tourism initiative discussed above. The primary aim is to empower local people, so they are able to decide what forms of tourism facilities and types of tourism activities they want to see developed in their respective communities, as well as how the tourism costs and benefits are divided among different stakeholders. However, while a collection of literature exists in relation to empowerment and employment (Wynne 1993; Lashley 2001), there are few studies “that focus specially on empowerment and tourism development outside the business sector” (Sofield 2003).
Among the limited number of investigations on empowerment in tourism studies, Scheyvens's (1999) framework is a useful mechanism for aiding the analysis of tourism impacts on local communities. Extending from Friedmann’s (1992) writing, Scheyvens builds her framework around four dimensions of empowerment. The first dimension is economic empowerment, which results from economic gains of tourism. In this dimension, much attention needs to be paid to the equity in the distribution of benefits as well as access to productive resources in the community. This is because the power holders in any society will usually have substantial influence over the benefits of tourism projects (Smith 1996). Many studies reveal that local elites, particularly men, often co-opt and come to dominate tourism development efforts, thereby monopolizing the economic benefits (Liu 1994; Mansperger 1995; Akama 1996).

The second dimension is psychological empowerment, which is derived from an increase of self-esteem and pride in traditions and culture among individuals and communities (Scheyvens 1999). Tourism that is sensitive to cultural norms and builds respect for local traditions can empower local people. The ability of tourism to create pride has been widely discussed (Boissevain 1996; Adams 1997; Cole 1997). For instance, in Tanzania, the ‘TO DO’ prize\(^\text{11}\) contributed to increased confidence (Adler 1999). On the other hand, tourism that interferes with customs or with the integral relationship between local people and their land may have devastating effects. One example described by Mansperger (1995) is the relocation of the Yagua Indians by tour

\(^{11}\) The international contest on socially responsible tourism initiated and organized by the Studienkreis für Tourismus und Entwicklung (Institute for Tourism and Development) in 1995. The award ceremony takes place annually in March during the International Tourism Exchange in Berlin, Germany (http://www.todo-contest.org).
operators into regions that are more accessible to tourists. As the Yagua become
dependent on tourist money raised from cultural performances, they do not have time to
grow crops, hunt and fish. Mansperger discovered that various health problems now
plague the Yagua, while apathy and depression are commonplace. These feelings often
indicate psychological disempowerment of a community.

The third dimension is social empowerment, which refers to a community’s sense
of cohesion and integrity that has been strengthened as local people are brought together
by a tourism initiative (Scheyvens 1999). The establishment of local youth groups and
women’s groups is probably a sign of an empowered community. Profits from tourism
activity can also be used to fund social development projects such as water supply
systems or health clinics in destination areas. Some examples of social empowerment
outcomes of tourism are described by Sanger (1988) in relation to Bali, by McGettigan et
al. (2006) in relation to Ireland, and by Ashley et al. (2001). Nonetheless, tourism may
cause social disempowerment if it generates crime, begging, displacement from
traditional lands, loss of authenticity, or prostitution (Mansperger 1993).

The fourth dimension is political empowerment, which refers to a shift in balance
between the powerful and the marginalized groups, between the dominant and the
dependent. Tourism can empower local communities by increasing their access to
information, external contacts (Ashley et al. 2001), new language skills and globalized
media (Williams 1998). These tourism benefits can consequently improve knowledge,
which is an essential element of empowerment (Tosun and Timothy 2003). In many
marginalized communities where local people lack the confidence to take part in the

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decision-making process, tourism can act as an important driver that provides individuals confidence as well as strengthens their identity (Swain 1990; Johnston 1992) and self-belief, which are necessary factors required for them to be active in decision-making forums.

Scheyvens's framework presents not only four levels of empowerment but also factors that facilitate or constrain people’s efforts to achieve empowerment and obtain desired development outcomes. Such factors include individual assets (e.g., material, human, social and psychological capabilities), collective assets (e.g., civic organization, representation, and community identity), and institutional structures (e.g., rules and norms). Thus, tourism development initiatives should attempt to improve the condition of these facilitating factors in order to empower local people.

The above literature review highlights the contributions of three interconnected planning theories to tourism development. With a clearer understanding of these theories, planners and destination managers should be able to formulate more inclusive strategic plans and policies that direct tourism development towards the goals of responsibility. At the same time, attempts need to be made to overcome various critical constraints, especially the power imbalance of tourism stakeholders, and enhance the capabilities of local people.

3.3 Destination Management

As addressed in the responsible tourism development goals, potential negative impacts of tourism on host populations need to be minimized. This can be achieved not
only through the implementation of comprehensive, dynamic, and systematic planning with stakeholder collaboration, but also through effective destination management. Traditionally, destination management is initiated and administered by the public sector, which refers to government at all levels. It is required to assist in providing the tourism product, policy guidelines, and control mechanisms (Elliott 1997). In general, public management is concerned with the functioning of the public sector with its responsibility to serve the public interest and as it works to achieve public objectives (Wilson 1989; Hughes 1994). Specifically, McIntosh et al. (1995) define destination management as:

"The managerial approach that is firm-oriented (microeconomic), focusing on the management activities necessary to operate a tourist enterprise, such as planning, research, pricing, advertising, control, and the like...Products change, institutions change, society changes; this means that managerial objectives and procedures must be geared to change to meet shifts in the tourism environment" (p. 17).

Destination management is a very complex activity embracing a wide range of public organizations as well as including many sub-areas of the tourism industry such as marketing, human resource, operations, and finance (Swarbrook 1999). It also has to operate within the political system, society, and industrial environment with its power relationships (Elliott 1997).

Responsible tourism development calls for higher quality destination management, which is more responsive to society and the needs of industry. This can be achieved by following certain principles. According to Elliott (1997), five basic principles of public management are public interest, public service, effectiveness, efficiency, and accountability. A basic responsibility of public sector is to primarily
manage for public interest not for any private or particular business interest. Public management also needs to provide the necessary public service. Effectiveness is the achievement of formal goals and objectives. Efficiency is the achievement of output at the lowest possible cost (Chapman 1988). For the benefit of the public, destination managers have responsibility not just for achieving economic objectives and responding to market demands but also for social objectives, social justice, and equity. As Wilson (1989: 132) stressed, “equity is more important than efficiency in the management of many government agencies.” The last and perhaps strongest principle is accountability as it enforces the first four principles. Accountability is imperative to make public officials answerable and responsible for their actions and decisions (ADB 2007), so it includes the functions of control, monitoring, answerability, and evaluation (Elliott 1997). Although these principles are interrelated, in practice they can sometimes contradict one another. Thus, success in dealing with such contradictions is one determinant of the good manager. The implementation and enforcement of these principles not only stands as a safeguard against political and managerial abuse and corruption, but also enhances the positive outcomes of tourism development ventures.

Besides these general principles, attention needs to be paid to other key elements to successful destination management. For instance, due to the dynamic nature of the tourism industry, management must be responsive to new initiatives and be prepared to undertake and to be open to a variety of inputs. Tourism managers should possess management skills and knowledge about not only the administration system but also the tourism industry and how it operates. They should develop good relationships and
coordination between various sections of the tourism policy community. Another essential function of destination managers is leadership. Managers should be able to play not only passive sponsorship role but also active leadership role in taking the initiative for action and policy implementation.

Over the years, attempts have been made to develop approaches to destination management aiming to control and minimize adverse impacts of tourism. One of the most widely used yet problematic approaches is ‘tourism carrying capacity.’ By taking account of various dimensions, Lindsay (1986: 17) provided a comprehensive definition of carrying capacity as “the physical, biological, social and psychological capacity of the environment to support tourist activity without diminishing environmental quality or visitor satisfaction.” However, many problems associated with this concept still remain unsolved. For example, its variations are limited on the theme of visitor impacts on physical environment (Mathieson and Wall 1982), or social interaction (Kuss et al. 1990) with an exclusion of other factors, including the economic, cultural and political impacts of tourism (Glasson et al. 1995). There is a lack of empirical evidence supporting the argument that by simply identifying a threshold level, current and future impacts can be controlled (Williams and Gill 1991). The carrying capacity of any given destination is not fixed but changed by some sorts of site modification and management action (O’Reilly 1986). Other critics further argue that the concept is neither absolute nor readily measurable, and it merely seeks for some numeric value (i.e., maximum number of visitors) of little use, particular when no further action is taken once the capacity has been exceeded (Shelby and Heberlein 1986).
Therefore, instead of carrying capacity, this research suggests destination managers utilize 'visitor impact management' as a means of coping with increasing visitor numbers and their impacts. Visitor impact management is "an approach which moves beyond the limits identified in ecological and social studies of carrying capacity and tries to apply to human impacts and interactions" (Glasson et al. 1995). This approach recognizes that simply establishing limits may do little to reduce the impacts they were intended to resolve (Graefe et al. 1990). The primary argument is that destination managers need to better understand the nature of tourism impacts and the factors related to their occurrence, and then develop management strategies to reduce the impacts (Glasson et al. 1995). A sequential process of visitor impact management includes reviewing management objectives and goals, identifying indicators related to those objectives, selecting standards for each indicator, devising potential management strategies, and finally implementing the monitoring process to check the effectiveness of management actions (McCool 1991). Completing all these steps makes visitor impact management approach become a dynamic process with capability to respond to changing conditions of use and impact (Williams and Gill 1991).

4. Applying Responsible Tourism in an Urban Context

In order to help planners and destination managers apply the concept of responsible tourism development to a case study of urban community in Bangkok, a better understanding of the role and function of tourism in modern cities needs to be developed. This is because the success of responsible tourism planning, policies, and management strategies greatly depend on their suitability for implementation in a
targeted area. In this study, it refers to an urban destination that contains a specific political, economic, and socio-cultural context.

Since the beginning of 1990s, many scholars have increasingly recognized the significance of urban tourism (Law 1992, 1993, 2002; Page 1995; Van den Berg et al. 1995). Law (1993: 1) argues that large cities are in fact "the most important type of tourist destination across the world". This assertion can be explained by many pull factors of cities such as their wide variety of tourism products, large population size, transportation hub or gateway function, and concentrations of other service-based industries. Hinch (1996) even notes that urban tourism plays an important role in the creation of sustainable cities, as it has the potential to either act against or contribute to the sustainability of the city. To him, one of the critical concerns regarding the sustainability of both the city and its tourism function is the continuation of "a sense of community within the urban destination" (ibid: 99). With an increased attention to the emerging field of urban tourism, several academics have proposed models to help explain the role of tourism in modern cities, for example, Ashworth and Voogd’s (1990) model on City Marketing, Law’s (1992) model on regeneration, Shaw, Jones and Ling’s (1997) model of contested space in seaports, Hanningan’s (1998) thesis of the Fantasy City, Ashworth and Tunbridge’s (2000) tourist Historic City model, and Tyler’s (2000) Urban Tourism Framework.

The study of tourism in large cities is very challenging topic, as there are many constraints and difficulties associated with the nature of urban tourism. In cities, the impacts of tourism are not only often overshadowed by the impacts of other activities, but
they are also often obscured in a “volatile urban environment in which change is the norm rather than the exception” (Hinch 1996). The fragmentation of tourism leads to its low profile in the city, even though the aggregate impacts of tourism can be vital. According to Pearce (1998: 459), tourism in urban areas is distinguished by the “multifunctional nature of cities, the multidimensional character of urban tourism (especially the diverse range of attractions available), and the multipurpose motivation of some urban-oriented travel”. Thus, urban tourism tends to be more complex and its analysis is less straightforward than in many coastal or alpine resorts.

Besides the complexity and diversity nature of urban tourism, there are another two important interrelated phenomena that need to be taken into account not only when analyzing its dynamics and effects but also when applying means of responsible tourism. The first phenomenon is the “contestation of space”, which basically means “the clash of views of how space in the city should be used and developed” (Tyler 2000). The identification of space and the relationship of people to it is a socially constructed, so no two groups of interests share exactly the same view of how space could be used and developed (Shaw et al. 1997). Such contest can emerge from either power struggles over social construction of identity and heritage (Tunbridge 1997) or resident perception of crowding due to the increased number of tourists and new facilities (Glasson et al. 1995). However, in some cities, especially where socio-cultural environment is robust such as Amsterdam, the contestation does not exist because such cities may be able to absorb changes brought by tourism (Hughes 1998).
The second phenomenon is the need to sell the city to tourists and inward investors or what Philo and Kearns (1993) call “selling place phenomenon”. Throughout the past two decades, the practice of selling places has been expanding as urban managers have more or less consciously manipulated cultural resources for capital gain. City marketing has become more pronounced in recent years with the shift from industrial to service-based economies in many countries (Harvey 1989; Zukin 1995). Ashworth and Voogd (1990) view city marketing as a reaction to economic change with a use of such methods as marketing, undertaking physical change, and image recreation to promote inward investment. New images of a city are created to replace images held by residents, investors, and visitors that are considered to be vague or negative by marketers (Holcomb 1993). In some cases, local communities are socially and economically excluded from the newly created “tourist bubbles” (Fainstein and Judd 1999) or even from the entertainment and cultural quarters. Such exclusion makes city marketing directly links to the first phenomenon of contestation of space.

To take positive action in addressing the issues emerged from both contestation of space and selling place phenomena, means of responsible tourism development notably planning, destination management and governance are required. Destination management, which usually includes an ongoing planning process and stakeholder involvement, will seek to find an accepted level and type of tourist activity that balances the needs of residents, the industry, governments, and the environment. With a better understanding of dynamics of urban tourism, planners and destination managers should be able to implement responsible tourism ventures more effectively. At a result, urban
tourism will have a high potential to contribute to the ongoing development of the city, maintain the city’s diversity and vitality, improve the quality of life, and create a new sense of social inclusion, rather than cause problems or conflicts.
CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHOD

1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological decisions and approaches undertaken in order to best meet the goals and objectives stated in the first chapter. It also portrays the researcher's role, data collection procedures, and recording techniques conducted during the four months of field research. Influenced by critical and constructivist paradigms, a qualitative case study approach was adopted. The historical analysis was carried out to examine the influence of tourism development on the long-term changes of the socio-physical environment in the old royal center of Bangkok. In-depth key informant interviews, field observations, and community mapping exercises were employed in this primarily inductive analysis as a means to gather the primary data. These data-collection techniques effectively provided ways to illuminate the justifications for the analysis of tourism development impacts on community life. This chapter also discusses the validity and reliability of the qualitative-oriented research design approach, coding and data analysis applied in this study.

2. Research Design Approach

Over the years, a number of researchers have investigated local residents' perception and attitudes toward tourism (Smith and Krannich 1998; Brunt and Courtney 1999; Weaver and Lawton 2001; Teye et al. 2002). Some have turned their attention to developing more effective models for measuring such attitudes, for example, the
traditional evaluation method (Johnson et al. 1994; Akis et al. 1996), contingent
valuation (Lindberg and Johnson 1997), choice modeling (Lindberg et al. 1999), and the
structural model (Gursoy and Rutherford 2004). However, most of them have mainly
utilized the quantitative research methods, notably the questionnaire survey. Although
quantitative approach allows researchers to measure the reactions of a great number of
people, thus facilitating comparison and statistical generalization, it does not produce a
wealth of detailed information and insights of the cases (Hollinshead 1996).

Unlike quantitative research, a qualitative method seeks to understand phenomena
in context-specific settings and, in addition, seeks insights, understanding, and depth of
knowledge (Walle 1997). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) provide a very detailed description
of qualitative research as:

"multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its
subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural
setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings
people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a
variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspective, life
history, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe
routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ life” (p. 2).

From Denzin and Lincoln’s description, conclusion can be drawn that qualitative
research provides a vital perspective that helps readers understand phenomena in a
different way from a positivist perspective alone. The context and the interactions
between the investigator(s) and the natural surroundings are crucial. In a qualitative
research paradigm, the essence of the phenomena is the reality, which is constructed by
the individuals taking part in the research process (Wang and Fesenmaier 2007). This study reports faithfully these realities based on the voices and perceptions of informants. In addition, in deciding what valid knowledge is, it was assumed that the researcher should obtain information directly from the informants. Linked to the epistemological assumption is the axiological issue of the role of values in this research. That is, the value-laden nature of the information reported in this study is acknowledged throughout, as are the value-influenced interpretations represented by the researcher (Creswell 1994).

Given the goals of this study, a qualitative case study approach was adopted. Yin (1994) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that: a) investigate a contemporary phenomenon with its real-life context; when b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which c) multiple sources of evidence are used."

The typical characteristic of case studies is that they strive towards a holistic understanding of cultural systems of action (Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg 1991). Cultural systems of action refer to sets of interrelated activities engaged in by the actors in a social situation (Tellis 1997). The case study analysis is also multi-perspective (Feagin et al. 1991) because the researcher considers not just the voice and perspective of the actors, but also of the relevant groups of actors and the interaction between them.

Following Yin's (1994) determinants, the case study approach was affirmed as the most appropriate strategy for this type of research project due to three main reasons. First, the research questions asked and the study's propositions were dominantly how and why questions. Second, the researcher had no control over actual events (either past or contemporary events). Third, the focus was on the contemporary situation in which
local residents in the selected old urban community were facing pressures and external forces of tourism-oriented urban development. Yet, the phenomenon of the diminishing quality of community life induced by global tourism and its associated development in this study area had never been comprehensively investigated. Therefore, a single-case design was chosen to represent such a unique case. The unit of analysis is a defined urban community named Tha Tien located in the historic city of Bangkok, Thailand (discussed in detail in Chapter 6).

3. Data Collection and Recoding Techniques

The qualitative-oriented research and data collection process was conducted from September through December 2006. Methods that were used during this four-month field research included historical analysis, semi-structured interviews, field observations, and community mapping exercises. More detailed information regarding the process, sampling, and limitations of each data collection technique is described as follows.

3.1 Historical Analysis

An historical analysis was undertaken in order to answer three general questions: First, how have Bangkok and Krung Rattanakosin, in particular, been transformed into popular urban tourist destinations? Second, what are the fundamental causes of tourism growth in Bangkok’s historic town? Third, how have tourism development and conservation policies of Krung Rattanakosin changed over time? The purpose of conducting an historical analysis was to discover the connections between the driving force of tourism development and the long-term changes of the socio-physical
environment in the study area. The analysis of historical evidence follows the 'political economy approach'\textsuperscript{12}, which focuses on the contributions of tourism to urban and regional economies and to the wellbeing of host residents.

Information about the history of Krung Rattanakosin and the Tha Tien community was acquired from various archives such as letters, old maps, and newspapers. Another historical document was a set of old pictures showing the landscape of Krung Rattanakosin and the Tha Tien area in the past, compared with the current views. These archival data were mainly gathered from secondary sources notably official documents, reports, and written histories of the study area done by specialist historians. In addition, the tourism-related development plans and policies formulated by both national and local government agencies over the past decade were obtained. It was expected that a better understanding of Thai government's tourism management and policies could be developed through the analysis of these plans. Specifically, information of the past controversial issues or protests between local residents in Tha Tien community and public authorities regarding an eviction plan were also included in the investigation. The stories about residents that were forced to move out of the area by the government are worth remembering. Such information was obtained from the local newspapers and informant interviews.

\textsuperscript{12} Political economists examine tourism as an urban regeneration strategy (Shaw and Williams 1994; Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000) and as a dominant industry in single-function locales (Urry 1990; Mullins 1994; Fainstein and Judd 1999). Yet, their conclusions tend to be negative, finding that the tourism benefits flow away from the destinations' local economy, the public sector usually loses more than it gains, and the tourism industry produces a skewed labor market with low-paying, insecure jobs.
After obtaining various historical materials, the data were organized by themes. Under the political-economy approach, some themes included: the government's promotion of tourism as a means of economic development; tourism is adopted as an urban regeneration strategy; local people support the tourism industry and share meaningful interactions with tourists; and mass tourism changes patterns of consumption and production in Thai society. During the process of synthesizing evidence, an attempt was made to “link specific evidence with an abstract model of underlying relations or causal mechanisms” (Neuman 2004).

Given the particular geographical characteristics of the study area, the waterfront tourist-historic city model (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000) was adopted as an analytical concept (see Figure 4.1). This model was modified from the classical assumption of a circular city that consists of four phases of spatial transformation patterns of the historic and tourist cities. By taking the waterfront variant into consideration, only a portion of the original city is available for evolution and expansion. The waterfrotns and surrounding area were often the primary locations for the initial establishment of the settlement and important nodes of early commercial activity. Thus, in the first phase, the central business district (CBD) of the original city emerged on waterfrontages, whether seacoast or riverside. Then, the city port CBD began to move inland as a result of two main factors: changes in marine transport technology and the inevitable inland migration (Hoyle et al. 1988). The growth of the city center inland, away from the constraints of the waterfront, led in time to the waterfront district becoming a zone of discard (Ford 1994) characterized by early warehouses and other historic structures (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000).
A loss of functions and the area’s previous historical importance gives rise to the survival of an architectural heritage that becomes significant resource for the creation of tourist city. In the third phase, the modern CBD continues its separation, while the city port develops into the tourist-historic city. Lastly, due to the increasing profile of the waterfront in the city’s life and leisure, the modern CBD stops to expand away from the historic city and is redirected towards the historic port. Notable examples are Sydney in Australia, Vancouver and Old Montreal in Canada, and Boston’s and Baltimore’s inner harbor in the USA.

Based on the historical data and the waterfront tourist-historic model, an analysis of tourism development in Krung Rattanakosin over the past century was undertaken. The aim was to illustrate the distinct character of the tourist-historic waterfront evolution of the former Bangkok under its specific socio-spatial setting. Problems and conflicts emerging from tourism development, as well as various government-led attempts to mitigate such problems (e.g., policies, plans, regulations, and an appointed committee) were also reviewed (see Chapter 5). The results are expected to help readers understand not only the evolution of the conservation and tourism development but also the prospect of the future development in the study area.
Figure 4.1: A Waterfront Variant on the Tourist-Historic City Evolutionary Model

Source: Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000).
However, the historical analysis contains both strengths and weaknesses. This type of research method is suited for examining long-term societal and physical change in a specific location. It also allows researchers to compare changes across communities. A frequent criticism of historical documents is that they are largely written by elites or those in official organizations; thus the views of the illiterate, the poor, or those outside official social institutions may be overlooked (Neuman 2004). Problems of using primary sources are the availability of data, the authenticity of documents, and the time-consuming process. The limitations of using secondary historical evidence include inaccurate historical accounts, a lack of studies in areas of interest, the historian’s subjectivity, and individualist bias. These limitations lead to the threats to the validity of historical research. As Newman and Benz (1998: 73) note, “the validity of historical methods is based on two assumptions: that the interpretation of history varies with the subjective social experience of the historian and that the reporting of history should not go beyond the database.”

3.2 Informant Interviews

In this research, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a small number of key stakeholders. “Semi-structured interviewing involves the use of an interview guide consisting of a list of open-ended questions that direct conversation without forcing the interviewee to select pre-established responses” (Lofland et al. 2006). It provides a means to determine how individuals or social groups view themselves, their relationship to the environment, to others, and to agents and forces of change. Through informant interviews, insightful information about the history of the area, the perceived
impacts of tourism, the transformation of the physical environment and community connections, views on their power relations and roles in the development process, and opinions about future tourism development were obtained. A more detailed description of the interview procedure is provided as follows.

3.2.1 Selecting Key Informants

Selecting individuals that can provide the information needed for answering research questions is the most important consideration in qualitative sampling decisions. Systematic sampling can help qualitative researchers be able to claim that key informants' statements are representative of the group as a whole (Sankoff 1971; Heider 1972).

In this study, appropriate interviewees or informants were selected by using a technique of “purposeful sampling” (Patton 2002) or what LeCompte and Preissle (1993) call “criterion-based selection”. Through this technique, a limited number of informants were selected strategically in order to provide in-depth information that could not be obtained from other people. The key consideration was to ensure that these informants adequately represented the entire range of variation, rather than only the typical groups of the community’s residents. This is referred to as maximum variation sampling (Miles and Huberman 1994; Patton 2002). In this case, dimensions of variation relevant to the study were age, length of residence, the degree of local knowledge, professional backgrounds, power, and potential benefits from the presence of tourism. In the process of purposefully selecting informants, input from the community was also taken into consideration. The
community leader and a few initial informants were asked to recommend other members who had knowledge about the community’s history and tourism-related issues.

By using the purposeful sampling technique, 60 representatives were selected from five stakeholder groups who had first-hand knowledge about tourism development in the Tha Tien community (see Table 4.1). These stakeholders included:

(1) Local Residents: Local residents refer to people who live in the Tha Tien community. Some of them may actually work in the tourism-related businesses either as owners or employees, while others may not be directly engaged in any tourism activities. Even for those who are not related to the tourism industry, their livelihoods are nevertheless affected by the expansion of tourism. The host community is recognized as key players in shaping the future of a place (Orbasli 2000). Their genuine knowledge of local history, openness to tourism development and perspectives on historical preservation are essential to the growth of tourism.

In-depth interviews were conducted with 38 long-term residents, including the chairman of the community (28 of them have lived in the Tha Tien community for more than 30 years). These people are considered the key informants because they often have a very good sense of community sentiment on certain issues, experience the long-term changes that took place in the community, and possess a high degree of local knowledge. Interviews of residents can be a very useful method used to collect in-depth information about the history and the socio-spatial transformation of Krung Rattanakosin and the Tha Tien community based on long-term residents’ experiences. Such information may not be available in archival documents that are mostly written by the elites. Interviewing them
also allows the researcher to develop a better understanding of the host communities' reactions to tourism and the government-led development in the study area.

(2) The Private Sector: The primary concern of this group of stakeholders is economic gain potential. According to Middleton and Hawkins (1998), there are three areas of private sector involvement in tourism: provision of tourist facilities and services, the marketing of destinations, and the provision of capital for tourism investment. In this study, interviews were conducted with 10 non-local\(^{13}\), tourism entrepreneurs. These people are the owners of the newly established bed and breakfast (B&B), tour guides, tour agency’s operators, long-tail boat\(^{14}\) drivers, and coach drivers. They were asked to express their views, concerns, and priorities regarding tourism development in the community.

(3) The Public Sector: This group of stakeholders includes representatives of national and local governments that are responsible for policy, planning, and development coordination; some marketing services; standards and regulations; investment incentives; and the provision of basic infrastructure. Five governmental agencies that influence the development in the study area are the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), the Department of Town and Country Planning (DTCP), the Committee for Conservation and Development of Krung Rattanakosin (CCDKR), Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA), and the Phranakhon administrative district. Seven

\(^{13}\) The reason of choosing non-local tourism operators was that in comparison with local operators these outside investors focus more intensively on profit maximization with less consideration of negative impacts on the community.

\(^{14}\) The long-tail boat is a type of watercraft native to Southeast Asia, which uses a common automotive engine as a readily available and maintainable powerplant.
representatives of these government agencies were interviewed with regard to their
development approaches for Krung Rattanakosin and the Tha Tien community.

(4) Landowners: There are two major landowners included in this study as their
perspectives significantly affect the decision-making and the implementation of future
development plans and projects. First is the Thai King's Crown Property Bureau (CPB),
major titleholder of a large portion of Krung Rattanakosin and the area where the Tha
Tien market is located (about 35 percent of the total land area). Second is Wat Phra
Chetuphon (Wat Pho), the titleholder of about 20 percent of the total land area. During
the field research, three representatives of both landowners were interviewed.

(5) Civil Organizations: There are several civil organizations that have a valid
interest in the study area, although they appear to be indirectly affected by tourism
development. These include non-government organizations (NGOs) and academic
groups. Their issues of concern vary from urban development projects, environmental
degradation, to historic preservation. In this research, interviews were conducted with
two town-planning experts: one from the academic institute (Silpakorn University), and
another from an NGO (Thailand Environmental Institute).

Important information of the total 60 key informants selected from five groups of
tourism stakeholders is summarized in the Table 4.1 below.
Table 4.1: Key Informants for In-depth, Semi-Structured Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholders</th>
<th>Number of Informants</th>
<th>Description of Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Community</strong></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>LENGTH OF RESIDENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10-20 years (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21-30 years (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31-40 years (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41-50 years (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;50 years (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GENDER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>POWER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Power holders (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marginalized (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TOURISM-RELATED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Private Sector</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Non-local, owners/operators of tourism-related businesses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Representative of DTCP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Representative of Bangkok Tourism Division (BTD), BMA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 Representatives of City Planning Department (CPD), BMA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Representative of Policy and Planning Department, TAT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Representative of the CCDKR.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Representative of the Phranakhon administrative district.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Public Sector</strong></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1 Representative of the CPB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Representative of Wat Pho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Landowner</strong></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2 Representatives of the CPB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Representative of Wat Pho.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Civil Organizations</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 Representative of Thailand Environment Institute (NGO).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Representative of the Faculty of Urban Planning, Silpakorn University.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: The Researcher.*
3.2.2 Developing an Interview Guide

Prior to conducting the interviews, a list of guiding questions, topics, and issues to be covered was prepared in advance in an outline form. Guides to interviewing are primarily concerned with maximizing the flow of valid, reliable information while minimizing distortions of what the respondent knows (Gorden 1987). Guides can increase the comprehensiveness of the data and make data collection somewhat systematic for each respondent. For the local residents, the interview guide covered six main topics: (1) background demographic information, (2) historical records and experiences of changes, (3) community connections including both formal and informal networks, (4) attitudes toward tourism development and its impacts on social life, (5) experiences of public participation in development processes, and (6) views on future tourism development (see Appendix A).

For the other stakeholders, a list of guiding questions was also prepared in advance before conducting the interview. The formulation of these questions was based on six main topics: (1) the organization’s objectives and interests in (or concerns of) tourism development in the study area, (2) problems, challenges, or constraints faced while undertaking the plans or projects, (3) history of the area and its transformation, (4) perceptions of potential impacts of the tourism-related development, (5) attitudes toward the implication of citizen participation in planning process, and (6) perspectives of future tourism development (see Appendix A).
3.2.3 Interviewing Process

Central to the in-depth qualitative case study research is gaining access to the community (Patton 2002; Shenton and Hayter 2004; Okumus et al. 2007). Thus, the researcher initially contacted the community chairman or the ‘gatekeeper’ who could provide and facilitate access to the community. A good relationship between the researcher and the chairman also allowed for introductions to other key informants who can provide valuable information. Several scholars have acknowledged the influence of gatekeepers on the success of the qualitative case study research. Buchanan et al. (1998: 56) address, gatekeepers can create “risks that are beyond the control of the researcher and which are difficult to predict or avoid.” Gummesson (2000) further notes that for political and personal reasons, gatekeepers can stop the access into some parts of the sample. In her longitudinal study in eastern Indonesia, Cole (2004) describes how power relations between her and the gatekeeper seesawed as he introduced her to some people and made some meetings much easier.

After gaining access to the community, the researcher made a visit to each informant’s house, gave a self-introduction, briefly described the study, and asked for participation. If they agreed to participate and the time was appropriate, the researcher then began the interview. The researcher did the actual data collection by asking questions and recording answers verbatim without correcting grammar, summarizing, or paraphrasing. A small tape recorder was used as an effective tool to collect information. Interviews lasted from 15 minutes to more than two hours and were conducted in Thai. Notes and tape-recorded interviews were then transcribed into English. During the
interview, the researcher also observed the surroundings; noted any disruptions that happened; and recorded personal feelings and anything that was related to the issues of interest. In some cases, follow-up conversations were held as the researcher paid a second or third visit to the respondent’s home.

For other stakeholders, the interviewing process was slightly different. Initially, the researcher delivered a formal letter to the office of the key informant. In the letter, a short self-introduction, research objectives, and types of information needed were clearly described. Then, an appointment was made via telephone to arrange the date and time of the interviews. The interviews took approximately one to one-and-a-half hours and the researcher used the same recording technique as when interviewing the local residents.

3.2.4 Problems and Constraints

During the interviewing process, problems emerged. The most critical one was the low participation rate of the marginalized people who lived in the rundown riverfront housing. Despite attempts to establish good relationships and the guaranteeing that their information would only be used for academic purposes, several of them refused to answer the questions. They were afraid of creating trouble if their answers differed from those of the more powerful groups. Some of them said they had little knowledge about the community, its history and residents, as they were merely short-term renters. A better understanding of the socio-political structures of the community greatly helped the researcher obtain insight from both majority and minority groups. Another constraint was that some local people were suspicious about the motives of the researcher due to their past experience with government agencies and academic institutes that made little
improvements to the community after their field research. To solve this problem, the researcher made a commitment to the community chairman that a hard copy of this dissertation will be given to him after its completion. This promise helped the researcher to gain more involvements from the chairman and other key informants.

The researcher found out that being able to establish a good relationship with the gatekeepers of the community, notably the chairman, members of the community organization, and a few respectable residents greatly contributed to the success in collecting qualitative data. This is because these people facilitated the entry into the community as well as provided introductions to other key informants. Because key informant interviews were employed as a crucial method in this qualitative-oriented research, the degree of the researcher’s confidence in informants depended on the close relationships she had developed during the four-month field research. As Derman (1990) noted, "long-term associations, knowledge of both the people and the area, are essential in assessing how to understand and interpret different interviewees’ perspectives.”

3.3 Observations

In this study, observations were conducted in conjunction with the interviews. Observation is a useful method for obtaining descriptions of people’s behaviors and events (Maxwell 2006) in a variety of circumstances. Through observations, a researcher is able to draw inferences about, and generate interpretations, of someone’s meaning and perspective. This method is also appropriate in situations where full and/or accurate information cannot be elicited by questioning (Kumar 2005). However, there are several problems associated with this method. For example, individuals or groups may change
their behaviors when they become aware that they are being observed. As a result, the use of observation in such situation may introduce distortion. Other problems include the possibility of incomplete and incomparable recording, and problems with using a scale to record observations.

Generally, there are two types of observation: participant and non-participant observations. Participant observation refers to "the process in which an investigator establishes and sustains a many-sided and situationally appropriate relationship with a human association in its natural setting for the purpose of developing a social scientific understanding of that association" (Lofland et al. 2006). Non-participant observation, on the other hand, refers to the process in which "a researcher does not get involved in the activities of the group but remains a passive observer, watching and listening to its activities and drawing conclusions from this" (Kumar 2005). In this study, the researcher conducted the non-participant observation, as it was more appropriate to the situation and the research time frame.

During the four-month field research, the researcher observed interactions, behaviors, and conversations between local people and tourists that occurred in the Tha Tien community. The information was used for assessing forms and degrees of friendships and relationships developed between the two parties. In addition, the researcher also attended three community events: (1) the seminar at Wat Pho on the topic of "Legend of Tha Tien: Temple and Community", (2) the Father's Day festival, and (3) the shrine-related celebration held in the Tha Tien community. The observations allowed the researcher to obtain information about who attended those community activities,
when and how often relevant stakeholders were involved, how those activities were organized, and to what extent tourists involved in those activities. Such information was very useful in examining the form and level of community connections, traditional practices, and political structures.

Like the key informant interview, observation fieldwork began with the process of "getting into place," or getting close to those studied "while they are responding to what life does to them" (Goffman 2002). The researcher attempted to gain access to the community through negotiations with the gatekeeper (i.e. the chairman of the Tha Tien community). After entering the field, the researcher built rapport and established social relations with members of the community. Instead of adopting a covert role, the researcher presented herself as a planning student and revealed her interests and research project to those being studied. Observation data were produced in the form of extensive written notes, videotape recordings, and photographs, which provided very detailed descriptions of events.

3.4 Community Mapping Exercise

Another important data set used in the analysis of the tourism development impacts on community identities are visual representations, notably community maps and tourism maps. The main objective was to examine how the social actors (i.e., host residents, government agencies, and private enterprises) deploy representations to construct and reproduce tourism spaces and identities. Broadly speaking, representations are images or likenesses that stand for something. Inevitably, the act of representation is selective (Gold and Gold 2003). Since the mid-1980s, critical cartographers, tourism
geographers, and other scholars of tourism have examined the relationships between space and representation (Urry 1990; Britton 1991; Wood 1992; Shaw and Williams 1994; Hanna 1996). In a variety of ways, they argue convincingly that the production of representations including maps contribute to the production of spaces. Tourism maps are material representations of spaces that are produced and interpreted in changing social contexts (Hanna and Del Casino 2003). They not only play a role in the production of space, but also involve the formulation of social and spatial identities of hosts and tourists (Butler 1990; Natter and Jones 1997). They are regularly used by tourists not just to guide their ways to and through tourism sites but also to learn about histories, cultures, and environments represented as parts of particular places. Hence, tourism maps are key means through which the relationships among space, identity, and representation can be studied. These relationships provide insights into how tourists, the state, global capital, and other social actors represent and practice tourism. This study is not simply about the lines, points, and images that seem to comprise tourism maps. Rather, it focuses on the broader social and spatial contexts in and of which such objects are materially produced and consumed as tourism spaces through representational and social practice.

To explore the relationships among mapped representation, place, and identity, a technique called ‘cognitive mapping’ was applied in this research. The process of cognitive mapmaking began with the selection of participants. In this study, the researcher selected three key informants from Tha Tien community to participate in a cognitive mapmaking exercise. The selection criterion was the high degree of knowledge about the community and its history, residents, and tourism-related issues. The researcher
consulted the community chairman in order to identify the participants who met the criterion.

Instead of asking participants to draw a map, a set of photographs of certain places that the researcher identified as important were shown to them. Participants were also asked to name local landmarks and important features in their community. Then, discussions took place as participants were asked to describe why those places are important to them. At the same time, participants were encouraged to comment on or report the changes overtime that happened to those places. They were further asked to answer such questions as to when each change happened, why did it happen, who/what was responsible for the change, and what were its consequences. Each mapping exercise took about half to one hour depending on the available time each participant had.

Following the mapping exercise, the researcher was able to draw community maps. The resulting community maps not only displayed features and landmarks that were locally perceived as important, but also showed the link between people and place and revealed their collective identities. These maps were also considered as essential data for reporting the history of the community and its physical transformations over time. Next, the researcher compared these community maps to tourist maps of the historic city obtained from both public and private tourism organizations. The aim was to find out the extent to which important places identified by local residents were different from tourism spaces created by the place marketers.
4. Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are two factors that every qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analyzing results, and judging the quality of the study (Patton 2002). This is because the function of both factors is to help the researchers persuade the audiences that the research findings are worth paying attention to.

Fundamentally, the concepts of reliability and validity in qualitative research are different from those in quantitative research. In quantitative research, reliability is associated with the idea of the replicability or repeatability of results or observations, while validity is defined as the accuracy of the means of measurement (Golafshani 2003). Instead of using the concept of reliability for testing the results, qualitative researchers view reliability as a way of evaluating the quality of studies with a “purpose of explaining” and “generating understanding” (Stenbacka 2001). Qualitative researchers also recognized the importance of validity or some kind of qualifying check or measure for their research (Creswell and Miller 2000). Although the ‘external validity’ (or the generalization of research finding) in case study research is limited, the advantage of this type of research relies on its “unique interpretation of events” (Creswell 1994).

To ensure reliability and validity in qualitative research, the examination of the trustworthiness criteria is crucial (Erlandson et al. 1993; Seale 1999). In this research, the trustworthiness was established using two techniques. The first one is ‘triangulation’ or a multi-method approach. Triangulation is a research strategy that involves collecting information from a diverse range of individuals and setting, or using several methods to reveal multiple aspects of a single empirical reality (Denzin 1978). Generally, the more
systematic the triangulation, the better cross-referencing of findings there will be, and the better the check on reliability and validity (Golafshani 2003). This strategy can reduce the risk of chance association and of systematic biases due to a specific method and allow a better assessment of the generality of the explanations (Maxwell 2006). The use of triangulation technique helped the researcher mitigate bias or errors from solely relying on the subjective evaluation of spoken words of key informants. In conjunction with the interviews, therefore, other sources of data (i.e., direct observations, archival records, and mapping exercises) were acquired. The use of several methods or several data sources to reveal multiple aspects of a single empirical reality could add breadth and depth of insight into the analysis (Healy and Perry 2000). This approach also helped the researcher increase the credibility or persuasiveness of the analysis as well as establish more confidence about the results.

The second technique used in this case study research to increase its replicability was the clarification of the objectives, conditions, and data collection procedures of the research. As Creswell (1994) notes, “statements about the investigator’s position – the central assumptions, selection of informants, biases and values of the research – enhance the study’s chances of being replicated.” A detailed protocol for data collection was also reported, so that the procedure of a qualitative case study might be replicated in another setting (Yin 1994).
5. Data Analysis

After conducting in-depth interviews with key informants, the data that are in the form of text, narratives, or field notes were analyzed. Data analysis is one of the most essential steps in qualitative research. It involves a kind of transformative process in which the raw data are turned into findings or results. In general, data analysis means “a search for patterns in data such as recurrent behaviors, objects, or body of knowledge” (Neuman 2004). Data analysis is probably the aspect of qualitative research that most clearly distinguishes it from experimental and survey research (Maxwell 2006). There are several strategies available for working at analysis of qualitative data in a reasonably systematic and methodical manner. As compared to the analysis of quantitative data, strategies for qualitative data are more diverse, less standardized, and less explicitly outlined by researchers (ibid.).

In this thesis, four strategies were utilized for the analysis of the interview transcripts. The first strategy was ‘categorizing’ or ‘coding’, to disaggregate data derived from interviews. The essence of coding is the process of sorting data into various meaningful categories from the vantage point of one or more frameworks or sets of ideas (Lofland et al. 2006). It is the “process of defining what the data are all about” (Charmaz 2001) by “relating (those) data to our ideas about them” (Coffey and Atkinson 1996). Coding contains two simultaneous activities: mechanical data reduction and analytic categorization of data into themes, concepts, or similar features (Neuman 2004). The goal of coding in qualitative research is not to produce counts of things, but to fracture the data and rearrange it into categories that facilitate the comparison of data within and
between these categories and that aid in the development of theoretical concepts (Maxwell 2006). Coding categories created in this study are characteristics of respondents (e.g., age, length of residence, home ownership, degree of power); experiences of physical and societal transformation; community connections; perceptions to tourism impacts; attitudes toward Wat Pho’s proposed project; experiences of community participation, and views on future tourism development.

The second data analysis strategy was the contextualization. It operated quite differently from coding. Instead of fracturing the initial text into discrete elements and resorting into categories, contextualizing strategy attempts to understand the data (i.e., interview transcripts) in context, using various methods to identify the relationships among the different elements of the text (Atkinson 1992). Its essence is to look for relationships that connect statements and events within a context into a coherent whole (Maxwell 2006). The contextualizing analysis was used in conjunction with categorizing strategy because the identification of connections between categories and themes require the results of a prior categorizing analysis. For example, the powerful and marginalized groups of local people might have different perspectives to the tourism development, as a result of their different capabilities to gain benefits from (or pay costs of) such development and their past experiences of tourism impacts. Socio-economic factors (e.g., age, length of residence, and contact with tourists) might affect the residents’ attitudes toward tourism impacts in the community. The younger generation might prefer change, while the older generations wanted to preserve the community as in the old days.
Connections or place bonding among residents might be weakened as a result of new
development and its potential conflicts.

The third data analysis strategy was memo writing. While reading the interview
transcripts, the researcher wrote notes on what she saw in the data. In the course of
coding, the researcher also wrote memos or ideas about her various categories and their
interconnections. Writing memos constitutes “the intermediate step between coding and
the first draft of your complete analysis” (Charmaz 2001) and it is thus fundamental to
make sense of the data. While “memos are primarily conceptual in intent” they can also
be useful for thinking about, clarifying, and improving upon “any aspect of the study –
personal, methodological, and substantive” (Miles and Huberman 1994: 72). More
importantly, they also forge “a link between the concrete data or raw evidence, and more
abstract theoretical thinking” (Neuman 2004: 323). Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest
three kinds of memos: code memos (notes that elaborate the codes and assumptions
underlying them), theoretical memos (theorizing write-ups of ideas), and operational or
methodological memos (notes that contain the whole gamut of procedural challenges,
issues, and strategies associated with gathering data).

The fourth data analysis strategy was ‘content analysis’. “Content analysis is a
technique used to extract desired information from a body of material (usually verbal) by
systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of the material”
(Smith 2000). The content refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, or
messages that are communicated. There are both qualitative and quantitative versions of
content analysis. The quantitative use of content analysis can involve random sampling,
precise measurement and coding, and operational definitions for abstract constructs (Neuman 2004). When performing content analysis, the researcher used objective and systematic counting and recording procedures to produce quantitative descriptions of the symbolic content in the text. The process of content analysis began with the research question: How informants described their experience of the change in conditions of place attributes in their community as a result of tourism-related development? The unit of analysis was a theme in the interview transcripts. These themes include, for example, the history of Tha Tien, the transformation of the physical environment, community image and identity, social cohesion, experiences of public participation in the development process, reactions to the Rattanakosin Master Plan, responses to Wat Pho’s proposed project, and recommendations for future tourism development. As there were only a small number of interview transcripts (38 informants from the community), the researcher decided to include all of them in the content analysis. Next, coding categories were constructed. A coding system in content analysis is “a set of instructions or rules on how to systematically observe and record content from text” (Neuman 2004). There are four characteristics of coding the text content: frequency, direction, intensity, and space. Some coding categories were, for example, the physical transformation, tourism impact, the weakening of community connections, internal tourism-related conflicts, and community participation in tourism planning. In analyzing the content of interview transcripts, coding units included the number of times a phrase or word or meaning appeared in the text.
As described above, coding, contextualizing, memo writing strategies, and content analysis were utilized for data analysis. The researcher, however, does not intend to claim that these strategies are the only ones meriting consideration used by every analyst, or they will work for every analyst every time. Besides, no single qualitative data analysis approach is widely accepted. Rather, for this study, their use, in combination, significantly helped in increasing the validity and reliability of the findings.

During the process of data analysis, several challenges emerged. The major one was associated with data reduction and how to make sense of the information collected. For the researcher, everything looked important and should be included in the analysis, but hundreds of pages of interview transcripts needed to be reduced to a readable dissertation. Coding, categorizing, and valid counting were useful and effective techniques that helped the researcher become better organized. Documenting the analytical procedures in a detailed fashion was also necessary in order to demonstrate the validity of the research findings. Another critical challenge was the researcher’s potential unintentional bias as a result of not sharing the same background as those residing in Tha Tien. The Tha Tien community is a Chinese ethnic neighborhood that still maintains its traditional practices, values, and connections. Being born and having grown up in a Thai family, the researcher was not familiar with the Chinese culture. This might have led to misinterpretation of the community’s unique characteristics and local identities. To deal with this challenge, more investigation into Chinese ethnicity, culture, and their unique history in Thai society was conducted.
In summary, to examine the impacts of tourism on community life in the context-specific setting of Krung Rattanakosin and the Tha Tien community, qualitative case study research was conducted. Four data collection techniques included historical research, key informant semi-structured interviews, observations, and community mapping exercises. With the archival data obtained from various sources, historical analysis was undertaken to reveal the evolution of tourism development in the study area as well as problems and government-led policy solutions. Semi-structured key informant interviews were chosen to capture participants’ lived experiences and attitudes toward potential impacts of tourism on four place attributes – the physical environment, image and identity, community connections, and political capabilities. These interviews were supplemented by field observations that aimed to uncover the host population’s engagement in social activities and relationships with tourists. A small number of community maps were used to add to the analysis of the physical transformation and place image of the community. Presentation and interpretation of both primary and secondary data are presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.
CHAPTER 5
GLOBAL TOURISM IN THAILAND AND BANGKOK

1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of global tourism in Bangkok, Thailand, as well as the conservation and heritage tourism development in Krung Rattanakosin, in particular. The main objective is to set the context for the analysis of global tourism impacts on the community life of the Tha Tien community with regard to the transformation and commodification of place-making components (i.e., physical environment, image and identity, community connections, and political capabilities). The chapter starts with the evolution of tourism in Thailand and its capital city from the 19th to 21st century. Then, it presents the background information of the country’s political culture, tourism policies, and institutions. Next, it outlines the history of urban development, the conservation policies, and the heritage tourism development of Krung Rattanakosin (the old capital of Bangkok). Lastly, the Pom Mahakan community is used as an example to illustrate public resistance to the urban development merely centered on creating recreation space for tourists and middle-class Bangkokians. The researcher expects that some experiences derived from this example can be linked to the analysis of the Tha Tien community, which is now facing the same problem of tourism-driven involuntary displacement.
2. Evolution of Tourism in Thailand

The evolution of tourism in Thailand and Bangkok can be divided into four main periods thoroughly described as follows.

2.1 The Beginning of Modern Tourism (1850s – 1950s)

According to Li and Zhang (1997) and Meyer (1988), modern tourism in Thailand began in the 1850s when the Thai kings (Rama IV and Rama V) encouraged international trading in the nation. Foreign trade brought Thailand not only flows of capital, but also a flow of investors, traders, and occasional tourists. In the late 19th and early 20th century, Kings Rama V, VI, and VII traveled the world on royal visits as well as invited European aristocrats and dignitaries to Bangkok. Besides improving the development of international policies, those activities made the country known as a tourist destination. After that, aristocrats and foreigners began to travel to Thailand on holiday. This highlighted that Thai kings and the royal family played a significant role in promoting tourism development in the early period.

Despite the end of the absolute monarchy in 1932, the tourism industry continued to grow, as the government and throne still supported unrestricted tourism development (PSDR-LIPI 2004). Up to World War II (1939-1945), the colonial travelers with political power and economic interests, notably the French and British, became another important group of tourists who visited Thailand. They used Bangkok as a convenient stopover en route to the colonized countries in the Southeast Asian region including Burma, Malaysia, Laos, and Cambodia (Meyer 1988). Guesthouses and hotels were constructed
in the country – mostly in Bangkok – in response to the demand for lodging. Most of these facilities were small and operated by ethnic Chinese, while a small number of high-class properties were developed by the royal families to mainly accommodate aristocrats (Li and Zhang 1997).

For Bangkok, international tourism began to play an important role as an income-generator in the late 1940s period when sea travel was dominant, but the industry was still small in scale. The country prepared for modern development by constructing the Don Muang International Airport in 1925 (Hall 1988). During the 1950s, developments in international air transport enhanced the function of Bangkok as the aviation center of Southeast Asia, and as an important destination in the region. In 1959, the Tourist Organization of Thailand (TOT) was established and began to promote Bangkok as a destination, with an emphasis on its exotic temple and markets (Askew 2002). In the same year, a new airline company, Thai Airways International (THAI), was founded through a joint venture with the Scandinavian Airline System (Meyer 1988). Under the First National Economic Development Plan (1961-1966), a new runway was built at Don Muang International Airport to cater for new jet aircraft. The amount of tourism spending in the country, largely in Bangkok, increased from 120 million baht ($6 million) in 1957 to 310 million baht ($16 million) in 1962 (NIDA 1967; TAT 1990).

2.2 Tourism during the Vietnam War

The direct engagement of US military in the Vietnam War (1962-1975) had a profound effect on the development of tourism in Thailand. The presence of American forces boosted the development of an extensive entertainment industry in the country.
Located in the surrounding areas of every US military base was a “pleasure-belt” comprised of restaurants, bars, massage parlors, nightclubs, and brothels (Li and Zhang 1997). These establishments led to the upgrading of infrastructure for the later expansion of tourism. During this period, Thailand was a destination for thousands of American servicemen who were based in Vietnam and took their regularly scheduled five-day ‘Rest and Recreation’ (R&R) leave. These R&R troops soon became a major part of the growing number of tourists in the country. Between 1966 and 1971, their expenditures accounted for one-third of the total revenues from overseas visitors and exceeded 40 percent of the country’s export income (Meyer 1988).

The expansion of tourism during the 1960s provoked substantial growth in Bangkok’s service sector. Despite the lack of direct coordination with the government, the early entertainment precincts tended to concentrate in the areas around New Road, south of Krung Rattanakosin, along the Chao Phraya River, or along Ratchadamnoen Road. Local entrepreneurs and joint venture enterprises capitalized on the influx of tourists, businessmen and R&R troops, consolidating these entertainment and hotel precincts and expanding into Sukhumvit (Askew 2002). The number of hotel rooms in Bangkok increased from 2,041 in 1964 to 8,763 by 1970, giving rise to claims that there were too many hotels in the city (Donner 1978).

The increasing importance of the service sector had a significant effect on the socioeconomic structure of the country. It not only contributed to the social and economic interdependence between the ruling military elite and the Sino-Thai commercial elite in the society, but also changed social relationships even in farm families (PSDR-LIPI
2004). Yong women and men migrated to Bangkok and other major destination cities to work as waiters and waitresses, bartenders and hotel clerks, tour guides, souvenir shop clerks, prostitutes and masseuses (Wyatt 1988).

The Vietnam War also had another remarkable effect on Thailand, as it conjured up the image of “sexual paradise” when the country was mentioned. Bangkok, in particular, received the dubious distinction of being recognized as “sex capital of the East” (Li and Zhang 1997). A number of exotic massage parlors and nightclubs started to provide the R&R American soldiers with sex services. Over half of the 652 bars, nightclubs, and massage parlors opened in the country from 1966 were located in Bangkok (Hungchangsith 1974). The famous red-light district of Pat Pong Road was a product of this period (Dawson 1988). As tourists eagerly followed the soldiers, overseas tourism expanded during these years. International arrivals increased by 20 percent annually between 1960 and 1973 (Meyer 1988) and outnumbered R&R servicemen by 10 to 1 in 1970 (Hungchangsith 1974; Economist Intelligence Unit 1974). Tourism revenues rose from $16 million in 1962 to $227 in 1975 (Weaver 1998). The number of hotel rooms also expanded by an average annual rate of 32 percent between 1960 and 1968 (Meyer 1988). Although the R&R wave declined beginning in 1972, tourist arrivals in 1973 still increased by 28 percent (NESDB 1975).

2.3 The Tourism Boom Period (the 1980s – the mid 1990s)

Since the end of the Vietnam War, Thailand has experienced tremendous growth in its international tourism industry. A departure of the US military personnel led to a shift in the type of tourists in Thailand from American to Japanese, Arabian, and
European visitors, while tourist services have changed in response to the new visitor’s particular needs. The quality of tourist services has diversified as a result of the increased number of travelers. Several high-end amenities, such as hotels, travel services, exclusive clubs, and golf courses, are now available. The Thai government had recognized the economic value of tourism since the late 1970s, so the industry was incorporated into the Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP). The goal of this first Five-Year Tourism Development Plan (1977-81) was to promote tourism as a source of foreign exchange earnings and to reduce the trade deficit of the country (Meyer 1988). In 1979, the TOT was upgraded to the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), which gained the authority to invest in developing infrastructure and facilities for tourism, and to promote tourism in the country (PSDR-LIPI 2004).

In the 1980s, a series of tourism promotion campaigns launched by the government and TAT were extremely successful, especially the “Visit Thailand Year” campaign in 1987 (Li and Zhang 1997) that stimulated annual increases in visitor arrivals of 20 percent through to the end of that decade (Hall 1997). During 1980 to 1995, the number of international arrivals increased about threefold from 1.9 million to 7 million, with tourism receipts rising from $867 million to $7.2 billion (Weaver 1998). The year of 1982 was marked as a turning point for the Thai tourism industry as its revenue became, for the first time, the largest foreign exchange earner (TAT 1988). In response to the great demand for hotel rooms in the 1980s, the Thai government introduced various tax incentive policies to promote hotel construction. Consequently, the hotel industry
experienced a boom with a 44 percent room increase between 1986 and 1990 (TAT 1990).

Bangkok also enjoyed the benefits of tourist expansion during the 1980s, since over 90 percent of tourists entered the country through its airport (Economist Intelligence Unit 1984: 25). In 1987, Bangkok accounted for 76 percent of the country’s tourism revenues (Asian-Pacific Center 2000). In 1991, the city accounted for 62 percent of all tourist-nights (Burton 1995). Although the average length of stay of tourists in Bangkok was lower than other key destinations (e.g., Chiang Mai, Phuket, and Pattaya), the number of tourists staying in the city was over four times higher than the number at any other single place in the country (Alpha Research 1994: 21). The growth of the tourism industry in Bangkok resulted from not only its location as the country’s aviation hub but also because of its variety of attractions ranging from ancient temples to modern shopping centers. As one French tourist handbook remarked, without being too explicit: “Bangkok is all things to all men” (Papineau 1980: 337).

In the early 1990s, two events hampered the constant growth of Thai tourism – the Persian Gulf War between 1990 and 1991 and Thai’s pro-democracy uprising in 1992 (Li and Zhang 1997). In 1991, tourism experienced a 4 percent decline in international tourist arrivals and a 10 percent drop in revenue compared with the previous year (Weaver 1998). However, due to the continuous economic growth of Pacific Asia, the tourism industry recovered in 1993. It was estimated that 1.5 million Thais were directly or indirectly employed by the tourism industry as of the mid-1990s (EIU 1995). In 1995, the country ranked tenth in the top twenty most successful tourism countries in the world.
Despite some obstacles that slowed down the growth rate of the tourism industry, the period between 1987-1996 was the Golden Decade of Thai tourism (TDRI 1997).


As a result of the Asian economic crisis, the Thai government had to devalue the baht on July 2nd, 1997. The value of the Thai currency rapidly plunged from 25 Thai Baht (THB) = US$1 to THB35 = US$1, causing the value of revenues from tourism to drop from $8.6 billion in 1996 to $5.93 billion in 1998 – a fall of 31 percent. Initially, the government and TAT expected that the country would be attractive to international tourists due to its very competitive exchange rate (Kunarucks 2002). TAT (1998) even claimed that, "at this time of unstable regional currencies, tourism may provide one of the means by which financial stability can be assisted. Given the centrality of tourism to many regional economies, now should be the time for proactive economic policies to redress the downturn." However, as the economic crisis spread to nearby countries in Asia, including Japan and Korea, which were Thailand's major tourism markets, their expectations were not met (Kunarucks 2002).

To boost the tourism industry back into its leading status as the top foreign exchange earner, the TAT launched the "Amazing Thailand 1998-1999" advertising campaign, which was recognized as one of the most successful marketing strategies of TAT (Ardhana 2004). The combination of this campaign and other factors (e.g., the cheap Thai baht, the cooperation between the public and private sectors, and the relaxation of rules and regulations by the Chinese government) attracted more than 16
million overseas tourists and generated 580 million baht (about US$15.5 million) between 1998 and 1999 (TAT 2004).

During 2000 and 2002, Thailand continued to enjoy the growth of its tourism industry. The 10.8 million international visitors in 2002 represented an increase of 26 percent compared with the year 1999. However, in 2003 the number dropped by 7.4 percent to 10 million due to the twin debacles of the SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) pandemic in Asia and the Iraq war. The sharp declines forced the government agencies to respond actively and effectively to the crises in order to bring back as much as business as possible. The TAT, in cooperation with the Thai Hotels Association, Association of Thai Travel Agents, THAI and other industry groupings launched various recovery campaigns such as the Thailand Smiles Plus, the Big Smile Card, and the annual Grand Sale. Throughout 2003 and 2004, TAT also maintained its strong marketing focus on attracting ‘quality tourists’, those with high purchasing power and potential for long average stays. In addition to the TAT’s campaigns, a series of multilateral meetings, at which the crises were analyzed and addressed from different perspectives, were held by several international organizations. Other responses from the Thai government included the offering of US$100,000 to any tourists who could prove that they were infected with SARS while in Thailand, the offering of special low interest loans to small and medium enterprises (SMEs) affected by the crises, and the approval of funds for short and medium-term campaigns launched in different markets in the amount of 500 million baht (US$12.6 million) (Bangkok Post 2003).
Due to the rapid response mechanisms and effective collaboration between the public and private sectors, in 2004, the number of international tourists increased by about 16.5 percent to 11.65 million in spite of various internal and external crises (e.g., the unrest in the far South of the country, the avian flu outbreak, and rising oil prices). The country’s tourism revenue increased by about 40 percent from US$6.7 billion in 1999 to US$9.4 billion in 2004 (see Table 5.1) (TAT 2005). The year 2004 also marked another success story in the history of Thai tourism as the country managed to change its image from being a ‘male paradise’ to a place that attracted a great number of female visitors. According to TAT, the number of female visitors nearly doubled from 2,620,045 in 1995 to 4,948,162 in 2004. This led to a significant adjustment in the female: male ratio of visitors from 38:62 in 1995 to 43:57 in 2004 (Bangkok Post 2005).

Table 5.1 below shows Thailand’s international tourism trend in terms of its volume and revenues from 1970 to 2005 including important situations affecting the industry.
Table 5.1: Thailand’s International Tourists and Associated Revenues, 1970-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Arrivals ('000)</th>
<th>Revenues (Million Baht)</th>
<th>Remark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>2,175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>2,214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>2,718</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>1,038</td>
<td>3,457</td>
<td>&gt;1 million tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1,107</td>
<td>3,852</td>
<td>1st Oil Crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1,178</td>
<td>4,538</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1,098</td>
<td>3,990</td>
<td>1st Decrease in Tourist Volume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1,221</td>
<td>4,607</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1,454</td>
<td>8,894</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1,591</td>
<td>11,232</td>
<td>Upgrading TOT to TAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,859</td>
<td>17,765</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2,016</td>
<td>21,455</td>
<td>&gt;2 million tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2,218</td>
<td>23,879</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>2,191</td>
<td>25,050</td>
<td>World economic recession (2nd Decrease)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>2,347</td>
<td>27,317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>2,438</td>
<td>31,768</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>2,818</td>
<td>37,321</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>3,483</td>
<td>50,024</td>
<td>&gt;3 millions tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>4,231</td>
<td>78,859</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>4,810</td>
<td>96,386</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>5,299</td>
<td>110,572</td>
<td>&gt;5 million tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>5,087</td>
<td>100,004</td>
<td>Gulf War Crisis (3rd Decrease)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>5,136</td>
<td>123,135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>5,761</td>
<td>127,802</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>6,167</td>
<td>145,211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>6,952</td>
<td>190,765</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>7,192</td>
<td>219,364</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>7,221</td>
<td>220,754</td>
<td>Asian Economic Crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>8,580</td>
<td>253,018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>9,509</td>
<td>285,272</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>10,062</td>
<td>299,047</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>10,799</td>
<td>323,484</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>10,004</td>
<td>309,269</td>
<td>Iraq War and SARS Crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>11,651</td>
<td>384,359</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>11,517</td>
<td>358,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Bangkok, the tourism industry during this period also expanded. The TAT (2004) reported that in 2004, Bangkok received about 3.3 million international visitors, increasing from 2.9 million in the previous year or about 11.9 percent. The largest portion of overseas visitors (44.87 percent) came from the Asian Region, followed by those from the European Region (29.12 percent). By 2005, there were 1,283 travel agencies with legal qualifications and 289 hotels located in the metropolitan area (BMA 2006).

Bangkok provides a variety of tourism supply with a total of 247 tourist attractions: 20 natural tourist attractions, 170 historical and religious tourist attractions, and 57 cultural tourist attractions (TAT 2003). Based on the 2004 visitor statistics, nine most popular tourist attractions in Bangkok included Wat Pha Kaeo, Wat Pho, Suan Siam, Shopping Malls, Jatujak Weekend Market, Dusit Zoo, Floating Market, Giant Swing, and the National Museum (TAT 2004).

Despite the impressive recovery and the continuous growth trend of the tourism industry, Thailand has been facing many problems brought by mass tourism such as environmental degradation, uneven distribution of financial benefits, and socio-cultural change. The transformation of Pattaya, a small fishing village, into a 3 million visitor per annum internationally known seaside resort in 20 years is one example of how unmanaged and uncontrolled tourism has damaged both the environment and some of the attractions that bring tourists to Thailand (Santikarn Kaosa-ard 1994; Cohen 1996, 2001; Higham 2000). Other popular seaside resorts have also been exploited over the limit of their carrying capacity. The World Bank (2000) reported that total Coliform Bacteria at important tourist sites, such as Chonburi Bay, Pattaya Beach, and Phuket Island leveled
over 19,000 MPN/100 ml, which was worse than standards for swimming (less than 1,000 MPN/100 ml). The tastes of foreign tourists have an influence on the more tangible forms of Thai culture, for example, arts and crafts manufacture in many destination provinces. Meanwhile, some cultural events, rituals, and ceremonies are commercialized and turned into a kind of show business where the focus is attracting tourists and making money (Santikarn Kaosa-ard 1994). Hence, a greater attention needs to be paid to developing tourism management policies, plans, and institutions for responsible tourism development. Next, an overview of tourism development policies in Thailand will be presented.

3. Thailand’s Tourism Development Policies

Prior to discussing tourism policies and institutions in Thailand, there is a great need to understand the country’s political culture and economic system. This is because values, characteristics and behavior of the political and administrative structure and economic system have significant influence on the tourism management and policy implementation. As is widely known, Thais are one of the most easy-going people with “mai pen rats” (it does not matter) attitude. In their view, “there is not a problem that is too big to handle” (Nikomborirak 1999). As a strong Buddhist society, the country also has a tradition of tolerance. While the tolerance positively increases the freedom given to foreigners and business groups to pursue their particular interests and to economic development, it also negatively allows corruption in the public sector. Both tolerance and the people’s easy-going nature is reflected in the “lax administration of law and the relaxed attitude to policy implementation” (Elliott 1997: 124). Other characteristics of
Thai society include formal status, a strong hierarchy (Raksasataya 1983), a well-developed informal network, and a highly centralized governmental system in Bangkok. These factors can become either constraints or opportunities to the implementation of tourism policies. Hence, tourism managers need to not only understand and effectively utilize these factors but also be able to respond to a demanding and the changing environment of the country’s socio-political culture.

In terms of the economic system, Thailand is characterized as a “mixed economy” country, in which the government provides the infrastructure and the private sector makes up most of the rest of the economic system (Elliott 1997). Therefore, the tourism industry, especially in the past three decades, has been driven by private enterprises, while the government agencies have encouraged, supported, and to some extent regulated the direction of such development (Cohen 1996). However, the country does not have a mandatory comprehensive blueprint that must be followed except for the five-year Tourism Development Plan that contains some guidelines and objectives established after consultation with the public and private sectors. As a result of the country’s political culture, the Thai government can merely indicate what its preferences are but is unable to enforce the plan.

The leading national tourism organization (NTO) that has played an important role in developing and promoting tourism in Thailand for over four decades is the TAT. It was first founded in 1960 as the TOT, and then upgraded to TAT in 1976. With the continuous tourism growth, the TAT also expanded its authority. The number of TAT employees increased from 52 in 1960 to 865 in 2005 (TAT 2005:124). By 2005, the TAT
encompassed five divisions: administration, product development, domestic marketing, international marketing, and policy and public relations, with 22 domestic and 18 overseas market promotion offices (ibid: 38-39). Under the supervision of the Prime Minister, the TAT is specifically responsible for marketing, promoting, and advertising tourism in the country and overseas. Other responsibilities include developing coordination in all levels domestically and internationally to enhance the management and services provision; supplying information and data on tourist areas to other public entities; conducting studies to set development plans for tourist areas; and cooperating with and supporting the production and development of personnel in the field of tourism (TAT 2006). According to Choy (1993: 359), TAT is the most comprehensive NTO among the top five Asia-Pacific government tourism organizations, namely Hawaii, Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan and Thailand. It represents a state enterprise that can decide on certain policies such as domestic aviation and transportation and “push for solutions through mechanisms such as the Joint Government and Private Sectors Subcommittee to solve tourism-related problems” (Li and Zhang 1997). The TAT Governor also has a “generalist qualification but long experience of tourism, and hence is a specialist in tourism” (Elliott 1997).

Before the administrative restructuring in 2002, the TAT was responsible for formulating tourism development plans and policies. After cabinet approval, these plans and policies were delivered to other government agencies involved in tourism development (e.g., the Ministry of Interior, the Royal Forest Department, the Department of Highways, the Fine Arts Department, the Bureau of the Budget, local governments,
and municipalities), which may or may not follow the guidelines, recommendations, and policies addressed in those plans. TAT does not have authority to enforce implementation of its plans and projects, which is recognized as the most critical weakness of tourism planning in Thailand. For decades, the focus of TAT energies has been on expanding the number of foreign tourist arrivals through aggressive international advertising campaigns rather than long-term tourism development or planning. In 1995, more than 80 percent of TAT’s annual budget was allocated to tourism advertising and promotional activities, while only 3 percent of budget was allocated to research activities and even that figure has declined since 1991 (see Table 5.2).

**Table 5.2: Allocation of TAT Fiscal Budgets by Activity, 1991-1995**

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<tr>
<td>1. Advertising</td>
<td>43.76</td>
<td>43.79</td>
<td>46.84</td>
<td>68.92</td>
<td>58.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Promotional activities</td>
<td>35.09</td>
<td>33.74</td>
<td>24.12</td>
<td>15.73</td>
<td>24.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Research activities</td>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>6.97</td>
<td>6.34</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>3.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Other</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.99</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.98</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Budget</td>
<td>100.00</td>
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In implementing its tourism policy and plans, Thailand also has many other problems. The TAT (1995: 4-3) identified the following drawbacks that need to be overcome in order to succeed in developing the tourism industry:

- Shortage of budget and personnel;
- Limitation of local organizations;
- The personnel at provincial levels greatly lack technical knowledge concerning tourism development and promotion;
- Provincial, district, municipality and sanitary district authorities have many responsibilities and thus do not have much time for the development of tourist attractions;

- Planning implementation is slow and lacks continuity due to the fact that provincial and local staffs are frequently transferred elsewhere and the replacement staff often pay little attention to tourism;

- There is no clear definition of the roles and responsibilities of the TAT and the organizations at the provincial level, especially concerning the development of specific tourist attractions and the implementation of profitable investment projects;

- There is a lack of power and regulations required to keep the tourist business in good order, i.e., to control the quantity and standard of services. The local organizations have no power to enforce measures to control those who are engaged in tourist services;

- Private enterprises and local communities are generally not strong enough to participate in the tourism development.

To increase the administrative and operational power to address issues related to infrastructure development, environmental controls and legislative matters, the Ministry of Tourism and Sports (MOTS) was established in October 2002. Tourism and sports were merged into this new Ministry because they complement each other in terms of activities under the umbrella of recreation and relaxation. Its main focus is to ensure that Thailand remains a high quality and sustainable tourism destination. The Ministry is responsible for setting policies and strategic action plans; working with the government agencies, private sector, and community groups to ensure their effective management and implementation, organizing training programs, and facilitating the usage of information technologies for administrative and management of tourism (Koumelis 2004). At the regional level, it concentrates on facilitating the establishment of tourism networks between Thailand and its regional neighbors as well as promoting tourism cooperation.
under the framework of regional and sub-regional groupings. The TAT also comes under
the Ministry but has retained its charge of international and domestic marketing.

After the establishment of the MOTS, the TAT embarked on two major
organizational restructuring efforts in response to the increasingly competitive global
tourism industry and the need to enhance its marketing efficiency. The first restructuring
took place in 2003. The TAT was divided into five main departments. One was
responsible for the internal administration of the TAT. Two were dedicated to tourism
marketing domestically and internationally. One was responsible for advertising and
public relations activities. One was responsible for supporting tourism product
development and investment in the tourism sector. In 2006, the second organizational
restructuring was undertaken. A sixth department was added to the organization. Its main
responsibility was to set up the policies and marketing plans.

However, the administrative restructuring of the MOTS and TAT resulted in some
problems for tourism development and planning in Thailand. As described above, the
restructuring process led to the division of power and responsibility between the two
NTOs. Major problems included a lack of coordination between the two NTOs and the
inefficiency of the MOTS. At the time this research was conducted, the Ministry had
limited manpower and only a small number of its personnel have experience of the
tourism development. A transfer of experienced staffs from the long established NTO to
the newly established one was absent. Based on the 2006 MOTS Annual Report, of the
total 2,455 employees, 145 (or about 6 percent) worked under the Office of Tourism
Development (MOTS 2004). In a face-to-face interview with the Deputy Governor for
Policy and Planning of TAT, on October 5, 2006, Mr. Auggaphol Brickshawana stated that since its establishment, the Ministry had made negligible achievements in improving its response to the tourism industry. As a result, the TAT should not rely on the MOTS and had to restructure its organization and expand its fields of responsibility in order to be able to increase its efficiency. The Tourism Investment Department, Product Promotion Department, and Policy and Planning Department were added to the TAT. In fact, according to Mr. Brickshawana the Ministry should operate these departments, not the TAT.

While the TAT and the Ministry of Tourism and Sports are in charge of formulating tourism marketing plans and development policies at the national level, a great deal of responsibility for policy implementation lies with the local governments. In the case of Bangkok, the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) is the key actor. Unlike other provincial governments, the BMA has a unique administrative structure and is the most autonomous local government (Wegelin 2002). The BMA Governor and its 60-member council are directly elected every four years. Its institutional organization is divided into 3 offices, 14 departments and 50 district offices (BMA 2003). Under the Culture, Sports, and Tourism Department, the Bangkok Tourist Division (BTD) is set up to handle the development and promotion of tourism in Bangkok as well as to coordinate with related parties including local people, public and private sectors (BTD 2004). Many tourism promotion projects have been launched to help the city increase its market share of tourism. For example, in 2002, the BMA and TAT set up a City Night Tour around the Rattanakosin precinct by using renovated double-decker buses (The Nation 2002).
2005, the BMA and the Thai Hotels Association released “The Best in Bangkok” tourism campaign to encourage more tourists to stay longer in Bangkok\(^\text{15}\) (Sritama 2005). The campaign included promoting Krung Rattanakosin as the capital’s historical area as well as creating more eco-tourism and cultural areas in Bangkok.

In addition to the tourism promotion efforts, the BMA has recently begun to devote its attention to long-term tourism planning and development policies. In February 2006, the BMA published its first Five-Year Bangkok Tourism Development Master Plan (2006-2010). Three key concepts used in the Master Plan are sustainable development, sustainable tourism, and participatory approach. The plan consists of four development strategies: conservation and development of tourist attractions strategy, tourism promotion strategy, increased effectiveness of tourism management strategy, and public participation in sustainable tourism development strategy (BMA 2006). Tourism was also included in the Bangkok Governor’s plan for future development of the city announced in August 2006. The goal of this plan was to create a more livable place based on proposed improvements in four areas: the quality of life, the environment, the cultural and tourism sector, and the economic sector. The plan aimed to “make Bangkok an even greater tourist attraction and to make sure that services provided in the city are up to international standards” (Pungkanon 2006). However, to achieve the development of healthy urban tourism in Bangkok, a greater attention needs to be paid to resolving several critical problems such as the environmental degradation of many tourist attractions, a lack of long-term tourism planning and implementation, unskilled human resources, a lack of

\(^{15}\) The average tourist length of stay in Bangkok is two days and one night compared with seven days in both Samui Island and Phuket (Sritama 2005).
cooperation with government agencies and private enterprises, limitations emerged from the local level (e.g., a lack of trust in the government, local conflicts, and ineffectiveness of local leaders), and an absence of community networks in managing tourism resources (BMA 2006).

The above discussions clearly illustrate that government involvement in the tourism industry in Thailand has two prongs: passive and active involvement (Jenkins and Henry 1982; Kunarucks 2002). Initially, the Thai government performed passively, giving no priority to a tourism policy agenda. Such an inactive response resulted from the fact that tourism by that time did not affect politicians directly, either for their reelection or providing financial rewards (Elliott 1987). Beginning in the late 1970s, the active involvement began to emerge through the establishment of the TAT and the first Five-Year Tourism Development Plan (1977-81) in which incentives were, for the first time, provided to the private sector in the establishment of tourism facilities. For Thailand, it cannot be denied that the TAT was the most important pillar of the tourism industry's rapid growth. Throughout the past three decades, governments at both national and local levels have been actively involved in tourism promotion and development. The role of government involvement and tourism policies is recognized as the key success factor in developing the tourism industry. Instead of leaving the tourism industry in the hands of private sector, the government should provide guidelines and formulate parameters and policies within which the private sector can develop. Continued emphasis needs to be given to the establishment of good cooperation and coordination with citizens and the private sector.
To set the stage for a case study analysis, the focus of the next section is shifted toward investigating the tourism development in the specific geographical area of Krung Rattanakosin or the old royal center of Bangkok, in which the Tha Tien community is located. Since the mid-1990s, the BMA has formulated policies towards preserving and modifying this historical city. It has also initiated many programs to promote a more vibrant city life style such as street festivals and weekend walking streets. The main purpose is not only to revive the old Bangkok, but also to attract overseas tourists, whose spending is central to the country’s economy. With government funding and intensive promotion from private enterprises, Krung Rattanakosin has been transformed into the most important tourist-historic destination in the capital.

4. Krung Rattanakosin: From the Old Royal Capital to Tourist-Historic City

Established in 1782, Krung Rattanakosin or the old royal center of Bangkok covers an area of 5.8 square kilometers and can be divided into three sub-areas: the Inner Krung Rattanakosin, the Outer Krung Rattanakosin, and the Thonburi Sub-Area (ONEP 2004). As of the 2006 census data, the total population of the Phranakorn district that includes the Inner and Outer Rattanakosin areas was 66,469, declining from 80,118 in 2001 (DOLA 2007). In terms of land use, roadways and canals cover the largest portion of land area (25.12 percent), followed by residential land uses (21.18 percent), government (19.65 percent), and the mixed land uses of residential and commercial areas (12.38 percent) (DCP 2007). Krung Rattanakosin is the site of historical, art, and architectural significance; for instance, the Grand Palace, Pramain Ground (Sanam Luang), National Museum, Silpakorn University, Thammasat University, the City Core
Shrine, temples, and several governmental offices (see Figure 5.1). The entire city center is declared as a ‘conservation area’ with some protective measures (i.e., land use and building height restrictions) attempting to safeguard the whole environment of the cityscape.

Figure 5.1: Map of Tourist Attractions in Krung Rattanakosin, Bangkok

Source: Bangkok Tourism Division (2004).
In addition to its historical significance, Krung Rattanakosin is today widely known as Bangkok’s and Thailand’s central area of tourist attractions. This old town area offers visitors the opportunity to explore religious places, historic buildings, monuments, and many old neighborhoods. In 2001, it was estimated that the area received about 22 million Thai and international tourists and generated revenues of about 102,494 million baht (US$2,500 million) or about 35 percent of the country’s total tourist earnings (NESDB, 2003). The most popular attractions among international tourists are the Grand Palace and temples (i.e., Wat Phra Kaew and Wat Pho). The area has good accessibility via land and water transportation, well-developed infrastructure, and various tourist facilities (e.g., restaurants and tour agencies). In term of accommodation, there are six hotels located within and nearby the Rattanakosin area. The average price varies from $25 to $60 a night depending on the quality of service and location. Besides, there are a large number of guesthouses available for budget travelers. Most of them can be found in Banglamphu district, especially in the Khao San Road area.

In the following subsections, background information about the history of urban development, the state conservation policies, and the heritage tourism development of Bangkok’s old capital are described. Then, a controversial issue between the Pom Mahakan community and the BMA is outlined as an example of public resistance to government-led development. The aim of this section is to reveal the transformation of Krung Rattankosin from the royal capital to the popular tourist-historic city as well as to highlight the influence of global tourism on the development of the old city and the representations of urban life.
4.1 The History of Urban Development

Krung Rattankosin was established in 1782 by King Rama I, the first King of the Chakkri Dynasty. Throughout the first three reigns of the dynasty, this royal capital had been developed and embellished towards enforcing the "preeminent focus of the monarchy's legitimating symbols and rituals" (Askew 2002: 286). In the King Rama I period (1782-1809), land use was divided into the inner and outer city areas. The Inner City area had the Grand Palace as a nucleus surrounded by temples, Phra Sumen Field, a royal court, royal residences, and several houses for members of the royal family. The Outer City area mainly served a residential area for court officials, lower ranked government officers, and general citizens. King Rama II (1809-1824) extended the Grand Palace towards Wat Pho with Tai Wang Road as a border and cut Pak Lad Canal to connect with the city. In the King Rama III period (1824-1851), the kingdom enjoyed stability as a result of a good economy, thus enabling the city to be elaborately expanded. A great number of imposing monasteries, mainly family temples of noblemen, were constructed.

King Rama IV's (1851-1868) political policy of accepting influences from developed countries, especially European nations, had a significant impact on the urban development of Bangkok. The most critical one was the transformation from water to land transportation. In the southern part of the City, many roads were constructed through commercial districts and foreign consulates whose land was royally granted to establish foreign relations. Such road construction transformed the urban lifestyle from ancient water-based settlements to land-based settlements, and resulted in a drastic decline of
boathouses. The construction also led to the building of one-to-two-story shophouses for commercial and residential purposes. This was a new land-based pattern of urban development that became a prototype for later development. To accommodate the growing population in Krung Rattanakosin, the king extended the city boundary by building a new city moat. A new road called Tok Road was built for commercial uses for foreigners, resulting in the City's expansion to the east and southeast (ONEP 2004). The King also paid significant attention to the construction of the Thai national identity by collecting and identifying artifacts of the past and displaying them to foreign dignitaries in order to establish the antiquity of Siam and the legitimacy of his own dynasty in the eyes of western powers (Cary 1994: 54-65; Winichakul 1994).

In the period of King Rama V (1868-1910), the industrial age of Europe's 19th century had an impact on Krung Rattanakosin. Following his predecessor's effort, the King assimilated two contrasting forms of urbanism, indigenous and western, into the royal dispensation and urban development of Krung Rattanakosin (Askew 2002). The cityscape changed from traditional Thai to a modern city with an emphasis on architectural forms that accommodated Western lifestyles (ONEP 2004). Roads and railways became the main transportation routes of the city. While existing roads were expanded and repaired, several new roads were constructed in the city area forming road networks that resembled those Western cities that the king had seen during his visit to Europe in 1897. His trip had a direct impact on the urban development policy of Krung Rattanakosin, as he attempted to create a beautiful and clean capital. Rachadamnern Boulevard was designed to be spacious and glorious, with generous walkways and big...
shady trees. The boulevard served as connection between the Grand Palace and Suan Dusit Palace, a newly built vacation palace in the suburbs of Bangkok.

King Rama VI (1910-1925) continued the policy put in place by his predecessors that emphasized on the construction of roads and bridges. The king commissioned the building of Rama VI Bridge, the first ever bridge to cross the Chao Phraya River. Another important action was the designation of a plot of land in Sala Daeng Field to be the country’s first public park of the country, called Lumpini Park.

Political reform towards democracy occurred during the reign of King Rama VII (1925-1934). Many royal palaces and royal residences were modified to serve as government offices. In 1932, Rama I Bridge and the Monument of King Rama I were constructed to commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the capital. This bridge connected the east and west banks of the Chao Phraya River. Roads were constructed continuing from both ends of the bridge. In the short period of King Rama VIII (1934-1946) urban development continued towards modernization similar to that in the West. Government offices were built in the western and applied Thai styles (ONEP 2004).

During Phibul Songkhram’s rule (1935-1957), the status of the Thai monarchy and its symbolic apparatus were downplayed in favor of nationalism and militarism (Keyes 1987: 65-66). Royal spectacles such as the ploughing ceremony and royal barge procession disappeared from the public calendar (Askew 2002). Throughout the 1950s, the work of the Fine Art’s Department on historical conservation focused on the ancient city sites of Sukhothai and elsewhere, while individual monuments in Krung Rattanakosin were merely registered under general monuments legislation.
The two-decade suppression by the nationalist-ruler ended in 1957 when Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat assumed power and reestablished the links between Bangkok and the monarchy. Although Sarit was considered a dictatorial and corrupt leader, he strongly gave needed support to boost business and tourism development (Elliott 1997). Sarit’s aim was to forge national unity around the goals of economic development and anti-communism, with common loyalty to the King (Chaloemtiarana, 1974: 402-04). King Bhumibol or King Rama IX (1946-present) advanced and consolidated the reputation of his dynasty by committing himself to the public welfare and to socio-economic development (Askew 2002: 287). Throughout his reign, the country experienced the greatest development in all aspects: political, economic, social, and cultural. By the 1970s, the King proved himself indispensable to the Thai polity through judicious intervention in times of political and ideological conflict (Hewison 1997: 61-3). The king and his dynastic forebears were situated at the center of the state’s cultural policy, which linked the benefits of urban heritage conservation policy to the economic imperative of tourism.

4.2 Conservation Policies and Heritage Tourism Development

During the 1970s, a broad policy of promoting Thai culture, religion and historical consciousness emerged in response to social and economic changes driven by the Third National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP) (1972-1976). The conservation of Bangkok’s historic city – Krung Rattanakosin – became part of the promotion of Thainess, founded upon the historical narrative of cultural, territorial, and royal dynastic continuity (Askew 2002). The first coordinated effort to develop policy for
conserving and renovating the Rattanakosin district began in this decade. As a result of the initiative of a group of architects and other professionals who attempted to protect the inner district from unsympathetic building developments, a committee for the conservation of the Bangkok Metropolitan area was established in 1976. Its primary task was to prepare for the celebrations of the two-hundredth anniversary of Bangkok in 1982. In 1978, the Thai cabinet appointed the ‘Committee for Krung Rattanakosin Project’ and charged it with defining conservation and development policies for the historic town area. In that year, the cabinet also decided on a control measure for government building construction in the historic town, requiring a submission of construction plans and environmental impact assessment (EIA) for consideration by the newly established committee (ONEP 2004). In 1979, the National Cultural Commission was founded to coordinate the efforts of various bureaucratic agencies in promoting national culture and the distinctive characteristics of nationhood (Reynolds 1991).

In the 1980s, “cultural heritage” became the promotional catch phrase for events such as the Bangkok Bicentennial in 1982 (for which several of the city’s monuments were renovated); the celebrations for the 60th birthday of King Bhumibol in 1987, coupled with the Visit Thailand Year campaign; and ceremonies for the longest reign of Thai history held in 1988, followed by Thailand’s Arts and Crafts Year (Peleggi 1996). Conservation efforts emerged at the national level as the state showed a growing interest in promoting historical sites for education and tourism. In 1981, the National Identity Board was established to produce publications and media programs on various aspects of Thai culture (Reynolds 1991). For Krung Rattanakosin, the successful conservation in the
early 1980s resulted from the force of “accumulated associations between monarchy and national identity”, which drew on an “image of the old city as sacred center of the polity and social order” (Askew 2002: 284). More planning and control mechanisms for conservation purposes were put into practice. In 1984, the Ministry of Interior issued a decree on land-use regulations for the Inner Rattanakosin zone, prohibiting industry and setting building height guidelines. Under this regulation, new buildings must not be higher than 16 meters and must contain at least 20 percent of open space (see Appendix B). Three years later, a similar decree on land use and height restrictions was issued for the Outer Rattanakosin area.

The second half of the 1980s also saw a major change in the direction of government tourism policy. Under the Sixth NESDP (1987-91), the government began to allocate funds directly to the TAT, so the authority could develop both short- and long-term tourism plans with a broad agenda, from monument restoration to road construction. The marketing of Thailand as a destination for cultural tourism also included the mitigation of its image as “the most notorious host of sex tours in Asia” (Peleggi 1996). Such image reconstruction was required especially when the pressure of religious and social organizations and the spread of AIDS were transforming this major attraction into an embarrassing burden (Ritcher 1989). However, international arrivals in the 1980s continued to show a high ratio of male visitors.

The 1990s registered the beginning of the revival period of the old royal capital influenced by the contesting urbanism. To conserve the Rattanakosin precinct, two important government-led plans were developed. Both of them not only represented a
great degree of the transformations intended for the district but also reflected different approaches to heritage conservation and development. The first one was a "Master Plan for the Conservation and Development of Krung Rattanakosin" formulated by the Rattanakosin Committee. The plan was first presented at a public hearing in 1995. Two years later, it was approved by the cabinet. The main objective of the plan was to “conserve valuable buildings or places and their environments and to maintain that all developments in Krung Rattanakosin area are conservation conscious” (ONEP 2004). It emphasized “creating visual vistas and new recreational open spaces” (Askew 2002: 292) at the expense of buildings that are deemed unsympathetic to the historic ambience of the early Rattanakosin period and are thought of being not worthy of national pride or as tourist attractions. Detailed plans included demolishing shophouses and old buildings along the Chao Phraya River, relocating about 150,000 residents16 from both sides of the river, building parks and walkways along the river and canals to serve as circulation routes for locals and tourists, and restoring structures that are considered architecturally of note (Rattanakosin Project Committee 1995). The implementation of this plan depended on a long-term process of negotiation with various ministries controlling land, government investment, the Crown Property Bureau (CPB), and local residents.

After the plan was released, a tremendous controversy emerged among the public and expert groups. A number of planners from Chulalongkorn University opposed the overall concept which underlined the removal of the “liveliness and soul” from the inner city (Bangkok Post 1995). “It is like a Hollywood project for the American middle

16 The present population of the area will be reduced from 200,000 to 90,000.
classes,” countered Charnvit Kasetsiri, a historian at Bangkok’s Thammasart University. “If the plan only involves conserving buildings to serve tourists then, it will be no different from Disneyland” (The Nation 2001). Long-held criticisms of the Rattanakosin Plan were discussed in public forums with such questions as: whether the efforts to preserve Rattanakosin were preserving sites and vistas at the expense of local life; and to whom the changes were being made for – Bangkokians or tourists (Suwanadi 1995).

The second plan was “the Bangkok Plan” published by the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) and a group of consultants from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1996. The plan was proposed as another alternative to conservation and development. In this plan, Rattanakosin was highlighted as just another one of the heritage areas, and other previously non-touristic districts were given emphasis on enhancing their character (BMA 1996). Unlike the Rattanakosin Plan that aimed to create “a visual showpiece of cultural monuments and aesthetically pleasing vistas” (Askew 2002: 285), the Bangkok Plan focused on “conserving and improving cultural activities” such as local markets, traditional crafts, and street life, which were deemed to be an integral part of Thai heritage (BMA 1996). Such themes reflected the ideas of the western consultants’ heritage frameworks that underlined cultural resources more than cultural artifacts, and public participation and local needs more than aesthetics. Despite the difference, the Bangkok Plan still followed the “street theatre/festival approach to inner city revival” prevalent in the USA and other European cities under the buzzword of “New Urbanism” (Askew 2002: 294). Although its elements were utilized in some programs of BMA, the plan was never implemented. This was also because of the economic crisis in
1997, a year after the plan was published, and the shift to a new Governor’s administration.

In the 21st century, the Thai government has paid even greater attention to tourism development in the historic area. In 2003, under the Prime Minister Taksin Shinawatra’s government, the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) released a ‘Development Master Plan for Ratchadamnoen Avenue and Surrounding Areas’ to revive the Old Bangkok, boost tourism, and increase recreation space. The NESDB also proposed 3.2 billion baht (US$94 million) for nine projects under the Ratchadamnoen Plan (Bangkok Post 2004a). The aim of this reclamation plan was to transform the 105-year-old avenue into a world-class shopping boulevard offering brand-name products and Thai handicrafts. Upon completion, the atmosphere of the avenue would be similar to the Champs Elyse in Paris. The vista of the palaces and temples would be widened by removing structures erected after the King Rama V period (post 1910), and then creating riverfront parks and line-of-sight views (NESDB 2003). Hotels along the Ratchadamnoen Klang Avenue including the famous Royal Hotel would be upgraded into five-star boutique hotels (Bangkok Post 2004a). The first phase was planned for completion before 2007 – the 225th anniversary of Rattanakosin Island and the 80th birthday of His Majesty the King. Detailed developments included the construction of new public parks and basic infrastructure; pavement refurbishing; the renovation of old buildings; the expansion of footpaths along the avenue; and the canal restoration. The second phase’s developments included the construction of a skytrain, subway routes, and underground parking and accommodations improvements, which were expected to complete by 2012 (Theparat
Activities within the site had to be confined to tourism and represent the “beauty and culture” in the city. Only souvenir and food shops operating within the buildings and the designated shopping area would be allowed. There would be “no room for street vendors, since they disrupt the traffic and are an eyesore” (The Nation 2001). At least half of the current population in the area would need to be moved out of premises that belonged to government agencies and educational institutes.

However, a large number of residents, activists, and academics strongly opposed the Ratchadamnoen Master Plan, fearful that its successful implementation would destroy the soul of Krung Rattanakosin. According to many Thai scholars, this reclamation project would turn the Old Bangkok City into a “Disney-style scheme”, with only the facades of the historic buildings remaining. Some noted that, it might eventually make the Old Bangkok lose its spirit, as the communities’ livelihoods were disregarded (The Nation 2001). “I have never seen any city purposely developed solely for tourists, unless it is called ‘Disneyland’,” asserted Nidhi Aeusrivongse a well-known historian (Rojanaphruk 2004).

Despite their failure to be fully implemented, these government-led development plans have generated a great degree of public resistance. The controversial issues between the Pom Mahakan Community and BMA described in the next section clearly reflect ongoing debates and contestations on the ideals and representations of urban life. The example also sheds light on the case study of Tha Tien community, which has been facing the same problem of resettlement proposed by the Rattanakosin Master Plan.
4.3 Example of Public Resistance: Pom Mahakan Community and the BMA

The Pom Mahakan community represented an outstanding example of the local effort to fight against the resettlement addressed in the Rattanakosin Master Plan that aimed to make the historic area of Rattanakosin more tourist-friendly. The community consisted of about 300 residents living in 77 old-wooden houses for the last 150 years. It covered an area of about 4 rai\textsuperscript{17} (1.6 acres) located next to Mahakan Fort\textsuperscript{18}, between the old city wall and the Rob Krung Canal. A famous anthropologist depicted Pom Mahakan as “a vibrant, cohesive community with a remarkable sense of collective responsibility and mutual support,” housed in “a rare complex of vernacular architecture,” well worth preserving in rapidly modernizing Bangkok (Plessis 2006). In January 2003, motivated by the Rattanakosin Master Plan, the BMA served the community with notice to vacate their homes to make way for a new city park (see Figure 5.2). The BMA insisted that the construction of the park, attractive to tourists and integral to the administration’s plan of expanding the green areas, would serve the greater good for the public than the survival of a slum community plagued by drug problems and criminality (Herzfeld 2003: 105). Residents were offered relocation to a place 45 kilometers away, on the outskirts of Bangkok (Plessis 2006).

\textsuperscript{17} Rai is one of Thai land measurements (1 rai = 0.4 acres).
\textsuperscript{18} Mahakan Fort was constructed in the reign of King Rama I (1782-1809), who built forts, city walls and canals surrounding the inner city to protect it from invaders. Later, King Rama III (1824-1851) granted a piece of land along the wall of Mahakan Fort to his servants, a custom continued by King Rama V (1868-1910) and King Rama VI (1910-1925) (Kaewmorakot 2006).
While about 40 families took the city’s offer of compensation and moved out, the remaining of 65 families (about 190 individuals) continued to oppose the eviction (The Nation 2005a). A campaign of resistance began and eventually brought in academics and NGOs who attempted to make legal, social, and anthropological arguments on behalf of the community. On March 4th, 2003, this conflicting issue was submitted to the National Commission on Human Rights (NCHR) in Thailand. The community leaders were given opportunity to negotiate with representatives of BMA, the Governor’s office, and the National Housing Authority. They were unable to reach a consensus (Plessis 2006). Later, a group of residents submitted a proposal of land sharing to the Deputy Bangkok
Governor. In their proposal, the residents asked for keeping a quarter of the land destined to become a park for their new homes. They also offered to help take care of the park for community purposes (CODI 2005).

Besides local resistance, academics from around the region and the world were involved in this case in many different ways. For example, in November 2002, Graeme Bristol, a lecturer from School of Architecture and Design, King Mongkut’s University of Technology Thonburi, Bangkok, led a group of his students to work with local residents to produce an alternative plan of community development. Based on interviews derived from one-month field research, the students proposed a plan to re-block the existing housing to allow for mini parks between blocks of new houses and small courtyards. Supported by the community, the plan was presented to the NCHR’s meeting in 2003 (Bristol 2004). In 2003, Michael Herzfeld, a professor of anthropology at Harvard University, conducted research on the social consequences of the Rattanakosin project. By exploring the case of Pom Mahakan community, Herzfeld revealed that threatened with eviction, local people had made striking progress toward preserving their way of life, such as offering services as guardians of the area, identifying and restoring houses of historical interest, and replacing others no longer fit for use. He also highlighted the role of community leaders in the local democratic process as they encouraged residents to discuss about procedures and activities, and express their concerns freely (Herzfeld 2003). In 2005, Chatri Prakitmonthakarn, another researcher from Sinlapakon University, conducted research on the history of the community’s architecture. He reported that there were six traditional Thai houses, with distinctive characteristics such as a large open
space underneath, Western-style houses built during the reigns of King Rama V and Rama VII, and modern wooden houses up to 50 years old. The community also represented a long venue for local culture as several families had maintained their professions inherited from previous generations such as musical-instrument makers, birdcage makers, ceramic doll-makers, goldsmiths, and creators of other handicrafts. In Chatri’s perspective, Pom Mahakan was not only one of the most perfect wooden-house communities left in Krung Rattanakosin area, but also “a living, outdoor museum” in the old capital, in a sense that it showed “how city people’s way of life has developed over time” (The Nation 2006). These various research results showed that the community not only contained historical, architectural, and cultural importance but also encompassed remarkable civic values that the city governments should take into consideration prior to embarking the development.

Beginning in 2005, the legal administration was involved in the long-held conflict between the Pom Mahakan community and the BMA. In March 2005, the Supreme Administrative Court supported the lower Administrative Court’s rule that the BMA had the right to proceed with the demolition of the community because they had received 75 percent of compensation and failed to remove their assets from the land within 60 days as agreed (The Nation 2005a). Until end of 2005, the embattled residents began to see some hope for their future as the Governor Apirak Kosayodhin reversed the former governor’s decision. In December 2005, Apirak signed a contract with Sinlapakon University allowing academics to conduct further research on the possibility of renovating and
conserving the neighborhood’s wooden houses. The study was expected to be completed and submitted to the BMA in March 2006 (The Nation 2006).

Besides the Pom Mahakan community, the Rattanakosin Master Plan that aims to revive Bangkok’s royal city also has significant impact on other urban communities. To create more recreation space and aesthetically pleasing vistas for tourists, the plan proposes eviction of another two old communities in the Inner Rattanakosin precinct: the Tha Tien and Tha Wang communities. In this research, the Tha Tien community is selected as a case study. This is not only because the community has become involved in conflicts with the urban redevelopment projects but also because the social life of the local residents has been directly affected by the capitalist development of tourism.

5. Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to construct a stage for the analysis of the Tha Tien community – an old urban settlement in Krung Rattanakosin. It first describes the evolution of Thai tourism from the 19th century, when travel in Thailand consisted mainly of religious pilgrimages to Buddhist temples and was limited in scope, to the 21st century when tourism became the country’s most important economic sector. Emphasis is devoted to the history of Thai tourism due to the fact that the present tourism development cannot be separated from its early development. Then, the chapter provides general information about the country’s political culture and tourism development policies that are useful for the case study analysis. In the past, Thailand’s tourism management was largely developed in a “top-down” fashion with directives from the “monarchy” (before the 1932 constitutional revolution) and the “government” (after the
World War II, from the 1950 onward). Since the beginning of 1980s, the industry has become increasingly directed from below by private enterprise, with a great support from the government agencies, primarily the TAT and Board of Investment (BOI). The rapid growth of tourism industry in Thailand is credited to the extensive role of the TAT in relation to the promotion, marketing, and networking. However, the tourism policies, especially those of the TAT, have focused more on tourism marketing and promotion in order to increase the number of overseas tourists and generate revenue rather than on long-term planning and tourism management. As a result, a range of adverse impacts on the environment, local culture, and social relations of the country have been mounting. The experience of Thailand in developing its tourist industry could become a meaningful lesson for other destination countries, especially those in the Southeast Asian region.

With regard to the specific focus of this research, the chapter also provides background information of Krung Rattanakosin (the old royal center of Bangkok), which today is one of the most popular tourist-historic towns in the country. Throughout the past two decades, the Thai government has emphasized cultural heritage as the promotional campaign for tourism development and city revival. The overall plans of Rattanakosin bureaucrats, to date, have focused on building a space of visual spectacle and recreation have not only threatened the life of several old inner-city communities but also have shown how the state-led promotion of tourism and national cohesion has ignored the local urban pasts and places neither obviously royal not part of a national narrative. An example of Pom Mahakan community clearly illustrates the contestation between the state-promoted tourism development and the old neighborhoods of Bangkok.
In the next chapter, a case study of the Tha Tien community is analyzed in terms of the extent to which global tourism and its associated development has impacted the social life of local people. To ensure that the industry will help enhance the quality of place-bound locality, the potential implementation of the responsible tourism framework in the selected community is also examined.
CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

1. Introduction

This qualitative-oriented research mainly focuses on the tourism-related urban development process as a reflection of social and cultural life. The study seeks to assess the extent to which tourism development has led to both desired and undesired changes in community life by examining the transformation of four attributes of place – the physical environment, place image and identity, community connections, and political capability. The research proposition is that the capitalist development of conventional global tourism tends to be unfavorable to the place-making process and the enrichment of community life because it provokes the commodification of place, the weakening of participatory capabilities of host residents, and a loss of people-place bonds.

To test the above research proposition, one of old communities located in Bangkok’s historic city named Tha Tien is selected as a single case study. In this chapter, different data that were collected specific to the Tha Tien community are presented and analyzed. To provide a logical flow of the case study analysis and research findings, the chapter is divided into four sections. The first section is the history and evolution of urban development of the Tha Tien community. It mainly describes how the community evolved and has developed from the royal residential area in the 19th century, to the commercial hub of Bangkok in the 20th century, and to the area with a high potential, yet growing pressure, for tourism development in the 21st century. The second section
provides the background information of the Tha Tien community in terms of its physical, social, and economic dimensions. The third section discusses the impacts of tourism development on community life and place-making process in the Tha Tien neighborhood. Data expose four key components of a place – the physical landscape, place image and identity, community connections, and political capabilities – that have been modified by the commodification force, cultural politics, and market-oriented approach of tourism development. The last section presents an evaluation of tourism development and its associated activities in the Tha Tien community with regard to three key principles of responsible tourism: good governance, planning and place-based development, and destination management. A comparison between the tourism development practices that the researcher observed in the Tha Tien area during the field research and a set of responsible tourism criteria is conducted. Then, a short discussion of the results is provided.

2. The History and Evolution of Urban Development of the Tha Tien Community

Tha Tien is one of several old urban communities nested in the Rattanakosin precinct. The community is located between the Chao Phraya River and Wat Phra Chetuphon or Wat Pho. It covers the land area of about 4.5 acres, with three piers and one market.

The Tha Tien community can be divided into two zones: the commercial area in the northern part, and the residential area in the southern part (see Figure 6.1). The history of the community can be divided into four periods.
Figure 6.1: The Location of the Tha Tien Community

Source: Maps were derived from the Department of City Planning, BMA, while photographs were taken by the researcher.
2.1 The Early Rattanakosin Period: King Rama I – Rama III (1782 – 1851)

During the early Rattanakosin period, Tha Tien served as a residential area for the Royal Family’s members and aristocrats, because it was close to the Grand Palace. In 1782, when King Rama I (1782-1809) established Krung Rattanakosin as the new capital, he moved the Vietnamese residential quarter that was formerly located in Tha Tien to areas outside the city wall and moved the royal shipyard to the Nonthaburi Province (KMITL 1999; ONEP 2004). After that, he ordered the construction of the “Tha Tien Palace” for his niece in the middle of Tha Tien area (Boonnak 2001). During this period, Tha Tien also served as a commercial area for Krung Rattanakosin. The first market called “Talat Tai Wang” (market at the rear of the Palace) was built in the area of Soi Tha Rong Mo today (see Figure 6.1). It was the first floating market of Krung Rattanakosin (Chayawattana 1977). The market was big and lively, as boats crowded the Chao Phraya River and occupied the area half of its width (ibid.). Customers included people from the Grand Palace’s cookhouse, servants, and local people who lived nearby (Boonnak 2000).

In the reign of King Rama III (1824-1851), another five palaces were constructed on the southern part of Wat Pho, which were granted to the King’s sons (see Figure 6.3). During this time, the size of Tha Tien gradually expanded, as a growing number of people built their houses outside the city wall and along the Chao Phraya River.

19 Soi Tha Rong Mo (Soi = alley, Tha = pier) is the alley connecting between Maharat Road and Tha Tien pier. In the 20th century, this area was the site of a stone crushing plant (called ‘Rong Mo Hin’ in Thai). In the mid-20th century, a wooden pier was built and then was replaced by the concrete structure (Pimonsathean 1997). Today, this pier is used as a ferry jetty to the ‘Temple of Dawn’ or ‘Wat Arun’.
2.2 The Reconstruction Period: King Rama IV (1851-1868)

In the reign of King Rama IV (1851-1868), there was a large fire that damaged almost the entire Tha Tien quarter and the surrounding areas. The damage led to a massive reconstruction of Tha Tien carried out by both the King and citizens. After the fire, King Rama IV ordered the construction of a Royal House for Foreign Affairs and accommodations for foreigners who were employed as the King’s advisers for specialized and technical work (Boonnak 2000). An archival document indicated that there were more than 80 foreign officials residing in this area (Pongrapeeporn 2004).

During this period, foreign diplomats who arrived Krung Rattanakosin had to assemble at the Royal House for Foreign Affairs before being allowed to enter the Grand Palace. King Rama IV also ordered the construction of a 12-unit, one-storey row house for oarsmen and a large boathouse in the middle of Wat Pho’s property (Boonnak 2003). The row house still exists today and is registered as a historical building, while the boathouse was replaced with a warehouse. Another important building constructed in this period was the “Siamese Theatre”, whose main purpose was to entertain aristocrats and royal guests. After its renovation in the 1880s, the theatre was reopened for public and renamed as “Prince Theatre” (Boonnak 2001). During this period, local people also were involved in the reconstruction process by rebuilding a residential quarter and the market in the Tha Tien area. A number of floating houses were docked along the Chao Praya River. An old photograph below shows the panoramic view of Tha Tien in the 1860s (see Figure 6.2). In this photograph, the Royal House for Foreign Affair was completed, while accommodations for foreign officials were still under construction. A number of small
wooden boats that were docked along the riverbank also indicated that part of the Tha Tien area was allocated for commercial activities.

Figure 6.2: Panoramic View of Wat Pho and Tha Tien in the 1860s


2.3 The Economic Booming Period: King Rama V – Rama VIII (1868-1946)

In the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910), the construction of new palaces for royal family members, roads, and shophouses encouraged further commercial and residential development in the Inner Rattanakosin and Tha Tien areas. During this period, two important palaces were built in the southern part of the community: the Penphat Palace and the Chakrabongse Palace (see Figure 6.3). In 1894, King Rama V ordered the construction of a palace on the land that once was the location of Prince Theatre. The palace was granted to His Royal Highness Prince Penphat. After HRH Prince Penphat passed away in 1909, his sister inherited the palace. In 1908, HRH Prince Chakrabongse
the 40th child of King Rama V – had his secondary residence named ‘Chakrabongse
Palace’ built on the bank of Chao Phraya River (the southern part of the Penphat Palace). The Chakrabongse Palace was originally used when the Prince attended royal ceremonies in the Grand Palace, and for picnics and excursions on the river. After the 1932 revolution, it became the residence of Prince Chula Chakrabongse, a historian and writer. Today, the Palace is maintained by his daughter, Mom Rajawong Narisa20.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the fortification of Bangkok was no longer necessary, while commercial activities became more important. During the late 1900s, the northern part of Tha Tien was rebuilt with residential and commercial quarters. In 1908, King Rama V demolished part of the City Wall and then built the new Tha Tien market surrounded by two-story shophouses21. He also had the Morrakhot market built as another marketplace on the southern part of the Tha Tien area. The area then became the commercial hub of Bangkok (Department of Fine Arts 1982). There were three piers and two pavilions constructed on Wat Pho’s property. These pavilions were used as a place where people heated and prepared food before offering it to the monks in the temple.

21 Shophouses in Thailand were first seen in Chinese communities during the reign of King Rama V when new settlers were encouraged to construct their buildings along the main roads. Originally, shophouses were favored by Chinese merchants, who wanted to save on living costs. Under the concept of multi-functional space, the ground floor of shophouse was often used for commercial purposes such as general store or coffee shop, while the upper floors serve as living space for the family (Wattanasukchat 2006).
In the reign of King Rama VI (1910-1925), Tha Tien was designated as a sub-district under the Phraratchawang District. During this period, the remaining City Wall and two forts – the Mahayak and Mahalerk forts – located in the Tha Tien area were
demolished. King Rama VI also had four palaces located in the southern part of Wat Pho demolished and had the Ministry of Commerce built on this newly vacant ground (see Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4: Wat Pho and Tha Tien in the 1920s

![Image of Wat Pho and Tha Tien in the 1920s]

*Source: National Museum of Chronicle, Department of Fine Arts.*

During the reign of King Rama VII (1925-1934) and King Rama VIII (1934-1946), there was only a minor change in the physical landscape of the Tha Tien community. In 1938, the Penphat Palace was renovated to be a temporary office of the
Cooperatives Promotion Department. The palace was then used as the government office for 16 years (Boonnak 2005). During the 1930s, several single houses were replaced with three-story shophouses in order to serve both residential and commercial uses.

2.4 The Modern Development and Economic Restructuring Period: King Rama IX (1946-Present)

In the reign of King Rama IX (1946-Present), the transformation of the physical environment and local economy of the Tha Tien community continues. In 1959, after the government moved the Cooperatives Promotion Department to a new site, the Penphat Palace was demolished and replaced with row houses and shophouses that were sold to the public (Boonnak 2005). In the 1960s, the Morrakhot market was also torn down and replaced with two-story row houses. About two decades later, these row houses were demolished and then three-story shophouses and a bank were constructed. Another royal residence that had gone through a remarkable transformation was the Chakrabongse Palace. In 1996, Mom Rajawong Narisa, the current owner of the palace, initiated a massive restoration of her property. She constructed traditional Thai-style buildings in the forefront that can be seen today from the Chao Phraya River. The initial purpose was to accommodate her special guests (Niyamabha 2003). Later, in 2003, this formerly royal residence was open to the public as a luxurious guesthouse named 'Chakrabongse Villas'.

In terms of the local economy, the Tha Tien community has been through a long process of change during this period as well. From the early to the mid-20th century, Tha Tien served as the commercial and transportation center of Bangkok. The local economy
greatly depended on the fresh- and dried-food commerce as well as waterway transportation. In *Reminiscences of Old Bangkok*, Tomosugi (1993: 14) describes the flourishing Tha Tien market as a place for “foods, namely rice, vegetables, fish, fruits, various dried foods and fast-food packets that prospered on water... Many vendors came and went briskly by paddling a small boat on the morning and their trading was very similar to an itinerant trader who carried goods by a pole on her shoulder.” An old photograph clearly depicts the thriving commercial activities in the Tha Tien area (see Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5: Tha Tien Market in the 1950s

*Source: National Museum of Chronicle, Department of Fine Arts.*

Key informant interviews, conducted during September and December 2006, also affirmed the economic prosperity of the Tha Tien community in the 1950s. As a 62-year-old male resident recalled:
"Tha Tien market was built more than 60 years ago, before I was born. At that time, there were no cars. A number of tradeswomen brought fruits, vegetables, and other agricultural products from their plantation by boats and sold them to middlemen at the Tha Tien market. People from different places also came here by boat in order to buy all kinds of goods."

And another 58-year-old male resident:

"Tha Tien was a central place where goods were shipped to other places. Different kinds of goods were sold in different locations. Fruits were sold on walkways surrounding Wat Pho. Vegetables were sold in the riverfront areas. Dried food, rice, and grain were sold in the market."

The significant component of Tha Tien that made it became the center of commercial activities from the early to the mid-20th century was its eight piers (KMITL 1999). These piers served not only as the link between the two banks of Chao Praya River, but also as a major water transportation terminal connecting Bangkok and other provinces located along the Chao Praya River, such as Phrathumthani, Ang Thong, Ayutthaya, Nakhon Sawan, and Suphanburi. An old photograph features boats of all sizes anchoring in front of Tha Tien Pier and a log-towing steamboat from the northern part of Thailand heading towards Klong Toey Port (see Figure 6.6). Tha Tien pier was also known as the first place where people crossed the Chao Praya River by steamboat instead of paddleboat.

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22 According to KMITL’s (1999) study, piers found in Tha Tien area during the early 19th century included Tha Rong Mo or Tha Tien pier, Tha Rhear Dang (red boat pier), Tha Rhear Khew (green boat pier), Tha Khunnai, Tha Phrathunokyoong, Tha Suphan, Tha Hin, and Tha Sahakorn.
In Angkanarak’s *Phoo Trout Nhun* (1998: 26-27), the author described the operation of water transportation services in the Tha Tien area during the 1950s – 1970s:

“About 30-50 years ago, people who wanted to go to Phrahumthani province had to take a boat at Tha Tien. There were two mail-boat’s companies identified by the different color of their boats: red and green. The red boats were made of steel and had two levels. The upper level loaded with about 200-300 passengers, while the lower level loaded with goods. The green boats were made of wood and smaller than the red ones.”

A 67-year-old male resident also mentioned about the water transports and piers at Tha Tien during the 1950s. He said:
"Tha Tien used to be the center of both commercial activities and water transportation of Bangkok. I remember that there were three large piers: Tha Rhear Khew, Tha Rhear Dang, and Tha Rhear Suphan. A number of people from all over the place came to Tha Tien via two-story mail boats. Tha Tien market was very crowded. It was a never-sleeping market."

After the mid 20th century, Tha Tien’s economy began to decline. The process of economic restructuring started when the government, under the responsibility of the Marketing Organization, had a new marketplace named ‘Pak Khlong Talat’ built in 1953. After the construction was completed, a number of tradeswomen decided to move from Tha Tien market to Pak Khlong Talat, as they thought that Tha Tien market would soon be closed (Boonnak 2001). As a result, Tha Tien became less important as Bangkok’s center for fresh-food products.

During the 1970s and 1980s, retail and wholesale businesses became the major industry in Tha Tien’s local economy. A 67-year-old resident noted that in the mid-1970s there were about 50-60 retail shops located in the neighborhood. The expansion of the retail and wholesale industry evolved from the area’s competitive locational advantage. The Tha Tien community is located in the center of Bangkok and has a relatively good land-based transportation system. An old photograph below portrayed the flourishing of the businesses and commercial activities in the Tha Tien area along the Maharat Road (see Figure 6.7). These local businesses were operated by Chinese in the shophouses.

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23 The largest flower market in Bangkok developed from a floating market in the old days as its name suggests (pak = mouth, klong = canal, talat = market). At Pak Khlong Market, various flowers, garlands and vegetables are sold on narrow zigzagged walkways.
format, which sold general merchandise on the first floor, stored inventory on the second floor, and provided accommodation for its owners on the third floor.

Figure 6.7: Tha Tien Market in the 1970s

Source: National Museum of Chronicle, Department of Fine Arts.

The local retail industry began to suffer a decline in the early 1990s after the Thai government implemented its foreign direct investment policy and allowed the establishment of foreign chain-supermarkets. Many joint ventures and eventually foreign-owned supermarkets were built in Bangkok. At the end of 2000, the six biggest food and personal care retail chains in Thailand were owned and managed by European companies (Mandhachitara 2000). The situation got worse for locally owned businesses after the economic crisis of 1997, as many local retail operators were left in a precarious financial state. More than half of retail shops in the Tha Tien area were closed. As a 67-year-old resident described this situation:
"During 1977 to 1982, retail business in Tha Tien flourished. There were about 50 to 60 retail shops located in the community. Nowadays, there are only about ten shops remaining in this area."

Another important factor of the decline in the retail industry was the enforcement of the 1992 land use policy for the Inner Krung Rattanakosin Sub-area. According to the regulation, large commercial vehicles are prohibited from entering the historic town in order to minimize the vibration that can cause the damage the historic buildings, and commercial activities were limited to a sustainable amount for the local community only (ONEP 2004).

Today, although Tha Tien is no longer the commercial center of Bangkok, it is still known as the wholesale marketplace for dried and preserved seafood products. While wholesale businesses remain the leading economic sector in this area, the service and tourism industry have begun to increase its influence on the local economy.

3. Background Information of the Tha Tien Community

3.1 Physical Environment

The spatial data obtained in 2006 from the Department of City Planning, BMA, show that there are 490 building units, seven piers (only two are in use), and one market located in the Tha Tien area. The majority of buildings (455 units) are shophouses. Another 35 single buildings include houses, office buildings, warehouses, and shrines (see Figure 6.8). Most buildings are low-rise. Of the total building units, 27 (5.5 percent) are one-story buildings, 218 (44.5 percent) are two-story buildings, 155 (31.6 percent) are
three-story buildings, and 90 (18.4 percent) are four- and five-story buildings. Besides these buildings, there are about 100 wooden houses and shelters located on the areas along the Chao Phraya River. About half of them were run-down housing units that encroach on the waterway.

Figure 6.8: Map of Building Types in the Tha Tien Community

Source: Department of City Planning, BMA (1998).
Several buildings in the Tha Tien area are worth conserving due to their unique characters, elements, and style. In the *Cultural Heritage Atlas of Rattanakosin* (BMA, ONEP and DANIDA 2004), these buildings are categorized into three groups ranking from high to low level of historical and architectural value.

3.1.1 One-story Row Houses, with Chinese Influence

Located in the middle of the community is a 12-unit, one-story row house. It was built during the reign of King Rama IV (1851-1868) as a housing for oarsmen. The building reflects an influence of Chinese architectural style. There are no windows except small ventilation openings above the front door. Building walls are made of large bricks and plaster. Its gable roof is made of wooden beams and covered with diamond-shaped tiles. This architectural style and building materials make the house look solid and hardy (see Figure 6.9).

3.1.2 Two-story Shophouses, with Western Influence

Surrounding the Tha Tien market are two-story shophouses built during the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910), who is recognized as a driving force behind the country's modernization. His policies towards accepting influences from developed countries, especially European nations, had a significant impact on the architecture. This cluster of shophouses is one example. They are built to accommodate the new commercial function, while also serving as the owner's residence. The building structure is the thick-brick weight bearing wall system. The buildings have more slender proportion and more windows than the one-story row houses. The hip roof is made of wooden structures and
covered with diamond-shaped tiles. The buildings are divided into sections. Each section is separated by a fire-protection wall, which extends beyond the roof ridge. The unique ornament of these buildings is the pediment above the middle of the block and the Art Deco decorative plaster above the windows (see Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9: Three Groups of Historic Buildings in the Tha Tien Area

Types of Historical Buildings
1. One-story row houses, with Chinese architecture influence.
2. Two-story shophouses, with Western architectural influence.
3. Three-story shophouses, with contemporary architectural style.

Source: The Researcher.
3.1.3 Three-story Shophouses, with Contemporary Architectural Style

The last group of buildings that has a relatively high architectural value is the three-story shophouses located in the middle part of Tha Tien. These buildings were built in the reign of King Rama XII (1925-1934). During this period, reinforced concrete was introduced as a new building material, which allowed the construction of a flat roof. Their special elements are the balusters on the roof-deck and balconies on the second and third floors (see Figure 6.9).

3.2 Land Ownership

Land in the Tha Tien area belongs to three major groups of landowners: private landowners, the Crown Property Bureau (CPB), and Wat Pho. Of total land area, about 45 percent belongs to private landowners, 35 percent belongs to the CPB, and 20 percent belongs to Wat Pho (see Figure 6.10).
3.3 Demographics

The Tha Tien community consisted of about 300 households with a total population of 2,010 (KMITL 1999). This number declined from 2,837 in 1985.
(Phichitdate, 1985). In 1999, a study team from the King Mongkut’s Institute of Technology Ladkrabang (KMITL) conducted a household survey in this community. Self-administered questionnaires were hand-delivered to every household; one adult in every household (18 years or older) was asked to complete the survey. The completed surveys totaled 130, representing about 43 percent of the community’s population. Based on this household survey, Demographic characteristics of the 130 survey respondents are summarized in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Demographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents

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<td>39</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No formal education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior primary school</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior primary school</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior high school</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior high school</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational school</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher than bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The household size of the Tha Tien community was considerably large, with an average of 6.7 members compared to the 3.2 of Bangkok. This is because most of the residents are living in large extended families. Of the total completed questionnaires, the majority (about 76 percent) of respondents were long-term residents, who have lived in the community for more than 30 years (see Table 6.2). The survey results also suggested close informal relationships among local residents as about 98 percent of respondents reported that they regularly contacted more than 10 neighbors (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.2: Length of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of Residence (years)</th>
<th>Number of Survey Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 60</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 60</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 6.3: Number and Percentage of Contacted Neighbors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Contacted Neighbors (houses)</th>
<th>Number of Survey Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 - 5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>97.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another unique characteristic of Tha Tien’s populations is their ethnicity. About 90 percent of the populations are Chinese-Thais, whose ancestors migrated from China to Thailand more than 80 years ago. These people play an important role in the economy, local customs, social activities, and the local politics. Most of them, especially those of middle age (40-60 years old), operate family-owned businesses in the retail or wholesale industry. They still maintain the traditional Chinese cultural practices such as the shrine-related annual celebrations and Chinese New Year Festival, as well as take good care of all five shrines that are located in the community. The community chairman and the majority of the community organization committees are also Chinese-Thais. Figure 6.11 shows some of the characteristics of the Chinese ethnicity that is reflected by the shrines and cultural practices.

Figure 6.11: Characteristics of Chinese-Thai Ethnicity in the Tha Tien Community

Besides these local Chinese-Thais, there is a group of people who did not originate from Tha Tien. Since the early 1980s, the boundaries between the Thai capital and the countryside have dissolved by the new space of regional economics and global markets (Rigg 1997). As a result, a large number of people have moved from the countryside, mostly the central and northeastern provinces, to find work in the city including Bangkok. A group of them have settled in Tha Tien due to inexpensive housing costs and the possibility of finding employment. Based on the researcher’s field observations conducted in 2006, the estimated number of this migrant population was about 180-200. Their length of residence in Tha Tien varied between 5-25 years. The majority of them are engaged in the ‘informal sector’\(^{24}\) working as street vendors or day laborers. In 2006, there were about 35-40 street vendors located on the sidewalks of Maharat Road and in Soi Tha Rong Mo. These people usually rent run-down housing or build small shelters along the Chao Phraya River and inside the Tha Tien market (see Figure 6.12).

\(^{24}\) The informal sector refers to the economic domain of “micro-business operation and employment distinguished by an absence of contractual relations, formal training, education and licensing” (Askew 2002). Its main characteristics are diversity, fluidity, and flexibility (Vachiraphol 1991).
3.4 Economy

As described earlier, Tha Tien has gone through a long process of economic restructuring during the past 50 years. In the early 1990s, Tha Tien’s economy began to decline after the fresh-food market was relocated to Pak Klong Talat and retail businesses were defeated by the foreign chain-supermarkets. Nowadays, the local economy of Tha
Tien is not flourishing as it did in the 1900s. The community is currently facing a declining local economy as a result of traffic congestion, foreign competition, and unclear development policies (KMITL 1999). However, a number of residents are still running their family-owned businesses in this area. The Tha Tien market has become a specialty marketplace of dried and preserved seafood products. From 2006 observations, there were about 15-20 food stands located inside the market. The local economy greatly depends on the wholesale industry. The area is also known as a place where people can find all kinds of herbal medicine. Table 6.4 shows the 2006 building use in the Tha Tien community. The most common non-residential use categories were wholesale businesses and warehouses (27.6 percent) followed by service industry (9.4 percent), offices (5.3 percent), and dried food stores (4.5 percent).

Table 6.4: Building Use in the Tha Tien Area in 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Building Use</th>
<th>Number of Units</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residence only</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and Warehouse</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service (e.g., restaurant, massage, salon, etc.)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office/Bank/Association</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried food store</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery store</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbal medicine</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed unit</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenir shop</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>490</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Observations conducted by the researcher in October 2006.
4. A Case of Micro Analysis of Tourism Development and Community Life

During the past five years, Tha Tien's local economy has been marked with the growing importance of the tourism industry and its related businesses. Data from Wat Pho's ticket booth disclose that there were approximately 2,500 – 3,000 international tourists visiting the temple per day (Wat Pho 2006). Large numbers of overseas tourists also enter the Tha Tien area. Most of them use the Tha Tien pier as a node for water transportation. From the pier, tourists can take a ferryboat to Wat Arun or rent a long-tail boat to enjoy a sightseeing tour along the Chao Phraya River and several canals in Bangkok. Some tourists, who know about Wat Pho's famous Thai traditional massage school, stop by several massage-service shops located in the Tha Tien neighborhood. Others wander through the community and market to observe local people's way of life. As a result, many local residents have improved their livelihoods as a result of the expansion of tourism industry in the area. By the end of 2006, there were more than 30 tourism-related businesses (e.g., boutique hotels, restaurants, coffee shops, souvenir shops, and massage service shops) in the Tha Tien community.

Although tourism generates contributions to the local economy and social well-being, it can also cause a range of changes and undesired impacts on the host society. In assessing tourism impacts on community life of Tha Tien residents, the model of conventional global tourism and its relation to the place-making process is used as the

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25 Wat Arun or the Temple of Dawn is one of Bangkok's well-known landmarks. It stands on the west bank of the Chao Phraya River. The outstanding feature of Wat Arun is its central prang (a Khmer-style, tall finger-like spire). The corners are surrounded by 4 smaller satellite prangs. All of them are decorated by bits of porcelain, which had previously been used as ballast by boats coming to Bangkok from China. The construction of prangs began in the King Rama II period (1809-1824) and were completed in the King Rama III period (1824-1851).
analytical framework for the analysis (see Figure 2.1). Conceptually, a 'place' -- in the sense of a locality-bound community -- is composed of individualized and unique qualities as well as the relationships or bonds people have with that place (Williams and Stewart 1998; Moore and Scott 2003). The prevailing holistic idea is that every place holds deep meanings and value for its inhabitants. The research proposition is that the capitalist development of tourism can provoke the commodification of place (Britton 1991), transformation of the physical landscape, inauthentic cultural traditions, diminishing of community connections, a loss of place attachment or person-place bonds, and weakening of political capability (see Chapter 2). The declining quality of place attributes can consequently lead to the degradation of community life.

To test the above statement, the Tha Tien community was selected as a case study. The following analysis was based on data gathered from field research that was conducted between September and December 2006. Methods that were used during this four-month filed research included historical analysis, semi-structured interviews, field observations, and community mapping exercises (see Chapter 4). The emergence of global tourism in the Tha Tien community is analyzed in terms of its impacts on four interconnected core components of a place: the physical environment, image and identity, community connections, and political capability. The research proposition is that global tourism and its associated development, to some extent, has led to the transformation and diminished quality of these place attributes.
4.1 The Physical Environment

As shown in the conceptual framework diagram (see Figure 2.1), the researcher hypothesized that tourism development has the potential to cause the depreciation of heritage resources and transform a place’s physical environment. Escalating tourist demands motivates local people to convert their property into souvenir shops, guesthouses, cafes, retail outlets, or other tourism-related businesses. The construction of new tourism facilities in historic cities with little consideration for heritage conservation can lead to the erosion of historic buildings and a loss of vernacular architecture. The cityscape can be transformed into a ‘theme park’ (Sorkin 1992) that provides entertainment and excitement with a Disneyland-like sense of cleanliness in order to attract tourists as well as ensure their safety and comfort (Evans 1994; Orbasli 2000). Such change of the physical environment can alter – at best compromise and at worst ruin – the character of a place and inevitably weaken human bonds with that place.

In the case of Tha Tien community, tourism development began to transform the physical environment of the community and its surrounding areas in the late 1990s. Such transformation more likely resulted from producers (i.e., local residents, landowners, non-local investors, and the public authorities) rather than consumers (i.e., tourists). Basically, producers manipulated the physical landscape with direct actions such as building facilities and renovating historic buildings (Dietvorst and Ashworth 1995). According to the 2006 field observations, there were 32 formal tourism-related establishments operating in the Tha Tien area. They included thirteen restaurants, seven souvenir shops, five massage-service shops, three coffee shops, two recently built
accommodations, and two transportation service businesses. A majority of these businesses are concentrated in such specific locations as the Tha Tien Pier, Soi Tha Rong Mo, along Maharat Road, and a few riverfront spots (see Figure 6.13).

Since beginning of the 21st century, the restoration and renovation of buildings in the Tha Tien community for tourism-related uses was evident. Many residents renovated their shophouses for new uses such as souvenir shops, restaurants, and massage service shops. For example, in 2000, a wealthy long-term Thai-Chinese resident who owns a well-known Thai-herbal medicine store renovated his two units of historical shophouses into the 'Rub Arun' restaurant and one adjacent unit into a massage-service shop. While adding new functions to the old building, the owner also attempted to keep the original elements of the building such as old wooden furniture, balusters, and doors. Another two female residents turned their family businesses, dressmaking shop and retail store, into souvenir shops. In 2003, the Chakrabongse Palace was renovated into a luxurious guesthouse and renamed as 'Chakrabongse Villas' (see Figure 6.13). To accommodate tourists, the current owner of the Palace also had three traditional Thai-style apartments and modern facilities (e.g., swimming pool, dining pavilion, and gift shop) built on this former royal residence. More recently, a group of non-local investors sub-leased a riverfront property in Soi Phratu Nok Yoong. They then renovated and converted an abandoned three-story historic Sino-Portuguese house into a small bed and breakfast (B&B) named 'Arun Residence' (see Figure 6.13). With only five guestrooms, this B&B began its operation in December 2005.
Figure 6.13: Tourism-related Businesses in the Tha Tien Area

Source: Map was created by the researcher based on the GIS data derived from DCP, BMA. Pictures were taken by the researcher during the field research in 2006.
In addition to the renovated buildings, there was a movement toward the construction of new tourist facilities by both local and non-local tourism operators whose interest was in modern-style architecture. Five new buildings were constructed in the Tha Tien area in order to serve the tourism and service industry. These buildings include a massage school, a massage school’s office, a small hotel, a coffee shop, and a restaurant. The ‘Chetawan Massage School’ is a four-story modern-style building located in Soi Sahakorn 4. The school belonged to the same owner of the Rub Arun Restaurant, who also built another four-story modern-style building as the Head Office of his school in Soi Penphat. A new tourist accommodation named ‘Aurum, the River Place’ is a four-story European style edifice (see Figure 6.13). This small hotel was constructed in late 2005 and was recently open in mid 2006. The owner, who is a long-term Thai-Chinese resident, decided to turn his 50-year old warehouse into a small hotel with 12 guestrooms (Aurum 2006). He also built a new coffee shop named ‘Vivi’ beside his hotel. The coffee shop is a one-story, modern-style building with a wide riverfront terrace and appealing landscape (see Figure 6.13). The last new building is the ‘Deck by the River Restaurant’ located next to the Arun Residence B&B. The owners of the B&B built this restaurant as a tourist facility on the bank of the Chao Phraya River.

Despite the construction of new tourist facilities, the observation data indicated that tourism development did not transformed the physical environment of the community into a theme park, as the researcher had initially hypothesized. The erosion of historic buildings and loss of vernacular architecture had not yet occurred, as most of the tourism development projects were associated with the restoration and renovation of
existing buildings for new tourism-related functions. The façade, color, and architectural style of the new facilities have moderately altered the place landscape and aesthetic. None of key informants complained that the new buildings were eyesores. The renovation was undertaken under different degrees of appropriate historic preservation depending on the financial resources, knowledge, and conservation consciousness of the tourism producers. In most cases, the renovation altered building interiors, with some minor exterior modifications such as sign installation and landscape development. Two outstanding tourism-related projects that represented a high degree of historic conservation were the Rub Arun Restaurant and Arun Residence B&B. The restaurant’s owner had old wooden furniture repaired and used them to decorate his restaurant. He also reinstalled old balusters and doors. The new B&B’s owners hired professional architects and interior designers to renovate the abandoned shophouse. Two architectural magazines published an article about this B&B and referred to it as a good example of contemporary building renovation and interior design project. These examples in fact highlight the contribution of tourism to the renewal of formerly derelict structures, and resources to maintain historic buildings for the benefit of both local residents and tourists (Glasson et al. 1995).

A minor impact of tourism development on the physical environment of the Tha Tien community results from several factors. For example, the community is located in the historic city of Bangkok in which land use and building regulations are strictly enforced. Commercial activities in the Inner Krung Rattanakosin sub-area are controlled to a sustainable amount of local communities only, while the height of new buildings are
limited to 16 meters and with at least 20 percent of open space (ONEP 2004) (see Appendix B). Another factor is that the number of new tourist facilities is still minimal. By 2006, of the total 490 building units in the Tha Tien area, 40 units (or about eight percent) were renovated buildings and only 10 units (or two percent) were new tourist facilities. Thus, the growth of the tourism industry has led to more interior renovations than exterior building reconstruction.

However, the tourism development possesses a high potential to cause a remarkable transformation of the physical landscape of the Tha Tien community in the near future. The most serious danger is the involuntary displacement of local residents to make way for the large-scale tourism developments. In 2006, Wat Pho, one of the community’s major landowners, has proposed a plan to develop its 1.2-acre property located in the center of the neighborhood into a riverside tourist attraction and scenic viewpoint. The main objective of this project includes restoring the temple’s historic structures, developing the landscape, and promoting tourism and Wat Pho’s massage services (Wat Pho 2006). The ultimate goal is to increase the number of overseas tourists who visited the Inner Rattanakosin area by 20 percent, from 1.1 million to 1.3 million per year (ibid.). The preliminary design of this project involves the construction of two piers, three pavilions, a small park, an archway and a covered walkway as well as the general development of riverfront area (see Figure 6.14). The project’s implementation would lead to the demolition of nine wooden houses along the Chao Phraya River, 12 units of three-story row houses, a large abandoned warehouse, and the office of Thaweesahamit Association. As a result, more than 30 families or about 180 residents will be removed
from their homes. In the long-term plan, Wat Pho wants all of its tenants to be engaged in tourism-related activities. As a representative of Wat Pho declared,

"When fully developed, the temple’s property should become a commercial area rather than merely being used for residential purpose. We want to promote local products (e.g., Thai-herbal medicine, spa, and Thai massage) in the tourism market. The area will become a new high-end tourist attraction where bars, nightclubs, and street vendors are prohibited. We spoke with the community about this project and they generally agree with us. A small number of people whose homes will be demolished may object this plan, but we will provide them with a new place to live."

The involved parties have diverse opinions regarding this project. In 2006, the temple proposed this one-million-dollar project to the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) to ask for full financial support. The TAT Sub-Committee approved the proposal, but the TAT Board has not yet made a final decision. The proposal was also submitted to the Krung Rattanakosin Committee in order to get approval for the construction. While the Krung Rattanakosin Sub-Committee decided to accept it in principle, the Secretary Party seemed to disagree with the proposed plan. The Secretary’s comment read:

"Since Wat Pho’s project involves the construction of new buildings (i.e., an archway, riverfront shelters, covered walkway, and piers), it is inconsistent with land use regulations in the Inner Rattanakosin area and the 1999 Bangkok Riverfront Legislation. Hence, Wat Pho should consult the Fine Arts Department regarding the historical information of the area as well as coordinate with the BMA, the local government, in order to follow the resolution of the Sub-committee" (Wat Pho 2006).
Figure 6.14: Map of Wat Pho's Proposed Development Project

1. Pavilions  5. Small park
2. Covered walkway  6. New pavement
3. Open waterfront area  7. Landscape

The Crown Property Bureau (CPB), the landowner of the Tha Tien market, expressed substantial interest in Wat Pho’s project. Two representatives of the CPB revealed that they were invited to attend a formal meeting in which the temple’s project was presented to several involved parties (e.g., the Rattanakosin Committee, BMA, and TAT). Both of them agreed with the concept of Wat Pho’s proposal and supported new development that could improve the physical environment and promote the tourism industry. They further suggested that if this project went ahead as planned, it would definitely stimulate a dramatic transformation in the CPB’s property as well. In fact, the CPB had already drafted a proposal to redevelop Tha Tien market. Part of its plan was to renovate the two-story historical shophouses and remove the run-down shelters located between the market and the Chao Phraya River. However, due to financial constraints and potential objections from the local residents, the proposal was put on hold. Therefore, the implementation of Wat Pho’s project, which had a similar purpose, would act as a stimulus to the CPB’s plan.

In this research, substantial attention was also given to local residents and their reactions, because they would be directly affected by the development proposals. Interview data showed that 38 key informants had varied attitudes toward Wat Pho’s proposed project. The majority of them (16 informants or 42 percent) disagreed with this project for several reasons. Some people were concerned about the resettlement of several families. Others worried about the future changes in the community, as local residents had to change their family businesses to those related to the tourism industry. On the other hand, 10 informants (26 percent) were inclined to support the development
because they viewed that the project would benefit the community by contributing to the improvement of both physical environment and local economy. Among the 12 informants (or 32 percent) who were unable to give a clear-cut answer, eight people said they needed more information about the project, while five residents reported that they did not know anything about it. According to the community chairman, more meetings and discussions between the temple and Tha Tien’s representatives were required before the community could make a final decision and react accordingly. Although the local residents were merely long-term renters who legally did not have rights over the land, their opinions could not be overlooked.

Driven by the tourism-led urban development, the landscape change would take place not only in the community but also in the surrounding areas. There are two ongoing large-scale projects associated with the tourism industry that need to be taken into consideration. This is because after their completion both projects will attract more people to the area and potentially create new pressures on the community (i.e., crowding). The first project is the riverfront tourist service center, which is a joint development between two agencies: the CPB and BMA. In May 2006, the Office of Public Warehouse Organization, Department of Internal Trade, located on the northern part of Tha Tien, was demolished (see Figure 6.15). By the time this field research was conducted, the master plan had not yet been finalized. However, according to the representatives of the CPB and BMA, both organizations planned to develop this newly vacant ground as a riverfront park and tourist service center with supporting facilities such as an information booth, souvenir shops, coffee shops and restaurants. The CPB also
planned to demolish another nine shophouses located next to this piece of land in order to expand the size of the riverfront open space.

The second tourism-related development project involves the renovation of the Ministry of Commerce, which is located in the southern part of the community. The property is destined to become the First National Discovery Museum. This two-billion-baht project was launched in mid-2006. The main concept was to offer “a new-style theme park to provide both enjoyment and information to children and the curious of all ages” by using “exciting light-and-sound presentation technology” (*The Nation* 2005b).

The first phase of the museum was the renovation of the three-story historic building with 3,400 square meters of floor space. The second phase involved the construction of a new building with 5,000 square meters of floor space in the same compound. Although its target groups were students and local people, the museum would also attract international visitors because of its location. By the time this field research was conducted, a group of archaeologists were tracing the ancient fort believed to lie underneath the site, while historians were collecting evidence of several old urban settlements in the Rattanakosin area including the Tha Tien community. Such information would be exhibited in the new museum, of which the first phase is expected to open in 2007.
Figure 6.15: Urban Development Projects in the Surrounding Areas

The assessment of tourism impacts on Tha Tien’s physical environment cannot be done without paying attention to the influences of other key components of a place, notably place image and identity, political structures and power relations. This is because all place attributes are interconnected. The manipulation of the physical environment either via the renovation of old buildings for new functions or via the construction of new tourist facilities is undertaken by producers (e.g., residents, landowners, and non-local investors). Although their underlying motives are usually to increase financial gain, these producers have various interests and different degrees of power. Some show a relatively high concern for historic conservation, while others do not. Some, especially large landowners (i.e., Wat Pho and CPB) and the government (i.e., BMA and TAT), pay much attention to the creation of positive place image and the promotion of national identity. Such interests lead to the evocation of royal dispensation and construction of appealing architecture with little consideration for the unique character of old urban places. The consequent danger is the demolition of vernacular buildings deemed unsympathetic to the state-promoted royal heritage and displacement of local people. Some producers are able to implement and invest in development projects because they have substantial power and resources (e.g., capital, land, experience, and connections with other entrepreneurs), while others whose lack thereof means that they rarely engage in new development or merely play a minor role as workers in the tourism sector. Of the total five new tourist facilities found in the Tha Tien area, four projects were built by landowners. Thus, decisions and interests of certain groups of people are important as they can determine the future of tourism-related physical development in a locality.
In short, the above information clearly reveals that the emergence of global tourism in the Tha Tien community since the late 1990s has not yet induced the complete transformation of the physical environment of place. By 2006, of the total 490 building units in the Tha Tien area, 50 units (or about 10 percent) were, to some extent, altered by producers (i.e., local residents, landowners, and non-local investors) to support the growing economic importance of the tourism industry. Most of these changes (40 units) were related to the restoration and renovation of formerly derelict buildings for tourism-related uses such as restaurants, souvenir shops and massage service shops. This was viewed as the positive impact of tourism. These new tourism facilities only created a minimal degree of landscape transformation because their number was still small and the land use regulations and building controls were strictly enforced. However, the proposed large-scale projects of Wat Pho and the CPB that aim to develop their property into new tourist attractions, a riverfront park, and tourist service center would cause a more dramatic change in the physical appearance of the Tha Tien community in the near future. The completion of Wat Pho’s project also poses a high potential threat to the community, as approximately 200 residents will be relocated. Hence, the investigation of tourism impacts on community life needs to go beyond the improvement of material conditions to include other attributes of a place, notably place attachment and identity, community connections and political capability. The changes of these non-material dimensions of a place can be essential determinant for place managers and planners in making decisions regarding tourism development projects.
4.2 Place Image and Identity

The second key place attribute in this research is place identity. Place identity has been traditionally defined as the way individuals think about themselves and interact with their living environment or their community (Lofland 1991; Cuba and Hummon 1993; Smaldone 2002). Within any locale, there are expected to be multiple community identities felt by a collection of residents (Stewart et al. 2004). Place identity also greatly influences the affective bonds or social relationships people have with places, which is called place attachment (Farnum et al. 2005). Although constructed through informal socialization processes (Greider et al. 1991), place identity is affected by many factors, for example, the physical features; events (Stewart et al. 2004); the consumption of leisure goods, services, and signs (Urry 1994).

In this research, the emphasis is put on examining the extent to which touristic images and mapped representations deployed and constructed by both public and private tourism sectors lead to the diminishing of community identities. As can be seen in the conceptual framework diagram (see Figure 2.1), the researcher hypothesizes that large-scale capitalist development of tourism will result in invented histories, market-oriented destination images, and a loss of place identity. Tourism, which is recognized as one of the most significant forces in homogenizing the world (Teo and Li 2003), can transform the distinction of place identities (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998). Through the commoditization process, destination image is created through the use of visual representations (e.g., tourism maps and brochures) within which identities are constructed (Grossberg 1996; Hall 1996). Images and representations are the key marketing tools of
the tourism industry for attracting potential consumers who often base their buying
decisions upon mental images of products offerings rather than the physical alternatives
(Morgan and Pritchard 1998). Potential conflicts can emerge when the destination image
promoted by tourism marketers is not consistent with the place-image held by local
residents, who afterwards resist the images they are supposed to represent. The
commoditization of places driven by global tourism can also lead to other adverse
impacts such as distorting place images, changing the character of places, diminishing
community identities (Goudie et al. 1996), and the exclusion of marginalized groups or
cultures (Hall 1996; Jeong and Almeida Santos 2004).

The following analysis is based on both primary (i.e., key informant interviews
and community mapping exercises) and secondary data (i.e., government reports,
newspapers, and tourism maps) (see Chapter 4). In analyzing interview accounts, the
researcher aims to demonstrate how talk about place becomes talk about identity as
people assemble versions of the social world while they are describing and accounting for
their activities (Baker 2000; McCabe and Stokoe 2004). From this standpoint, interviews
are treated interactionally and are used to sort people into groupings. The researcher also
emphasizes the importance of mapped representations in the construction and
reproduction of tourism image and place identity. This is because representations not
only contribute to the production of space (Urry 1990; Wood 1992; Shaw and Williams
1994; Hanna 1996), but are also involved in the formulation of social and spatial
identities of hosts and guests (Butler 1990; Natter and Jones 1997).
Prior to the investigation, a better understanding of local identities needed to be developed. The responses of 38 long-term residents interviewed in the Tha Tien community indicate that local identities could be categorized into four major groups. The first identity was related to the abstract element of the community, notably the social cohesion and connectedness among local residents. A strong sense of community is viable as it is closely linked with the psychological interpretations and constructed meanings of people-place interactions (Stedman 2003). Almost three fourths of the total key informants (28 people) distinguished themselves as group members of a neighborhood in which residents still maintained their reciprocal relationships with neighbors. In their perspective, such close connections were distinctive because they were hardly found in other urban communities.

The second identity was defined by the history of the Tha Tien community. Bridger (1996) referred to “heritage narratives” as representations of community identity. Twenty-three key informants told stories about the community in the past to explain their life contexts. They mostly described the flourishing of Tha Tien during the mid-20th century in terms of both economic and social dimensions. For example:

“In the past, Tha Tien was very prospering and crowded. A variety of goods were bought and sold all day, all night. Those who could not afford to buy a house would sleep in the market. Everyday, I had to wake up at 3:00 a.m. to sell stuff,” elaborated a 78-year-old woman.

“Tha Tien is an old urban community with a long history. It used to be Bangkok’s commercial center from which all kinds of goods were shipped to other provinces. Those who wanted to travel had to come to Tha Tien to take a boat. From Tha Tien, you could go to everywhere along the Chao Praya River,” detailed a 58-year-old man.
The third identity brought out by 19 key informants was that of the ethnic
differences. The historical data reveal that in the mid-19th century there were several
small, non-Thai ethnic groups26 (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodia, Muslim, and Chinese) who
settled in the Rattanakosin areas (Tomosugi 1993). Tha Tien is one of the oldest
settlements of Chinese merchants27 whose networks and skills were essential to
Bangkok’s economy since the late 19th century (Askew 2002). Over the years, the
offspring of these Chinese immigrants still maintained the custom and tradition of their
ancestors. The Chinese ethnic identity of Tha Tien residents is still represented by
cultural events, language, signs and architecture. The most important local event remains
the annual shrine-related festival that aims to worship the Chinese gods. The festivals that
involve joss stick pots possession and Chinese opera28 confer social distinction.
Residents, especially the elderly, still speak the Chinese language and read Chinese
newspapers. In the 1940s, a Chinese language school named “Phophitayakon” was
established in the community to teach the Cantonese language and Chinese culture to the
younger generations (Boonnak 2003). However, in 1987 the school was closed due to
financial problems and replaced by the two-story concrete building29. Most noticeably,
almost all local businesses still have a Chinese name written on their signboards. Five

26 The location of these non-Thai settlements also represents the social division of labor
(Tomosugi 1993).
27 The Chinese began to immigrate to Thailand since the late 1860s due to the high wages for
laborers and possibilities for entrepreneurial activities (Askew 2002). At the end of 19th century,
about half of Bangkok’s population was of Chinese (Ouyyanont 1994).
28 Chinese opera is one of China’s most well known traditional performing arts that feature
acting, singing, and sumptuous costumes. Evolved from the earliest Chinese dramas in the twelfth
century, Chinese opera offers dance, mime, face painting, and acrobatics (Shepard 2001).
29 The building is now used as the community center and office of Thaweesahamit Association
(the first floor) with a snooker club located on the second floor.
shrines located in the community and family altars found in several informants’ houses also reflect the Chinese culture and identity. Donations from local residents are spent on hiring a few local people (mostly the elderly) to take care of these shrines. A 50-year-old male resident explained the relationship between the Chinese and the shrines:

"Chinese communities emphasize trade. Normally every community will have a market and a shrine. We build a shrine to accommodate and honor a god, who we believe can enrich our trading businesses. These shrines then become a place to pray, a place to express gratitude, and a place to ask for help. Every year, we hold our annual shrine celebration festivals in which Chinese opera is performed in order to entertain these gods."

The fourth identity addressed by 17 key informants was connected to the geography and tangible environments. For them, certain environments functioned to link the past with present (Cuba and Hummon 1993), resulting in a felt sense of coherence (Linde 1993) as well as the cognitive and affective bonds with places (Williams et al. 1992; Stedman 2003). The physical features that 17 long-term residents spoke about included the hundred-year-old market, historical buildings, piers, and shrines. Key informants viewed the market as a link to the economic booming period of the Tha Tien community and as the remaining center of commercial activities in the community. They made connection between the two-story historical shophouses surrounding the market and Thai monarch, highlighting that these shophouses were constructed by King Rama V. Informants also showed their appreciation of having a residence in the historic town close to the Grand Palace, temples, and the Chao Phraya River.
The impacts of global tourism on these community identities can be investigated by paying close attention to the place images and mapped representations created by both public and private tourism organizations. This is because the matrix of various place meanings is a set of collectively held images that evolve as a result of direct or indirect interaction with a particular place (Stokols and Shumaker 1981). In selling-place process (Kearns and Philo 1993), these images are modified when the tourist’s gaze composes the urban landscape into a collage of frozen images (Fainstein and Judd 1999). The following analysis also focuses on the role of government and capitalist institutions in image building, as these powerful ensembles of interests have a stake in shaping and using urban space for production, consumption and the reproduction of power (Lefebvre 1991).

In the case of Tha Tien community, the creation of destination image is associated with the prevailing image of Bangkok and its old royal center (Krung Rattanakosin). Throughout the past decade, government agencies, notably the TAT, have attempted to promote and market positive images of Thailand as an international travel destination in a globalized and highly competitive tourism industry. This is because they recognize that destination image plays a significant role in the tourist’s travel decisions. One of the most important strategies is to highlight the royal heritage of Bangkok and Krung Rattanakosin represented by palaces, wats (temples), cultural monuments, and traditional rituals (Noparatnaraporn and King 2007). By launching a series of marketing campaigns, the TAT successfully established the international image of the nation as “the Land of Smiles” and Bangkok as “the Exotic City of Contrast” (Askew 2002; Peleggi 1996). In this regard, policies towards preserving and modifying Old Bangkok formulated by the
city government (BMA) and the Rattanakosin Committee have also been directed
towards building a market-led, touristic image of the old royal city in order to attract
overseas tourists. Heritage, like culture, is intimately linked to identity making of
individuals, local communities and the nation (Misiura 2006). For Thai governments,
heritage is increasingly drawn into both national identity building and the globalized
tourism industry. The Rattanakosin Master Plan released in 1995 clearly represents the
government effort in promoting the national identity of Thais, founded upon Thai culture
and associated royal pageants. Under the aestheticized abstract heritage paradigm, the
plan aims to create “a visual showpiece of cultural monuments and aesthetically pleasing
vistas” (Askew 2002) by emphasizing the tangible aspects of Thai heritage and royal
dispensation as things of beauty.

Information derived from field research revealed that both public and private
sectors perceived the image of the community in a different way from local residents. As
described earlier, the distinctiveness of Tha Tien community represented in its tangible
environment (i.e., buildings, market, piers), history, ethnicity, traditions and events
functioned as building blocks for the formation of place images and community
identities. The majority of key informants’ perceptions towards their community were
considerably positive. Their perceived community images included being an old urban
settlement with a long history; housing a hundred-year-old market and historic buildings;
consisting of a close connections among local residents; and having a safe and livable
environment. Nine informants, meanwhile, raised two unfavorable aspects of the
community: the decline in local economy and the degradation of the riverfront environment resulting from the run-down housing (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Images of Tha Tien Community perceived by different Stakeholders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder (#Informants)</th>
<th>Positive Image</th>
<th>Negative Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community (38)</td>
<td>- An old urban settlement with a long history</td>
<td>- Declining local economy, especially the fresh-food market and retail industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Local traditions</td>
<td>- Run-down housing near the waterfront areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Closed connections among old residents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Safe and livable environment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Historic buildings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Strong local organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Sector (10)</td>
<td>- Tha Tien pier is a main node of water transportation for tourists</td>
<td>- A lack of interesting activities and local products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Dangerous area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Sector (7)</td>
<td>- Old urban settlement</td>
<td>- Riverfront, run-down housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Good geographical location</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Strong local organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landowners (3)</td>
<td>- Good geographical location</td>
<td>- Degraded market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Riverfront, run-down housing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Key Informant Interviews conducted during September – December 2006.

On the other hand, the image of the Tha Tien community perceived by the public sector was quite negative (see Table 6.5). The community was viewed as a run-down area that was incompatible with the showpiece of the royal urbanism nearby. To align the image of local community with the state-promoted image of the old royal city, the BMA and the Rattanakosin Committee had a long-term plan to eventually clear the Rattanakosin precinct of activities deemed to interfere with its streamlined heritage concept. Efforts were made to achieve the plan. In 1993, over 1,000 street vendors were banned from trading in the areas of Tha Tien, Tha Chang and Tha Phrachan (Askew
The clearance of vendors coincided with the landscaping of the waterfront commercial areas, which now feature more tourist-oriented goods than previously. To enhance the panoramic view of Wat Pho and improve the environment of the heritage city, the BMA and the Rattanakosin Committee proposed to evict the shophouses and other buildings in the Tha Tien community considered unsympathetic to conservation objectives in order to make the area more attractive to tourists and middle-class Bangkokians.

Perceiving the Tha Tien community as a degraded place, the government also made an effort to conceal the area from the state guests and tourists. During the last two national events held in Thailand – the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Conference (October 2003) and the 60th anniversary celebration of the King Rama IX’s accession to the throne (June 2006) – the Royal Barge Procession30 was specially performed to honor the world leaders and delegates as well as represent the country’s unique cultural identity. Another main function of the special events was to create and enhance positive destination images of the country (Hall 1992; Getz 1997). To accomplish these purposes, the Thai government built large billboards (about 20-feet in height) along the east bank of the Chao Phraya River in order to cover the supposed unpleasantness of the Tha Tien community (see Figure 6.16).

30 The Royal Barge Procession is Thailand’s spectacular royal armada conducted on ceremonial and auspicious occasions such as the Royal Krathin Robes Ceremony (for the distribution of new robes to monks in the royal temples) (Wenk 1968).
Responses from key informants showed their opposition to this action. In the words of a 25-year-old resident,

"The government built a large billboard with a height of about 3-storey building to cover the entire Tha Tien community. On it was written Welcome to APEC Bangkok."
completely disagree with such idea. It means you are ashamed of yourself. In fact, we do not have to do that. I believe the foreigners want to see the reality of our way of life.”

Or, in the words of a 58-year-old male resident,

“IT [the billboard] looks very ugly. Don’t you think those state guests would not know there is something hidden behind that gigantic billboard? They are not stupid. Why do you have to hide?”

The above discussions clearly indicate that tourism leads to conflicts and tensions between the homogenizing destination image promoted by the state in a top-down fashion and multiple identities of the Tha Tien residents. While aiming to promote the national identity and align images of the Tha Tien community with the prevailing one, the state tended to overlook locally-perceived images and multiple identities of Thai-Chinese people living in the neighborhood. The long history of this old urban community that once served as the commercial hub of Bangkok has been left out of most of guidebooks. The name of Tha Tien community is absent from the list of tourist attractions displayed on websites of the TAT and Bangkok Tourism Division (BTD)31. Attempts to evict the community, clean up street vistas, and hide the social realities of local people demonstrate that the public sector mainly focuses upon reproducing the image of the city and destination community for tourism purposes by selectively promoting national heritage and royal ceremony. Such actions are driven by the dominant ideology and value of place marketers, while the marginalized groups or cultures are excluded. The Thai government agencies seemingly ignore local urban pasts and places that are neither obviously royal nor part of a national narrative. Local Chinese events, festivals, the

history, and physical legacy that may be less tangible or coherent in the historic city of Krung Rattanakosin are given little attention. In other words, the locally perceived images and identities of this old urban community are excluded from the state-led heritage discourse and the market-oriented tourism promotion.

Likewise, the private sector also had a relative negative perception towards the Tha Tien community (see Table 6.5). Representatives of non-local tourism operators merely viewed the community as a place where tourists can take a ferryboat across the Chao Phraya River to visit Wat Arun and take a long-tail boat trip to explore Bangkok’s canals. Six tour guides whom the researcher interviewed said that they had never led tourists to visit the Tha Tien community. None of them knew about the history and local traditions of the community. Three tour guides stated that the community lacked interesting activities and tourism resources, so they often took tourists who wanted to explore the local fresh-food market to Pak Klong Talat (about 10-minute walk from Tha Tien) instead. Two tour guides explained that they did not have enough time to include the Tha Tien market in their tour program. One tour guide even said that the community was an unsafe place for tourists.

The results from the community mapping exercises helped the researcher to assess the influence of tourism on place-image as well as to understand the history and physical change of the community. The following figure shows three community maps drawn by the researcher based on long-term residents’s description. Basically, three key informants who participated in the community mapping exercises highlighted the importance of local landmarks notably the market, historical buildings, shrines, a large
banyan tree, piers, and community gathering places (see Figure 6.17). They still regarded the Tha Tien market and piers as the key marker of their neighborhood, even though these places are now facing a serious decline and transportation shifted from water- to land-based. The two-story shophouses surrounding the market were referred to as significant historic buildings and landmark of the community. All participants also considered the five Chinese shrines as sacred places and important cultural assets of the community. Two older participants (over 60 years old) described the earlier riverfront open space as part of the livable environment in the community and referred to the Morrakot market that was once located in the middle of the neighborhood. A 67-year old resident revealed that in the 1970s there were several candy factories located in Soi Phratu Nokyoong, but all of them had to move out after new land use regulations were enforced in the late 1980s. A 62-year old participant told that about 50 years ago children used the lane between Wat Pho and the Ministry of Commerce as a playground and a tram ran along Maharat Road. A middle-age participant (45 years old) identified the community health center (located inside the market) and a snooker club (located in the middle of Tha Tien) as important community gathering places. He recalled that there was an open space in Soi Phratu Nokyoong where he and his brother used to practice the ‘lion dance’. As the youngest participant in the mapping exercise, he included new tourist facilities (the B&B and coffee shop) and two banks in his community map. In contrast to the first two older participants, he did not illustrate the riverfront open space, but rather emphasized only the run-down housing that currently existed.

32 Lion dance is a form of traditional dance in Chinese culture, in which performers mimic a lion’s movements while dressed in a lion’s costume.
Figure 6.17: Community Maps

A 67-year-old Male Resident

A 62-year-old Female Resident

A 45-year-old Male Resident
The comparison between community maps indirectly drawn by local people and tourist maps produced by both public and private tourism marketers reveals that there are competing meanings of the place among the different social actors. Most local landmarks and features highlighted by the community’s key informants were absent from the tourist maps of Bangkok’s old royal capital (see Figure 6.18). Four tourist maps obtained from both public and private tourism-promoting organizations mainly showed the location of major historical attractions (i.e., the palace, temples, museum and monuments) and the Tha Tien pier, which was viewed as a major node of water transportation for tourists. The entire community was not shown on any of these maps, while the Tha Tien market appeared only on the BMA’s tourist bicycling map.

The absence of the Tha Tien community and its local landmarks from four samples of tourist maps demonstrated that both public and private tourism marketers were inclined to overlook this old urban community and its unique place identities. For them, the perceived image of the Tha Tien community was incompatible with the destination image of the tourist-historic city. A comparison between the community maps and tourist maps also revealed that long-term residents possessed distinctive identities and attachments to their place. Such identities were different from those of the capitalist interests of public authorities and place marketers. These place identities and attachments were more vital to the host residents than they were to the destination marketers because such peoples tended to be more firmly fixed in place than were the marketers (Philo and Kearns 1993).
Figure 6.18: Tourist Maps of Krung Rattanakosin

Bangkok Tourist Division, BMA

http://www.thailanddelight.com

King Power International Co., Ltd.
In terms of the underlying concept, attempts to create a positive image of the Tha Tien community and Krung Rattanakosin to attract capital and consumers can be explained by the processes of place commodification (see Chapter 2). In the case of Thailand, royal heritage and the history became commoditized or at least oriented towards outsiders. The public sector tends to pay more attention to the commoditization of heritage rather than conservation values and the life and history of old inner-city communities. Visuality becomes central to the consumption of place, so it is turned into an abstracted, somewhat disembodied quality or capacity (Urry 2005). This results in a dangerous tendency to shift to a ‘visual economy’ or the ‘de-substantialization’ (ibid.) of place – the assumption that places are above all to be looked at rather than used and appropriated. For example, the Rattanakosin Master Plan aimed at creating a visual showpiece of cultural monuments and aesthetically pleasing vistas of the historic city at the expense of patterns of life sustained and reproduced by local neighborhoods (Askew 2002). The BMA programs (e.g., street festivals, weekend walking streets, and royal celebrations) also sought to transform the historic city into boutique zones for middle-class consumption (ibid.). The community was losing its local identity as state-driven tourism promotion was directed at creating national identity and increasing consumption rather than enhancing the locally oriented urbanism.

The commodification of place and the associated activities driven by the capitalist development of tourism also affected the role of the monks and the temple. Wat Pho, originally constructed as a community temple in the late 18th century, has always been a sacred landscape supported by Thais and foreigners, but more recently became part of the
capitalist economy of tourism. The temple was drawn into “merit-making capitalism” (Bao 2005). Visitors were encouraged to buy a pot of small coins and place them into each of 108 bronze bowls in order to be auspicious and make merit. To accommodate the needs of tourists and generate more economic benefits, new tourist facilities such as restrooms, souvenir shops, a beverage kiosk, ticket booths, and massage service shops were added into the monastery compound. The construction of these facilities was undertaken by the monks with little consideration for historic preservation or tradition (Menakanit 1999). Thai traditional massage – one of the temple’s famous practices based in local knowledge – became commercialized. In the past, Thai massage provided to the public at Wat Pho was not managed as a business; fees were not required, customers paid whatever they thought as appropriate. During the late 1930s, the service was turned into a business and customers had to pay specific fees. The Thai Traditional Medical Science School and Body Massage was established. Entrepreneurial motivation also influenced the monks to propose the one-million-dollar project aimed to convert the temple’s property in the Tha Tien community from a residential area into a tourist service center.

Another negative quality of heritage tourism unfolded by the case study involves the issue of selectivity. When place marketers (both public and private sectors) present destination image to the public, they make a biased selection (Herbert 1995). Heritage is reduced to a chosen interpretation of history and its physical relics as a marketing tool, a specifically selected and packaged product (Larkham 1996). Instead of presenting the marginalized culture of the Chinese or the hallmarks of suffering and poverty in the Tha Tien community, place marketers selectively promoted the images of royal dispensation
and Thai cultural monuments of the Rattanakosin City. According to six tour guides and two coach drivers who participated in the interviews, tourist attractions commonly included in the city tour program are the Grand Palace, temples (e.g., Wat Phra Kaew, Wat Pho, and Wat Arun), and the national museum. None of them mentioned taking tourists to see or learn about the daily life of those living in the Tha Tien neighborhood or other old urban communities in Krung Rattanakosin. The selectivity of the characteristic tourist representations of Thailand can lead to a heritage that is merely concerned with idyllic scenes and ignores marginal communities and urban poverty.

The tourism impact on place image and identity of the Tha Tien community also reflected the influence of other place attributes, especially the political capability and power relations of different stakeholders. This investigation of micro-level responses to tourism raises a conceptual issue regarding the relationship between tourism and the theory of power relations. According to several scholars, symbolic value, meaning and image are not simply given but are contested, and actively involve processes of inclusion and exclusion (Mills 1993; Robbins 1993; Harvey 1994; Morgan and Pritchard 1998). The critical questions appear to be: Who is in charge of marketing management? How accurately does any given representation reflect the history and culture of a place? What images or stories should emerge to portray a place accurately? Those who have assets or interests in the community are more likely to engage in place marketing and image-building processes than those who lack thereof.

The case study showed that the marginalized Chinese culture was excluded from the state-promoted heritage tourism and national identity building. Such inequality and
oppression emerged as dominant groups in the society, notably the government agencies, constructed both destination images and definitions of place identity to serve their own needs. The proposed eviction project of the Tha Tien community to make way for the creation of a showpiece precinct of royal heritage not only represented the political domination of the state but also the dominant ideology of heritage discourse in Thai society. Until people began protesting and the issue was discussed in the media, little attention was given to the local people and their traditional ways of life.

In short, based on interview accounts and mapped representations, the researcher discovered that efforts to promote old Bangkok as an international destination in a globalized tourism market has had a remarkable impact on place image and community identities. To align the community image with the market-led image of Krung Rattanakosin, public authorities have attempted to modify the physical landscape and cover social realities of the Tha Tien community. By excluding the marginalized culture from the tourism promotion and image building process, such government actions distort and diminish distinctive identities of a local community. The conflicting perceptions of a destination community can also lead to potential problems; for example, the local population may not appreciate the tourists in the long run. Without comprehensive tourism planning and management, a changing base of traditional activities as well as the re-imaging of a cultural landscape can result in the commodified sense of place. Therefore, while attempting to sell places, destination managers should not underestimate the complexity of local people, who may resist the form that the selling takes (Philo and Kearns 1993) or resent the images they are supposed to represent. Destination managers
should instead develop a better understanding of the character of places and recognize the importance of shared meanings and the value that people can ascribe to and derive from their places (Cloke et al. 1991; Misiura 2006) and then incorporate local community life and people’s integration with the landscape in the tourism product and promotion strategies. With more humanistic sensitivity to the care for a place and its habitats, public authorities and private enterprises should be able to capture the uniqueness of a place and at the same time enhance its local identities.

4.3 Community Connections

The third fundamental component of a place is community connection, which refers to the cohesion or social networks among those who live in the same place. Community connection is an asset, providing place habitants mutually beneficial collective action and capabilities of dealing with socio-economic issues (Krishna 2002). Two core elements of community connection are community engagement and sense of community (Mancini et al. 2003). Community engagement is the degree to which an individual is active with other individuals and groups around particular community events and issues. It is facilitated by a range of formal networks such as associated agencies, organizations, and institutions that provide support to the needs of individuals, or sponsor activities in which citizens are given opportunities for meaningful participation in the collective life of the community. To measure the level of community engagement in the Tha Tien neighborhood, key informants were asked whether and how often they attended the community meeting, and participated in community events and activities. Sense of community, on the other hand, is defined as the degree to which an
individual is affectively connected with others through informal networks of which mutual exchanges and reciprocal responsibilities are the cornerstones. In the case of Tha Tien community, informal networks that were assessed included voluntary actions, relationships with neighbors and sense of belonging in the community. The main objective of the following analysis was to find out the way in which an emergence of the tourism industry and its associated developments led to changes in the degree of community connections in the Tha Tien neighborhood.

As illustrated in the conceptual framework (see Figure 2.1), the researcher hypothesizes that conventional large-scale global tourism will lead to conflicts and tensions among local residents, an influx of migrant workers, and eventually the weakening of social cohesion. Internal conflicts can occur over many issues, for example, the distribution of economic benefits, operation of new tourism-related businesses, disruption of the local way of life, changes to the physical landscape and meaning of place. The growth of the tourism industry and its potential economic opportunities will inevitably attract outsiders to the community. These people usually do not belong to a place socially, because they lack the organic ties of kinship, origin, and occupation (Simmel 1950). Local people often view the newcomers as problematic and associate them with a negative image (Lazaridis and Wickens 1999). The emergence of internal conflicts and an increase of the non-local population can weaken social cohesion of the host community.

Prior to assessing tourism impacts on community connections, background information and the current conditions of this key element of place needs to be clarified.
The research data demonstrates that over the years the Tha Tien community has been able to sustain close connections among long-term residents. Identified by formal social networks, the level of community engagement is high. Essential to the formal connections are the operations of eight local working groups: the Community Organization, Thaweesahamit Association, Fire-Fighting Center, Tha Tien Voluntary Group, Tha Tien Protection Group, Health Center, Poetry Club, and Elderly, Youth and Woman Care Center. According to the community chairman, each group selects its own leader and board members. Despite having different responsibilities and objectives, these groups are locally organized and work closely together to solve the enduring problems (e.g., flooding and safety issues), facilitate social activities (e.g., sports, Children’s Day Festival, Father’s Day Festival and shrine celebrations), and enhance the mutual benefits of the community.

Among these local working groups, there are two civic organizations that play a significant role in the community’s management and social activities. The first one is the Thaweesahamit Association established in the 1960s by a group of Chinese-Thai residents. Its office is located in the middle of the community (in Soi Phratu Nokyoong). The association is mainly responsible for the cultural and traditional Chinese activities. For example, it organizes the shrine-related festivals that are held twice a year, in February and December. Donations are made through an auction. The association is able to collect money that is used for the maintenance of all five shrines and supports other activities in the community. Some of the donations were spent on buying flood protection equipment in 1995 and 1996. The second leading local group is the Tha Tien Community
Organization founded in 1996. It consists of the community chairman, committee members, and representatives of six sub-areas. The organization’s main responsibility is to take care of the community’s wellbeing, make important decisions, and coordinate with the local government. Every two months, the organization holds a meeting in which representatives from the community’s sub-areas actively participate. Residents with particular interests or concerns can attend such formal meetings. Of the total 38 key informants, 28 (or about 74 percent) stated that at least one of their family members regularly attends the community meeting. Despite their absence, ten residents indicated that they had good contact with their representatives who would notify them of the information and results from the meeting. Residents who had problems but were unable to attend the meeting could also drop a note in a mailbox located in front of the community chairman’s house.

In addition to being engaged in civic organizations, residents in the Tha Tien community are bound together in dense informal social networks, which consequently enable them to maintain a strong sense of community. Such informal ties are determined by the degree of social connections with neighbors and involvement in activities regularly held in the community. Based on the KMITL’s (1999) household survey, 127 respondents or about 98 percent of 130 total participants reported that they or other household members regularly contact more than 10 neighbors. Responses from interviews with 38 key informants also affirmed the close relationships among Tha Tien’s residents. Thirty-six informants said they were able to identify between the strangers and the locals. Two senior residents (aged over 70 years old) indicated that they preferred to
stay in compact old shophouses in the Tha Tien neighborhood rather than move out with their children who bought bigger homes outside the community. Their primary reason was that they felt a strong sense of community. A 41-year-old resident described her close relationship with neighbors,

“My neighbors and I often talk to each other. Sometimes, they come to my house to chat and discuss many things such as daily life stories, our kids, our work and news. My husband and I always welcome them.”

Or in the words of an 58-year-old male resident,

“We know each other very well. We know in which house s/he lives, what does his/her family do for living, and who is his/her parent. Our connections are different from other communities. I know not only you but your parent and your children.”

A 78-year-old resident described her social connections and the reasons she decided to move back to the neighborhood after her son bought a new house. She said,

“People here know me and I also know most of them. I can walk to my neighbors’ houses to chat or sometimes they visit me. Living here is very convenient. I can buy everything from the market, while the seller can deliver food to my house. I don’t have to be afraid of robbery, because people will take care of each other. When the community holds any events, the chairman will invite me to join.”

All informants indicated that they were, in some ways, involved in community activities, festivals, and cultural events. Their forms of involvement included donating money, preparing food, helping the board members to organize an event, attending events, and cleaning up afterwards. The community regularly organizes several activities during important events such as Father’s Day, Children’s Day, and Chinese New Year. Field observations were conducted during the 2006 Father’s Day Festival held in the Tha
Tien community. In the early morning, a number of local people prepared food and drink offerings for the monks at Wat Pho. After that, they set up tables on the sidewalks along Maharat Road, Soi Tha Rong Mo, and inside the Tha Tien market to offer free food and drink to people and tourists who walked past the areas. Free services, such as haircuts and foot massages, were also provided to the public. All masseuses were those who worked at the four massage-service shops located in the community, while the barbers were hired from outside. A stage was built at the entrance of Soi Tha Tien (in the middle of the community) for a series of performance presented by local school children. In the evening (around 8:00 p.m.), local residents had a candle-lighting ceremony to mark his Majesty the King’s birthday. Local police and firefighters were involved to provide security. A group of locals volunteered to be organizers and workers at this event. Expenses were covered by donations from residents and local businesses.

The significant place attribute of close relationships among residents in the Tha Tien neighborhood is a result of many factors. The first one is the physical environment. The layout of Tha Tien community is composed of eight small alleys, called sois, in which an “urban lattice of internally focused spaces” can be created (Bell 2003). Unlike the major roads that create vehicular life, the sois protect a smaller-scale pedestrian realm, allowing the community to maintain its village-like environment, and supporting the continuity of close connections and domestic life. The availability of communal space also helps strengthen social networks (Williams et al. 1992; Stedman 2003). In this case, the Community Health Center located inside the market functions as a social place where the residents can relax, watch television, play cards, drink and talk to each other. Through
field observations, the researcher found out that after 6:00 p.m. there were regularly about 5-10 residents spending their time at the center with friends (see Figure 6.19). Another important factor is the continuity of residence and demographic characteristics. Containing a large proportion of long-term residents enables the community to maintain the close relationships within the group. The 1999 household survey showed that 100 (or more than 75 percent) of the total 130 respondents had lived in Tha Tien for more than 30 years (KMITL 1999). The cultural distinctiveness of the Chinese ethnic group also plays an important role. The bonds of Thai-Chinese residents are retained through their cultural practices (e.g., the traditional shrine-related events and Chinese New Year Festival) (see Figure 6.19), as well as the strong Chinese patterns of family affiliation and business organization within the Sino-Thai elites and the middle classes (Askew 2002). With these supporting factors, residents in the Tha Tien community have been able to sustain their close connections over generations.

Figure 6.19: Factors in Strengthening Community Connections

![The Community Health Center](image1)

![The Shrine Celebration Festival, Dec 2006](image2)

*Source: The Researcher (2006).*
A considerably high degree of social connections has benefited the community in various ways. As highlighted by many theorists, those who acquire positions in dense social networks can gain heightened access to more and better resources (e.g., information, ideas, and support) than their peers (Portes 1998; Burt 2000) and are better able and more inclined to act collectively for mutual benefit and social purpose (Krishna 2002). In the case of Tha Tien community, besides making frequent contacts with neighbors, local people have developed emotional close relations with neighbors and norms of reciprocity as they assist each other in time of need, as narrated by the aged. For example, a 66-year-old key informant recalled that when his neighbor’s parent passed away last year, he and other residents helped out at the funeral. Two key informants stated that they often watched over their neighbors’ houses and used to report to the community leader or local police the appearance of strangers or unusual situations. Both called themselves ‘watchdogs’ for the community. When there was a fire, instead of merely escaping, residents would help neighbors put out the fire. Three long-term informants described that in the past, due to the lack of fire protection systems, a hundred local people formed a line and passed buckets of water taken from the Chao Phraya River to put out the fire. Today, fire alarm systems, fire extinguishers, and a new fire truck are available for use.

In addition to several forms of assistance offered by residents to neighbors, being bound together by norms and formal and informal social networks also contributes to the local tourism development. Tha Tien residents are able to procure tourism resources such as information, ideas, and support by virtue of their relationships with other people. For
example, local tourism operators were given advice and assistance regarding the business
from their close friends. In the words of a 60-year-old resident, who was the owner of the
souvenir shop named ‘Paul Man Shop’ located in front of the Tha Tien market,

"The owner of the 'Souvenir Land' [another souvenir shop located in Soi Tha
Rong Mo] is my close friend. She was the first local resident who turned her family­
owned retail business into a souvenir shop. She does not consider me as her competitor.
When I started my business three years ago, she even gave me some advice about the
business and helped me arrange my shop. We sometimes trade our goods. For instance, if
there is a shortage of certain items in my shop, I can just take them from her shop."

A 45-year-old key informant revealed that he and other residents who lived near
the Tha Tien pier – the busiest spot where tourists take a ferryboat across the Chao Praya
River – often kept their eyes on the strangers and potential threats to tourists such as
thieves or gangsters. With information from residents, local police have been able to
catch several non-local thieves who targeted foreigners. Tha Tien residents also reported
to Wat Pho’s abbot and police that there was a gang of tuk-tuk (a 3-wheel vehicle) drivers
cheating tourists. These drivers told tourists that the temple was closed and then lured
them to go shopping at the jewelry shops or take a city sightseeing tour instead. After
being notified, Wat Pho had a sign showing the opening hours posted in front of the
temple, while tourist patrols checked the area more regularly to protect tourists from such
threats. During the past few years, the community organization provided several free
language courses (i.e., English and Chinese) to residents in order to help them
communicate with international tourists. According to the chairman, the organization also
plans to offer a Japanese language course whenever it can find a volunteer instructor. The
owner of the souvenir shop said that after attending the language class several years ago,

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her English skill was improved and she was able to better communicate with her customers. She could even develop close relationships with several foreigners, who sent her letters and postcards from their countries.

While receiving various advantages from community connections, the development of tourism, on the other hand, has led to the disruption of community connections by weakening the social cohesion or bonds among those who resided in the Tha Tien neighborhood. In the case of Tha Tien, such negative impacts results from two main factors: an influx of migrant workers and tourism-related internal conflicts. The economic benefits generated by the tourism industry have attracted a number of migrant workers and investors from outside the community. By the end of 2006, outside investors owned one-fourth of total tourism-related businesses in the community (e.g., an accommodation establishment, restaurants, souvenir shops, and massage-service shops). The estimated number of people employed in these businesses was 134 and over three-fourths of this number (102 people) live outside the community (see Table 6.6). These non-local tourism operators and workers are considered the daytime population, because they are merely present in the area during normal business hours. Thus, these people belong to the group spatially, but not socially. Local residents identify these migrant workers as strangers (khon plaek na) to their neighborhood because they lack the organic ties of kinship, origin, and culture with the group (Simmel, 1950; Askew, 2002). About half of key informants asserted that they seldom engage in conversation with non-local tourism operators and workers. Undoubtedly, only a small number of these workers were voluntarily involved in the community activities and cultural events. Two non-local
waitresses from the Rub Arun Restaurant said they did not know the name of the owner, never met the community chairman, and never attended annual shrine celebrations. Some residents believed that the outside investors took advantage of the local residents who were supposed to be the beneficiaries of tourism. In the words of a 26-year-old resident,

"The restaurant and almost all souvenirs shops located at the Tha Tien pier are operated by outsiders who see the economic opportunities of tourism businesses. They sublease the areas from the original owners, who are very old, and then turn them into moneymaking businesses. Some of them tried to contact my mom to rent our shophouse, but I told her not to do so. ... Honestly, I don’t like these investors because they treat our community as a place they can take advantage of by selling expensive goods to tourists. After making their profit, they leave. As a resident here, we are the ones who have to bear the bad reputation."

Table 6.6: Ownership and Employment Profile of the Tourism Industry in Tha Tien

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Business</th>
<th>Number of Establishments</th>
<th>Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Locally Owned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee shop</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenir shop</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massage service</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Number (Percentage)</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Interviews and observations conducted during September - December 2006.*

Besides attracting non-local investors and workers, tourism also causes tensions and conflicts that undermine the close relationships among residents. With the number of visitors increasing and the concept of tourism evolving over the years, many local people
have started investing in Tha Tien’s prime areas (e.g., near the pier and along Maharat Road). They see tourism as an opportunity to improve their living standards. Due to the specific requirements of the industry, conflicts have arisen between local people who work in the tourism-related businesses and those who do not. From key informant interviews, two conflicting issues related to the tourism industry were found in the Tha Tien community. The first one was a conflict over the parking on Soi Tha Rong Mo. The operators of the tourism-related businesses (i.e., massage service shop and souvenir shop) wanted to have an open space in front of their shops to attract the customers. The operators of local retail and wholesale businesses, on the other hand, needed a parking space for their delivery vehicles. They complained about the owner of massage service shop who used planters to block the space. The community chairman stepped in and tried to negotiate with the massage shop’s owner, but his initial attempt failed. Arguments between the two groups lasted for several months. Eventually, after the local police and city government officials were brought in as mediators, both groups agreed to switch each side of the lane for parking. Despite reaching an agreement, the relationship between the two groups of residents has eroded.

The second conflict took place in 2004 and pertained to the operation of a new restaurant at Tha Rhear Dang (a pier that was located in Soi Tha Tien). According to several key informants, a wealthy local resident bought this abandoned pier several years ago and planned to renovate it to be a riverfront restaurant mainly for tourists. The dispute occurred when local people who lived near the pier disagreed with his project because they were afraid that the public area in Soi Tha Tien would be used as a parking
lot for the restaurant's customers. With regard to this concern, a group of local residents submitted a petition to the city government officials, who afterward sent inspectors to the site. Due to its failure to meet the parking and sanitation requirements, this restaurant has not yet opened.

The interview accounts also showed that differences in attitudes toward tourism development were apparent between local residents who favored the industry and those who did not. Of the 38 total informants, while 11 (29 percent) reported no change in their daily life, the majority (18 residents or about 47 percent) perceived that tourism generated benefits (e.g., economic and employment opportunities, and improved language skills) to the local residents. Thus, they wanted to have more tourists in their neighborhood. On the other hand, although realizing that the tourism industry brought benefits to their local economy, nine key informants (about 24 percent) became conscious of the negative effects of tourism on local culture and their way of life. A 45-year-old informant worried about the safety of local residents. He was aware that an increasing number of tourists attracted a gang of about 5-6 robbers. Another 40-year-old female resident raised her concern about the behavior of foreign tourists, who sometimes kissed or hugged in public. In her viewpoint, such behavior was inappropriate and unacceptable for Thai people and might lead to the 'demonstration effect' (Pearce 1989; Tsartas 1992) or the modification of the hosts' behavior in order to imitate tourists. With different attitudes, local residents had contrasting responses to the implications of tourism development. Those who favored the industry expressed their support for the new development proposed by Wat Pho and the CPB. On the other hand, those who held negative views
toward the industry showed their strong objection to continued tourism-related development. The contradiction of perceptions could potentially engender the deterioration of social ties among the host population.

The commodification force of tourism development has not only led to the weakening of connections among local residents, but also affected the relationship between the community and the major landowner, notably Wat Pho. Over generations Tha Tien residents have developed a kin-like relationship with the temple and monks through religious traditions and extensive contribution. During the mid-1900s, the temple functioned as a public space for the community’s education and recreational activities. Sala Rais (satellite pavillions) in the east of Wat Pho accommodated a Chinese school. Badminton courts were set up near the Vihara (image hall) of the Reclining Buddha, while local people used the area in front of ‘Wat Phra Chetuphon School’ for practicing Thai boxing (Menakanit 1999). Meanwhile, the community became a major sponsor for the temple and monks. One of Tha Tien’s wealthy families named ‘Tangtrongchit’ donated the first five million baht to establish the ‘Phra Buddha Yodfa Foundation’ in 1967 (ibid). The community also influenced the temple through two main activities: the celebration of Chinese New Year and the funeral ceremony. Since the mid 1950s, the

33 In the early Rattanakosin period (1780s-1860s), the temple was a study place for boys of royal families and aristocrats to study. The monks were teachers until 1875 when King Rama V hired lay teachers to teach Thai and arithmetic. In 1892, it became a public school. In 1999, eight Sala Rais were used to accommodate 181 children and offices for 12 teachers (Menakanit 1999). The school is run by the BMA, but the space usage requires permission from the Lord Abbot.

34 The Tangtrongchit family is a major sponsor of Wat Pho and the founder of Tangtrongchit Commercial College located between Wat Pho and the Ministry of Commerce. Originally, the family started its business in Thai herbal medicine under the brand ‘Bai Pho’.
Chinese New Year has become a traditional celebration in Wat Pho. On such occasions, the Chinese worshiped Wat Pho's Reclining Buddha and organized several activities such as Chinese opera, movies, and fundraising for the temple by having an auction.

The field research data indicated that tourism development affects the erosion of the wat-neighborhood relationship, formerly a key foundation of Bangkok's earlier urbanism of coexistence (Askew 2002). The weakening of the wat-community relationship has mainly resulted from the change of the temple's economic structure. From a temple supported by the kings and local community, it is now a sacred place supported by Thais and foreign visitors. Since the late 1980s, the expansion of global tourism has transformed Wat Pho – one of Bangkok's most significant monastic compounds – into a tourist destination. In 2005, there were about 1.1 million international tourists visiting Wat Pho (or 68.5 percent increased from 652,852 in 1992). Their visits generated about 22 million baht to the temple in the entrance fees35 (Wat Pho 2006). Other tourism-related income included a monthly rental fee from eight souvenir shops (80,000 baht) and a beverage kiosk (40,000 baht). While the tourism industry gains significance, the community begins to lose its meaningful relations with the temple and monks. In her investigation of Wat Pho's role in the Thai urban context, Menakanit (1999) concluded that, “the more economic dependence on foreign tourists, the looser the tie becomes between the temple and Tha Tien community” (p. 150). Interview accounts from the 2006 field research also indicated similar results. One key informant revealed that during the past decade, Wat Pho had undergone a lot of changes in the physical,

35 For foreigner, the temple's entrance fee is 20 baht per person.
political, and social dimensions. Several development projects such as the construction of tourist facilities had been launched in order to promote tourism. Another 60-year-old informant claimed that the monks, who were in charge of the temple administrations, overlooked the importance of cultural events and the community as they cancelled the annual events, i.e., Songkran (Thai New Year), Chinese New Year festivals, and funeral ceremony formerly held at the temple. In his words,

"The monks simply view that organizing the annual festivals is a burden. To them, such events generate less income yet require greater exhaustive efforts than the promotion of tourism."

To him, the new monks were different from the old ones, because they tended to pay more attention to the tourism-related development and income generation than in maintaining the close relationship between the wat and the community. He further noted,

"The new monks show little gratitude to the community for its continuing support since our grandparent's generations. There have been a lot of changes in the temple both physically and politically. As a result, the community is no longer important to the temple."

Another cause for the deterioration of the wat-community relationship is the commodification of land. In addition to the kinship-like relations, the connection between Wat Pho and the Tha Tien community has been founded on a more basic and pragmatic coexistence: local people rented the wat land and the wat derived a nominal income (Askew 2002). In 1912, shophouses were built for rent on the riverbank (Saraya et al. 1990). Rents are collected and finances managed by a special foundation, consisting of senior monks and prominent laymen. Generally, where wat land has been tenanted for
many generations, there is a tacit expectation that residence will continue indefinitely. However, over the past decade, these understandings have changed. Tensions between the wat and neighboring tenant settlements have increasingly emerged over issues of land use as the wat administrations begin to treat their land as a valued commodity by increasing the rents and shortening the leasehold terms.

The recently proposed tourism development project clearly demonstrates the commodification of land for promoting tourism consumption. As mentioned earlier, inspired by the increase in tourism, Wat Pho proposed this project on its property that has long been occupied by Tha Tien residents. If the project is implemented, more than 30 families or about 180 residents have to be removed from their houses, while in the long run only the tourism-related businesses will be allowed to operate in this area. Wat Pho’s representatives have argued that the misfortunes of a few could be justified by the enhanced prospects for the many who might benefit from the employment opportunities and associated economic wellbeing that the project is expected to provide. Since the plan was released, stress and anxiety has arisen in the neighborhood especially among those who will be directly affected by the temple’s plans for demolition. Some residents are angry at the wat for its efforts to benefit tourists at the expense of locals. For others, it was difficult to be angry at such an entity, because the wat was a religious institution and the monks were respected. Two informants feared that eventually the outside investors would take advantage of this tourism-oriented development, while the locals who are incapable of engaging in the tourism business themselves will have to leave the neighborhood. Although the proposed dislocation of local residents is relatively small in
scale, it inevitably leads to the dismantling of social networks and the disintegration of ongoing human activities and relationships.

In short, the field research data show that the capitalist development of large-scale tourism leads to the weakening of community connections among local residents in the Tha Tien neighborhood. Such negative impacts are evidently reflected by two circumstances. First, the expansion of tourism-related businesses has caused a change to the community’s demographic structure as the number of migrant workers and non-local investors have increased. These people are perceived as strangers to the neighborhood because of their absence of organic ties of kinship, origin, and culture. Second, tourism generates internal conflicts that undermine close relationships among residents. At the time this research was conducted, two conflicts associated with the use of public space in the community occurred between local people who work in the tourism sector and those who do not. Moreover, the researcher also discovered that tourism leads to the weakening of the wat-community relationship. Such negative impact results from two factors: the restructuring of the temple’s economy from a reliance on community support to tourism dependency, and the commodification of land for tourism consumption.

4.4 Political Capability

The last crucial element of the place-making process is the political capability of local residents. Fundamentally, ‘politics of place’ refers to the struggle to authorize specific meanings and privilege for certain groups (Gieryn 2000) or to decide how resources will be used (Stokowski 2002). Thus, political capability is defined as the capacity to represent oneself or groups, access information, form associations, and
participate in the political life of a community (World Bank 2002). Its importance is a result of the assumption that with a greater degree of political capability, inhabitants can mobilize local resources to improve their quality of life, express their needs, and keep governments accountable for providing quality services and other improvement projects.

Tourism development is closely associated with the politics of a place and social actors who hold differential access to power and control. Some scholars even argue that tourism development is a political process (Britton 1991; Hall 1994; Elliott 1997) from which decisions affecting tourism policy, the nature of governments in tourism, the structure of tourism organizations, and the nature of tourism development emerge. Great emphases have been given to the study of power arrangements in tourism policy analysis, collaborative planning (Hall 1994; Mowforth and Munt 1998; Reed 1997), and the importance of power distributions in community tourism practices (Blank 1989; Hall 1994). The research results indicate that most conflicts between tourism managers and place habitants occur because tourism development is almost exclusively administered by outside parties, while the host society has minimal control. Such conflicts involve issues associated with the extent to which host residents feel a sense of ownership and participation in decision-making processes. Due to the lack of available resources, opportunities, and political capability, local people are often seen by tourism developers either as a common resource to be exploited or as an obstacle to be overcome in order to implement development strategies (Reid 2003). In some extreme cases, the powerlessness of local communities is heightened as individuals are forced to relocate to give way to tourism development. Conflicts and tensions with regard to tourism development can also
occur within the community. These internal tensions are often related to the issue of power relations among local groups in the community (Dodson and Killian 1998; Adam 2003). Oftentimes, the elites or dominant classes attempt to impose their economic, socio-cultural, and political advantages over the tourism development in the community.

Based on the conceptual framework (see Figure 2.1), the researcher hypothesizes that large-scale tourism and its associated development will lead to changes in host community’s power structures, lack of public participation, and powerlessness of local people. In this assessment, the influences of tourism development on the political capability of Tha Tien residents are analyzed by paying close attention to the changing conditions of the two following vital dimensions: the internal and external politics of a place.

4.4.1 Internal Politics

This refers to the political structure and power relations among local groups within the community. Data derived from informant interviews illustrate that the political structure of Tha Tien community is highly organized. Eight local groups exist and work together corporately when needed. The leading civic group that plays a significant role in the political discourse in the neighborhood is the Community Organization. Its main responsibilities include making important decisions, taking care of the community’s wellbeing, and coordinating with local governments. The organization is run by the board, which consists of the community chairman, treasurer, board members, and representatives of six sub-areas. The chairman and six representatives are elected to two-year terms. After getting elected, the chairman will select his administrative team
members. The board meeting is held regularly once every two months. As a 40-year-old male resident noted,

"Whenever we’re having problems, the committee will call a meeting in which residents can express their thoughts."

Or described by another 52-year-old male resident,

"Every resident can attend the community meeting and make a complaint about his or her problem. I used to attend the meetings as well. We talked about how to improve the living environment in our neighborhood including the safety and cleanliness issues."

With a clear administrative structure and strong local leadership, the community organization has been able to mobilize resources (e.g., capital, labor and social networks), acquire external supports (e.g., funding and equipment), and coordinate with city governments to improve the living environment and quality of life. Throughout the past decade, it has accomplished many tasks and activities that benefit the residents. For example, the broadcasting and fire protection systems have been installed in the neighborhood. As a result, the chairman can communicate to the entire community via microphone and speakers. If there is a fire, alarms will ring and the control box will show the location of the fire. Local residents can protect their neighborhood from the fire by using fire distinguishers, water pumps, and a new fire truck. The Health Center, built inside the market, provides first aid and is used as a gathering place for the residents. In 2005, through the persuasion and negotiation of the board members, residents living in Soi Phratu Nokyoong agreed to repaint their houses with their own money. The cost was
about 10,000 baht (about $300\textsuperscript{36}) per unit. In cooperation with local government agencies, the community organization was able to coordinate a free summer camp for the children in the neighborhood and provide medical service for the residents.

In general, the majority of key informants expressed their satisfaction with, and confidence in, the community organization. Such positive impression stemmed from its works and achievements described above. The following are some of the phrases attached to the interview accounts:

"The community organization and the chairman work very hard. They take good care of Tha Tien residents and solve many problems such as flooding, robbery, and fire," noted a 41-year-old female resident.

"We have trust in the community organization. Whenever we're having troubles, we can solve them by ourselves instead of waiting for help from outside parties," said a 60-year-old male resident.

Regarding the issue of power relations, key informant interviews disclose that Tha Tien residents can be divided into two groups: the powerful and the marginalized groups. The 'powerful' group consists of residents with at least one of the resources (e.g., capital, land, knowledge, experience, information, and skills), which they could use as an exchange for the benefits from tourism. Such resources include ownership of land, access to capital, experience and local knowledge, leadership position, and education. These power holders include long-term residents, local business operators, and members of local organizations. On the other hand, the 'marginalized' group is made up of residents who have none of the resources. These people are either newcomers or immigrants who

\textsuperscript{36} 1 US Dollar = 33.4 Bath (based on the currency exchange rates in February 16, 2007)
live mostly in the run-down housing units located along the bank of Chao Phraya River. Their living depends on the informal sector of the local economy by working as street vendors or low-paid day-labors.

Data from the field research indicates that social division between the powerful and marginalized groups in the Tha Tien neighborhood exist. According to the community chairman and field observations, most of the newcomers rarely participate in the community’s activities and events. None of them were members of the community organization or other local working groups. Among four informants from the marginalized group, only one reported becoming involved in the community meeting. Such social divisions result not only from their unequal degree of power, but also from their different identifications and associations with the history and environment of the place. A 67-year-old resident highlighted ethnic and cultural differences as a key factor. He explained that the majority of long-term residents were Thai-Chinese, who worshiped the shrines and marked the Chinese New Year, while the newcomers were Northeastern Thais or Laotians, who celebrated only the Songkran (Thai New Year) festival.

Responses from the marginalized group also acknowledged the division between these two groups. As a 78-year-old male resident expressed,

"We are the minority and poor. Let the wealthy and powerful carry out the community development activities. We just follow their ideas. What we want is that they do not make trouble for us or evict us from this community."

With the growing recognition of social and cultural differences between the two groups of residents, the power-holders disliked the living environment created by the
marginalized people. The following are some verbatim quotations of informants from the power group:

"So far, people who live in the riverfront area do not cause any troubles. They merely separate from us," said a 40-year-old male resident.

"The waterfront area used to be part of the Tha Tien market, but nowadays, it becomes a place where people make dried fish and build their shelters. Nobody wants to walk inside that area because it is very dirty and stink. I myself also try to avoid entering the area," described a 68-year-old female resident.

"If removing dirty run-down housing along the river, the environment of Tha Tien area will be more pleasant and livable." addressed a 60-year-old female resident.

The potential impact of tourism on the internal politics in the Tha Tien neighborhood was that tourism-related development led to the change of political structures in the community. Such change emerged as a consequence of two main factors. First, a new group of people who engaged in or benefited from the tourism industry (e.g., operators and owners of new hotels, massage-service shops, restaurants, and souvenir shops) gained power and became the new ruling class in the community. Although these people did not have any position in the community organization, the board often recognized their voices. Moreover, the successful entrepreneurship of those who have capital or offer good employment can lead to a widening gap between them and the less fortunate community members (Smith 1994). Second, the uneven distribution of tourism benefits and costs to the host population led to a widening gap between the powerful and marginalized groups. Tourism development in the Tha Tien community tends to benefit the existing power holders (those who could invest in the formal business sector) more.
than the marginalized group. It would be naïve to think that every member of a community should be and can be involved in tourism development equally (Brohman 1996), as every community is heterogeneous and dynamic. While the powerful groups gained a substantial share of tourism benefits, those of the marginalized group merely engaged in the informal sector or were employed as workers in the tourism businesses. One key informant revealed that his wife worked as a masseuse in Wat Pho’s massage school, while he was a beverage vendor. Their income was not stable and it was often hard for them to cover their living costs.

Members of the powerful group are able to gain benefits from tourism because they have external connections with, and understand, global tourism. For example, a wealthy local resident from the Tangtrongchit family expanded his family business from Thai herbal medicine to the tourism industry. His tourism-related businesses include the Rub Arun Restaurant, Chetawan Massage School in Wat Pho, and two massage-service shops in the Tha Tien community. Through his connections with global tourism, he also opened a Thai Massage School in Osaka, Japan. Recognizing the importance of the global network, the owners of two hotel accommodations (i.e., Arun Residence and Aurum Hotel) created their own website through which overseas visitors can check information and book rooms online.

However, the difference in capabilities of engaging in tourism development should not be taken as a justification for allowing the powerful group to take advantage of the marginalized group. Responsible tourism development can be established under the circumstance that involved parties develop awareness of community diversity and
effectively draw on the diverse capabilities and interests that exist. Some kinds of
capacity building mechanisms and support (e.g., advisory groups, professional training,
and small loan) should be provided to those in need.

4.4.2 External Politics

In this research, external politics refers to power relations between the community
and all levels of government from the national to the local level. They encompass the
political process of tourism policy and decision-making. Key informant interviews and
field observations revealed that the Tha Tien community developed a close connection
with several local governments and a political party. All representatives of the BMA and
local district offices reported their good relationships and frequent contacts with the
chairman and the board of community organization. They also acknowledged that the
accomplishment of every development project greatly depends upon the cooperation and
compliance of the community. Two BMA city planners who endorsed two landscape
improvement projects in the neighborhood (one in Soi Tha Rong Mo and another in Soi
Phrathu Nokyoong) suggested that without local cooperation they would have
experienced more constraints with the projects’ implementation (i.e., a loss of
construction materials). To solve these problems, they used several strategies to establish
a good rapport with local residents such as organizing formal meetings and visiting the
community leader.

The Tha Tien community received different forms of assistance from public
authorities to improve its basic infrastructure (e.g., roads, drainage system, fire
protection, and flood protection) and support local events (e.g., shrine celebrations, the
Father’s Day festival, and the Chinese New Year). For example, with the financial support of 5,000 baht (US$150) per month from the Phranakorn District, the community was able to install a fire alarm system, extinguishers, and water pumps. The District also constructed flood control walls along the riverbank and improved the sewage system in the area. The Phra Ratchawang police station regularly sends police patrols to take care of the entire community and its surrounding areas. Local police and firefighters were also involved in the community events. The Department of City Planning, BMA, had two road and landscape improvement projects implemented in the community in 1999 and 2002. In 2005, the local Member of Parliament (MP) also bought the community a new fire truck.

While providing assistance to the community, the public sector also plays a vital role in urban development. However, many critics underscore the inefficiency of city planning and the lack of public involvement in the planning process in Bangkok. As Nikom Wairajpanich, Chief of BMA’s City Planning Department notes, “the state focuses too much on modernity in creating tourism attractions, while neglecting people’s traditional ways of life” (Bangkok Post 2004b). Jirapha Worasiangsuk, a social science faculty member from Thammasat University, also criticizes the fact that “there is no public participation in town planning as the state gives more importance to real estate developers and land owners” (ibid.). The BMA’s City Planning Department still maintains tight control over the city’s management without recognizing that some communities have the potential to shape their own land use (The Nation 2003). Elliott (1997) argues from a broader perspective that policy frameworks and institutional practices embedded within Thai society limit the extent to which individuals or groups
can influence the planning process. More specifically, in the history of urban development in Krung Rattanakosin, conservation policies and heritage tourism development projects have been formulated and undertaken in a top-down fashion with a minimal degree of public participation.

The most serious impact of tourism-related urban development on the participatory capability and power relations between the community and government agencies emerged during the Rattanakosin Master Plan published in 1995. To conserve the historical precinct of Krung Rattanakosin and attract tourists, the plan proposed the relocation of almost the entire Tha Tien community, except for the historic buildings of Tha Tien market and the Chakrabongse Palace (Rattanakosin Project Committee 1995). After the removal of local residents, the area would be turned into a more visually appealing for tourists and pleasing vista of Wat Pho by constructing a riverfront open space (see Figure 6.20). The project aimed to make the Inner Rattanakosin zone become the tourist-historic city with no provision to allow for the continued residence of people (Askew 2002).

This state-promoted heritage tourism development not only ignored the local urban history and place-bound locality, but also disregarded the will and capacity of local people. The Master Plan was formulated by a group of professional architects and planners in the Rattanakosin Committee with no representatives of local communities who were directly affected by the development actions. Local residents were only invited to attend a public hearing in which the master plan was presented. Although three fourths of key informants from Tha Tien community described their experience of being
involved in a public hearing, they stressed that their opinions and objections were given little attention from the Rattanakosin Committee who persisted in continuing its plan. The involvement in such information sharing activity, when related to Arnstein’s (1969) model, was placed as a mere ‘tokenism’, because it did not assure that the citizens would have decision-making power. The questions about the resolution of their predicament and just compensation also remained unanswered.

Figure 6.20: The Development Master Plan for the Tha Tien Community

Source: Office of Environmental Policy and Planning (1994).
Throughout the past decade, Tha Tien residents had expressed strong opposition to the Master Plan. The community organization and the chairman played a leading role in this ongoing resistance. The chairman used the media to publicize the plight and elicit support from the public, a group of activists, and academics. He gave interviews to the press. For example, as quoted in Asheville Global Report (Poonyarat 2002), he said,

"We will not move from the area. Tha Tien is an old market quarter built in the reign of King Rama V. It now serves as an historical link between the old and new Bangkok. Such a link is rare. It needs to be conserved, otherwise our children will know about Tha Tien only from textbooks."

In the same report, another local resident also claimed,

"My grandparents settled down here and I have been living here all my life. If they think the project would make a lot of money, I want to ask them if it is really worth driving out many Thais living in the area only to plant lawns for foreigners."

Key informant interview accounts demonstrate how the locals oppose the public sector’s relocation attempt. A 40-year-old resident recalled her experience of community action against the eviction plan. She said that the community chairman called a meeting in which the development project was the main issue. After three hours of discussion, many people, including her, signed a petition against the plan. Another 62-year-old resident, who was a member of the community organization, further affirmed,

"A number of people are afraid of this project except my colleagues and I, because we will fight against whoever want to evict us. My community is strong. We call a meeting when the eviction plan is brought up."
Despite long-held public opposition, the Master Plan still went ahead with no revisions. In 2002, the struggling residents seemed to see some hope, when the Crown Property Bureau (CPB), titleholder of the Rattanakosin City and Tha Tien market, said the targeted block should be conserved (Poonyarat 2002). Even though the plan was put on hold, Tha Tien residents continue to worry about their precarious future and residencial security because they continue to hear rumors of imminent relocation, as the plan is revised repeatedly under different governments. A 62-year-old female resident expressed,

"The issue that bothers me the most is the eviction of Tha Tien community. The argument over this project has taken place from time to time for many years. It gives me headache and makes me feel desperate."

Another 58-year-old wholesale business’s owner asserted,

"If the number of tourists is increased, local residents are afraid of the change, especially the transformation of the Tha Tien area into a park."

The process of public resistance to the dislocation of the Tha Tien community further highlighted a vital role of the educated middle classes in defending the rights of local people against the domination of the state. The middle class that included professionals, academics, and urban activists, provided great support to the community as well as demanded that the government revise the Master Plan and pay more consideration to local people’s traditional ways of life than the tourism-oriented development. As Chuvit Sucha-Xaya, an associate professor of the Department of Urban Design and Planning of Silpakorn University, claimed,
"The authorities should keep in mind that though it is true that tourism makes Thailand a lot of money each year, that does not mean we should be willing to sacrifice everything for it" (Poonyarat 2002).

Dr. Trungjai Buranasomphob, a professor of the Department of Architecture, Silapakorn University, and an advisor to the governor of Bangkok, announced after reconsidering the eviction project of the Tha Tien community that the BMA decided to keep the old buildings in the area and reject the idea of constructing a shopping mall (Prasomsap 2004).

The voice and political capability of local residents also received little recognition from the major landowner, notably Wat Pho. A group of architects were hired to develop a schematic design for the temple’s project, whereas only a handful of residents (e.g., the chairman and the board of community organization) were consulted about the development. A 60-year-old informant described his frustration with the meeting with the monks who were responsible for this project. In his words,

"The monks used to invite representatives from the community to discuss about this project. I attended the first meeting, but afterwards I let the community chairman deal with them. This was because they did not listen to us. I could not do anything."

The proposed residential displacement unwittingly helped local people strengthen their power. It stimulated Tha Tien residents to work cooperatively and begin to organize themselves in order to resist state repression and channel assistance. The community submitted a petition against the Rattanakosin Master Plan to the city government and another petition against Wat Pho’s project to the TAT. A number of residents attended the public hearings to share their opinions about the Master Plan. The case study also
underscored the importance of leadership and the interconnection among power relations, social networks, and local identity. To counter the state-driven tourism-related project, Tha Tien leaders mobilized neighborhood bonds and networks as well as harnessed support from the media and educated middle classes. They promoted solidarity within the neighborhood based on the continuity of Chinese identity, the local history, and close relationships among residents. New attention was given to organizing local cultural events and social activities in the community. These actions represent the strengthening power of the community and its willingness to gain greater control over its space.

What Tha Tien community has been facing suggests that the community development greatly needs assistance and support from the outside parties, notably the government, the monarchy, and other formally-organized civil societies (e.g., academics, urban activists, and NGO network). The involvement of the state is necessary for the community to retain their capacity to represent themselves, access information, participate in the political life, and authorize privilege for the group under the predominant forces of global tourism and its related developments. The locals themselves also recognized their limitations of power and the necessity for the state intervention. As a 58-year-old informant said,

"Sometimes we know what we should do in order to improve our community, but we cannot do it. This is because it may hurt other people. For instance, we cannot evict the renters who live in the riverfront run-down housing. Another example is the office of Chao Kho Coconut Company. The building not only encroaches the river but also looks very ugly. However, I cannot say anything because the owner is my friend. Hence, the government should take action in dealing with some issues in the Tha Tien community."

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The Thai monarchy, CPB, and educated middle classes play a significant role in tourism-related urban development in Bangkok. Their voices receive greater attention from the Thai government because the monarchy is the most important unit in Thai society, the CPB is Bangkok’s largest landowner (Ellis 2003), and the middle classes are those who have professional expertise and networks. The middle classes usually have sympathy for the local people and express their interest in enhancing the quality of urban life for common people in the city rather than profit maximization (Askew 2002). Accordingly, they not only articulate an alternative valuation of urban space that appreciates local culture and history of local neighborhoods, but also provide enormous support to the establishment of participatory democracy and good governance mechanisms in Thailand.

In short, the above information and discussion clearly illustrates that the market-oriented tourism development efforts initiated by both public and private sectors have tended to overlook and weaken the political capabilities of the local residents by providing them with limited access to information and insufficient opportunities to be involved in the decision-making process. Although the Tha Tien community has a strong political structure and struggles to actively perform its role in the planning process, the decision-making power still lies entirely with the government. The case study also shows that heritage tourism in Bangkok is promoted as an urban regeneration and national development strategy and planned in a top-down fashion. As a result, the proposed tourism-related developments have put the local residents at a disadvantage and heightened their feelings of powerlessness. Without support from the media, academics,
and the monarchy, the minority community would have already been uprooted. The case study also highlights a concept of power as social production within networks of interactions (Callon and Law 1995; Taylor 2007), not as social control. Thus, tourism development cannot be analyzed without considering hierarchical power structures. Power connects local people and places to the wider political economy. Civil societies can lead the way in mediating between local and global issues by promoting better governance and responsible tourism in destination communities.

In addition to the assessment of tourism impacts on four place attributes, this dissertation also seeks to examine the potential implementation of the responsible tourism framework (see Chapter 3) in the context of the Tha Tien community. In the next section, the extent to which Tha Tien’s tourism-related activities have been developed or practiced in responsibly will be investigated.

5. Responsible Tourism in the Tha Tien Community

Although the four-month field research data demonstrate that the Tha Tien community is not a fully-developed tourist destination in Bangkok, tourism-related activities have been practiced by residents and other stakeholders for over a decade. To give a better understanding of tourism development in the community, the case study is analyzed in terms of the extent to which the three main principles of responsible tourism (see Chapter 3) – good governance, planning and place-based development, and destination management – have been applied, and the opportunities for, and constraints on, implementing these principles.
Table 6.7 shows a comparison between the criteria of responsible tourism and the empirical evidence of Tha Tien’s tourism development experience. The key evaluation question is whether Tha Tien’s experience of tourism development corresponds to each criterion or not. Fifteen criteria that reflect place-making and social life are developed for use in evaluating the quality of tourism development. These criteria include coordination, decentralization of power, role of civil society, holistic and strategic planning, improvement of the physical environment, enhancement of local identity, strengthening of place attachment, information sharing, education and capacity building, public participation, effective impact management, local resource utilization, local involvement in management structures, partnerships, and local entrepreneurship.
Table 6.7: Comparison between Responsible Tourism Criteria and Tha Tien’s Experience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principles and Criteria of Responsible Tourism</th>
<th>Match?</th>
<th>Tha Tien’s Experience</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. Good Governance</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Coordination:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Practices of coordinating activities through networks and partnerships among the government, private sector, and civil society.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>- The public and private sectors mainly undertake tourism development and promotion efforts with a minimal degree of coordination, while the community is excluded from the process.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>- Despite informal networks and community organization, public-private partnerships are absent in the community.</td>
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<td>2. Decentralization of Power:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Decision-making power emerges from ‘social production' within networks of interactions rather than ‘social control'.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>- Tourism is planned and developed within a centralized system where decision-making power still relies heavily on the public sector.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>- Local residents are invited to ‘public hearing', but their opinions are given little attention from the government.</td>
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<td>3. Role of Civil Society:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil society plays a significant role in pushing for greater transparency in governmental decision-making and for representing the interests of those traditionally ignored by the system.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>- The community has a strong political structure and struggles to perform its active role in the planning and development process.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>- Local leaders are able to mobilize neighborhood bonds and networks as well as harness support from the media and educated middle class.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- The Thai monarchy and the formally-organized civil society, especially the educated middle class (i.e., academics, activists, and NGOs), play a vital catalyzing role in resisting state oppression.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principles and Criteria of Responsible Tourism</td>
<td>Match?</td>
<td>Tha Tien's Experience</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>II. Planning and Place-based Development</strong></td>
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<td>4. Holistic and Strategic Planning:</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Social, economic, environmental, and political implications are fully analyzed and understood as part of a holistic approach to tourism planning.</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Tourism development efforts are mostly initiated by the private sector that emphasizes the maximization of economic benefits more than the less tangible socio-cultural and political dimensions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Development strategies and action programs are specifically set up and adapted to achieve tangible goals.</td>
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<td>- A strategic tourism development plan of the Tha Tien community has not yet been formulated.</td>
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<td>5. Improve Physical Environment:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tourism and its associated developments should enhance the character of a place, promote the preservation of historic buildings, and improve the quality of the physical environment of the host community.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>- The small-scale, locally-owned tourism businesses lead to the renovation of old buildings for new tourism-related functions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Motivated by historic conservation and tourism promotion, BMA embarked on several landscape improvement projects in the community (e.g., repainting historic buildings, and repaving three lanes).</td>
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<td>6. Enhance Local Identity:</td>
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<td>Local-oriented images and identities need to be incorporated into the tourism promotion.</td>
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<td>- Dominant groups in the society (i.e., the government) construct destination images and place identity to serve their own ends. In this case, they mainly focus on Thai culture and royal heritage, while ignoring locally-perceived images and multiple identities of the Tha Tien community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The proposed eviction of the community to give way to the creation of open space for tourists and middle-class Bangkokians could result in place-breaking.</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principles and Criteria of Responsible Tourism</td>
<td>Match?</td>
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| **7. Strengthen Place Attachment:**  
Tourism development and promotion should celebrate and enhance neighborhood bonds, community connections, and people attachments to a place. | | - Large landowner (i.e., Wat Pho) proposed the commodification of its land for promoting tourism consumption with little recognition of the disintegration of human activities and relationships.  
- Conflicts over land use and tourism benefits emerge between local residents who engage in tourism-related businesses and those who do not.  
- An influx of migrant tourism workers due to increased economic opportunities in the community.  
- The proposed eviction project of Tha Tien to create a waterfront open space and pleasing vistas of Wat Pho will lead to place-breaking, as the entire community will be uprooted. |
| | **X** | |
| **8. Information Sharing:**  
- Information regarding tourism plans and policies must be exchanged in the early stages in order to allow the public time to respond.  
- Planners and decision makers communicate with and involve the local community in the planning process. | | - A group of residents were involved in a public hearing.  
- The city government supports the establishment and activities of the community organization, which is responsible for the provision of information regarding development issues and coordination between the locals and external parties. |
| | **X** | |
| **9. Education & Capacity Building:**  
Attempts need to be made to educate citizens about public participation and explain the relevant issues about how a certain tourism-related development project may affect them. | | There is the absence of education and capacity building programs (e.g., workshops and advisory groups) in the community. |
<p>| | <strong>X</strong> | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principles and Criteria of Responsible Tourism</th>
<th>Match?</th>
<th>Tha Tien's Experience</th>
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<tr>
<td>10. Public Participation:</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Members of the host community are given opportunity to participate in and influence decision-making about tourism activities that affect their lives.</td>
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<td>- Tourism and urban development plans are formulated in a top-down, rather than bottom-up, fashion.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Planners attempt to create community-based tourism planning and development to ensure that a large share of benefits will go to local residents.</td>
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<td>- Local residents’ opinions and objections were given little attention from the Rattanakosin Committee who persisted in continuing its Master Plan.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>- Only a handful of local residents were involved in Wat Pho’s proposed tourism-related development project.</td>
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<td>III. Destination Management</td>
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<td>11. Effective Impact Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>Destination managers better understand the nature of tourism impacts and factors related to their occurrence, and then develop effective management strategies to reduce the impacts.</td>
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<td>- Destination managers are more concerned with tourism development and promotion than impact management.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>- Residents worry about problems related to the day-to-day basic needs and threats to their residency rather than tourism impacts, which are indirect and systemic in nature.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Little actions have been made to minimize tourism impacts on the social aspects of the community.</td>
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<td>12. Local Resource Utilization:</td>
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<td>The development of tourism products is based on a wide array of local resources, including both material and non-material forms of culture, local workforce, and local knowledge. The examination of visitor demands and motivations is combined with local capacities to develop products that enhance the integrity of local resources.</td>
<td></td>
<td>- The state-led tourism development agency primarily utilizes Thai culture and royal dispensation, while overlooking the local culture, life, and history of the community.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>- Souvenirs sold in the community are produced elsewhere.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Tourism workforce mainly relies on nonlocals rather than residents and most of the jobs are unskilled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criteria of Responsible Tourism</td>
<td>Match?</td>
<td>Tha Tien's Experience</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Local Involvement in Management Structures: Destination management policy formulation includes people who might otherwise be excluded or marginalized.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Level of local inclusivity is relatively low, as residents have been minimally involved in management policy formulation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Partnerships: A local working group or partnerships between the community and external parties should be established in order to increase local control over tourism development and management, enhance coordination among members, foster tourism opportunities, and build up negotiation powers of the community.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>A specific local tourism group and stakeholder partnerships have not yet been created. Some forms of assistance (e.g., language courses) have been provided to the locals by the community organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Local Entrepreneurship: Supports (e.g., capital, advice, skill improvement, and information) are given to local entrepreneurs in order to help them upgrade their innovative management skills and develop local tourism products.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Local entrepreneurs start their businesses with little support from the public sector, but receive several forms of assistance from neighbors and social networks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results from the above comparison reveal that tourism development in the Tha Tien community does not correspond with the three fundamental principles of responsible tourism: good governance, planning, and destination management. The community’s experience with tourism development is unable to meet 12 out of the 15 total responsible tourism criteria. Based on the principle of good governance, the case study of Tha Tien represents the active and pivotal role of both informal and formal forms of civil society organizations. Local leaders work to oppose the government’s threat of eviction driven by market-oriented tourism. Such action has received the strong support from a group of activists, NGOs, and academics. However, the case study shows that Tha Tien’s tourism development violates the criteria of cooperation and decentralization of decision-making power. Neither public-private tourism partnerships nor tourism working groups are established in the community. Observation data further disclose that most of the tourism development and promotion activities are initiated and carried out by the public and private sectors in an uncoordinated manner and without involvement of the local people.

Regarding the principle of planning and place-based development, Tha Tien’s experience of tourism development fulfills two criteria (improvement of the physical environment and information sharing), but fails to meet the other five (holistic and strategic planning, enhancement of local identity, strengthening of place attachment, education and capacity building, and public participation). This illustrates that with the exception of the physical environment, other non-material attributes of a place (i.e., local identity, community connections and place attachment, and participatory capability) are
inclined to diminish in response to market-led tourism development. In addition, despite the first Five-Year Bangkok Tourism Development Master Plan 2006-2010 (BMA, 2006), there is a lack of holistic and strategic plans for long-term tourism development in the Tha Tien community.

Under the principle of destination management, five criteria are set up (i.e., effective impact management, local resource utilization, local involvement in management structures, partnerships, and local entrepreneurship). Unfortunately, the case study shows that none of these criteria are met. Both public and private sectors put greater emphases on the development of tourism facilities, the creation of destination image, and market promotion than the preparation of visitor impact management responses. They also tend to focus on the improvement of general qualities of a place rather than the utilization of its unique local resources (e.g., material and non-material forms of culture, local history, workforce, networks and knowledge) as the essential and distinctive place product saleable to tourists. Such actions can lead to the standardization of architectural, inadvertent marginalization of the local, and “non-places” (Augé 1995) development.

To improve the quality of tourism activities and a place-bound locality, care has to be taken to implement the responsible tourism model and especially “place-specific tourism” in which the tourist attraction is “the total sense of place generated by the overall local culture” of the destination (Ashworth 1995: 270). In the next chapter, policy recommendations for establishing responsible tourism in the Tha Tien community will be described in detail.
6. Summary

The archival data showed that over the past 220 years the Tha Tien community had been through a dramatic transformation in terms of its physical environment, land use, and local economy. In the early Rattanakosin period (1780s-1840s), the community served as the location of royal residences. After the big fire that damaged the entire Tha Tien palace in 1850s, the area was reconstructed with a foreign court and accommodation for foreigners. The economic boom of Tha Tien began during the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910). The area was rebuilt with market quarters and shophouses and then turned into a commercial and water-based transportation hub of Bangkok. Until the mid-20th century, when modern development took place in the country, Tha Tien continued to experience remarkable physical transformations and economic change. One of the two palaces built in the late 19th century was demolished and replaced with shophouses, while another palace built in the early 20th century was renovated into luxurious guesthouse. A major sign of the economic restructuring process appeared in 1953 when Pak Klong Talat was built as a new marketplace outside of Tha Tien, resulting in the steady decline in commercial activities in Tha Tien market. During the 1970s and 1980s, retail and wholesale businesses became a major industry in Tha Tien’s local economy. Since the early 1990s, the community faced a downturn in its retail industry due to the growing number of foreign supermarket-chains and implementation of strict land use policies for the Inner Krung Rattanakosin Sub-area.

In the 21st century, although Tha Tien is no longer the commercial center of Bangkok, it is still known as the marketplace for dried and preserved seafood. While
wholesale businesses are the leading economic sector in this area, the service and tourism industry has begun to increase its influence on the local economy. Undisputedly, tourism growth generates both income and employment opportunities to local residents. However, the undesired, and yet unquantifiable, social impacts of tourism development need to be taken into consideration.

In this chapter, the data analysis affirmed that conventional global tourism and its associated development is undermining community life in the Tha Tien neighborhood. Four key components of a place – the physical landscape, place image and attachment, community connections, and political capabilities – were, to different degrees, modified by the commodification force and market-oriented approach of tourism development. By 2006, of the total 490 building units in the area, 50 units (or about 10 percent) were, to some extent, altered by tourist-related businesses to support the industry. Most of these changes (40 units) were in the form of restoration and renovation of buildings for new tourism-related functions, which were viewed as a positive impact of tourism. New tourism facilities constructed in the area created a minimal degree of landscape transformations because the number was small and the area was controlled by land use and building regulations. However, the recent proposed large-scale tourism-related development projects launched by major landowners have great potential to cause dramatic changes to the community’s physical environment.

In terms of place image and identity, field research data showed that there were competing meanings of a place among different social actors. The touristic image of the Tha Tien community reconstructed by the public and private place marketers contradicts
the local people’s ideas and perceptions of that place. While residents’ perceived images of their community was quite positive, the place marketers viewed the area as degraded, unsafe, unattractive and incompatible with the state-promoted image of the old royal city. As a result of those negative perceptions, the public sector initiated several controversial plans and programs to conceal the area, remove activities and structures deemed to interfere with the streamlined heritage concept, and even proposed to uproot the neighborhood. The private sector developed tourism marketing and promotion activities that bypassed the community and its local events, festivals, history, and vernacular architecture. These actions clearly demonstrate that the locally perceived images and identities of the Tha Tien community were excluded from the state-led heritage discourse and the market-oriented tourism promotion.

Another significant component of a place that is seriously affected by the capitalist development of tourism is community connections. The tourism industry increased Tha Tien’s attractiveness for in-migration of businesses and people. Evidently, tensions and conflicts arose between local people who work in the tourism-related businesses and those who do not. Key informants reported two emerging conflicts related to the tourism industry: (1) conflict over the parking issue on Soi Tha Rong Mo, and (2) conflict over the operation of a new restaurant at one of the abandoned piers. Diverse attitudes towards tourism impacts make residents react or respond differently to the industry and its development. This could lead to the weakening of close connections among residents. The commodification force of tourism development also affects the relationship between the community and the major landowner, notably Wat Pho. While
tourism has become more significant to the temple, the community began to lose its meaningful relations with the temple and monks. Several cultural events once held in the temple and still regarded as important to the community were cancelled. Key informants sensed that this was because such events generated less monetary benefits to the temple compared to the tourism industry. Inspired by tourism, Wat Pho’s proposed project became another catalyst for the deteriorating of wat-community relationship. Although the plan to remove local residents from the temple’s land was relatively small in scale, it inevitably led to the dismantling of social networks and the disintegration of ongoing human activities.

Lastly, market-led tourism development also influences the political capability of Tha Tien residents. In terms of internal politics, the expansion of the tourism industry has led to change in the political structures of the community, as a new group of people who engaged in or benefited from the industry gained their power and became the new ruling class in the community. The successful entrepreneurship of the powerful group who had capital also resulted in a widening gap between them and the marginalized group or the less fortunate community members. Regarding external politics, the centralized urban development in Bangkok weakened political and participatory capability of local residents. The Rattanakosin Master Plan that proposed the relocation of almost the entire Tha Tien community not only highlighted the conflicting ideas and representations of urban life, but also reflected the top-down urban development processes. Although local residents were given an opportunity to become involved in information-sharing venues (i.e., public hearing), the decision-making power still is in the hands of the government.
The voice of local residents also received little recognition from the major landowner, notably Wat Pho, as the temple embarked on its proposed development without any involvement from the community.

In addition to assessing the tourism impacts on four place attributes, the researcher also develops a set of responsible tourism criteria and then compares each of them with the Tha Tien community’s experience of tourism development. Although satisfying three criteria, the community fails to meet 12 criteria. This demonstrates that Tha Tien greatly requires attention from involved parties to make tourism development become more socially responsible and place-specific.

The above detailed examination illustrates that the conventional global tourism development, despite its economic contributions, has already brought about change of place attributes in an unfavorable way. This, in turn, led to the diminished quality of social life and place attachment in the community. In the next chapter, therefore, the researcher will highlight the reassessment of urban development, heritage tourism, and destination governance in Bangkok that are reflected in the case study analysis. The conceptual implications of the place-making analytical model and the reconceptualization of the tourism impacts on community life will be discussed. More importantly, the practical applications of a responsible tourism framework will also be provided in order to help tourism stakeholders facilitate the positive effects of the industry and enhance place-bound societies like the one in the Tha Tien neighborhood.
CHAPTER 7

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESPONSIBLE TOURISM MODEL AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Global Tourism and Community Life: Interaction and Confrontation in Urban Space

This research underlines the complex and highly contingent relationships between global tourism and local residents living in an urban area. Global tourism represents the phenomenon in which tourism, as a form of “leisure migration” (Böröcz 1996), has been drawn into the globalizing tendencies that exist across space and time and are intruding on the everyday lives of people regardless of their geographical settlement. Global tourism involves the movement of large numbers of people, money, production and consumption along a complex array of tangible and intangible goods, and cultural practices across national boundaries. It is also closely connected with other economic activities, as the industry can stimulate positive economic activity across a wide range of related sectors, for example, generate more construction, increase job opportunities, and create a larger revenue base through taxes. At the same time, global tourism needs local communities, because communities provide resources upon which tourism depends. Tourists travel because they want to experience the way of life and material products of different places. Therefore, the existence and quality of local communities can be used to justify the development of tourism itself.

In this research, however, global tourism is not primarily conceptualized in terms of its economic contributions but rather its impacts on the social dimensions of local
communities. Driven by the global flows of tourists and commodities, social influences move freely from one place to another. The study demonstrates that the practices and meanings of capitalist development of tourism have moved into the center stage of local people's everyday lives and influenced other aspects of social life such as identity and social relations. Many analysts acknowledge the power of tourism as a social force with transformative capabilities. Elliott (1997), for example, claimed that tourism is more than an industry in the sense that it is a universal dynamic social phenomenon touching most nations and affecting their people. Barnard and Spencer (1998: 602) argue from the anthropological perspective that “to ignore tourism in our accounts of culture contact in the 20th century is probably as great an omission as to ignore slavery in the 18th century or colonialism in the nineteenth.”

The central focus of this study is community life of those living in a locality that is facing strong pressures from the capitalist development of tourism. In order to capture the extent of tourism impacts on community life, the concept of place and place-making process was adopted as a guiding framework. Within postmodern theory, place is examined not as a static, an a priori or objective phenomenon but as an ongoing, dynamic, and contested construct (Lefebvre 1991) with multiple symbolic qualities and representative identity positions (Cartier 2005). As defined in this research, place contains the socio-spatial patterns of human intimate interconnections, meanings, and values embedded in a physical environment. The interaction of human beings with the past and the present, with buildings, spaces, and one another produces an urban dynamism and creates a spirit of place (Orbasli 2000). Based on this definition, four key
attributes of place-based communities are highlighted: a specific geographical location, place identity, community connections, and political capability. Place then becomes a fundamental construct in this study because its existence and continuation enhance social life and human flourishing.

The Tha Tien community is a good example of a place-bound locality, as it contains all of the place attributes described above. The community is set in a specific urban geographic location with a distinctive character of the built environment and local landmarks such as the market, piers, Chinese shrines, and historic buildings. Local residents have constructed meanings and values that facilitate their intimate connections or attachment with the built environment. The core of community identity lies in its ethnic (Chinese) ancestry and culture, social relationships, local history, and unique physical landscape. Residents have maintained their informal social networks and reciprocal relationships with neighbors, and also developed their formal networks through the establishment of several local working groups. The political structures in the community portray the power relations, especially between the powerful and marginalized groups. The chairman and community organization play a significant role in strengthening both social relations and patterns of political participation.

The case study of Tha Tien also affirms that the place-based community is a very important entity that not only provides “social glue” between the locality and its inhabitants, but also functions as the “essential link between the local and the global” (Richards and Hall 2000). The Tha Tien community provides a setting in which global tourism and its related developments can take shape. At the same time, it becomes a
venue where the power relationships and integrations of globalization are seen and felt, even though they may be formulated elsewhere (Sassen 1991). The community also became a center of resistance to the process of market-led and centralized tourism development. The Tha Tien struggle to keep its place-bound locality and local identities has the potential for responsible tourism development and destination governance.

The results from the case study analysis demonstrate that conventional global tourism development has a double-edged effect on the community. The small-scale, locally-owned tourism businesses feature the positive effects of tourism, notably the development of the local economy, the improvement of the physical environment, and the preservation of individual historic buildings. The small-scale tourism businesses became part of the new economic sector that helped revitalize the old community through income and employment generation. Visitor demands for heritage experiences motivated local residents to restore and renovate old buildings for new tourism-related functions. On the contrary, the large-scale, market-led tourism development engenders the potential degradation of place attributes. Such development is, therefore, not conducive to the place-making process as well as the enrichment of community life. Undesirable changing conditions of place elements manifested in the case of Tha Tien include:

- A potential threat to social networks and place attachment as a number of local residents may have to be relocated.

- Conflicting perceptions of place images among social actors. While the local people’s perceived images of their community was quite positive, the place marketers viewed the area as degraded, unsafe, and unattractive place that was incompatible with the state-promoted image of the old royal city.
- A neglect of the local history and community identities among place marketers.

- The weakening of community connections as a result of growing conflicts between those who benefit from tourism and those who do not.

- The diminishing of Wat-community relationships as the temple plans to develop and commodify its property for tourism purposes with little consideration for local residents who will likely lose their homes.

- Change of political structures as a new group of people who engage in or benefit from tourism gain power and become the new ruling class.

- Exclusion of local people from tourism decision-making.

The impact of global tourism on contemporary societies in the production and consumption of place has profound implications for understanding human behavior. As Sack (1992) notes, “consumption is a virtually universal and assessable means by which we daily create places and construct the world.” Under the government’s threat of eviction, survival of the Tha Tien community provides a possible form of transformation and new mode of coexistence between people, and between global and local connections. The interaction between the force of tourism development and the locals can also stimulate a change in the power structure of the community. While encountering pressure from the centralized tourism development efforts, local residents began to collectively organize themselves and foster their local identities. But, the case study also illustrates that places are more than sources of identification and affiliation that create meaning and give purpose to life. They are also social constructs perpetuated by different interest groups, who attempt to define places based on their values. Thus, the analysis of place
meanings needs to be situated within the relationships of power and contestation over authority to decide how resources will be used (Stokowski 2002).

This chapter is organized in five sections. The first section conceptualizes urban development, heritage tourism, and potential governance mechanisms in Bangkok. In the second section, two contributions of this research to the fields of urban planning and tourism studies are identified: the conceptual implications of the place-making framework and the new categorization of tourism impacts. The third section is dedicated to the provision of policy recommendations for establishing responsible tourism in the Tha Tien community. The fourth section provides a set of tourism development and urban regeneration strategies deemed to be useful for the long-term tourism-related community development. The last section includes a summary and main contributions of this research. This concluding section underscores the balance between tourism development and the continuity and enrichment of place-bound localities.

2. Rethinking Urban Development, Heritage Tourism, and Destination Governance in Bangkok

During the past 30 years, tourists have demonstrated their interest in consuming culture and heritage, which makes cultural tourism become one of the fastest growing segments in the tourism market (Richards 1996). While historic towns gain tourist potential, their historic quality also gains market value. A new trend of urban development emerges, seeking leisure, culture, and a high-quality environment. Today, many historic towns are competing to attract tourists by turning their past into a product of present (Orbasli 2000). One prominent example of a city in which cultural and
historical resources have been, more or less, consciously manipulated for capital gain is Bangkok.

Since the 1980s, the landscape of Bangkok, and its old royal center in particular, became part of a contested terrain where contrasting ideas and representations of urban life were debated. These conflicts find their way into discussions on urban development, heritage tourism, governance structure, and the life and history of old inner-city communities. The Thai government initiates conservation policies and urban redevelopment projects that aim to restore the Rattanakosin precinct, create a space of visual spectacle and recreation, and attract overseas tourists, whose spending is important to the Thai economy. The underlying concept rests on an evocation of traditional Thai royal urbanism for middle-class and tourist materialist consumption as well as a construction of place image resembling the dominant western urban heritage paradigm. Thai culture and its royal dispensation are viewed as objects of beauty and representations of the national identity.

Nonetheless, ordinary people who have lived and worked in Krung Rattanakosin for decades are given little attention by the decision makers. Threatened by the proposed relocation plans, these people feel a yearning for the acceptance and continuity of their urban traditions, value, and place-bound neighborhoods. Kwansuang Atibodhi, a former lecturer of Urban Planning at Chulalongkorn University and social activist, points to the problems of the town planning law and the shortcoming of the Rattanakosin Master Plan. In response to this issue, he said, “the charm of the old town and old communities has vanished, while people rarely bother with social and cultural activities. The city
administration wants to create a green area, while neglecting real public space where people can socialize" (Bangkok Post 2004b). These conflicts over the meaning of the places and importance of urban life demonstrate how reflection on and reconstruction of the history should be a central ingredient of heritage conservation and tourism development. Another negative quality of heritage tourism unfolded by the case study involves the issue of selectivity as heritage is reduced to a chosen interpretation of history and its physical relics as a marketing tool. Such selectivity of the touristic image of the country can also lead to the greater danger that Thai heritage will merely represent idyllic scenes, while ignoring local cultures of marginal communities and the urban poverty.

The Tha Tien opposition to the market-oriented eviction plan illustrates an alternative valuation of urban space, a ‘popular urbanism’, which asserts that culture and popular memory reinforce the quality of urban life for common people in the city. According to Askew (2002), popular urbanism refers to “patterns of life sustained and reproduced by local neighborhoods and popular activity zones in the city” (p. 285). Such patterns can be found in several old urban settlements including the Tha Tien neighborhood where the distinctive physical environment, history, tradition, and close connections among residents form a building block for a place-bound locality. Place-making is closely associated with popular urbanism in the sense that both concepts promote place identity, collective memory, and the importance of people-place bonds. Richard O’Connor’s argument about the homogenizing tendencies of the modern bureaucratic center and the differences between the state and popular model of Bangkok is worth recalling here (O’Connor 1990: 62-67). O’Connor describes how the popular
model, or what Askew (2002) called popular urbanism, has been actively promoted through distinctively modern and reflexive ways in the contemporary period. Although traditional popular urbanism was never proclaimed, it emerged through practice and a structure of power, which accommodated it through social networks. The emergence of articulated popular urbanism in Bangkok is also accredited with growing support from Thai NGOs and academics, who view tradition as an ideology to counter modern development paradigms. In short, the celebration of the locally-oriented urbanism requires not only explicit delineation of the past, often in nostalgic and standardized forms, but also the ability of community leaders to mobilize strategic networks and support from civic organizations.

In addition to conflicting ideologies of the urban life, the process of conservation and urban development decision-making in Krung Rattankosin reflects centralized and inflexible public organizations. Public involvement is very limited. The district-level urban administration also follows a centralized model in Bangkok, with elected assemblies playing a minor role in the key decisions of urban districts (Askew 2002). Although public hearings are provided as a venue for formal public input on development plans, local people’s opinions are given little attention from the public sector. This form of public involvement, when related to Arnstein’s (1969) model, is considered mere ‘tokenism’, because it functions as an information sharing activity without assuring that the citizens would have decision-making power. The Rattanakosin Development Master Plan and the relocation project of the Tha Tien community not only contradict the results of the public hearings, but also expose the continuing realities of centralized power.
The government is not the only organization, which impinges upon localities, but new, more influential, relations between key institutions and people are also emerging around urban land uses. This is manifested particularly in the way that urban temples – key landowners and traditionally the focal points of long-term rental settlements – now utilize their land for profit generation at the expense of the neighborhoods, which have coexisted with them for generations. Wat Pho is an example of a key landowner that is expressing its interest in the expanding capitalist economy of tourism. Its proposed project is geared towards generating tourist earnings and has the potential to impose change on the landscape, workforce, and social relations in the community.

To ensure the positive outcome of tourism-related development, emphasis should be placed on implementing effective governance mechanisms. Conceptually, governance calls for new interactive relations among the government, industry and host communities that emphasize co-regulation, co-steering, cooperative management, and public-private partnerships (Kooiman 1993). Under new relations, social actors are linked together as single entity to facilitate positive change in responsible tourism and problem solving. The principles of good governance include accountability, transparency, and participation.

The rise of popular urbanism not only provides an alternative valuation of urban space but also contributes to responsible tourism by increasing opportunities for the establishment of destination governance in Krung Rattanakosin. The Tha Tien protest highlights the role of the civil society as a counterbalance to the dominant power of the government and the market forces of global tourism. There are two important causes of Tha Tien’s popular urbanism that can become a basis for the destination governance.
formation. The first one is the strong support from the educated middle classes, notably professionals, academics and NGOs activists (O’Connor 1990). In modern Bangkok, the middle class has played a significant role in defending the rights of local people against potential abuses of power by the government and protecting the locals from being taken advantage of by private businesses. In the case of Tha Tien community, the influence of the middle class on the exercise of governance mechanisms was evident, as resistance to the dislocation was successful largely due to the support from sympathetic academics and urban activists. The second cause was the ability of local community leaders to mobilize strategic networks and most importantly harness the power and support of the contemporary mass media in pressuring the government and publicizing issues. More specifically, the response from the Tha Tien chairman and community organization was twofold: (1) to promote solidarity within the neighborhood based on the continuity of Chinese identity and the close association of people with the market, shrines, and living environment; and (2) to publicize the plight of the community, and utilizing the media to elicit support from groups active in resisting forced relocation of old urban settlements from the Rattanakosin area (e.g., the Bangkok Forum and NGO network).

The case study of Tha Tien also highlights the role of the Thai monarchy in heritage conservation and urban tourism development in Krung Rattanakosin. The significant role of the Thai monarchy results from the fact that the crown owns a large portion of the land of the Rattanakosin precinct. The Crown Property Bureau (CPB) is a government agency responsible for managing the properties of the King and his immediate family. As Thailand’s biggest landlord, with 35,000 leases (Ellis 2003), the
CPB does not primarily focus on profit maximization. Many tenants continue to stay after their leases expire, while others trade the plots without approval, fueling speculation. Although the CPB increases the rents in some prime areas, rents generally remain below market value. The CPB’s call for a halt to the eviction of the Tha Tien community reflects the agency’s attention to the local people’s needs. In this light, the CPB can become a key actor that helps foster good governance mechanisms in the context of Thailand.

3. Conceptual Implications of the Place-Making Analytical Framework

This dissertation conceptually contributes to the fields of tourism development and urban planning in two ways. Firstly, the diagram on global tourism and its relation to place-making serves as a generalized framework that could be applied in any context. The framework has sufficient flexibility such that the details and outcomes allow for variations among localities. The main argument of this research is that tourism is a complex phenomenon constituting a powerful interface between cultures and societies. This phenomenon is organized within global trends, but its impacts are localized through constellations of power. The concept of place and the place-making process serves as an analytical framework for the analysis of tourism impacts on the quality of community life. Four essential components of the enrichment of a place-based locality include:

- A distinctiveness of the physical landscape.
- The maintenance of local-oriented place image and identity.
- A feeling of togetherness or connections among inhabitants.
- The heightened participatory capability in decision-making process.
By incorporating a place-making concept into the framework, the researcher was able to develop a critical understanding of the interaction and confrontation between tourism and the community. In addition, it was useful for explaining how external forces (i.e., global tourism) and social actors (i.e., the government and private sector) reshape a place. Based on this understanding, place managers and tourism planners can effectively incorporate strategies to celebrate and enhance community life and build place attachment into urban conservation and heritage tourism development policies.

Secondly, the case study analysis of social impacts of tourism on the place-bound locality of Than Tine also makes a great contribution to the advancement of knowledge in tourism impacts. As a result of the investigation, the researcher proposes the reconceptualization and new categorization of tourism impacts. Based on the research findings, tourism impacts can be categorized into three main types.

(1) Direct Impacts: Obviously, tourism can cause various direct impacts on host societies. Examples of negative social impacts found in the Tha Tien neighborhood include crowded conditions, inappropriate behaviors, an increase of crime, an influx of migrant workers, and the uneven distribution of tourism benefits. The emergence of these impacts can be explained by three factors. First is the long-established theory of ‘host-guest relationship’ or the interaction between local residents and tourists. The difficulties in this relationship vary according to the length of time tourists stay in a destination, the nature of the tourists, the extent of local participation in tourism benefits, the rate of tourism growth, the number of tourists in relation to the host population, and the extent of
differences in wealth and behavior between visitors and residents (Ratz 2000). Second is the development of the tourism industry, which is credited for generating new employment in the destination. However, much of this employment is seasonal, female-oriented, unskilled, and low-paid. Third is the theory of power relations (Hall 1994; Reed 1997), suggesting that with their differential access to power and control social actors benefit unequally and/or have unequal access to the tourism decision-making processes.

(2) Indirect Impacts: Many of the social effects of tourism on local people and their ways of life are of a less direct nature. Instead of being a single actor that directly impacts a host society, tourism, through a global-local process, rather presents a logic and set of stimuli to local actors who acquire the power to transform the community and its resources into tourism products. The researcher calls these actors ‘intermediaries’ who play a significant role in channeling global tourism to the local community. They also stimulate changes to place attributes by initiating, transmitting and translating the new cultural processes and consumption patterns. Their actions sometimes have far greater effects on the community and local ways of life than those of transnational corporations and tourists. As shown in the case study, these intermediaries include the government, Wat Pho, and private investors. Inspired by potential economic and social benefits of tourism, the Thai government promoted images of royal heritage to represent the national identity and align images of the Tha Tien community with the prevailing one. As a result, conflicts and tensions emerged between the homogenizing destination image promoted in a top-down fashion and multiple identities of Thai-Chinese people living in the neighborhood. Likewise, since the late 20th century, Wat Pho has been drawn into the
globalized tourism market and has become one of the capitalist tourism enterprises. The implementation of its proposed tourism development project in the Tha Tien area will lead to the eviction of more than 180 residents. It will also change the local economic structure such that only tourism-related businesses will be allowed to operate in this area. The wat-community bonds are weakening as the temple becomes more dependent on tourism revenue. With a primary interest in economic gain, private investors have also embarked in providing tourist facilities and services in the community. Their actions have led to the transformation of the physical environment, a change of employment and demographic characteristics, and the construction of market-oriented destination images.

(3) Systemic Impacts: Lastly, tourism, especially in large cities, can cause systemic impacts that are more complicated, yet less recognized by place inhabitants, than the first two types of impacts. This is because tourism, while becoming an important economic component of most large cities, is characterized as a very fragmented industry containing several sectors (e.g., transportation, accommodation, catering, and other services) that oftentimes serve the local population as well as visitors (Law 2002). Tourism is also linked to the rest of the economy through a series of linkages, so its impacts are spread across many sectors. Urban tourism usually involves many public and private agencies that sometimes do not recognize that they are, or could be, part of tourism. For instance, despite their indirect involvement in tourism development, the Rattanakosin Committee and the Department of City Planning, BMA, consider their primary role in heritage conservation and land use planning, respectively. Most importantly, the industry is interwoven with other urban processes such as politics,
urbanization, environmental movements, economic restructuring, population pressures and migration, all of which have considerable influence on the way of life of urban residents. Due to its complex nature, tourism and its systemic impacts are often overlooked or even unrecognized by the locals. In the case of Tha Tien community, of the 38 total informants, 11 (29 percent) reported that tourism brought no change in their daily life. A 40-year-old resident said that tourism had little direct impacts on her life, because she did not sell anything to tourists. According to a 45-year-old resident, tourism had minimal effects on the way of life of local residents due to the fact that most of them worked in the retail and wholesale industry and rarely had a chance to connect with tourists. Another 52-year-old resident further noted that the most serious impact on his life resulted from the large shopping malls and department stores rather than the tourism industry. However, such perceptions appear to contradict the reality as the research findings show that large-scale tourism development leads to the diminishing quality of place attributes and community life. Thus, it would be a mistake to suggest that tourism is the sole cause of changes in the society. At the same time, it would be naive to overlook its role, scale, and ramifications.

Based on the above categorization, impacts of tourism on community life of people who live in urban areas are more complex than in a place with a mono-tourism economy. As displayed in the case study, tourism and its associated activities generate all three types of impacts on urban lives and the quality of place in the Tha Tien neighborhood. Tourism is part of Bangkok’s economic complex and the city government has adopted tourism as an economic development strategy. During the past two decades,
the strategy of urban tourism has moved from the very simple idea of advertising a few attractions to a much more comprehensive approach which seeks to develop a tourism product, understand the visitor markets, make the city user-friendly, construct the city imagery, and create organizations responsible for promoting and selling the city. Accordingly, the rapid expansion of global tourism in Bangkok results in far more sophisticated problems than those in the past, especially problems that are related to the non-economic effects. Hence, solving these problems is not an easy task, and requires practical strategies and cooperation from various social actors. In the next section, some recommendations for establishing responsible tourism development in the Tha Tien community will be provided.

4. Recommendations for Establishing Responsible Tourism Development in Tha Tien

To mitigate adverse impacts from the large-scale, capitalist, and centralized tourism development, the principles of responsible tourism development framework introduced earlier in Chapter 3 need to be put into practice. The following diagram shows the process in which the responsible tourism principles (i.e., destination governance, planning, and management) are utilized and adapted for the Tha Tien context (see Figure 7.1). The multiple levels of good destination governance composed of the coordination among the government, private sector, and civil society function as a filter of global tourism. The enriched community life lies at the heart of the diagram. The healthy condition of four key place attributes is required in pursuit of enhancing social life in the community. To ensure that global tourism and its associated developments feature positive outcomes and enhance the quality of place attributes, great emphasis needs to be
placed on four strategic approaches: urban tourism planning, heritage marketing, place-based development, and participation and collaboration. Although each approach is designed specifically for facilitating positive effects of tourism on a particular place attribute, its implementation can become a mutually supportive and reinforcing factor in minimizing harmful impacts of tourism on other place attributes as well. All key components of the place-making process are connected to one another, so the improved quality of one component can consequently benefit the others. A more detailed explanation and practical application of these four approaches follows Figure 7.1.
Figure 7.1: Application of Responsible Tourism Framework in the Tha Tien Context
4.1 Urban Tourism Planning

To ensure authenticity of new tourism facilities, a tourism development plan for the Tha Tien community needs to be formulated. Tourism development planning at the destination (or community) level is primarily about “programming change in the use of resources in some prescribed fashion” (Godfrey and Clarke 2000). The planning procedure requires a site survey, land use mapping, evaluation of tourism resources, impact assessment, market analysis, and establishment of development goals and actions. The plan should be prepared as part of the urban comprehensive plan or central area redevelopment plan to achieve maximum integration of tourism development and logical resolution of any conflicting land use (Inskeep 1991). More importantly, the planning process has to be facilitated by good destination governance. Key stakeholders – the government, private sector, and local community – need to be involved in the process. While the professionals can recommend some physical planning techniques, final decisions regarding the tourism plan have to be made by all involved parties. Concerning the tourism impacts on the physical environment in the Tha Tien community, the researcher presents three following planning principles that should be incorporated into the tourism plan formulation.

4.1.1 Historic Preservation

Since the Tha Tien community is located in the historic city, the tourism plan needs to pay attention to the preservation of historic buildings, urban fabric, and character. To make optimum use of existing building, the plan should provide some design alternatives or guidelines to building renovation. Following such alternatives,
local residents can undertake exterior preservation with renovation of their interiors for modern functions, some of which are tourism-oriented such as restaurants and souvenir shops. New development should be of a compatible scale, height, and architectural style with the historic character. Besides historic preservation, some incentives (i.e., property tax reduction) or assistance (i.e., technical and financial support) should be offered to residents who restore existing buildings and renovate interiors for new functions.

Essential to the preservation of historic character of the community is the enforcement of legal mechanisms (e.g., zoning, land use, and building regulations). In fact, the Thai government has already formulated a series of legal regulations based on urban design principles that control the heights and bulks of buildings, and maintain views planes and corridors in the Rattanakosin City (see Appendix B). The missing key element is the ability to administer these regulations. Various ways to possibly enhance regulation enforcement include increasing the number of government inspectors, employing local inspectors, and providing Tha Tien residents with channels of communication through which violations can be reported. Most importantly, besides merely addressing what actions are forbidden, legal regulations should contain some guidelines or alternatives to development. The public sector can encourage good practices by promoting certain development models or rewarding tourism-related projects that are appropriate to the physical environment and maintain an overall attractive urban fabric.

4.1.2 Urban Design Standards

According to Inskeep (1991: 242), “urban design is done primarily to provide a more livable and interesting environment for residents, but it also is an important element
of successful urban tourism planning, and tourism can help justify application of design measures.” Tourism developers (in this case referring to private investors, private landowners, Wat Pho, and the CPB) should be concerned with how well development is integrated into the site as well as how it enhances its distinctive urban character. Besides complying with zoning regulations, developers should apply development and design standards to their projects. Some typical standards that are applicable to the controlled tourist facility development initiated by two large landowners -- Wat Pho and the CPB -- are density, building height, setback, floor area ratio, and parking requirements. For developers who plan to build new tourist facilities or renovate old buildings for tourism-related functions, architectural and landscaping design standards appropriate to the nature and scale of the project must be decided.

(1) Architectural Design: The tourism plan should provide some architectural design standards or guidelines for tourist facilities. These standards should be flexible to allow for the creativity of the architect. Three guidelines can be used in the design process are:

- *Local Styles and Motifs*. The distinctive historic architectural styles found in the Tha Tien area should be incorporated into new tourist facility designs. These architectural styles include the two-story shophouses with western influences and three-story shophouses with contemporary architectural styles (see Chapter 6). The façade of new buildings should be consistent with the unique characteristics of the historic buildings’ elements, notably doors and windows.
- **Rooflines.** Tourism developers should also pay attention to the design of roofs. Roofs are a critical design element (especially of low-rise buildings) that affects the character and appearance of the structures. Rooflines should reflect the local architectural style. In this case, two specific design of roofs found in the Tha Tien area are hip and flat roofs. Any building extensions (i.e., construction of the additional story) that alter the roofline of the original building should be prohibited. To protect from sunshine and rain, roof overhangs\(^{37}\) can be attached to the buildings (usually above the entrance), but with appropriate style, material, color, and size.

- **Local Building Materials.** Local building materials, especially those relate to the local architectural style, should be utilized. In the case of Tha Tien, important local building materials are wood, concrete, and diamond-shape roof tiles.

(2) Landscaping Design: Suitable landscaping not only serves various functional purposes (e.g., screening views, providing vegetative buffers, and reducing surface temperatures), but also creates an attractive and interesting character of the tourist facility (Inskeep, 1991). The following landscaping design guidelines can be applied in the landscape improvement of local alleys and the CPB’s proposed development of Tha Tien market. Some essential landscape elements include:

- **Plants.** Basically, landscaping should use local indigenous plants, if available, because they grow well in their environment and support the natural character of the site. Existing plants and especially mature trees on the site should be kept and incorporated

\(^{37}\) A part of the roof structure that extends horizontally beyond the vertical plane of the exterior walls of a building.
into the new landscaping design. Ease of maintenance and conservation of water is another important factor in selecting plant materials.

- Signs. Many types of signs are found in the Tha Tien community including identification signs, advertising signs, and directional signs. To enhance the attractive environment in the Tha Tien community, sign control standards should be established with regard to their type, size, location, material used, and lighting. Large, unattractive, and inappropriately located signs should be removed. Signs that remain should be well designed and constructed of materials compatible with the environment. A specific design character of original signs attached to the historic shophouses in the community should be adapted for new signs.

- Street Furniture. Outdoor furniture (e.g., benches, trash bins, brochure bins), kiosks, and streetlights are important to include in landscaping, but with consideration of their appropriateness. For example, they should be suitably designed to reflect the historic buildings in the community, be properly located, and well constructed.

4.1.3 Pedestrianization and Improved Streetscapes

Pedestrianization should be promoted in the Tha Tien community, to the extent possible, to allow for and encourage walking with well-developed walkways through the area. These walkways should link the community to the sidewalk system of the entire Rattanakosin City. The goal is to create a “heritage trail” (Orbasli 2000) system that visitors can follow through interesting parts of the historic city and which connects attraction features.
Improved streetscapes and pedestrian walkways in the Tha Tien area can also enhance a sense of community. As described in the previous chapter, close connections among Tha Tien residents partly result from the physical environment. One distinctive element is the network of eight small alleys, called sois, which construct the community’s social interior and support its local market (Bell 2003). Thus, the tourism plan should emphasize conserving the traditional relationships between buildings and streets (including sois). The plan should promote the development of streetscapes at a human scale that are interesting for pedestrians in terms of activities and architectural forms. Sidewalks along Mahatat Road and sois need to be improved to make them more attractive, safe, and practical to use for both locals and tourists.

4.2 Responsible Heritage Marketing

The most appropriate sub-field of destination management that needs to be adopted as a strategy for mitigating undesired impacts of tourism development on the community image and identity is destination marketing. Despite being a relatively new concept in tourism, destination marketing has become the vital force in the growth of the industry, as destinations compete for a share of the tourism market (Orbasli 2000; Misiura 2006). Basically, marketing is defined as the management function that involves identifying, anticipating, and satisfying customer requirements, so a product or service can be sold at an optimal price (Laws 1995). It also relies heavily on an image that is selected to promote a product to a target market (Orbasli 2000). As Fisher (1994) notes, “Defining the image of an area is important to those who have to promote and sell the area for reasons of tourism business.” Oftentimes, only a few images are employed to
depict a place to conjure up a collective image. For example, Bangkok is marketed through a series of selected images such as the Royal Grand Palace, temples, cultural events, canals, and shopping malls.

Destination marketing deserves significant attention from involved parties due to several reasons. Essentially, destinations, or what Ashworth and Voogd (1990) refer to as place-products, are different from other fabricated goods and services for which marketing has been developed. The urban resource or city contains more complex attributes and also limitations. In most cases, purchasers (visitors) do not see or experience the product beforehand (except for repeat visitors) and are buying a desired satisfaction (Bodlender and Lickorish 1991). Furthermore, marketing a historic city is complicated because the place-product encompasses not only the built heritage but also human activity (Lichfield 1988).

As reflected in the case study, however, destination marketing carried out by both the public and private tourism organizations in Thailand mainly focused on promoting the royal heritage of the Rattanakosin City for economic purposes. At the same time, they overlooked local urban pasts and places, including the Tha Tien community, which were not part of the royal narrative. The locally perceived image and community identities represented in the history, ethnicity, traditions and events were absent from the heritage tourism promoted by both public and private sectors. Attempts to abolish less appealing activities to tourists (e.g., hawkers and the informal sector), evict the Tha Tien community, and conceal the social reality of local people illustrate that the public sector aimed to create an 'idealistic' tourist-historic city as described in various tourist
guidebooks. Most importantly, such re-imaging and selling place processes led to the commodification of tradition rather than the revitalization of urban heritage.

To mitigate the above negative impacts, the establishment of responsible heritage marketing is greatly required. The essence of responsible heritage marketing is not only to generate a profit in the commercial sense, but also to enable the regeneration of a locality, enhance the sense of place and local identity, conserve the landscape, and protect historic properties. Several scholars also suggest that accounting for the distinctive character of a destination and the culture-nature dialectic that stems from the local sense of place can ensure its social integrity, the effectiveness of the marketing mechanisms used and the quality of the information itself (Ashworth and Voogd, 1994; Norton and Hannon, 1997; Ioannides, 2001). Thus, the challenge for place marketers is to keep a balance between satisfying the customer and fulfilling other not-for-profit goals. With regard to the case of the Tha Tien community, three following considerations need to be emphasized in the responsible place marketing process:

4.2.1 Sound Market Research

The initial and important step in the responsible heritage marketing process is to conduct sound market research. Orbasli (2000) suggests that the development of an urban product for marketing purposes should contain the five following components:

- A sound knowledge of urban morphology and spatial characteristics.
- An understanding of existing users of the place and their needs.
- A realistic definition of the historic town as place, and only subsequently as a product or ‘attraction’.
- Market research on the existing market and the potential of the future market.
- A SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats) analysis.
While the first four components are conceptual guidelines for market research, the last component provides a practical application for assessing the tourism potential of a place. According to several tourism scholars, a SWOT analysis is a commonly recommended planning tool for tourism development (Ashworth and Larkham 1994) and also for the development of a place image (Laws 1995; Page 1995). Hence, a SWOT analysis for the Tha Tien community presented in the Table 7.1 as conducted by the researcher below should enable place marketers to project a place image and more effectively respond to proposed tourism development.

Table 7.1: A SWOT Analysis for Tha Tien Tourism and Image Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Tha Tien Community</th>
</tr>
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| Strengths  | - Has good geographical location, as it is surrounded by major tourist attractions with riverfront view of the Chao Phraya River.  
- Old urban community with a long history of the market once serving as the commercial center of Bangkok.  
- Includes historic buildings, especially the one-story row houses and two-story shophouses built in the late 19th century.  
- Regularly holds social events and Chinese-related festivals.  
- Contains close community connections (both formal and informal networks) among residents. |
| Weaknesses | - Unpleasant environment along the river due to the run-down housing and encroaching structures.  
- Degradation of historic buildings & extension of old buildings with inappropriate design.  
- Lack of good publicity and tourist information.  
- Requires improvement of tourist facilities and streetscapes.  
- Declining fresh-food businesses in the Tha Tien market.  
- Majority of residents do not have legal right over their property, leaving decision-making power to a small group of landowners. |
| Opportunities | - Local residents are friendly and their hospitality can benefit tourism.  
- The community can be linked up to the heritage trail network of the Rattanakosin City.  
- Local leaders and major landowners (Wat Pho and the CPB) have positive attitudes towards tourism development and possess supports to the industry.  
- The BMA has a good relationship with the community. |
| Threats    | - Unclear urban development policy, especially the eviction plan published in the Rattanakosin Master Plan.  
- A growing number of migrant workers. |
4.2.2 Incorporate Local-Oriented Image and Identity into Tourism Promotion

Attempts to re-image and sell places should be done with respect to the character of places and the importance of shared meanings that people can ascribe to and derive from their places (Cloke et al. 1991; Misiura 2006). Both public organizations (e.g., TAT and BMA) and the private sector should incorporate locally-oriented images and people attachment to a place in their product development and promotion strategies. In the case of Tha Tien community, the core of its identity lies in its ethnic ancestry, history, and distinctive physical landscape. Tha Tien's ethno-cultural character has remained predominantly Chinese, with community leadership drawn from its long-term Chinese families and its key focal points remain the shrines, piers, and market. Thus, public authorities and private enterprises should take these characteristics into consideration while developing their marketing activities. They should also inform the community of its potential for tourism development in the tourism market. The process of heritage marketing should be based on the local desire and inspired by local identity. The old fresh-food market, local events, and traditional festivals might be promoted to an appropriate group of visitors. Important local landmarks or at least the community should be included in the tourist maps. With a more humanistic sensitivity to the care for a place and its habitats, these place marketers should be able to not only sell their products to a target market, but also capture uniqueness of a place and at the same time enhance its local identities.
4.2.3 Appropriate Interpretation and Appreciation of the Local History

One problem with the urban development and conservation in Krung Rattanakosin was that heritage marketing mainly celebrated certain aspects of the past, notably the history of Thai monarchy, but ignored the history of popular urbanism reflected in the Tha Tien community. To solve this problem, both public and private place marketers need to reconsider the way in which the country and its history were recalled, constructed, or represented in terms of those to whom it belongs (Misiura 2006). Heritage marketers need to develop a better understanding of the locality in which people are connected with the place. To do this, they have to communicate with local people, listen to their stories and accounts, and gather impressions, images, artifacts and points of view. These sources of information will provide the marketer with other aspects of the history and meanings of the place that are vital to local people but absent from the historical archives. Marketers can play a significant role in bringing these new aspects of heritage to visitors. They can start from raising awareness of the local history and then move on to the purchase and consumption. Several techniques and programs of interpretation are applicable to convey a better understanding to visitors, such as signage, multimedia displays, lectures, events, and demonstrations. The National Discovery Museum that is expected to open in 2007 would serve as another important agent for promoting intercultural understanding through the shared history of the Rattanakosin City and local communities.
4.2.4 Heritage Inclusivity

In this research, heritage inclusivity is defined as the process of heritage policy formulation that includes people who might otherwise be excluded or marginalized, such as poor groups or racial minorities. To achieve responsible heritage marketing, Tha Tien’s residents including both powerful and marginalized groups should be given the opportunity to engage in the marketing process and the exploration of their own identity and place. They should be directly involved in identifying the appropriate touristic images to project and deciding which groups will be the recipients of such images (Gartner 1997). Various forms of local input, notably ideas and knowledge, would benefit the formulation of a tourism marketing plan and SWOT analysis. The public place marketers can organize a series of small workshops in which a group of local residents (e.g., the chairman, heads of local working groups, representatives of immigrants, and local tourism operators) are invited. The main purpose of these workshops is to develop a good idea of the current situation and the desired outcome of tourism development. Participants can be asked to define what they believe “responsible tourism development” means, what groups of tourists they want to attract in the future, and what type of images they want to promote. Then, they have to determine if their resources are sufficient to support the images they wish to project. The end result would be an appropriate destination image mix generated by the host community.

4.3 Place-based Development

To enhance community connections, tourism development should be implemented under the ‘place-based’ model that honors the people-place bond.
4.3.1 Support Conservation of Historic Buildings

As reflected in the Tha Tien community, essential to the continuity of resident bonding with a place is the distinctive characteristics of the physical environment and landscape, notably the historical shophouses, market, piers, shrines and important trees. Tourism-related redevelopment projects should help conserve the community’s unique sense of place by conserving and renovating these historic buildings and local landmarks. Appreciation by visitors can also lead to better local understanding and insight into some of the values of the immediate environment (Orbasli 2000). While residents are capable of maintaining their houses, large landowners, notably the CPB and Wat Pho, should play an active role in conserving their historical properties. The Tha Tien market enclosed with two-story historical shophouses should be included as one attraction in the cultural tour programs.

4.3.2 Improve Community-Meeting Places

Tourism development can help the community maintain its social networks by providing financial support to improve the environment of existing community-meeting places such as a Community Health Center (located inside the market) and the office of Thaweesahamit Association. Several abandoned piers in the area can be renovated not only for modern tourism-related functions (e.g., water transportation node for tourists), but also as a public space where residents of all ages can relax, meet and talk to each other.
4.3.3 Promote Local Events

Both public tourism organizations and private enterprises should promote or provide support to local events and festivals (e.g., the annual shrine celebration, Father’s Day festival) through which the Thai-Chinese resident bonds are retained. Local tour guides should be able to provide tourists detailed information about these events in terms of their essences and importance to local residents. To maintain close community connections among new generations, social activities (e.g., sports and community tour) and a Youth Group should be established.

4.3.4 Provide Funding for Local Working Groups

Local working and voluntary groups already established in the community represent formal social networks among local residents. The contribution of financial support from tourism business operators to these groups and their activities would enhance the sense of community and create good relations between the community and the tourism industry.

4.4 Public Participation, Collaboration and Capacity Building

Responsible tourism cannot be successfully implemented without the direct support and involvement of those who are affected by it. Moreover, the increase in citizen participation can lead to the greater political capability of local residents. Therefore, devising means to allow for citizen participation in the tourism planning process in the Tha Tien community is of primary importance for responsible tourism development.
Government officials and tourism planners, whose goal is to increase the likelihood of citizen participation, should consider the application of three following approaches.

4.4.1 Information Exchange

Information exchange is the “most important step in legitimizing public participation in tourism development” (Marien and Pizam 1997: 166). Meaningful participation cannot take place without the community’s understanding of what they are to make decisions about (Cole 1997; Sofield 2003). Planners need to pay attention to the role of ‘information’ and assure that all stakeholders, especially the often-neglected local communities, have access to it. Access to decision-making is based upon information about the issues, knowledge of the political processes, and organizational and public relations skills (Reed 1997). The most common information exchange technique adopted by the Thai government is the public hearing. Other information exchange techniques that can be used are drop-in centers, small group public meetings, and focus group interviews (Marien and Pizam 1997). Large landowners – Wat Pho and the CPB – should have considered carrying out one of these techniques in the early stages of their tourism-related development. Misinformation about the proposed projects can result in the opposition from residents whose beliefs, consent, trust, and sense of relevant problems are diminished.

4.4.2 Education and Capacity Building

As can be seen from the case study, several local residents did not understand tourism planning issues and development policies or realize the potential effects of certain tourism developments. Planners thus need to educate them and explain the
relevant issues. Emphasis should be placed on building community capacity by paying specific attention to its four factors: (1) the existence of resources (e.g., skills and access to financial capital), (2) networks of relationships (encompassing both informal and formal networks), (3) leadership, and (4) participation mechanisms in support of collective action and problem solving (Chaskin, 2001). Some education and support building techniques that can be applied in the Tha Tien community are advisory groups, technical and professional advice, petitions, workshops and seminars, expert paneling, formal and professional training.

The main consideration for the community and involved parties when applying participation techniques is whether the use of such techniques only disseminates information or also involves direct interaction among stakeholders. Certain participation techniques that involve information giving or campaigning (such as displays or newsletters), or opinion-collecting (such as interviews and questionnaires) are valuable, but they are consultative in nature (Marien and Pizam 1997). Some are typified as one-way communication, providing participants little opportunity for direct debate and consensus building with other stakeholders, as can occur with focus and working groups. Hence, multiple techniques, instead of a single one, should be employed. As Simmons (1994: 100) contends, “no technique can fulfill alone all the requirements of participation and a ‘staged approach’, using a variety of techniques, will be required.” More importantly, the use of different participation techniques should be integrated within a broad strategy for stakeholder involvement.
4.4.3 Establish Local Tourism Organizations

After recognizing the potential economic contributions of tourism on the local economy, a number of residents in Tha Tien began investing in several tourism-related businesses. By 2006, there were 32 such businesses operating in the Tha Tien area. To enhance their economic power and political capability, a local tourism organization should have been established. A group of local tourism entrepreneurs can form a tourism advisory group or local organization with representatives from both inside the community (e.g., local resident groups and eight local working groups already established in the neighborhood) and outside the community (e.g., local government, commercial interests, and, if possible, external consultant advisors from academic institutions or NGOs). This local tourism group can focus their efforts not only on promotions and provision of information, but also on a more comprehensive approach to industry development and management in the community. The advantage of setting up a tourism group includes increasing local control over tourism development and resources, enhancing coordination and leadership ability among members, fostering tourism opportunities, building up negotiation power between the community and external parties, and ensuring a balance approach of tourism development. Adapted from Godfrey and Clarke’s (2000) *Tourism Development Handbook*, some main objectives for such a group are:

- To encourage small-scale local ownership and upgrade its innovative management skills.
- To generate support for local residents who want to invest in tourism-related businesses but lack expertise or financial capital, and by providing them with career training workshops, language courses, and loans with low interest rates.
- To provide tourists with a quality product and services for a fair price, sufficient information, and safety.

- To ensure tourism issues and interests are considered by all local agencies in their discussions and to standardize basic support for tourism.

- To increase self-esteem and pride in local traditions and culture among tourism operators and residents by providing support to cultural events and promoting the use and redevelopment of local historic buildings.

4.4.4 Stakeholder Collaboration Model

While participation places its focus on local people, collaboration attempts to facilitate interaction and enhance mutual understanding among all tourism stakeholders. In the Tha Tien case, collaboration can be established through a series of negotiations among involved parties, notably the community, government, private sector, and landowners. Such collaboration can range from informal ad hoc activities to formal and more organized cooperative practices. According to the conceptual model framed by Gray (1989: 236), the collaboration process consists of five key characteristics: the stakeholders are independent; solutions emerge by dealing constructively with differences; there is joint ownership of decisions; the stakeholders assume collective responsibility for the ongoing direction of the project; and collaboration is an emergent process. By combining knowledge, expertise, and local resources, collaborative efforts can produce consensus and creative synergy, leading to new opportunities, innovative solutions, and a greater level of effectiveness that would not have been achieved by the partners acting alone (Bramwell and Lane 1999).
Built on Jamal and Getz’s (1995) work, the researcher proposes a four-stage model through which collaboration can be developed (see Table 7.2). Each stage contains specific facilitating conditions and suggested steps to follow. The first stage is ‘problem-setting’, which concentrates on identifying stakeholders and issues. This is followed by a second stage of ‘direction-setting’, which revolves around identifying and sharing future collaborative interpretations, and appreciating a sense of common purpose. The third stage is ‘implementation’ that centers on institutionalizing the shared meanings. The fourth stage is ‘evaluation’, which focuses on assessing the effectiveness of a collaboration venture. Four sets of issues relevant to evaluation include the scope of collaboration, the intensity of collaboration, the degree to which consensus emerges, and the effectiveness of policy implementation. This four-stage model can guide planners to implement collaborative efforts not only in Tha Tien but also other destination communities.
Table 7.2: A Collaboration Process for Responsible Tourism Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Facilitating Conditions</th>
<th>Actions/Steps</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State I: Problem Setting</td>
<td>- Recognition of interdependence &lt;br&gt;- Identification of a required number of stakeholders &lt;br&gt;- Perceptions of legitimacy among stakeholders &lt;br&gt;- Legitimate/skilled convener &lt;br&gt;- Positive beliefs about outcomes &lt;br&gt;- Mandate (external and internal) &lt;br&gt;- Adequate resources to convene and enable collaboration process</td>
<td>- Define purpose and domain &lt;br&gt;- Identify convener &lt;br&gt;- Convene stakeholders &lt;br&gt;- Define problems/issues to resolve &lt;br&gt;- Identify and legitimize stakeholders &lt;br&gt;- Build commitment to collaborate by raising awareness of interdependence &lt;br&gt;- Balancing power differences &lt;br&gt;- Addressing stakeholder concerns &lt;br&gt;- Ensuring adequate resources available to allow collaboration to process with key stakeholders present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage II: Direction Setting</td>
<td>- Coincidence of value &lt;br&gt;- Dispersion of power among stakeholders</td>
<td>- Collect and share information &lt;br&gt;- Appreciate shared values, enhance perceived interdependence &lt;br&gt;- Ensure power distributed among several stakeholders &lt;br&gt;- Establish rules and agenda for direction setting &lt;br&gt;- Organize subgroups if required &lt;br&gt;- List alternatives &lt;br&gt;- Discuss various options &lt;br&gt;- Select appropriate solutions &lt;br&gt;- Arrive at shared vision or plan/strategy through consensus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage III: Implementation</td>
<td>- High degree of ongoing interdependence &lt;br&gt;- External mandates &lt;br&gt;- Influencing the contextual environment</td>
<td>- Discuss means of implementing and monitoring solutions, shared vision, plan or strategy &lt;br&gt;- Select suitable structure for institutionalizing process &lt;br&gt;- Assign goals and tasks &lt;br&gt;- Monitor ongoing progress and ensure compliance to collaboration decisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage IV: Evaluation</td>
<td>- Completed representation of involving parties &lt;br&gt;- Basic knowledge of evaluation &lt;br&gt;- Commitment to the fostering of evaluation process &lt;br&gt;- Recognition of importance and benefits of the evaluation</td>
<td>- Set up issues to consider when evaluating the collaboration, such as the scope, its intensity, and degree to which consensus emerge &lt;br&gt;- Develop measurable indicators &lt;br&gt;- Identify data sources and methods to collect data &lt;br&gt;- Implement the methods &lt;br&gt;- Analyze data and report evaluation results</td>
</tr>
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To ensure that responsible tourism development will lead to the positive transformation of a place, its principles mentioned earlier should be integrated into the urban regeneration process rather than a mere add-on or appendage. In the following section, some of tourism-related regeneration strategies and mechanisms deemed to be appropriate to Krung Rattanakosin and the Tha Tien community will be described.

5. Tourism Development and Urban Regeneration Strategies

The term regeneration, in its broadest sense, refers to “a process that aims to revitalize areas of cities that have declined using a range of tools (e.g., property, business, retail or arts development) to enhance the area physically, economically, socially or culturally” (Smith 2006). It is often known as being synonymous with ‘revitalization’, ‘renewal’, or ‘renaissance’. As the primary beneficiaries of regeneration strategies are those living in the target areas, the term also appears to be more closely related to the concept of ‘community development’. Among a range of development tools, tourism and leisure activities have been widely adopted as catalysts for redevelopment in numerous decaying inner-city areas. In the case of Tha Tien community and Krung Rattanakosin, various urban regeneration and tourism development strategies should also be implemented. The main purpose is not only to revitalize the deprived urban neighborhood, but also to encourage local residents and especially young people to continue their residency in the community and historic town. These strategies should be built upon a range of existing businesses in the area, with an emphasis on cultural and creative activities as well as peoples’ everyday lifestyles. Essential to this process is a
combination of government support and regulation, and private sector innovation and investment. The formulation of these strategies is of concern for three fundamental principles: environmental improvement, economic development, and social inclusion (Couch et al. 2003). Drawn from several cities in North America and Europe, the following are urban regeneration strategies that can be applied in Krung Rattanakosin and the Tha Tien community.

- Offer subsidies and incentives to local residents who desire to develop or renovate their property into new tourism-related functions. If regeneration is to be led by local residents and the younger generation, rent subsidies and government incentives are required for start-up businesses to encourage entrepreneurship in the first place. Some forms of incentives that can be applied in the case study include a reduced tax burden; financial assistance or grants; access to low interest-rate loans, long-term leases and investment initiatives; marketing assistance; and awards given to best tourism development practices.

- Encourage the reuse of heritage buildings for modern tourism-related purposes such as retail shops, massage service shops, restaurants, guesthouses, and souvenir shops. This can be done with some financial and technical assistance from the public sector. Advice on building restoration and renovation, tax credits, or funds could be given to local residents who embark on such project. The CPB can take action in the renovation of the Tha Tien market to become another tourist attraction, so residents who rent its property can start their tourism-oriented businesses. This project not only revitalizes the local economy, but also encourages the young generation to stay in the community.
- Create a cultural or ethnic quarter for the Chinese in the Tha Tien area where Chinese culture, architecture, and traditions are conserved and promoted. The underlying concept of a cultural or ethnic quarter is to root tourism and leisure more firmly in the existing fabric and culture of the city (Montgomery 2003, Maitland 2006) and the distinctive character of ethnic minority. As Shaw (2006) noted, the development of such “ethnoscapes” – areas of cities with a high concentration of ethnic minorities – can become an increasingly attractive selling point for urban tourism. Within the quarter, tourism-related development should also focus on place characteristics and favor a mix of local small- and medium-sized enterprises. However, care needs to be taken to prevent an invasion of social space in the community, potential displacement, and tendency towards serial reproduction or standardization.

- Implement waterfront development schemes that aim to promote residential, recreational, tourism, and commercial land uses. These schemes may be modeled after the successful reclamation of derelict waterfronts in many parts of the USA such as San Francisco, Oakland, Seattle, Boston, Baltimore and Chicago. The most widely known scheme carried out in these large cities has been that of the festival and marketplace (Cmig-Smith 1995, Jones 2006). Based on the distinctive characteristics of Tha Tien, emphasis should be placed on its redevelopment through the 'heritage and culture strategy' that focuses on the historical patterns and cultural resources of the community. In this light, the local history, periodic festivals and special events based upon local culture (e.g., shrine-related and Chinese New Year festivals) can be used to enhance the total scheme of residential-leisure feature of the waterfront area. Most importantly, rather
than creating a linear tourist destination along the waterfront, planners should consider linking the Tha Tien area with existing inland areas (e.g., Chinatown, Banglumpho, and other old urban communities in Krung Rattanakosin) as well.

- Promote public involvement in the regeneration process. This will contribute directly to local empowerment. Attempts also have to be made to ensure that local residents can take full advantage of the community regeneration process outcomes. Planning for the regeneration must have some local resonance and connections with sense of place and identity. The regeneration project should connect with local people and reflect some aspects of their history, heritage, traditions, or contemporary cultures if it is to be accepted by locals and visited by tourists.

- Establish public and private partnerships or a special redevelopment agency with wide powers to pursue regeneration strategies and secure the integration of appropriate mixed-use developments in the Rattanakosin and Tha Tien areas. Objectives and guidelines need to be set up for the work of individual partners. Such partnerships or an agency should also provide the community with low cost and accredited training initiatives (e.g., product development, marketing, and information technology), financial support, and measures to secure environments. Another important task is to raise public appreciation of the community's heritage value and awareness of its present and potential importance to tourism.

- Formulate urban regeneration legislation in order to institutionalize the need for greater efforts to improve the condition of the community. Such legislation also enables the city government (i.e., BMA) to enact local laws to encourage and facilitate urban
regeneration programs more efficiently. Large landowners (i.e., CPB and Wat Pho) should voluntarily implement some control mechanisms to prevent local tenants to sublet their homes to outside investors. For example, a landlord can terminate the lease of a tenant who attempts to sublease. This will help the community maintain its close connections and local identity.

6. Conclusion: The Future of Place-based Communities and Tourism Development

The goal of this doctoral study is to determine the extent to which community life, encapsulated in the place-making process, is affected by the tourism-related urban development processes. This qualitative-oriented research mainly focuses on the transformation of place attributes as a result of the capitalist development of tourism. Specific objectives were outlined and have been achieved by this research. The value of this research lies in tracing how global tourism and its related development influences community life of those living in a place-bound locality, and how principles of responsible tourism development can be applied to help facilitate the positive outcome of tourism. This research focuses on the enrichment of community life of those living in a place-bound locality that faces compelling pressures from the market-led tourism development.

The case study analysis generally concludes that with the inability of place managers filter tourism’s negative effects, marketization and commodification could jeopardize a place. Tourism involves the physical consumption of a place; it undoubtedly results in the manipulation of the material foundation of that place by creating landscapes upon which tourists gaze and consume. The case study illustrates that small-scale tourism
development tends to benefit the community as it leads to the renovation of old buildings for modern functions. On the other hand, large-scale development possesses high potential to cause devastating changes to the physical environment. Such changes can erode people's bonding and attachment with places. The creation of market-led images by outside place marketers can distort place images, change characters of places, and transform distinct place identities. Tourism attracts migrant workers and outside investors who do not socially belong to the community. Tensions and conflicts over tourism benefits can also undermine the close relationships among residents. Centralized tourism development can lead to the weakening of political and participatory capabilities of local residents.

The contributions of this doctoral dissertation to the advancement of knowledge of tourism development and urban planning can be divided into three main areas.

(1) Conceptual Contribution

The first conceptual contribution of this research is the proposed framework for the analysis of tourism impacts on the quality of community life. By utilizing a place-making concept, the researcher constructed an analytical framework that is useful for explaining how external forces reshape a place and provides a better understanding of the interaction and confrontation between tourism and the community. The interface between tourism development and local people was unfolded in one urban community of Tha Tien. The study not only presents some new perspectives and understanding but also contributes to the academic debate and discourse on tourism development and community life in the urban context of Bangkok. Although the study is mainly concerned
with Rattanakosin City, the proposed diagram is a generalized framework that could be applied in any context. The framework can accommodate variations that will highlight details and outcomes at the local level. The framework is also meant to support urban tourism policy and policy-oriented research elsewhere.

The second conceptual contribution is the proposed new categorization of tourism impacts, which can be divided into three main types: direct, indirect, and systemic impacts. While direct impacts are the most obvious costs and benefits of tourism, many of social effects brought by tourism and its associated activities are of an indirect nature with hidden dangers to the continuity of place-bound communities. As displayed in the case of Tha Tien, rather than being merely a single actor and causing direct impacts on the host society, global tourism provides logic and incentives to local intermediaries who acquire power to transform places into tourism products. More specifically, although tourism in large cities is generally viewed as only one component in their multi-functional economies, the industry has links to many other strands in the life of the city. Accordingly, it generates tremendous systemic impacts on society. Due to its disparate nature (Law 2002) and being overshadowed by other urban phenomena, tourism and its impacts are sometimes overlooked.

Thus, this study argues for a view of tourism as a complex and fragmented construction constituting a powerful interaction between cultures and societies that is organized within a global framework, but taking place very much at a local level. As a multilayered, complex global phenomenon, tourism deserves a more nuanced analysis that that of the familiar binary division (‘left-right’, ‘good-bad’, ‘right-wrong’, and ‘host-
guest') can provide (Burns 2004). There is also a cultural politics of tourism development (ibid.). The approach to tourism from the perspective of the social construction of the locality can be seen in terms of the defense of local modes of production and tradition. For government institutions, urban conservation and responsible heritage tourism development policies can ensure improved livability. For the private enterprises, it is time to take on challenging works with greater consideration of social factors.

(2) Policy Contribution

This dissertation also provides a practical contribution to tourism development by proposing some policy recommendations for the establishment of responsible tourism in the Tha Tien neighborhood. Built on the responsible tourism framework, these recommendations aim to feature positive outcomes of tourism on social life as well as enhance the quality of place-bound locality. Four strategic approaches highlighted in this research include urban tourism planning, heritage marketing, place-based development, and participation and collaboration. Each approach further contains detailed techniques and principles that are useful and practical for all involved parties such as government agencies, landowners, private developers, and local residents. Although these policy recommendations are created specifically for facilitating positive effects of tourism on community life in the specific context of Tha Tien, they can also benefit other urban communities especially those that experience similar problems.

(3) Methodological Contribution

The last research contribution is related to the methodology. In this dissertation, attempts have been made to explore the use of the interpretive paradigm and qualitative
methods in the fields of urban planning and tourism study. The researcher not only investigated the methodological sophistication of paradigms beyond positivism, but also incorporated a variety of qualitative methods in the study of tourism and urban planning. A qualitative case study is adopted as an alternative approach to the assessment of tourism impacts on the social dimensions of a place-bound community. Tourism is recognized as a complex phenomenon, so rather than solely employing scientific methods and statistical techniques, the researcher chose naturalistic inquiry using qualitative methods (i.e., semi-structured interviews, observations, historical analysis, and mapping exercises) to obtain insights into the Tha Tien community and capture the lived experience of participants. This qualitative-oriented research, therefore, provides readers with a broad viewpoint that helps them to understand global tourism and its relation to the place-making process in a different way from the master paradigm of positivism alone.

Essential to all involved parties and tourism stakeholders is the prosperity of place-bound communities. In this quest, the celebration and enhancement of the sense of place must be integral to responsible tourism development. Further, a strong sense of locality should be recognized as an irreplaceable tourism resource. Being engaged in dense informal and formal social networks allows local residents to procure resources that can be used for tourism development. Some form of local working group already established in the community can be advantageous to responsible tourism development and management, as it can heighten their control over tourism development and grassroots-level capabilities for public action. Root cultures and local history also offer
valuable tourism resources. Hence, instead of repackaging, fictionalizing, or sanitizing what they present, place marketers should bring tourists in contact with root traditions that are still alive in the host community. The best solution for marketing forces is to help the local population themselves control the rate and form of cultural change induced by tourism. Cultural tourism can evolve into an “identity maintenance mechanism” (Hall 1996), which has real effect and symbolic power for group cohesion. Tourism planners and destination managers have to balance between the globalizing force of tourism and the enhancement of sense of place. Their primary aim is thus to encourage institutions, civil society, and the tourism industry to create a social fabric that allows local culture and traditions to be mediated for commercial purposes, whereas at the same time reinforcing mutual respect, beneficial relationships, and social identities.
APPENDIX A

INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Informant Interview Guide for Residents in the Tha Tien Community

Part I: Background Information
1. How old are you? How long have you lived in this community? Do you own the land in this community? What is your occupation?
2. Can you please tell me the three things about this neighborhood that you like most about living here?
3. In your perception, what is the most changing built environment in your neighborhood? Can you please describe the change in detail? Do you think what cause that change?

Part II: Perceptions of Tourism
4. Do you think you personally benefit from the presence of tourism in Krung Rattanakosin? If yes, in what way? Do any members of your household work in the tourism-related businesses?
5. Have you ever had direct contact (i.e., liaison through work or other activities) with non-Thai tourists? How often? Can you please describe your experience of such contacts? Would you like to talk to them again?
6. What major advantages do you think tourism has brought to your community?
7. What major disadvantages do you think tourism has brought to your community?
8. Should your community become more of a tourist destination? Why or why not?
9. Do you think what would happen to your community, if there were no tourists?

Part III: Community Connection
10. How often have you got together with people in your community to have food or drinks, either in their home or in a public place?
11. How many neighbors whom you often talk to?
12. Do you think that over the last five years, the level of network and mutual support in this community has gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same? Why?

Part IV: Collective Action and Cooperation

13. Do people in your community often join together to work on problems? Can you please describe such cooperation in detail?

14. Do people in your community often volunteer for community events or activities?
   What make you think like that?

Part V: Empowerment and Political Action

15. Do you think that the available access to information of any proposed development projects in your community is high, about right, or low? Why do you think that?

16. Do you think you can personally influence development decisions in your community? Why or why not?

17. Have you or any members of your household ever participated in the tourism development and planning processes taking place in your community? If yes, in what way? Can you please describe your experience?

18. If the government invites you to attend public meetings to express your opinion about the proposed development project in your community, would you be willing to attend? Why or why not?

Part VI: The Future

19. If the government launches the development project of waterfront areas in your community by, for example, removing some buildings that encroach public property, constructing retaining walls, and creating open space with well-designed walkways. What do you think would be the impact of this project on your community?

20. If the government launches the development project of Tha Tien market by, for instance, renovating old structures, removing warehouses, supporting new commercial activities (e.g., restaurants, souvenir shops, and book stores), and constructing a tourist service center. What do you think would be the impact of this project on your community?
21. What advice would you give to better tourism development in your community?
22. How would you like your community to be in the future?

Community Map

Now, I would like to ask you to draw a map of your community on this poster paper. The resulting community maps will be compared to tourism maps in order to find out the extent to which important places identified by local residents are different from tourism spaces created by the place marketers.

1. How do you define this community? (Probe on geographical boundaries, place names, and other reference points.)
2. Where is/are the...
   - Main streets/roads and principal means of transportation
   - Primary school, secondary school, childcare centers
   - Health services (both formal and informal)
   - Markets, shops, and other commercial establishments
   - Temples (places of worship) and other cultural resources
   - Community center or places where people can get together to talk or do activities
   - Areas that are less safe
   - Areas that attract tourists
   - Areas that are important to the history of your community
3. Can you please locate places and physical elements that you think are important in your map? Why each of these items is important to you?
Informant Interview Guide for Local Business Operators

Part I: Background Information

1. How old are you? Are you a resident of the Tha Tien community? If not, where do you live?
2. How long have you worked in this business? Are you an owner or employee? If owner, why did you choose to open your business in this area? How is your business going?

Part II: Perceptions of Tourism

3. According to the national statistic report, the number of tourists visiting Krung Rattanakosin has been increased, have you seen any change? What is it?
4. What major advantages do you think tourism has brought to local communities?
5. What major disadvantages do you think tourism has brought to local communities?
6. Do you think that the Tha Tien community should become more of a tourist destination? Why or why not?

Part III: Public Participation

7. As working in the business sector, do you think you can personally influence development decisions in Krung Rattanakosin? Why or why not?
8. Do you think that your available access to information of any proposed development projects in Krung Rattanakosin is high, about right, or low? Why do you think that?
9. Have you ever participated in any tourism development processes taking place in Krung Rattanakosin? If yes, in what way? Can you please describe your experience?
10. What kind of resources do you think could help you to benefit more from tourism?

Part IV: The Future

11. If the government launches the development project of waterfront areas in the Tha Tien community by, for example, removing some buildings that encroach public property, constructing retaining walls, and creating open space with well-designed walkways. Will you support this project? Why?
12. If the government launches the development project of Tha Tien market by, for instance, renovating old structures, removing warehouses, supporting new commercial activities (e.g., restaurants, souvenir shops, and book stores), and constructing a tourist service center. Will you support this project? Why?

13. If the government launches the landscape development project that aims to create pleasant walking environment for residents and tourists in your community by, for example, widening sidewalks, paving new materials, landscaping and tree planting. Will you support this project? Why?

14. What advice would you give to better tourism development in the Tha Tien community and Krung Rattanakosin?

15. How would you like the Tha Tien community to be in the future?
Informant Interview Guide for the Government Officials

1. How old are you? How long have you been working in this organization?

2. What are the major responsibilities of your organization?

3. Under your organization's objectives, what are the current development approaches for Krung Rattanakosin? Are any of them related to tourism development? What role does your organization play in developing tourism industry in Krung Rattanakosin?

4. What are the critical problems associated with the development process in Krung Rattanakosin? What are the causes of those problems? Have your organization done any effort in order to solve them? What are the results?

5. From your experiences and observations, what are the changes brought by tourism to Krung Rattanakosin and local communities?

6. What do you think about these changes? Do you consider them as benefits or costs? Why do you think that? Can you give me some examples?

7. Do you think that tourists erode the local environment and fabric of the city? Why do you think that?

8. Do you think that using money to improve tourist facilities in Krung Rattanakosin is well spent? Why do you think that?

9. Do you think that visitors to Krung Rattanakosin bring jobs and money and that is more important than the problems they create?

10. What do you think about the eviction project of Tha Tien and Tha Wang communities proposed in the Rattanakosin Master Plan?

11. What do you think about the development of waterfront areas in those two communities? According to my observation, there are several encroachment buildings along the Chao Praya River. Should the government demolish them? If yes, what would be the impact of that action?
12. According to the development master plan, the government is currently planning to redevelop Tha Tien market by, for instance, renovating old structures, removing warehouses, supporting new commercial activities (e.g., restaurants, souvenir shops, and book stores), and constructing a tourist service center. Do you agree with this project? What do you think would be the impact of this project on local community?

13. What do you think about the idea of citizen participation? Does your organization implement any techniques that encourage citizen to participate in the planning process?

   a. If yes, can you please describe the process in detail? Are there any constraints occurred during the process? What is the outcome?

   b. If no, why not? Does your organization plan to implement one in the future?

14. How would you like Krung Rattanakosin to be in the future?
Informant Interview Guide for the Large Landowners

1. How old are you? How long have you been working in this organization?
2. Can you please describe any changes of your property in the Tha Tien community?
3. From your experiences and observations, what are the changes brought by tourism to your property? Do you consider these changes as benefits or costs to your property?
4. What are the major concerns for tourism development in Krung Rattanakosin?
5. What are the approaches do you/your organization prefer for the future development of your property?
6. Does your organization satisfy with the existing condition of and the benefits from your property? If no, why not? Have your organization considered to the new development options? If yes, what are they?
7. What major advantages do you think tourism has brought to local communities?
8. What major disadvantages do you think tourism has brought to local communities?
9. According to the development master plan, the government is currently planning to develop the waterfront area in the Tha Tien community by, for example, removing some buildings that encroach public property, constructing retaining walls, and creating open space with well-designed walkways. The land area under this project also includes your property. Do you agree with this project? What do you think would be the impact of this project on local community?
10. According to the development master plan, the government is currently planning to redevelop Tha Tien market by, for instance, renovating old structures, removing warehouses, supporting new commercial activities (e.g., restaurants, souvenir shops, and book stores), and constructing a tourist service center. The land area under this project also includes your property. Do you agree with this project? What do you think would be the impact of this project on local community?
11. Have any representatives from your organization ever been involved in the development and planning process? If yes, can you please describe the process and the outcome?
12. How would you like Krung Rattanakosin to be in the future?
Informant Interview Guide for the Members of Civic Organizations and Academics

1. What major advantages tourism has brought to Krung Rattanakosin and local people?
2. What major disadvantages do you think tourism has brought to Krung Rattanakosin and local people?
3. What are your major concerns with regard to the development currently taking place in the Rattanakosin City?
4. Do you think that tourists erode the local environment and fabric of Krung Rattanakosin? In what way?
5. Do you think that using money to improve tourist facilities in Krung Rattanakosin is well spent? Why or why not?
6. Do you think that visitors to Krung Rattanakosin bring jobs and money and that is more important than the problems they create? Why or why not?
7. Do you think that the government should attempt to attract more tourists to Krung Rattanakosin? Why or why not?
8. Do you think that the government’s effort to use tourism industry as an economic catalyst for Krung Rattanakosin? What do you think about the current town planning policy in Bangkok?
9. What do you think about the government’s effort to use tourism industry as an economic catalyst for Krung Rattanakosin? What do you think about the current town planning policy in Bangkok?
10. What do you think about the eviction project of the Tha Tien community proposed in the Conservation and Development Master Plan for Krung Rattanakosin?
11. According to the Master Plan, the government is currently planning to develop the waterfront area in the Tha Tien community by, for example, removing some buildings that encroach public property, constructing retaining walls, and creating open space with well-designed walkways. Do you agree with this project? Why or why not?
12. According to the development master plan, the government is currently planning to redevelop Tha Tien market by, for instance, renovating old structures, removing warehouses, supporting new tourism-related activities (e.g., restaurants, souvenir shops, and book stores), and constructing a tourist service center. Do you agree with this project? Why or why not?
13. What advice would you give to better tourism development in Krung Rattanakosin and the Tha Tien community?
APPENDIX B

LAND USE POLICY FOR THE INNER KRUNG RATTANAKOSIN AREA

On October 13, 1981, the cabinet approved the land use policy for the Inner Krung Rattanakosin Sub-area proposed by the Committee for Krung Rattanakosin Project as follow:

1. Prohibits on any kind of industrial craft and all kinds of factories that could cause fire and have negative impacts on the environment within the Inner Krung Rattanakosin sub-area.

2. Control of commercial activities in the Inner Krung Rattanakosin sub-area to a sustainable amount of local communities only.

3. Construction prohibits on all types of residential buildings, government or private.

4. Existing buildings from the King Rama V period or earlier can be renovated into their original states. The buildings can be brought down and built into the original forms and heights. New buildings must not exceed the height limit of building from Rama V period and not higher than 16 meters, with floor to area ratio (F.A.R.) of the land plot, and with at least 20 percent of open space, in which green area must be at least 50 percent of the open space.

5. Providing control and regulations on buildings along waterways, as well as piers and marinas.

6. Improving traffic system to decrease traffic density, especially in the areas of historical buildings, and providing pedestrian streets on some routes.

7. Providing control and regulations on all types of signboards in the Inner Krung Rattanakosin Sub-area.

8. Providing protection and control for visual landscape as well as maintaining cleanliness and serenity of the area.

9. Promoting more open spaces, particularly along Chao Praya River.

10. Encouraging the maintenance of buildings with historical and cultural value.

11. Encouraging land use for Thai traditional and cultural activities.
REFERENCES


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