Post Disaster Tourism Development of Phi Phi Island: Political Economy and Interpretations of Sustainability

by

Faye Taylor

A thesis submitted to the University of Bedfordshire, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

September 2012

Abstract

This research takes an interdisciplinary approach and includes aspects of applied geography, applied management, political economy, development studies, sociology and anthropology, in line with the tradition of progressive tourism studies. It seeks to resolve academic concern about the limited insight within existing bodies of knowledge into how sustainability and sustainable tourism development are conceptualised at a grassroots level by inhabitants and other stakeholders of tourism destinations (Redclift, 1987; Liu, 2003; Swarbrooke, 1999; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Maida, 2007) and furthermore how these conceptualisations are shaped through expressions of political economy in a post-crisis context. The research aimed to evaluate how political economy and interpretations of sustainability affected post-disaster tourism redevelopment using the case study of Phi Phi Island in Thailand, which was devastated by the tsunami of December 2004.

An interpretive philosophy informed the research design, in which primary data was gathered using an inductive mixed methodology. Methods included online research, comprising the design and operation of a tailored website to overcome geographical and access limitations; and offline methods such as visual techniques to monitor change and confirm opinions offered by participants of the research; in-depth face-to-face interviews with hand-picked stakeholders of Phi Phi's development; open-ended questionnaires with tourists; and extended answer Thai script questionnaires in order to overcome language barriers and present the 'Thai voice'. The primary data was gathered from April 2006-December 2011 including a period working at [information removed for anonymity purposes] University in Phuket (June-December 2006).

Twenty-five themes emerged from the data, the most significant being the social impacts of tourism, environmental impacts of tourism, power relationships and future desires. It was found that the factor with the greatest influence over Phi Phi's development is the desire to develop the economy through tourism, and the philosophy underpinning the development is largely economic. The tsunami did not cause any significant reassessment of the tourism development trajectory, but served to uncover a range of conflicts and unlawful activity, resulting from powerful stakeholders pursuing their own interests and desired outcomes, in order to suit their own needs rather than those of the community as a whole.

In terms of how sustainability is conceptualised by different stakeholder groups, it was found that the meanings attributed to sustainability in this context differ greatly to meanings elaborated within western ideological debates. Stakeholders' conceptualisations of sustainability were mapped against key debates within literature. How meanings differed between stakeholder groups was also examined and a definition for sustainable tourism development on Phi Phi was compiled encompassing a broad range of interests. The thesis provides a rare opportunity to see which political, economic and cultural factors shape the planning of tourism development and whether actual practice mirrors the principles of sustainability. For islanders, present needs are yet to be met and education was recommended

to increase islanders' understanding of impacts and sustainability, as well as their skills and knowledge base to enable them to compete intellectually with the ruling elite and reduce dependence upon landowners and the mainland.

Numerous authors have highlighted a relative lack of academic attention directly addressing the influence of political economy on achieving sustainability in post-disaster reconstruction (Klein, 2008; Hystad and Keller, 2008; Olsen, 2000; Bommer, 1985; Beirman, 2003; Faulkner, 2001; Glaesser, 2003; Ritchie, 2004). This work therefore extends existing academic debates and studies in a number of areas. In existing academic debates concerning the political economy of post-disaster reconstruction there is a trend towards 'disaster capitalism' (Klein, 2005: 3) or 'smash and grab capitalism' (Harvey, 2007: 32) and 'attempts to accumulate by dispossession' (Saltman, 2007a: 57). However, this did not occur on Phi Phi. Despite claims of a 'clean slate' being offered by the tsunami in developmental terms (Pleumarom, 2004; UNDP, 2005; Dodds, 2011; Ko, 2005; Nwankwo and Richardson, 1994; Argenti, 1976; Rice, 2005; Altman, 2005; Brix, 2007; Ghobarah *et al*., 2006; Dodds *et al*., 2010), this research provides evidence and explanation of why this did not and would never exist on Phi Phi, a finding that may be applied to other destinations in a post-disaster context.

In response to Blaikie *et al.'s* (2004) concerns that vulnerability is often reconstructed following a disaster and may create the conditions for a future disaster, this work has extended discussions of disaster vulnerability through an adapted application of Turner *et al.'s* (2003) Vulnerability Framework. This meets Calgaro and Lloyd's (2008) recommendation that further longitudinal research is required in other tsunami-affected locations. This research refines their work to identify a detailed framework of vulnerability factors intertwined with factors of political economy, presenting a post-disaster situation that remains highly vulnerable and non-conducive to sustainability. This is in response to Hystad and Keller's (2008) recognition that there is a lack of long-term studies, which not only show how disaster has shifted the nature of the destination and tourism product, but also identify successful strategic processes and actions in disaster response. The strategic response has been analysed through an adapted Strategic Disaster Management Framework (Ritchie, 2004) to identify the shortcomings of the disaster response to comprehend how such a disaster has influenced tourism development and planning on the island, showing that this was a mirror opposite to how a disaster should be handled according to the literature (Ritchie, 2004; Adger *et al.,* 2005; Miller *et al.*, 2006; Olsen, 2000; Coppola, 2007; Faulkner, 2001; Baldini *et al.*, 2012). The researcher draws on the notion of 'strategic drift' (Johnson, 1998: 179) and 'boiled frog syndrome' (Richardson, Nwankwo and Richardson, 1994: 10) to explain how host attitudes to tourism may increase vulnerability. Both these contributions can assist in identifying destination vulnerability and limitations in disaster response and recovery.

Unlike the work of Dodds (2010) and Dodds *et al*. (2011), the aim was not to assess the practice and attainment of sustainability on Phi Phi; rather, it was to elaborate interpretations and conceptualisations of sustainability. An examination of development philosophy established how specific factors of political economy and relationships of a hegemonic nature influence the development trajectory of both Phi Phi and Thailand. Despite governmental rhetoric influenced by a strong 'sufficiency economy' hegemony led by King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the observations of

dependency theorists provide a better fit for the experiences on Phi Phi and present significant challenges for the pursuit of sustainability. The thesis posits that an effective response to the disaster and pursuit of sustainability are undermined by the political economy of the destination.

Dedication:

For those who perished in the Asian Tsunami of December 26th 2004 and to the loved ones that they left behind

Contents

ABSTRACT **2**

DEDICATION: 5
CONTENTS 6
LIST OF TABLES 9
LIST OF FIGURES 10
LIST OF IMAGES 10
LIST OF GRAPHS 11
LIST OF MODELS 12
LIST OF APPENDICES 13
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 15
DECLARATION: 16

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH **17**

1.1 OPENING REMARKS 17
1.2 THE RESEARCH AIM 21
1.3 THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES 21
1.4 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS 21
1.5 PHI PHI: THE DESTINATION 22
1.6 SIGNIFICANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM ON PHI PHI 25
1.7 THE ISLANDERS OF PHI PHI 30
1.8 PHI PHI BEFORE THE TSUNAMI 34
1.9 FORMS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THAILAND 37
1.10 THE IMPACT OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT ON PHI PHI 38
1.11 PLANNING FOR TOURISM ON PHI PHI 40
1.12 THE ASIAN TSUNAMI AND PHI PHI 42
1.13 REDEVELOPMENT POST-TSUNAMI 49
1.14 TOURISM PLANNING AND POLICY FORMULATION IN THAILAND 54
1.15 POLITICAL ECONOMY AND (RE)CONSTRUCTION 60
1.16 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THAILAND 66
1.17 SUMMARY 69

CHAPTER TWO THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE **70**

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE 70
2.2 ORIGINS AND DISCUSSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT THEORY 71
2.3 PARADIGMS OF DEVELOPMENT 73
2.4 MODERNISATION THEORY 73
2.5 DEPENDENCY THEORY 75
2.6 NEOLIBERALISM 78
2.7 ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT THEORIES 80
2.8 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT 82
2.9 THE CONVERGENCE BETWEEN TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT THEORY 86
2.10 DEBATES ON SUSTAINABILITY 89
2.11 TOURISM STAKEHOLDERS 96
2.12 HEGEMONY AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT 99
2.13 TOURISM AND DISASTER 101
2.14 CHAPTER SUMMARY 111

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY AND CONDUCT OF RESEARCH **112**

PART ONE RESEARCH DESIGN 112
3.1 Introduction to the chapter *112*
3.2 Philosophical assumptions *112*
3.3 Research strategy *114*
3.4 The process of research *114*

MAIN PHASE OF PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION 115
3.5 Data collection *116*
3.6 Online research *118*
3.7 Establishment of contacts *119*
3.8 Designing a tailored research website *120*
3.9 Website content *120*
3.10 The use of electronic communities as a data source *121*
3.11 Limitations of web-based research *122*
3.12 Interviews *123*
3.13 Formulation of interview questions *124*
3.14 Tourist questionnaires *124*
3.15 Thai script interviews *125*
3.16 Visual data *125*
3.17 Data ordering and analysis *126*
3.18 Influence of 'the self' and researcher reflexivity *127*
3.19 Closure at theoretical saturation *128*
3.20 Ethical considerations *128*
3.21 PART TWO CONDUCT OF RESEARCH AND RESEARCHER REFLEXIVITY 129
3.22 Data collected *130*
3.23 Online questionnaire responses *130*
3.24 Face-to-face interviews *130*

CHAPTER FOUR FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION 132

4.1 INTRODUCTION 132
4.2 EMERGENT THEMES 133
4.3 Collective Results for Stakeholders *137*
4.4 Results by stakeholder group *193*
4.5 Perspectives on sustainability *218*

CHAPTER FIVE DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS 230

5.1 INTRODUCTION 230
5.2 GENERAL DISCUSSIONS 231
5.3 TO INTERPRET THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT HELD BY STAKEHOLDERS IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF PHI PHI 240
5.4 TO EVALUATE THE FORCES (INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL) OF POLITICAL ECONOMY THAT ARE SHAPING TOURISM
5.5 HOW HEGEMONIC RELATIONSHIPS INFLUENCE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AT A LOCAL LEVEL 249
5.6 ANALYSING THE INFLUENCE OF A NATURAL DISASTER UPON TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING 253
5.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY 261

CHAPTER SIX ORIGINALITY AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE RESEARCH 263

6.1 INTRODUCTION 263
6.2 DISCUSSIONS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT 263
6.3 FORCES SHAPING DEVELOPMENT 265
6.4 TOURIST AND HOST INTERACTION WITH THE DESTINATION 266
6.5 CULTURAL INFLUENCES UPON SUSTAINABILITY 268
6.6 THE INFLUENCE OF NATURAL DISASTERS UPON TOURISM PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT 269
6.7 CONTRIBUTORY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH DESIGN 271
6.8 CONCEPTUAL MODELS 272
6.9 SUMMARY 274

CHAPTER SEVEN RECOMMENDATIONS 275

7.1 INTRODUCTION 275
7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PHI PHI'S PRESENT DEVELOPMENT 275
7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PHI PHI'S FUTURE DEVELOPMENT 277
7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE SUSTAINABLE REDEVELOPMENT OF DISASTER-AFFECTED TOURISM DESTINATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH 279
7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER WORK AND RESEARCH ON PHI PHI 281

7.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING THIS RESEARCH DESIGN 282
CHAPTER EIGHT EPILOGUE 284
CHAPTER NINE APPENDICES 292
BIBLIOGRAPHY 389

List of Tables

Table 1:	Epistemological selection	113-114
Table 2:	The phases of primary data collection	115
Table 3:	Limitations of qualitative data	116
Table 4:	Research methods utilised	118
Table 5:	Limitations of web-based research	122-123
Table 6:	Benefits and limitations of the face-to-face interview method	123
Table 7:	On-line questionnaire responses	130
Table 8:	Interview participants	131
Table 9:	Summary and explanation of parent themes with significance	133-134
Table 10:	Segregation of data: Thai inhabitants	196
Table 11:	Segregation of data: non-Thai inhabitants	198
Table 12:	Segregation of data: Landowners	200
Table 13:	Segregation of data: Government	201
Table 14:	Segregation of data: Academics and researchers	203
Table 15:	Segregation of data: Volunteers	205
Table 16:	Segregation of data: Tourists	206
Table 18:	Segregation of data: International hospitality industry	216
Table 19:	Mapping of stakeholder conceptualisations against indicators of sustainability	225-226
Table 20:	How sustainability is conceptualised according to respondent grouping	227
Table 21:	Table to illustrate elements that are missing from Phi Phi Island's stakeholder perceptions of sustainability and elements that may be required to pursue sustainability more effectively	229
Table 22:	Cultural drivers and their influence upon development philosophy	237-239
Table 23:	The influence of political economy in shaping tourism development	243-246
Table 24:	Profiling of Phi Phi's tourist market	248
Table 25:	The hegemonic influences over Phi Phi's development	251-253
Table 26:	A summary of why Phi Phi avoided 'disaster capitalism'	254-256
Table 27:	Justification of the absence of a 'clean slate' on Phi Phi	257
Table 28:	Summary of conceptual models	272-274
Table 29:	Illustrations of how sustainability is defined by Phi Phi's stakeholders	382-383
Table 30:	Table to compare stakeholders' conceptualisations of sustainability with theoretical prepositions	384-388

List of Figures

Figure 1:	Map to illustrate the location of the Phi Phi islands within the Krabi Province	22
Figure 2:	Phi Phi Don	23
Figure 3:	Map of Phi Phi Le	23
Figure 4:	Chronological development of Phi Phi	30
Figure 5:	Structure of Community on Phi Phi	32
Figure 6:	Human impact of the 2004 Asian Tsunami	43
Figure 7:	Structure of the Thai Ministry of Tourism and Sports	55
Figure 8:	Structure of the Department of Tourism	56
Figure 9:	The Structure of Krabi Provincial/Ao Nang Tambon Administration	57
Figure 10:	Burnett's (1998) Crisis Classification Matrix	102
Figure 11:	Life Cycle Models of Disaster	103
Figure 12:	Phases of an emergency crisis	104
Figure 13:	Strategic Drift Model	104
Figure 14:	Strategic disaster management framework	106
Figure 15:	Structure of disaster early warning system	107
Figure 16:	Turner et al.'s (2003) Vulnerability Framework contextualised for the tsunami-affected areas of Sri Lanka	108
Figure 17:	Turner's adapted Vulnerability Framework for Khao Lak, Thailand	109
Figure 18:	Triangulation of data collection techniques	117
Figure 19:	Hofstede's (1991) exploration of Thai and UK culture	237
Figure 20:	Framework of shortcomings in the strategic management of the Asian Tsunami in respect of Koh Phi Phi	259
Figure 21:	A framework of factors influencing Koh Phi Phi's vulnerability to disasters	260
Figure 22:	The research process	298

List of Images

Image 1:	Tonsai Bay (left) and Ao Lo Dalaam bay (right) with the central apple core area, Phi Phi Don Island	24
Image 2:	The Viewpoint: taken in 1997	26
Image 3:	The Viewpoint: taken in 2000 following the filming of The Beach on Phi Phi Le island	27
Image 4:	The Viewpoint: taken in 2004	27
Image 5:	The Viewpoint: taken in 2007	28
Image 6:	The Viewpoint: taken in December 2011	28
Image 7:	The Gypsy Village, Tonsai	33
Image 8:	View of the devastated central apple core area of the island	43
Image 9:	View of the apple core area	44
Image 10:	Viewpoint image of the island post-tsunami	137
Image 11:	Tonsai Bay	138
Image 12:	Promotional flyers for Apache and Tiger Bar	139
Image 13:	Crowded streets in the Pier area of the island	141
Image 14:	Map of construction in the central area of the island pre-tsunami	152
Image 15:	Map of destruction in the central area of the island post-tsunami	152
Image 16:	The so-called 'clean slate'	153
Image 17:	The site of the wastewater treatment plant	155
Image 18:	Development of the wastewater treatment plant	155
Image 19:	The recycling effort	156

Image 20:	Piles of rubbish awaiting collection	156
Image 21:	Shop houses belonging to Khun [information removed for anonymity purposes]	163
Image 22:	Standardised construction belonging to [information removed for anonymity purposes]	164
Image 23:	Stretch of coastal path along from Carlito's bar that was burnt down	164
Image 24:	The same stretch of coastal path in July 2009	165
Image 25:	Construction work in the Phi Phi Charlie Plaza and the centre of Tonsai Village	165
Image 26:	Reconstruction of the Phi Phi Island Cabana Hotel	166
Image 27:	The wastewater project completed in 2007	167
Image 28:	Sign of the islanders' frustration	169
Image 29:	Sign of the islanders' frustration	173
Image 30:	Broken paving and exposed pipe work on the main street leading into the centre of the island	175
Image 31:	The Island Mosque in reconstruction	177
Image 32:	The Island's fresh produce market	178
Image 33:	The Island's Hospital	185
Image 34:	Footpath that leads from Tonsai Village to Tonsai Bay past the water treatment plant	186
Image 35:	Footpath towards the village centre from the viewpoint	187
Image 36:	The Twin Palm Bungalows	190
Image 37:	Packed ferries in 2011	285
Image 38:	View from the Tropical Garden Bungalows	286
Image 39:	Constructed Wetlands in 2011	287
Image 40:	Overflow from the Wastewater Treatment Plant (2011)	287
Image 41:	New shop house developments (2011)	288
Image 42:	Footpath adjacent to Wetlands	289
Image 43:	The Gypsy Village (2011)	289
Image 44:	Buckets for sale	290
Image 45:	The Beach revisited	291
Image 46:	Tonsai Beach outside Hippies Bar	373
Image 47:	The Island school	373
Image 48:	Ferries stacked at the Pier in Tonsai Bay	374
Image 49:	Tonsai Bay busy with trip boats	374
Image 50:	Channel of waste-water flowing from the wastewater treatment plant behind Phi Phi Casita to the sea	375
Image 51:	Signage to inform of planned changes to the Pier in Tonsai Bay	375
Image 5 2:	Construction of the new pier underway	376
Image 53:	Completed deep water pier (December 2011)	376
Image 54:	Planned 'Charlie Plaza'	377
Image 55:	Site for the Department of Public Works and Planning Office	377
Image 56:	Souvenir stalls	378
Image 57:	Pancake stall	378
Image 58:	One of the island's many tour agencies	379
Image 59:	The many different accommodation options available to book upon arrival at the pier	379

List of Graphs

Graph 1:	Parent themes with reference and source count	135
Graph 2:	Influence of the tsunami upon tourism planning	150
Graph 3:	Representation of themes across stakeholder group	194
Graph 4:	Gender of respondents	207

Graph 5: Age of respondents 208
Graph 6: Nationality of respondents 209
Graph 7: Travel party 210
Graph 8: Frequency of visits to Phi Phi 211
Graph 9: Quantity of repeat visits 211
Graph 10: Stay duration 212
Graph 11: Plans to return 212
Graph 12: Typology of Phi Phi's tourist market 213
Graph 13a: Perspectives on sustainability 1 220
Graph 13b: Segregated perspectives on sustainability 1 221
Graph 14a: Perspectives on sustainability 2 221
Graph 14b: Segregated perspectives on sustainability 2 222
Graph 15a: Perspectives on sustainability 3 222
Graph 15b: Segregated perspectives on sustainability 3 223

Contemporary Appeal (Combined then segregated) 338-339
Social Impacts (Combined then segregated) 340-342
Environmental Impacts (Combined then segregated) 343-344
Power Relationships (Combined then segregated) 345-346
Barriers (Combined then segregated) 347-348
Future Desires (Combined then segregated) 349-350
Influence of the Tsunami upon Planning (Combined then segregated) 351-352
Conflict (Combined then segregated) 353-354
Lawlessness (Combined then segregated) 355-356
Development Philosophies (Combined then segregated) 357-358
Needs (Combined then segregated) 359-360
Community (Combined then segregated) 361-362
Cultural Issues (Combined then segregated) 363-364
Community Challenges (Combined then segregated) 365-366
Economic Impacts (Combined then segregated) 367-368
Past Reflection (Combined then segregated) 369-370
Dependency (Combined then segregated) 371-372

List of Models

Model 1: The key barriers prohibiting the pursuit of sustainable tourism development on Phi Phi 232
Model 2: Illustration of the vicious circle of tourism dependency and impact 233
Model 3: Illustration of the vicious circle of isolation and dependency 234
Model 4: Illustration of the vicious circle of the absence of development plans 235
Model 5: Illustrations of how cultural characteristics influence the pursuit of Sustainable Development 236
Model 6: Illustration of how power relationships and lawlessness are interlinked 239
Model 7: Illustration of Phi Phi's present unfulfilled needs 240
Model 8: Conceptualisations of sustainable tourism development on Phi Phi Island 242
Model 9: Illustration of the structure of influence in Phi Phi's development 247
Model 10: Hegemonic model of interlinked themes 250
Model 11: Illustration of the factors governing the landowners' level of influence over Phi Phi's development 251
Model 12: Illustration of the influence of the tsunami upon tourism planning 253

Model: 13: A diagrammatic representation of the key influencing factors of Phi Phi's desired, ideological and projected future shape 262

List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Further maps showing the location of the Phi Phi Islands and the layout of Phi Phi Don and Phi Phi Le Island 293-294
Appendix 2: Extract from the Phuket Action Plan 295-296
Appendix 3: The impact of the tsunami upon Koh Phi Phi 297
Appendix 4: Figure 22: The research process 298
Appendix 5: Website design and functionality 299
Appendix 6: Interview questions 300
Appendix 7: Ethics statement 301
Appendix 8: List of questions to be used for Interview 10 302-303
Appendix 9: Thai script questionnaire with translation 304-305
Appendix 10: Reflexive Journal 306-324
Appendix 11: Sample of electronic response generated via www.freewebs.com/fayetaylor 325-326
Appendix 12: Extract of face-to-face interview transcript (written verbatim) 327-329
Appendix 13: Sample of completed tourist questionnaires 330-331
Appendix 14: Sample of completed Thai questionnaires with translation 332-335
Appendix 15: NVivo project 336
Appendix 16: Data summary sheet: tourist questionnaires 337

Appendix 17: Graphs to illustrate the composition of selected themes in the order that they appear (Combined then segregated) 337

Contemporary Appeal (Combined then segregated) 338-339
Social Impacts (Combined then segregated) 340-342
Environmental Impacts (Combined then segregated) 343-344
Power Relationships (Combined then segregated) 345-346
Barriers (Combined then segregated) 347-348
Future Desires (Combined then segregated) 349-350
Influence of the Tsunami upon Planning (Combined then segregated) 351-352
Conflict (Combined then segregated) 353-354
Lawlessness (Combined then segregated) 355-356
Development Philosophies (Combined then segregated) 357-358
Needs (Combined then segregated) 359-360
Community (Combined then segregated) 361-362
Cultural Issues (Combined then segregated) 363-364
Community Challenges (Combined then segregated) 365-366
Economic Impacts (Combined then segregated) 367-368
Past Reflection (Combined then segregated) 369-370
Dependency (Combined then segregated) 371-372

Appendix 18: A selection of photographic images taken in the field between March 2006 and December 2011 373

Image 46: Tonsai Beach outside Hippies Bar 373
Image 47: The Island school 373
Image 48: Ferries stacked at the Pier in Tonsai Bay 374

Image 49:	Tonsai Bay busy with trip boats	374
Image 50:	Channel of waste-water flowing from the wastewater treatment plant behind Phi Phi Casita to the sea	375
Image 51:	Signage to inform of planned changes to the Pier in Tonsai Bay	375
Image 5 2:	Construction of the new pier underway	376
Image 53:	Completed deep water pier (December 2011)	376
Image 54:	Planned 'Charlie Plaza'	377
Image 55:	Site for the Department of Public Works and Planning Office	377
Image 56:	Souvenir stalls	378
Image 57:	Pancake stall	378
Image 58:	One of the island's many tour agencies	379
Image 59:	The many different accommodation options available to book upon arrival at the pier	379

Appendix 19:	A selection of documents taken from the Phi Phi Island master plan	380-381
Appendix 20:	Table 29: Illustrations of how sustainability is defined by Phi Phi's stakeholders	382-383
Appendix 21:	Table 30: Table to compare stakeholders' conceptualisations of sustainability with theoretical prepositions	384-388
Appendix 22:	A selection of published work by the author, which demonstrates the progression of this research	389-395

Acknowledgements

The author would like to express her heartfelt thanks to the many people who have entered, left and who have remained in her life through what seemed to be an endless journey. To those who, at the start, comprised her supervision team where the research initially commenced at De Montfort University; Dr Desmond Fernandes, Professor George Lambie and Professor Martyn Denscombe.

My current Director of Studies at the University of Bedfordshire, Professor Andrew Holden is somebody to whom I would particularly like to express heartfelt thanks and respect to. His expertise in this field is immense and he never fails to let me leave a supervision meeting feeling re-energised and inspired to continue. He was the support and motivation I needed throughout this journey. To Jess, who in the final stages of the re-write has been an absolute godsend.

To the many people who have provided me with data for this research, even though they at first may have been fearful to do so; to my interview respondents, my contacts, my ex colleagues and students at the [information removed for anonymity purposes] University, Phuket, Thailand, you provided me with some of my most cherished memories.

Above all to my parents, James and Patricia Taylor, who have provided an unending amount of much needed personal support through what has been a difficult time. Whilst not the path they originally intended for me, the work ethic they encouraged from an early age and kindly supported through my education, I hope has paid dividends and now made them proud. Their continuous love and encouragement enabled me to complete this work, and I would particularly like to thank them for the support they have given me in the final stages of the write up. To my partner, Paul, you have provided love and immense emotional support in the final stages of the write up when I have needed it most. When I felt that all was lost and wanted to give up, you did not allow that to happen. On the many occasions that this work has reduced me to tears, you picked me up and made me carry on. Thank you.

DECLARATION:

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work.

It is being submitted for the degree of:

Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Bedfordshire.

It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Name of candidate: Faye Taylor Signature:

Date:

Chapter One Introduction to the research

1.1 Opening remarks

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in the pursuit of sustainability within tourism development planning (Kingsbury *et al.*, 2004; Swarbrooke, 2000). The discourse surrounding such development has focused upon the need for informed consent and stakeholder involvement (Mowforth and Munt, 2003) but, as Pleumarom (1999) has argued, this ideology can become compromised when global forces conflict with local interests. The interplay of international political economy and conflicting global and local interests becomes vividly exposed in the context of developing nations (Stubbs and Underhill, 2006) and, in particular, situations where natural disasters produce an alleged 'clean slate' upon which to plan the post-disaster reconstruction (Klein, 2005; Klein 2008; Tangwisutijit and Warunpitikul, 2005). However, there have been few published empirical academic works directly addressing the influence of political economy upon achieving sustainability in post-disaster reconstruction (Klein, 2008). Where such research does exist, it suggests the increased takeover of global powers in the reconstruction effort as has been evident in not only post-tsunami reconstruction in Thailand, Sri Lanka and India, but Caribbean states post-9-11 (Klein, 2005; 2008).

The Asian tsunami of December 2004 left a long-lasting global footprint (Rice, 2005). This event was locally devastating, but also lingered in the global consciousness because of the intense media coverage, and the fact that many of the areas affected were those we have personal familiarity with through tourism (ibid., 2005). The factual, physical reasons for this are those instrumental in the total devastation of affected areas. Nevertheless, religious justification is also proffered. The Buddhist religion, as widely practised in areas across the affected region (the Andaman coast), and increasingly so on Phi Phi due to the influx of migrant workers from other parts of Thailand, would suggest that the tsunami reveals divine anger with man and his use of the land, and that this disaster is a cleansing process associated with bad karma attributed to past actions (Harvey, 2001).

It is widely acknowledged that, if any benefit can be derived from the disaster, it is the recognition of the impact of high-density, poorly planned and unsustainable tourism infrastructure that many of these destinations had prior to the tsunami (UNDP and World Bank, 2005; FAO 10 January 2005, Bangkok Post, 29/12/04; Pleumarom, 2004; Cummings, 2005). This sentiment is mirrored by a CNN report: 'if there was a saving grace to the tragedy…. it was the opportunity left by the devastation to build anew in areas that had been developed in environmentally and socially unjust ways' (4 December 2005). It is thought that the tsunami has provided a 'clean slate' in developmental terms (CNN, 2005; UNEP, 2005). Furthermore, it is clear that there are a wealth of options as to how the affected

destinations could be redeveloped in the future, to correlate with more sustainable practices (UNEP New Frontiers Vol. 11, No.1).

It is thus of interest to assess the redevelopment process, through a naturally occurring case study that allows examination of the influence of political and economic factors upon achieving sustainable development within the context of tourism and natural disasters. The case study chosen is that of Phi Phi island, Thailand, a popular backpacker and day-tripper destination, the epitome of a paradise location (Fahn, 2003; Cummings 2005), which, when struck by the Asian tsunami of December 2004, suffered a tremendous loss of life and vast destruction of island infrastructure to support both tourism and local livelihoods (Cummings, 2005; Altman, 2005; Bergman, 2005). Historically, the development of Phi Phi, including tourism, had been subject to widespread criticism (Fahn, 2003; Byrne *et al*., 2005; Hart, 2005; Cummings, 2005; Dodds, Graci and Holmes, 2010), due to the unsustainable nature of infrastructure development and lack of strict regulation and planning, particularly with regard to the alleged 'sell-out' of the Phi Phi Le's Maya Bay (part of Hat Noppharat Thara National Marine Park) following the filming of Fox's motion picture *The Beach* (Cummings, 2005; Laopaisarntaksin, 1998; Puthipucha, 1998; Noikorn, 1998; Ekachai, 1998; Ing. K, 1998; Fuengprichavai, 1998; Techawongtham, 1998; Hongthong, 1998; Lonely Planet, 2004: 348).

Whilst prior to the tsunami, the island was widely criticised for unsustainable development planning (Rice, 2005; Fahn, 2003; Byrne *et al*., 2005; Hart, 2005; Cummings, 2005; Dodds, Graci and Holmes, 2010), after the tsunami there was an opportunity for reconstruction to occur along more sustainable lines. Pleumarom (2004:2), a Thailand-based academic, has suggested that in the reconstruction phase, the political context in which tourism is being promoted also needs to be critically re-examined: 'As the Thai Government is set to nurture a tourism monoculture again ... would it not be the time to explore strategies to reduce the dependencies on tourism, diversify the economy and build more secure and sustainable livelihoods for the majority of the people?' Certainly, the Thai government presented Phi Phi as requiring 'total restoration' following the tsunami. In this respect, initial moves in the redevelopment already suggest a complex scenario may be unfolding. The Thai government has indicated that it wishes Phi Phi to retain its concept as a paradise island, promising redevelopment of a lower density to preserve the dual bay views in line with sustainable tourism principles.

This said, the reality of developing a sustainable tourism product on Phi Phi is surely dependent upon people's perception, usage and treatment of 'paradise'. It is of concern that the same plans that promise a push toward 'sustainability' also propose the expansion of Phuket International Airport and the upgrading of Krabi regional airport to an international airport, in addition to proposals for the entry of multi-national corporation (MNC) development, whilst other redevelopment is prohibited. Given that the author's own investigations have highlighted the fact that permission has already been granted to Sofitel and Intercontinental to develop all-inclusive, luxury resorts on the island in the post-tsunami reconstruction and rehabilitation period, one must question the governmental economic and

political agenda for the island, and, in line with this, the impact that this type of redevelopment will have upon Phi Phi and its local communities and environments.

Further debates concerning the redevelopment plans are elaborated by Tangwisutijit and Warunpitikul (2005:9), for instance: 'the devastation wrought by the Tsunami on Phi Phi island is known around the world, yet there are much quieter efforts underway that could result in further dramatic changes to the island's landscape.' On the surface, the new look planned for Phi Phi is an environmentalist's delight. It calls for the elimination of all permanent concrete structures from the space between the famous twin-bay beachfronts of Tonsai and Ao Lo Dalaam. Thailand's iconic tropical paradise would be restored to its natural beauty. The new plan, however, has left many island residents and business operators who survived the tsunami feeling as if they are being threatened with yet another disaster. The plans, drawn up by the Bangkok-based Special Areas Development Organisation, could affect more than 90 per cent of Phi Phi's principal businesses, forcing all development to move to surrounding hillsides. Thus, it can be questioned whether the island's reconstruction will be driven by the ideology of sustainable development, or by the greater forces of globalisation and economic development.

This alleged 'clean-slate' situation and the ensuing redevelopment, then, presents the researcher with the opportunity to consider what shape stakeholders would wish tourism to take in the post-tsunami era, and to look at what opportunities are presented following commencement of the rebuild of island infrastructure. Using a political economy framework interlinked with other evaluative frameworks, Phi Phi offers a rare opportunity to see which political, economic and cultural factors shape the planning of tourism development and, importantly, whether actual practice mirrors the principles of sustainability. Furthermore, the research presents the opportunity to explore the concerns raised by researchers such as Klein (2005; 2008) and Pleumarom (2004; 2005), amongst others, to investigate whether affected areas appear to be set to be re-designed by a range of governments, private companies, non-governmental organisations and members of think tanks in a manner that often does not consult local communities. The research will consider how Phi Phi's development plans have been adapted post-tsunami to ensure the long-term economic, environmental and social sustainability of the destination. Can the types of political and developmental concerns, processes and structures described by Klein (2005; 2008) be related to what is taking place in Phi Phi or not? If they cannot, why is this? A particular focus will be on the political agenda for the island's redevelopment, noting that there has been speculation about Government plans to alter the destination entirely to encourage new, luxury, multinational business and high-end tourism-related markets in line with the Ministry for Tourism's intentions to 'standardise tourism products in order to attract quality tourists' (Brickshawana, 2003), even at the expense of pre-existing small- and middle-sized businesses in the area, and certain sections of the community, despite the denial that any such plans exist.

From the theoretical debates surrounding the political economy of tourism development (Britton, 2002; Steiner, 2006; Bianchi, 2004; Saarinen, 2006; Bramwell, 2006), one can note a consensus that 'the controversy about tourism's role for development is rooted in an underdeveloped nexus between micro- and macro-perspectives' (Steiner 2006: 163).

In short, it is claimed the three dominant developmental paradigms of dependency, alternative and neo-classical theory fail to accurately support both macro-structural development and regional/local interests. Others would claim that alternative development paradigms are a result of western-dominated ideology (Hunter, 1997; McKercher, 1993). Some would argue further that 'the concept is ideologically and politically contested, and needs to cover a broad range of interests which have no easily identifiable common denominator' (Spangenberger, 2005, as cited in Saarinen 2006: 1124) Such arguments that conceptualisations of sustainable tourism development are socially constructed provide a strong rationale for research at a micro level, through an interpretive epistemological lens.

Debates such as these have shaped the following aims and objectives and will guide the research throughout.

1.2 The research aim

The research aims to evaluate the political economy and interpretations of sustainability by tourism stakeholders in the post-disaster tourism redevelopment of Phi Phi Island, Thailand.

1.3 The research objectives

1. To interpret the conceptualisation of sustainable development held by stakeholders in the reconstruction of Phi Phi;
2. to evaluate the forces (internal and external) of political economy that are shaping tourism development on Phi Phi;
3. to comprehend how hegemonic relationships influence tourism development at a local level; and
4. to analyse the influence of a natural disaster upon tourism development and planning.

1.4 The research questions

The following research questions will be used to drive the research throughout and will be the basis of the design of the data collection methods used. Their intent is to assist in the achievement of the research objectives. The questions evolved from existing literary debates introduced in Section 1.1.

1. What was the rationale for the criticism of Phi Phi's record on sustainable tourism development pre-tsunami?
2. How is the concept of sustainability understood and utilised by stakeholders in the discourse of redevelopment post-tsunami?
3. What aspirations and tensions are expressed by islanders, local business, politicians and big business in relation to the future of Phi Phi's redevelopment?
4. Which political economy factors are influential in post-tsunami tourism development?
5. What is the hegemonic relationship between global and local players in shaping post-disaster tourism redevelopment?

1.5 Phi Phi: The destination

Phi Phi Don and Phi Phi Le are, to many, the epitome of a paradise island location. This island group, incorporated into the Hat Noppharat Thara National Marine Park in 1983 is located within the Ao Nang sub-district of the Krabi Province of southern Thailand as illustrated by the maps below, 42 kilometres from the holiday mecca of Phuket and 38 kilometres from the provincial capital, Krabi Town (www.phi-phi.com). They represent another addition to the great number of island and beach destinations in southern Thailand, which include Koh Samui, Koh Phuket, Koh Phan Ngan and Koh Tao, which developed beginning in the 1980s to support tourism activities (Konisranakul and Tuaycharoen, 2010). Phi Phi is within easy travelling distance (by boat) of both Phuket and Krabi, the journey taking approximately ninety minutes. Despite being more accessible in recent times, the islands bear similarities to Cohen's (1983) description of Koh Samui in the 1980s: they are little incorporated into the national society and only superficially controlled by the national civil administration and police, as will be later explained.

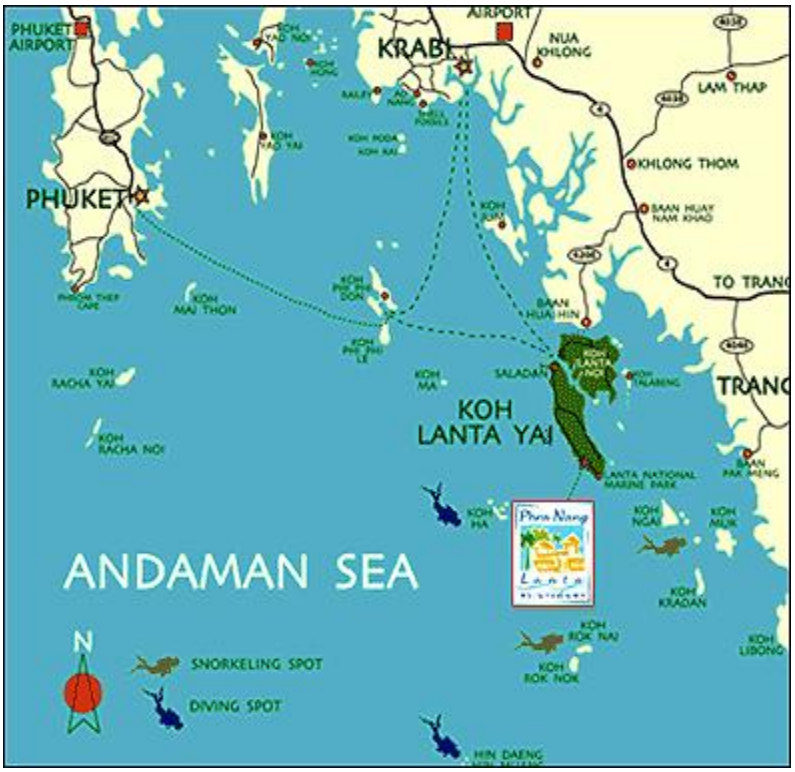


Figure 1: Map to illustrate the location of the Phi Phi islands within the Krabi Province (Source: http://www.ko-phiphi.com/maps/ accessed 24.03.2011)

Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the two main islands within the group: Phi Phi Don, the largest inhabited island (8km long by 2km wide), and Phi Phi Le (3.5km long and 1km wide), which is uninhabited on account of its National Park status. Although both islands will be discussed throughout the research, it is the larger island, and most specifically the central Tonsai/Ao lo Dalaam area (familiarly termed the 'apple core') that will be the main focus because of the

tourist development that has taken place there since the 1980s. Further images are provided in **Appendix 1** (pp.293-294) to illustrate the topography of Phi Phi Don and the central 'apple core' area, where the greatest density of tourism development has taken place.



Figure 2: Phi Phi Don (Source: http://www.ko-phiphi.com/maps/ accessed 24.03.2011)

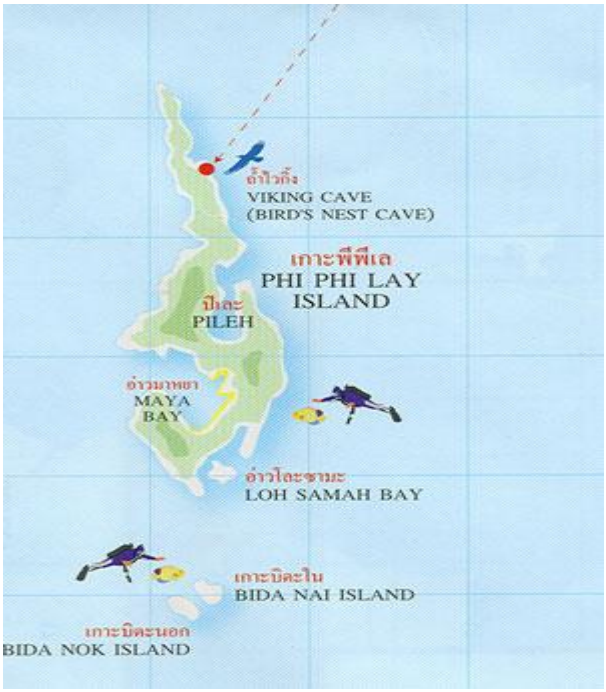


Figure 3: Map of Phi Phi Le (Source: http://www.ko-phiphi.com/maps/ accessed 24.03.2011)

The distinctive nature of the islands when they were in the initial stages of tourism development (early 1980s) was made clear by travel writer, Joe Cummings (2005:2): *'the green-tipped limestone peaks rising above the still sea … the impossible beautiful crescent of turquoise-rimmed sand, offered a single set of simple thatched-roof bungalows.'* At that time the islands could only be reached by a four-hour long tail boat trip from the port of Krabi Town. The tourism infrastructure was limited for those who were searching for something different and to escape from the hordes that frequented the normal tourist trail, likened to Cohen's (1973:90) 'drifters'. The Phi Phi islands and the Krabi region in its entirety are characterised by limestone cliffs coated with a thick layer of jungle, as depicted in Image 1 below. The nature of these limestone cliffs make logging and access difficult and therefore these areas are home to diverse ecosystems (Fahn, 2003). The limestone itself is of archaeological significance and the 'karst' structure and chemical components result in cave formations, home to fragile ecosystems (Fahn, 2003) Human action and interference can cause severe effects for these ecosystems.



Image 1: Tonsai Bay (left) and Ao Lo Dalaam bay (right) with the central apple core area, Phi Phi Don Island (Author's own, taken 28.3.2006)

Up until the December 2004 tsunami, the islands have become a mandatory inclusion on any traveller's itinerary and can be visited within any package or tailor-made holiday in Thailand. Regular ferries, catamarans and speedboats make daily trips for a cost of approximately 350 baht each way (approx. £6 in high season, 2011) to and from Phi Phi Don from Phuket, Koh Lanta, Ao Nang, Ao Railay, and Krabi Town, the main operators being Andaman Wave

Master, Sea Angel, Chao Koh Group, and Phi Phi Cruiser. Additionally, inclusive one- or two-night packages to Phi Phi are promoted by local tour agencies throughout Phuket, Krabi and Koh Lanta at a cost of approximately 2800 baht (approx. £56 in high season 2011). Other modes of transportation to Phi Phi (albeit more costly) are by speedboat from Phuket's east coast at an approximate cost of 15,000 baht (£300) return and the now suspended Destination Air shuttle service from Phuket International Airport to Laem Tong, on the north-eastern tip of Phi Phi Don. There is relatively little international representation to date in the hospitality and tourism industries on Phi Phi Don, with the exception of the Holiday Inn, although further developments were planned by the Accor Group and Intercontinental. Internationally, tour operations to Phi Phi are presently limited to operators such as Virgin Holidays and Kuoni, who, utilising a range of scheduled carriers to Thailand, arrange tailor-made trips to Phi Phi via Phuket or Krabi with limited accommodation at the Holiday Inn and Phi Phi Island Village (on the north-eastern beaches).

Over time, the infrastructure on the main island of Phi Phi Don on the flat, sandy isthmus of land between the bays of Ao Tonsai and Ao Lo Dalaam has developed to support increasing numbers of tourists (discussed in section 1.6) and is described as 'packed with multi-storey concrete hotels, pizza parlours, dive shops, and souvenir stands – behind which stood rotting piles of garbage' (Cummings, 2005:1). However, despite these apparent environmental consequences of tourism development, the islands' popularity continued to increase and development continued to take place with a lack of planning that has resulted in encroachment onto the Hat Noppharat Thara National Marine Park (Cummings, 2005). Dodds, Graci and Holmes (2010) highlight the similarities between Phi Phi and Gili Trawangan in Indonesia through their empirical research on both islands in respect of the development challenges posed by a burgeoning tourism industry constrained to a small area within a national marine park. They note how an increase in tourism infrastructure has led to environmental degradation through unchecked development (Dodds, Graci and Holmes, 2010; Dodds, 2011).

1.6 Significance and development of tourism on Phi Phi

Tourism to Thailand currently contributes THB617.7bn (1.96mn USD) towards Gross Domestic Product, comprising 5.9% of GDP and generating 1.8 million jobs directly, comprising 4.7% of total employment (WTTC, 2011). The contribution of tourism to the Thai economy is expected to grow 8.2% per annum to 7.9% of GDP and account for 2.99 million jobs by 2021. Dodds (2011) recognises the support that is afforded to the tourism industry in Thailand as a means for economic development, which reflects modernist principles. However, she cautions that the costs of such development are often not considered as readily as the financial gains. Nowhere is this more evident than the coastal resort of Pattaya, which developed in the 1960s to accommodate the rest and relaxation needs of American servicemen serving in the Vietnam War. Over this period, the once-tranquil fishing village has been transformed into an internationally-renowned resort, attracting over 4 million annual visitors (Dodds, 2011). The effects of mass tourism are noted, however, in the poor quality of marine water and death of the coral reef, effects which mirror those of Patong Beach in Phuket, southern Thailand (Dodds, 2011).

In 2011, 3500 rooms were available on Phi Phi Don island (an increase from 1500 in December 2005), offered in approximately 70 guesthouses, bungalow resorts and hotels. It is estimated that 2300 of these are equipped with air conditioning (www.phi-phi.com). Accommodation is offered in greatest volume in the Tonsai-Ao lo Dalaam area of the island (approximately 80% of the accommodation on the island) but additionally on the north-eastern and eastern beaches of Laem Tong, Loh Ba Kao, Pak Nam, Rantee and Long Beach. However, in general the standard of accommodation is higher on the north-eastern and eastern beaches (Laem Tong). It is in this area that several more luxurious establishments and international chains can be found in the Zeavola, the Holiday Inn, Sofitel and Phi Phi Island Village. This is the part of the island where international hotel chains have a small presence. The highest standard of accommodation available in the Tonsai-Ao lo Dalaam area is the Cabana Hotel (four-star) followed by a range of three-star hotels and resorts, including the Banyan Villa, Phi Phi Hotel and the Andaman Beach Resort (www.hiphiphi.com).

The evolution of construction in the Tonsai-Ao Lo Dalaam area of Phi Phi Don can be most easily appreciated through the following images, taken from the Viewpoint, which permits a view across Ao Tonsai (on the left, below) and Ao Lo Dalaam (on the right).



Image 2: The Viewpoint: taken in 1997 (Source: Royal Geographical Society http://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/35A243E4-C96F-4A18-9B39-D1D2457134F9/0/KoPhiPhi_IMAGES_9207.pdf, accessed 12.4.2012)

In this image there is a much lower density of development below the tree line. Boats in Tonsai bay are limited to yachts and smaller vessels. There is no visible high-rise construction and no pier.



Image 3: The Viewpoint: taken in 2000 following the filming of *The Beach* on Phi Phi Le island (Source: Royal Geographical Society http://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/35A243E4-C96F-4A18-9B39-D1D2457134F9/0/KoPhiPhi_IMAGES_9207.pdf, accessed 12.4.2012)

In the image above the number of boats has increased in both Tonsai and Ao lo Dalaam bays. Buildings now exceed the tree-height in several areas (the Phi Phi Hotel, Banyan Villa and Phi Phi Cabana, for example).



Image 4: The Viewpoint: taken in 2004 (Author's own)

In this image the impact of the tsunami is evident: it has destroyed the fragile, low-rise structures. Taller concrete structures remain, with damage to their lower stories.



Image 5: The Viewpoint: taken in 2007 (Author's own)

One can see an increase in trip and dive boats in Tonsai bay. Temporary construction exists in some areas. The majority of smaller shops and businesses have not been rebuilt at this stage. The Phi Phi Hotel, Banyan Villa and Cabana hotel are fully reconstructed.



Image 6: The Viewpoint: taken in December 2011 (Author's own)

In the most recent image, the new (concrete) deepwater pier can be seen, as can an increased density of development in Tonsai Village, particularly to the eastern part of the 'apple core'.

Prior to the tsunami of December 2004, visitor numbers to Phi Phi had reached approximately 1.2 million (Dodds, 2011; Brix *et al*., 2007; 2010), up from 150,000 immediately following the filming of *The Beach* in 2000 (Royal Geographical Society, 2010). This then reduced to 500,000 following the tsunami (ibid., 2010). The bulk of visitors are in fact day-trippers from Phuket and Krabi, totalling at times 5000 per day prior to the tsunami (Dodds, 2011). An accurate picture of visitor numbers to the islands is difficult to ascertain, however, as there is no formal registration for arrivals (personal communication, November 2006). A method of registering arrivals was only introduced following the reconstruction of a deepwater pier in Tonsai in 2009 and subsequent implementation of a 20 baht arrival fee in 2010, although the extent to which arrivals are logged and reported is yet to be seen. Additionally, as most day-trippers arrive by speedboat to the shores of Tonsai, bypassing the pier, they also bypass the 20 baht arrival fee. Additionally, resorts on the north-eastern beaches may offer their own private transfers via catamaran from Phuket's Rassada Pier, which again bypasses registration at the pier on Phi Phi (http://www.hospitalitynet.org/news/4020701.html).

Figure 4 below provides a summary of the key milestones in Phi Phi's social and tourist-related development. One must note, however, that data on tourist arrivals to the island are limited as a result of a lack of a reliable method of registering arrivals, until the inception of the 20 baht registration fee in 2009 (Dodds, 2011).



Figure 4: Chronological development of Phi Phi (compiled from PhiPhi.com; Dodds *et al.*, 2010; Dodds, 2011; Brix, 2007; Brix, 2010; Cohen, 1982; and Cohen, 1983)

1.7 The islanders of Phi Phi

Cole (in Smith and Robinson, 2006) cites an overuse of the notion of 'community', on account of its fluidity, complexity and heterogeneous nature, and analyses how some 'community' members are allowed to participate, while others are not. Furthermore, within the literature, the notion of community is not fiercely examined; rather, it is usually defined on a 'geographical basis as a body of people living in the same locality' (Wisansing, 2004: 31). Mann

(2000) also defines community on the basis of a common geographical location, whereas others do so on the basis of common goals and opinions (Williams and Lawson, 2001; Richards and Hall, 2000) and in the case of Hann and Dunn (1996), common values and ideals, noting that members of a 'community' need not necessarily reside in the same geographical area. In a similar manner to Wisansing's (2004) doctoral research concerning tourism planning in Thailand, it is not the purpose of this research to seek an 'all-encompassing' definition of community; the desire here is to outline how the community on Phi Phi is composed and to canvas opinion from islanders. Wisansing does, however, observe that the multifaceted nature of community (ibid.), similarly to Cole's (2006) observations, can create communities within a community where responses to tourists and the tourism industry are diverse. These observations are elaborated by Horn, Simmons and Fairweather (1998), who delineate community divisions and structures.

In Phi Phi, this heterogeneity is evident. In 2011, 1500 people classified by the Royal Geographical Society as 'local inhabitants' resided on Phi Phi Don Island, reduced by half from prior to the tsunami (Royal Geographical Society, 2011). The indigenous inhabitants of Phi Phi are reported to have come from neighbouring Koh Yao Island in Phang Nga Bay (personal communication – April-November 2006) and Koh Lanta in the Krabi Province between 1945 and 1950 and have their origins as sea gypsies of the Andaman Sea in southern Thailand. It is speculated by authors of Phi Phi's tourist information site www.phi-phi.com (islanders themselves) that these sea gypsies could either be descendants of the Malaysian colonies or the original Indian race, the Vedas. However, on account of their nomadic culture, definitive knowledge is not possible. Certainly, during the data collection, no respondent was able to confirm the origins of the indigenous inhabitants further than that of Koh Yao. This concurs with Cohen in his 1983 work and Dodds in her recent work of 2011, who both recognise that ethnographic information on the regions of southern Thailand is very limited.

The population of Phi Phi Don is increased by a further 500 approximately, made up of migrant workers, including westerners, Chinese Thais and Thais from other parts of Thailand who seek employment in the tourism industry (www.phi-phi.com; Brix *et al*, 2011). This employment for the greater part takes the form of working in the island's thriving diving industry; increasingly as promoters for the many lively nightspots in Tonsai (for westerners); and in massage parlours, tour agencies, clothing and souvenir shops. However, as will be discussed later, over half of the most significant landowners (of which five hold approximately 80% of the land in the Tonsai-Ao lo Dalaam area) on Phi Phi Don cannot be classed as indigenous, as they came from the mainland to purchase land for the development of tourist accommodation and businesses (Brix *et al*, 2011). In Cohen's (1983) conceptualisation they would be termed 'outsiders'. This ultimately means that the islanders on Phi Phi present a rich mix of Thai Buddhists, Muslim Malays, Indians, Chinese and Europeans, all of which leave their own cultural mark on the island (www.phi-phi.com). Both Mulder (2000) and Deveney (2005) recognise that Thai culture is interlinked with Chinese culture, as many of the Thai business class are Thai/Chinese through cultural compatibility and intermarriage. Importantly, the island's population further swells on account of tourism. At the time the tsunami hit, it was estimated that there were 10,000 people on the island.

Cohen's (1983) early work on bungalow tourism development on the islands of southern Thailand emphasises that the touristic development of an area may be initiated either by what he terms 'locals', defined as 'members of communities adjoining a tourist site' (ibid., 1983:158) or a variety of 'outsiders'. His research, although undertaken on the islands of Phuket and Samui in the early 1980s, presents opportunities for the comprehension of community dynamics and touristic development on Phi Phi, as Phi Phi followed a similar pattern of bungalow tourism development, albeit at a later stage and on a smaller scale to that of Samui and Phuket. Cohen's research asserts differences in the form of tourism development according to the initiator: organic development being locally initiated, and induced development being initiated by outsiders.

Figure 5 illustrates the structure of the community on Phi Phi Don. The structure has been developed from (albeit minimal) existing literature on the island. Cohen's (1983) research elaborates the structure of society on Phuket and Koh Samui. Similarities will be sought through this research to ascertain whether this is characteristic of Thai society, and in particular Thai tourist destinations. In Samui, society is dominated by 'Southern Thai Strongmen' who are leaders of large families over which the police hold little authority and who often resolve disputes through violence (Cohen, 1983:231). In Phuket, however, the elite are rich families of Chinese origin (ibid., 1983).

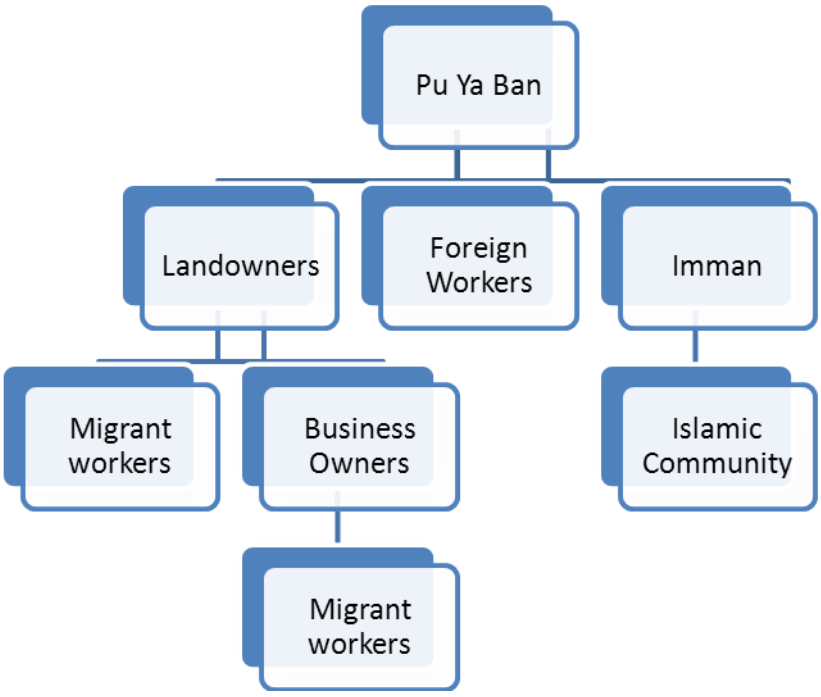


Figure 5: Structure of Community on Phi Phi (adapted from www.phi-phi.com; Dodds, 2010; Brix *et al*, 2011; Cohen, 1983)

Furthermore, Waldren's (1996) work in the village of Deià on the island of Mallorca analyses the conflicts and compromises resulting from the coexistence of 'insiders' (indigenous population) with a growing number of people

that she, in a similar manner to Cohen (1983), terms ‘outsiders’ (resident and visiting foreigners), although in Cohen’s work ‘outsiders’ also refers to Thais who are not native to the area. This work uncovers how the ‘insiders’ have retained a sense of identity and togetherness whilst embracing modernity and combating the intrusive effects of ‘outsiders’ (Waldren, 1996). It will be interesting to observe whether similar strategies as those employed in Waldren’s (1996:30) ‘Deianencs’ appear within Phi Phi’s community; whether they have felt it necessary to identify themselves as distinct from others; the nature of social structures that exist; and how the community adapts to change.

Following the tsunami, many Muslim families who were indigenous to Phi Phi decided to remain on the mainland in Krabi following their displacement, residing with family there. For those who returned, the Thai Government had built a new settlement, referred to now as the ‘Tsunami Village’, which is a 20-minute walk towards the viewpoint behind Long Beach. On account of this displacement and significance of migrant workers on the island, Hi Phi Phi (www.hiphiphi.com) suggests that the predominant religion on the island is now Buddhism. For a community reliant upon the sea for their livelihoods, this was considered by many to be unsuitable accommodation and therefore settlements have been rebuilt on the lower ground in Tonsai. However, these settlements are constructed again out of fragile materials such as wood and corrugated iron; they do not adhere to post-tsunami building regulations for safety and increasingly give the appearance of a slum (personal communication, April 2006). See image 7 below which was taken in December 2011.



Image 7: The Gypsy Village, Tonsai (Author’s own)

Theerapappisit’s (2008) doctoral research concerning tourism planning in the Greater Mekong sub-region observes Thailand’s long tradition of respecting social hierarchy and reports the inherent respect for village heads (Pu-ya-Ban). These actors are found to have no restrictions in attending meetings; however, they are not likely to debate or display

their ideas in public (Theerapappisit, 2008). He also provides contextual evidence relevant to this research of conflicting development goals amongst stakeholders, particularly between policy-makers and local ethnic communities, uncovering complex and dynamic issues involved in achieving common interests (Theerapappisit, 2008). Further anthropological theories of civil society (Hann and Dunn, 1996) urge the incorporation of everyday social practices and power relations to understand society more broadly, although this is outside of the scope of this research.

The importance of community cohesion and cooperation is recommended as essential for sustainable planning and development (Beritelli, 2011; Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Beritelli's research (2011) argues that three phenomena constrain cooperative behaviour: firstly, the tragedy of the commons, proposed by Hardin (1968), whereby actors have no incentive to avoid the overexploitation of common resources. This theoretical framework was applied by Dodds (2011:254) and also by Briassoulis (2002) in her research concerning the influence of 'The Commons' on sustainability in tourism destinations, which observes that the resources used in a tourism destinations are characteristic of 'common pool resources' and overuse and mismanagement represent a tragedy, contrary to the principles of sustainable tourism development. Briassoulis (2002) recommends further research in diverse settings concerning the nature, function, problems and management of the commons. Secondly, what Beritelli (2011:611) terms the 'prisoner's dilemma', referring to a situation whereby actors are induced not to cooperate, even though it would be in their best interests to do so (Axelrod and Hamilton, 1981). Thirdly, that collective action is challenged when there is a collective failure to acknowledge the importance of collective goods (Olson, 1965). Olson concludes that further longitudinal research is required concerning how aspects of trust and communication help or hinder collective behaviour (Beritelli, 2011). He notes that tourist destination communities distinguish themselves less by traditional rules and more by key actors within the tourism context (ibid., 2011).

1.8 Phi Phi before the tsunami

Many authors describe the development process as a familiar pattern: 'First the backpackers and the more adventurous seek cheap, out of the way places where they can relax amid quiet, beautiful surroundings. Gradually a village becomes 'discovered' by the guidebooks, travel writers and travel agents and tourism becomes the area's main livelihood … then the package tourists arrive, and so do the go-go bars, the karaoke clubs, the massage parlours and the mafia' (Fahn, 2003: 50), correlating with Butler's (1970) observations on a sequential Tourism Area Life Cycle.

On Phi Phi Don (where human settlement is permissible), it was a similar story; even within the travel guides, designed to 'tell it like it is', it is reported that 'whilst postcards of Phi-Phi show a paradise of curving bays of untouched sand and dense tropical forests, sadly most of these photos were taken before developers got their hands on Phi Phi Don. Today Ao Ton Sai is almost unrecognisable; it's hard to believe that this polluted beach with its concrete pier and hordes of long tail boats, was once a pristine strip of white sand' (Lonely Planet 2004: 348). Lonely Planet

authors go on to explain why Phi Phi Le has escaped the level of development experienced in Phi Phi Don, due to inclusion in the National Park of Hat Noppharat Thara Mu Phi Phi. However, due to Phi Phi Don's small resident population of fisher-people (Chao Leh) at the time, certain areas of the larger island were excluded from National Park status, allowing beachside bungalows to be developed along the shoreline in the 1980s, which later led to large-scale development after the construction of a concrete pier that could accommodate larger boats full of building materials (Lonely Planet 2004). This uncontrolled and unplanned development has taken its toll on the overstretched island infrastructure and resources in addition to a 'knock-on effect' on Phi Phi Le's coral reefs that are frequented by tourist trips from the larger island and further afield (Dodds, Graci and Holmes, 2010).

Prior to the tsunami, Phi Phi Don offered an extremely diverse range of facilities for an island of its size, to cater for the tourists' every whim: accommodation, predominantly beach bungalow-based but increasingly catering for 'high-end' tourists as international style hotels evolved; foreign exchange, hospitals, banks; restaurants, bars, nightclubs, massage parlours, clothes shops; as well as tour agents, dive and rock-climbing operators (Lonely Planet 2004: 347). Despite the profusion of facilities, it has been commented that the island's infrastructure could not cope with the density of development in terms of electricity and water supply in addition to waste disposal systems (Lonely Planet 2004: 348).

Perhaps one of the most important factors in influencing the development of tourism on Phi Phi was the filming of *The Beach* in 1998. *The Beach*, based upon the novel by Alex Garland in 1997, describes the backpackers' quest for an island utopia. Ironically, the novel was not intended to celebrate backpacker culture but to criticise it. The book and the subsequent film opened the floodgates to millions more backpackers to join the multitude already making their way along the well-trodden tourist trail (Gluckmann, 1999). Garland's novel was actually inspired by Secret Beach near El Nido, Palawan, in the Philippines; one can certainly see the visual similarities. Palawan itself was not selected as the filming location because of strict enforcement of the Strategic Environmental Plan (SEP) for the island, which has ensured a development trajectory somewhat different to that of the Phi Phi Islands (Gluckmann, 1999). Certainly, in the period prior to and during the filming, the controversy surrounding *The Beach* was tremendous amongst environmental activists and the media (Laopaisarntaksin, 1998; Puthipucha, 1998; Noikorn, 1998; Ekachai, 1998; Ing. K, 1998; Fuengprichavai, 1998; Techawongtham, 1998; Hongthong, 1998; and many others).

Many of the accusations made against 20th Century Fox during filming are centred around the 'environmental restructuring' of Maya Bay in order to more closely mirror their perception of paradise, which was perceived to include swaying palm trees, not naturally occurring in this particular location (Fahn, 1998:2). It is argued that authorities permitted reconstruction of Maya Bay in order to satisfy Hollywood's stereotype of an exotic beach (Bangkok Post, 30/10/98). Why had Phi Phi Le been selected as the location for filming 'paradise' if paradise requires cosmetic upgrading? The restructuring included uprooting native plants and planting over a hundred coconut palms. A concern voiced by islanders and environmental activists alike is that removing native shrubs can lead to topsoil eroding and being washed into the sea during the monsoon, choking the coral in Maya Bay (Fahn, 1998). In fact,

further criticism has been made of those officials who considered these coconut palms should remain after filming in order to justify the label of 'paradise' (The Nation, 3.11.98): 'Therein lies perhaps the greatest irony of *The Beach*: The movie itself is about rampant tourism destroying the environment. Or perhaps there's no mistake about it: the studio proved its point before the movie even brought the message home to the people' (Shelby-Biggs, 2000:3).

Not only did the case of *The Beach* illustrate a neglect for the environment alleged by environmentalists, academics and the media alike, it also exposed wider concern regarding the political agenda of the Royal Forestry Department, which is responsible for the administration of Thai National Parks. Maya Bay is part of the Hat Noppharat Thara National Marine Park and therefore development or restructuring is prohibited; and yet the Royal Forestry Department agreed to the filming based upon the 'donation' of 4 million baht plus a 5 million baht 'environmental bond' (Bangkok Post, 25/10/98). Environmentalists and academics allege that, despite being protected by National Park status and with Phi Phi Le being also a conservation area under the protection of the Environmental Act of BE2535 (Ing. K. 1998), and alterations being prohibited under Article 16 of the National Park Laws, the Royal Forestry Department approved the filming in exchange for a 5 million baht damage guarantee, 4 million baht contribution in order to establish a Forestry Protection Unit (The Nation, 3/11/98) and an estimated 300 million baht in projected tourism revenue, to 'nourish' the money-craving nation (Bangkok Post, 30/10/98).

Despite this controversy, visiting Phi Phi both pre- and post-tsunami, it would appear that local businesses consider *The Beach* to be the core of Phi Phi's tourist product, recognising and capitalising upon the economic benefits associated with fulfilling the desire to visit and be photographed in the same location as Leonardo Di Caprio, which is saddening when the islands have so much else to offer. On visiting Phi Phi Don, almost every boat trip available from or to Phi Phi includes within its itinerary 'Maya Bay – home of *The Beach*' and almost every restaurant within its daily schedule plays *The Beach* on DVD for crowds of travellers (personal observations throughout 2002-2011).

Whilst the filming of *The Beach* has undoubtedly created awareness of the Phi Phi islands, it is undeniable that the beauty of the islands, and profusion of underwater and land-based attractions meant that they had already been gathering momentum as tourist destinations prior to this. Following the release of this motion picture and subsequent increase in demand, (section 1.5) the island infrastructure was adapted hastily and without any apparent consideration for planning (Fahn, 2003). This rapid expansion in demand is documented by The Nation (1/12/98), who claim that unless arriving on the island before 12 noon, there is no accommodation to be found. They also record a steep rise in the price of food and accommodation due to this excess demand. It is therefore no wonder that *The Beach* acted as a catalyst for a building boom, regardless of planning considerations or safety. Ironically, the same mismatch in terms of supply and demand was described by tour agencies when the author visited Phi Phi Don in December 2011. Once again, visitors are advised to take the morning boat to Phi Phi on account of a lack of accommodation (personal communication with tour agencies on Phi Phi, December 2011).

1.9 Forms of tourism development in Thailand

Despite clear criticism of Phi Phi's development trajectory pre-tsunami, there is a stated commitment to pursue alternative forms of tourism development, with particular emphasis being given to ecotourism. However, there is increasing criticism of the manner in which 'ecotourism' activities in Thailand are practiced (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005; Pleumarom, 1994; 1999) which only adds credence to the suggestion that, if practiced improperly, ecotourism may contribute towards the negative impacts of tourism and loss of local control (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005). Certainly in Hvenegaard and Dearden's (1998) empirical research concerning ecotourism in Doi Inthanon National Park (Chiang Mai Province, Thailand), it is affirmed that ecotourism should certainly not be considered the panacea of challenges linked to conservation and development.

There is further evidence at a more local level that sustainable tourism development can be shaped by dominant powers, reinforced by Pleumarom (1999:2) who argues for the limitations of sustainable development, and states that attempts at sustainability addressed under the banner of 'ecotourism' are Western concepts being globalised, suggesting that any attempt at environmental preservation has 'not necessarily served to preserve the environment and safeguard local communities' rights, but has been co-opted and distorted by official agencies and private industries for profit-making purposes.' Surely it is wrong to assume that the dominant first-world powers are those best suited to provide guidance as to how a country's environmental, social and economic resources should be managed? There is much material designed to contribute to such debates on ecotourism (see Duffy, 2008; Castree, 2007; and McAfee, 1999). Whilst some commentators claim that ecotourism offers an eco-friendly, low-impact alternative to mass tourism, aspects of which may be classed as sustainable, others suggest that ecotourism has led to the targeting of destination areas previously untouched by the hand of tourism and the tourist. These are ecologically fragile areas that now receive visitors, and whilst the numbers are low when compared to mass tourism destinations, are nevertheless greater than that previously experienced (De Chavez, 1999; Pleumarom, 1999; and Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005). In fact, Duffy's (2008) research concerning ecotourism development in Madagascar strengthens this very point in her discussion of the neoliberalisation of nature: a process whereby non-human phenomena are increasingly subject to market-based systems of management and development (Castree, 2007). Her research concludes similar observations to that of Pleumarom (1999), namely that ecotourism is difficult to critique as it receives powerful support from a complex range of stakeholders, emphasising the Western hegemony of the concept, and relies upon extension into new areas, opening up to the global market. Certainly, Fairhead, Leach and Scoones (2012:237) state that a new political economy of land and livelihoods is emerging in the neoliberalisation of nature, driven by 'green market' economics, which they term 'green grabbing', adding another interpretation to that of land-grabbing. In other words, there is a global trend toward appropriation of nature for green ends.

Claims have been made that ecotourism has been used as a marketing tool (rather than a conservation tool) in order to charge higher rates for the experience. There are also claims of bio-piracy as an exploitative practice under the guise

of ecotourism (Pleumarom, 1999). There appears to be a continuum of ecotourism (Poon, 1993), with hard and soft ecotourism at either end. Arguably, soft ecotourism does not differ that greatly from traditional mass tourism. There is much evidence to suggest that the impacts experienced by ecotourism destinations may be severe, due to the fragility of the cultural and ecological environment of the destination area. Pleumarom (1999:2) reports that although ecotourism in Asia is hailed as a 'flagship project' to encourage tourist expenditure, thus boosting the economy, ironically further loans and foreign investment are required in order to initiate such practices, which increases the dependency upon global economies and results in a reduction of local power and economic independence, contrary to the principles of sustainable tourism development. A study by Kontogeorgopoulos (2005) has highlighted that ecotourism can offer real benefits such as survival, local employment, social status and mobility and incipient environmentalism, although it may do so at the expense of the loss of local initiation and control, spatial isolation, social cohesion, and loss of ecological sustainability.

Similarly, another alternative tourism strategy being pursued by the Tourism Authority of Thailand ('Rural Tourism') poses similar problems. As reported by Rattanasuwongchai (1998) questions can be raised as to the 'rhetoric' or 'reality' of this form of tourism. Is it a further form of 'sustainable tourism' that results in a low rate of economic return to communities due to economic leakage, overexploitation of natural resources, environmental distortion and disruption of rural culture? This correlates with impacts experienced in many Thai National Parks, which, according to the Thai Development Research Institute (TDRI) are the locations of many ecotourism activities, yet nevertheless are prone to 'intense activity' during the cool season, resulting in exceeding carrying capacity, overcrowding and littering. There is no policy designed to limit visitors or monitor their consumption habits whilst in the parks, again resulting in an exploitation of nature in the name of leisure and recreation (Rattanasuwongchai, 1998).

Research undertaken specifically surrounding rights to manage and access natural resources in Thailand has found that land protection through National Park status serves to heighten competition and conflict between local communities and communities and the state (Delcore, 2007). Whilst Delcore's (2007) empirical study was conducted in a northern Thai national park (Doi Phukha National Park, Nan Province) rather than a national marine park, it is similarly a protected area. Delcore's (2007) research maps the contrasting outcomes for two communities in the park: the Thai Lue, who have a cooperative relationship with park officials; and the Lua, who are in a state of constant conflict with park officials (Delcore, 2007). These differences are attributed by Delcore to the subordinate political, economic and racial position of the Lua in the local and national context. This study recognises the impact that social structure holds over access and equality to resources.

1.10 The impact of tourism development on Phi Phi

The impacts evident on Phi Phi are similar to those predicted within the World Tourism Organisation's Agenda 21 when discussing island tourism: 'On some islands tourism dominates the economy and may even be the sole source of

income and employment. Islands are often environmentally vulnerable, facing problems of resource supply and management (such as drinking water and pollution control) and a concentration of tourism in a limited space' (WTO, WTTC, 1996). Similar effects are noted in context by Konisranakul and Tuaycharoen (2010), who observe that island tourism relies heavily on the limited and fragile resources that such a destination offers and consequently the sustainable use of resources becomes paramount to its survival (Kakazu, 2008).

Fahn (2003: 69) documents the report of MacLean, a visitor to Phi Phi Don twenty-five years ago who returned in 2003 to witness the change. She comments that in 1979 Phi Phi Don was 'a jewel; clean beaches bordering two bays of crystal clear water, each home to vibrant coral reefs' and was shocked to witness the extent of damage that crude development had wrought in the intervening years. Some of the planning issues highlighted by Fahn (2003) include overcrowding of infrastructure, high-rise accommodation detracting from the natural attraction of the island, littered beaches, water pollution from daily trip and longtail boats to the extent that the majority of offshore coral has died. With regard to the island interior, it is described as a 'slum' (Fahn, 2003: 69), with no apparent system for garbage disposal, which is often left rotting outside shops and businesses. It is ironic when the island itself boasts its own incinerator and wastewater treatment plant: neither are used (Fahn, 2003: 69).

This is furthered by Byrne *et al.* (2005:371) in their description of Phi Phi Don as:' once an un-touristed island dotted with swaying palms and isolated spits of sand surrounded by shimmering turquoise waters – is now second only to Phuket as a destination for Farang (foreigners) in the south of Thailand. Packed with backpackers, bikinis, bars and booze, Phi Phi is no longer the place to come to get away from it all.' The same work confirms that tourists outnumber locals five to one and that the services to support a tourism industry; restaurants, travel agencies and guesthouses fill the village streets (Byrne *et al.* 2005: 372). Implications of this seemingly innocent description hint at some of the problems associated with tourism development on Phi Phi. Not only may the tourist to local ratio present implications for cultural erosion and negative socio-cultural impacts, if considered in the context of carrying capacity and Doxey's Index of Irritation (1976), which posits a deterioration of host attitudes towards tourists as exposure time extends (Doxey, 1976), but allows reinforcement of the claim that the sheer density and nature of development was one of the contributing factors to the devastation wrought by the tsunami in 2004.

Research undertaken by Dodds, Graci and Holmes (2010) concerning the motivations of tourists both on Phi Phi and Gili Trawangan, Indonesia, reveals a detailed insight into the tourist market of the island. They note that tourists on Phi Phi are predominantly young, with relatively high levels of income and are from English-speaking nations. This concurs with Cohen's (1982:189; 1983) much earlier work surrounding backpacker culture in the southern Thai islands of Phuket and Koh Samui, whom he described as 'mass youth tourists', who are less adventurous and more demanding than the tourists who preceded them. Their research claims to fill the gap in how consumers influence achieving sustainability practices (Dodds, Graci and Holmes, 2010), noting that tourists on Phi Phi are predominantly seeking a beach-based holiday. In respect of the tourists' attitudes to sustainability, they observe a desire for better waste management systems and lower density construction to improve their holiday experience. However, only 10%

of tourists on Phi Phi appeared willing to pay to support environmental protection. Conversely, 69% of tourists on Phi Phi (Dodds *et al*., 2010) felt that it was themselves and the provincial government who should be responsible for sustainability. Their study pays heed to the importance of a 'pristine' environment.

It would be unfair to blame the degradation of a location solely on tourists and tourism. Whilst it is true that tourist development certainly has the potential to bring negative impacts, the question must be posed: if tourism was not present and the island was inhabited solely by those indigenous to the area, would development take place in a strategic and sustainable manner? Fahn (2003) suggests that this would not be the case. Fahn (2003: 56) provides an insight into Thai culture similar to that of other researchers (Mulder, 2000) suggesting that whilst a Thai home will more often than not be spotlessly clean, 'if they don't own the land they are living on they probably don't feel any responsibility for what is not theirs'. This highlights an east/west environmental culture clash. Therefore, whether one is concerned with the impact caused by tourism or purely of inhabitation by people of any nationality, it is vital that, for natural resources to be preserved, some strategic system for development planning must exist.

Prior discussion in section 1.5 has highlighted that; amongst the primary pull factors for the islands are their natural resources. It has also been argued that previous planning for development on Phi Phi to support a tourism infrastructure has been poorly governed, resulting in excessive strain on infrastructure and future degradation of the island. It is therefore vital that these resources are conserved. When applied to characteristics of unsustainable development (adapted from Krippendorf, 1982; Lane, 1989 and Godfrey, 1996 as cited in Swarbrooke 1999: 15) it is evident that the nature of Phi Phi's development pre-tsunami correlates with such factors such as 'rapid uncontrolled development, short term concern, inappropriate scale and development without planning'. This initial evidence suggests that development on Phi Phi prior to the tsunami was unsustainable.

It must be noted, however, that it would be wrong to impose a policy of sustainable development upon Phi Phi just because Eurocentric opinion deems it appropriate. One of the critiques of sustainability discourse that will be furthered in Chapter 2 is that it is a Western ideology, considered highly unsuitable when creators of the ideal feel that they have the power and expertise to suggest that sustainable development should be practiced by all, particularly when they might have failed to achieve this in their own country (Pleumarom, 1994). Bearing this in mind, part of the research will constitute identification of what is sought by a spectrum of development stakeholders in Phi Phi, particularly the islanders, to ensure that recommendations for sustainable development are appropriate.

1.11 Planning for tourism on Phi Phi

The two islands of Phi Phi are some of Thailand's most alluring. This is sometimes a curse, as despite their national park status, developers have encroached to cash in on tourism (http://www.circleofasia.com/guide/index.asp?Id=101). As mentioned, the islands form part of the Hat Noppharat Thara National Marine Park. National park status requires

the island to be a protected natural environment, and park resources are prohibited from production uses (Delcore, 2007). However, 'the national park has seen steady land encroachment since it became a tourist attraction' (Hart, 2005:2). Over a period of 15 years, the islands increased in popularity and therefore infrastructure subsequently increased to support tourist demand. Due to the topography of Phi Phi Don, development was only logistically possible on a thin isthmus of sand in the centre of the island between the two half-moon shaped bays of Ao Lo Dalaam and Ao Ton Sai. Consequently this area was rapidly developed into a 'concentrated holiday paradise, a conflagration of guesthouses, bars, shops and restaurants all jammed into a tiny space of sand' (Hart, 2005: 3). The consequences of this lack of planning and overdevelopment were severe in environmental and social terms; many commentators discuss sewerage problems, pollution of land and sea, poor garbage disposal systems, reef damage and over-fishing (Hart, 2005): 'It is public knowledge of the waste of money spent on the reservoir, the threats made by locals against its completion and the fact that 40 million baht was spent on it and it was never operational' (Fluiddiver, Hi Phi Phi Discussion Forum, 8th June 2005). These claims are confirmed by Dodds, Graci and Holmes (2010) who highlight the impact of a lack of formal planning and inadequacy of basic utilities on the islands, as in Gili Trawangan in Indonesia.

It is widely acknowledged, by everyone other than the Thai Government, that land rights remain one of the most pertinent of Thai planning issues (Bangkok Post, 29/12/2004). It would certainly appear that the tourism industry has had a part to play in a 'land rights dilemma', when it is claimed that 'tourist establishments were allowed to put down roots using dubious legal documents on land' of which the previous use was as protected or natural areas (ibid, 29/12/2004). The Bangkok Post, an English language daily, documents that authorities are aware of these illegal practices. However, as long as they provide a significant boost to the Thai economy, illegally built developments are allowed to remain. The question remains, where illegally built properties or land encroachment occurred pre-tsunami and the infrastructure was destroyed and the authorities have been provided with a clean slate for carefully planned, law abiding development to occur, will they resume the 'tried and tested' development model or consider more sustainable alternatives? As highlighted in the Bangkok Post (29/12/2004), 'it would make no sense at all to embark once again on development patterns that contributed to such heavy losses,'

The process of making false land right claims is explained by Fahn (2003: 66): 'Thailand's land rights system is confusing and subject to manipulation'. Fahn then states that certain claimants had reported missing the original proof of land use documents so that the original owners could not be traced. Indeed, this issue appears pertinent to Phi Phi when, although part of Hat Noppharat Thara Phi Phi Islands National Park, wealthy investors in the area are claimed to have made connections with villagers willing to make a land claim on behalf of the investor and with 'sufficient financial backing to grease the wheels of officialdom', they can claim their title deeds under the pretence that the land is to be used for farming, yet later sell onto the investor for a pittance (Fahn, 2003: 70). Montlake (2005) explains that many of Phi Phi's inhabitants are rushing the rebuild of their homes after the tsunami to avoid any claim on the land by rich families claiming to be the rightful owners. Indeed, survivors' suffering has been prolonged due to disputes

regarding the land their destroyed homes were built upon, prohibiting them from trying to rebuild their lives and livelihoods: 'the land is on some of the most sought-after beaches in the tourism world' (Rice, 2005:22).

Phi Phi suffers from similar challenges of scarcity to that of many other island destinations (Brix, 2011). This scarcity is particularly notable in terms of land, whereby the sandy isthmus of 30 hectares is divided between private landowners which number approximately 30, with 5 major landowners holding 80% of the land. The only land owned by the municipality is an area of 6000m^2, which is now the location of the new wastewater treatment plant. These pressures give rise to challenges in providing public space in the central area of the island where there is no construction. At present there is still no power line connecting the island to the mainland and therefore energy is supplied by diesel generators, renowned for high levels of noise and pollution (Brix, 2011).

1.12 The Asian Tsunami and Phi Phi

On 26th December 2004, at 07:58, an underwater earthquake of 9.3 on the Richter scale was triggered from an epicentre off the coast of Banda Aceh, Northern Indonesia (www.phi-phi.com; Ghobarah *et al*. 2006). The earthquake was caused by the subduction of the Indian tectonic plate under the Burma micro plate, resulting in a vertical uplift of the ocean floor of about ten metres (ibid., 2006). This vertical uplift resulted in a Tsunami which affected nineteen countries including Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand, resulted in over 300,000 deaths and left 1.5 million people homeless (ibid., 2006). Across Thailand 8,212 people were killed or missing and economic damage totalled $2.198mn (Nidhiprabha, 2008). Damages were equivalent to losing 70% of the gross provincial product of the Krabi Province. An initial harbour wave ten feet in height approached Phi Phi Don via Tonsai Bay at 10:37 and a second, more deadly wave of eighteen feet approached via Ao Lo Dalaam Bay. This second wave devastated the flat low-lying 'apple core' area in the centre of the island where the two bays meet (www.phi-phi.com). In total, the island had an estimated 10,000 occupants at the time the tsunami struck (peak season). Approximately 850 bodies were recovered on Phi Phi following the tsunami and more than double that figure were never recovered (www.phi-phi.com). The remaining survivors were evacuated from the island. Local population figures on Phi Phi are estimated at 1,500-2,000 Thais of various descents, demonstrating how the population of the island swells at peak season.

Province	Dead				Injured			Missing		
	Thai	Foreigners	Unidentified	Total	Thai	Foreigners	Total	Thai	Foreigners	Total
Phuket	151	111	17	279	591	520	1,111	245	363	608
Phang Nga	1,389	2,114	722	4,225	4,344	1,253	5,597	1,352	303	1,655
Krabi	357	203	161	721	808	568	1,376	314	230	544
Ranong	153	6	-	159	215	31	246	9	-	9
Trang	3	2	-	5	92	20	112	1	-	1
Satul	6	-	-	6	15	-	15	-	-	-
Total	2,059	2,436	900	5,395	6,065	2,392	8,457	1,921	896	2,817

Source: Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation (DDPM), Ministry of the Interior

Figure 6: Human impact of the 2004 Asian Tsunami (Source: Nidhiprabha, 2008)

The aftermath of the tsunami on Phi Phi Don is described accurately by Lonely Planet: 'Arriving by boat, Phi Phi Don is a striking sight. The point where the two half-moon bays of Ao Lo Dalaam and Ao Ton Sai meet – once a bustling, crowded den of shops, bars and bungalows – is now a desolate space of rubble, hollowed-out buildings and downed trees' (Lonely Planet, 2005:1). Altman (2005:2) describes the aftermath as 'leftover debris – splintered wood from dining tables, shredded aluminium from rooftops, bloated bodies – was scattered all over the island.' The destruction caused by the tsunami on Phi Phi was vast and is shown below in image 8.



Image 8: View of the devastated central apple core area of the island (Source: www.phi-phi.com)

What remained following the clean-up of debris and bodies is shown in image 9 below.



Image 9: View of the apple core area (author's own, taken July 2005)

Early visitors to Phi Phi Don arriving shortly after the tsunami described a scene of chaos and destruction (Cummings, 26/1/2005; Hi Phi Phi discussion Fora, 28/01/2005). In addition to an immense loss of life, the secondary impacts could be argued to be almost as destructive as the tsunami itself (Rice, 2005). It is projected that in addition to income lost due to loss of productive and business assets, the cost of rebuilding or re-purchasing these assets and the reduction in tourist confidence due to media portrayal (or lack of verifiable information), further damage to livelihoods in the affected areas in economic terms will be caused (UNDP, World Bank, FAO, 10/01/05).

The natural attractions of the islands, however, appear to have been relatively unscathed by the tsunami. Cummings has suggested that 'nature has coped with the giant waves; it was man's designs atop nature that haven't fared so well' (2005:1). Pleumarom (2004:1) suggests that the extent of the trauma could be attributed to 'as so often before; incompetence, greed and bureaucratic bungling,' whilst the Bangkok Post (29/12/04) have reaffirmed that the tsunami, however devastating, was a natural 'phenomenon', and thus the extent of the catastrophe should be attributed to the fact that 'people were now occupying parts of the geography that they should not.' These statements refer to building below the shoreline, lack of planning and national park encroachment that appear to be characteristic of tourist development on Phi Phi.

This sentiment is mirrored by UNDP and The World Bank whilst conducting a post-tsunami assessment mission (4th-8th January 2005:5) who suggest that over-reliance upon tourism and abandonment of traditional industry such as forestry products and commercial agriculture, in addition to: 'very crowed human settlements at immediate proximity of the shoreline (tourism-related facilities and fisher folk communities) that experienced in recent years a booming and poorly planned development' were all contributing factors to the widespread destruction. The same report

highlights that 'they all rely on an increasingly depredated and fragile environment and are pulled by the major driving force of the rapid and expanding development of mass tourism' (ibid. 2005:5). Ghobarah *et al.*'s (2006) research concerning the effect of the tsunami upon structures and infrastructure note Phi Phi's heightened vulnerability on account of the unique shape of the island.

> *The unequal flanges of the H shape are elevated grounds, hills and cliffs that reflected the incoming Tsunami waves towards the middle part of the island, which is a low-lying area of sandy beaches between the Ton Sai bay to the south and the Loh Dalaam bay to the north. This narrow strip of beaches is 100-800 m wide and has a number of resorts. The tsunami waves arrived at the island from both the NW and SE directions. The wave run-up reached a height of over 6 m. Damage to resorts, hotels and the shopping district in the low beach area was extensive.'* (Ghobarah *et al*., 2006: 315)

Ghobarah *et al*. (2006:320) further note the impact of the tsunami upon island structures and infrastructure, highlighting that affected structures were low-rise residential buildings and businesses with the weakest structural performance notable in 'residential wood houses with [a] tile or corrugated sheet steel roof'. These structures were observed to have withstood the earthquake but disintegrated totally when hit by the tsunami. The construction material was then broken down into debris, which presented a further hazard for survivors. Ironically, the majority of construction pre-tsunami in Phi Phi was of this form.

Other factors that have contributed to the mass devastation are illustrated in the region of Phang Nga Bay renowned for its limestone karsts and mangrove forests. In the quest for space, tourist facilities and shrimp farming have gradually encroached on the natural space, requiring the clearing of the coral reefs and mangrove forests. It is in this area also that the tourism industry is accountable for tremendous loss of life; as such reefs can act as natural barriers (Bangkok Post, 29/12/2004; UNDP and World Bank, 2005).

In terms of impact upon visitor arrivals, the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) attribute a 1.15% decrease in 2005 (11.52 million inbound visitors) to the disturbance caused by the tsunami in the three southern provinces of Phuket, Krabi and Phang Nga (TAT, 2005 Tourism Situation). Whilst the impact was not as drastic as expected, due to claims made by the TAT that the disaster was handled effectively in marketing terms, the first quarter of 2005 experienced (unsurprisingly) the most dramatic reduction in tourism demand (-10%), whilst tourists awaited messages of reassurance for security and safety. It can be noted that tourism demand may have been 'redirected' (Cooper *et al*., 2008) to other parts of Thailand given that destinations such as Hua Hin, Trat and Koh Samui noted the highest occupancy figures in five years (TAT, 2005).

Due to Phi Phi Don being allegedly unable to support tourism in the initial stages following the tsunami (70% of buildings being destroyed), enterprising tour companies from the mainland diverted tourist flows to alternative destinations. In particular, a greater focus was placed upon Maya Bay on Phi Phi Le as a destination in its own right

(Asia Africa Intelligence Wire, 18/01/05). Tanpaibun, Managing Director of Seatran Travel (a ferry company serving the islands) commented that there were tourists who desired to see Phi Phi Don, but that he was unwilling to take them, wishing people to remember the main island as a paradise destination (ibid., 18/01/05). Other islands such as Koh Khai were also reaping the benefits of this tourist diversion. However it could also be suggested that increased tourist numbers could only be detrimental to Phi Phi Le, already in the media spotlight for the alleged damage caused by the filming of *The Beach* in Maya Bay. The motivation of such tourists is in question: was it due to reminiscence for an island they have previously travelled to, or morbid curiosity? It identifies potential for a new island tourism product: 'dark tourism'. This is evidenced in later reports (Altman, 2005:2) who detail that tourism to the island has declined significantly with the island's tourist core represented by predominantly day visitors from other islands who visit out of 'curiosity' and are interested in purchasing graphic photos of 'blackened half-submerged bodies and people taking their last breath'.

These day-trippers, although providing some employment on the island, do little to assist local business people because day-trip operators having co-operative arrangements with selected resorts, to which the group are escorted for lunch. This in turn negatively impacts the local economy via a reduction in the multiplier effect and increased leakage to Phuket and the mainland. In essence, benefits are either leaked out of the island economy or accrued by local elites, an experience that can be understood through dependency theory. Incidentally, the resorts, which benefit from the day-trippers, are those belonging to the major landowners on the island: the Phi Phi Island Cabana Hotel, The Banyan Villa, and Charlie Beach Resort. In the same report it is also highlighted that these 'mass' day tours, are once again causing the same environmental concerns due to high volumes of sea traffic, although this time there are no economic benefits to counteract the environmental degradation (Altman, 2005). It is reported that despite claims for a 'clean slate' the problems experienced by Phi Phi pre-tsunami have still not been rectified: 'there are no public toilets, no organised trash pick-up, no infrastructure for wastewater management and overcharging by privately owned water and electricity companies' (Altman, 2005:3).

According to Buddhism (practiced in the majority of tsunami-affected areas and Phi Phi to an increasing degree), the tsunami reveals divine anger with man. Whilst acknowledging the tragedy of this event, it is perhaps realistic to suggest that if any good can be derived from the tsunami, it will be the widespread recognition of the impact of high-density, poorly planned and unsustainable tourism infrastructure (Harvey, 2001; UNDP and World Bank, 10/01/05). In addition, those with indigenous knowledge were spared (UNDP and World Bank, 2005). Perhaps it could therefore be argued that the destruction and loss of life was so extreme due to dilution of indigenous knowledge. This dilution can in turn be attributed to tourism development and the socio-cultural impacts that ensue (Weaver and Lawton, 2002). Nevertheless, the tsunami has presented the Thai authorities with an opportunity to reconsider development strategies and implement and enforce stricter zoning regulations (UNDP and World Bank, 2005).

In the early stages post-tsunami, there were warning signs that the desire to rebuild and again accommodate tourism (i.e. economic considerations may supersede any caution for sustainability issues and careful planning). Considering the negative impact that tourism brought to the islands, it is ironic that it be regarded as the economic saviour post-tsunami (Pleumarom 2004). A local tour guide made comment that 'exactly when tourism will start picking up will depend on the pace that infrastructure is rebuilt [at]' (Thongpra, 2005:4).

This sentiment, mirrored by the Thai Government and tourism industry, seems to be a typical mind-set in Thailand, whereby priority for aid and rebuilding is given to the reconstruction of the tourism industry (Pleumarom, 2004). According to literature, taxpayers' money is being allocated for this purpose in addition to the provision for promotional campaigns designed to attract tourists to the Andaman region. Indeed, a vast amount of literature appears to confirm that rebuilding tourism infrastructure is taking priority over rebuilding livelihoods (Roberts, 2005).

The Thai government is set to spend large amounts of taxpayers' money to re-stimulate the Andaman tourism industry and appears focused upon a swift rebuild for immediate economic gain. However, should the possibility of diversifying livelihoods, or the industry itself be raised in avoidance of over-reliance upon a fickle tourism industry (Pleumarom, 2004)? This is echoed by the UNDP and World Bank who recommend that it would be prudent to seek alternative livelihoods, adopting a more balanced and planned economic development approach (10/01/05).

Krabi Governor Promnart is reported to have discussed the government's plans for redevelopment, highlighting that priority should be given to identifying areas where park encroachment has occurred and reclaiming these for protection. In addition, it is proposed that the province will 're-plan and re-zone' the core area of the beach, with the possibility of creating a public beach park to ensure that architecture is of lower density (Cummings, 2005). It is also planned that all properties should be well beyond the high water mark. The Governor is also reported to favour plans for Phi Phi becoming primarily a day trip destination, with only a few resorts located on the hillsides (UNDP and World Bank, 2005). However, surely it would be unlikely for these plans to come to fruition, unless all remaining infrastructure located on the sand plateau between the dual bays were demolished.

It was perceived by many, both academic and journalists (Cummings, 2005; Rice, 2005; Altman, 2005) that pre-tsunami, the scale and nature of development on the island was unsustainable. This judgement is made according to Ko's criteria (2005) who combines holistic and reductionist approaches to provide a practical approach to sustainability assessment. Ko (2005) notes that criteria such as poor ecosystem quality, lack of balance between the needs of local residents, tourists and the natural environment, and the existence of policies favouring tourism growth over sustainable tourism development are characteristic of unsustainable tourism destinations. This sentiment is mirrored by CNN: 'if there was a saving grace to the tragedy – it was the opportunity left by the devastation to build anew in areas that had been developed in environmentally and socially unjust ways' (4/12/05:5). It is clear that there are a wealth of options as regards the redevelopment of the island in order to address more sustainable practices.

Certainly it was this assumption that spurred Dodds (2011) to assess whether the island was moving towards or away from sustainability. The results of her empirical study do not appear to form a definitive judgement in that respect. Conversely, research undertaken by Rigg *et al.* (2005) on Phi Phi, Koh Lanta and Khao Lak, suggests that an event on this scale has the potential to radically transform structures and processes of social relations and economic production. They suggest it represents a 'break in the trajectories of existence' (Rigg *et al*. 2005: 377). There therefore remains potential to uncover and map the form of reconstruction that will take place in Phi Phi, whether there is a recreation of the pre-tsunami state of affairs, or whether a new direction is taken.

UNEP, in their recommendations for the rebuilding of the Andaman region, suggest the erection of 'natural buffer zones' in the coastal areas, rebuilding in less exposed areas and shoreline tree planting to protect coastal infrastructure (New Frontiers, 2005) heeding the long-term environmental lessons posed by the tsunami. UNEP rather idealistically recommended that this be enforced through strict building codes in coastal areas. Parallels can be drawn between these recommendations made to ensure that destruction reaped by future natural disasters is minimal and that of tourism development for which these guidelines would minimise criticism often experienced by the industry with regard to shoreline developments. The tourism industry is criticised for destroying these natural buffers. However, the controversy surrounding the historical nature of tourism development of Phi Phi is not contemporary. At the time of the filming of *The Beach* in 1998, Fahn (1998:3; 2003:147) repeatedly urged that 'It is vital that an effective environmental management plan, complete with quotas for the daily number of visitors, be set up now ... a similar plan, acknowledging carrying capacities should have been established long ago for Phi Phi Don, parts of which have degenerated into what can only be described as a slum.'

Although it is clear that there has been a longstanding recognition of the need to develop more sustainable tourism practices in Phi Phi (Dodds, 2011), it is worth investigating why these practices have not been adopted, when there are numerous commentators that now highlight the importance of encompassing sustainability principles into the reconstruction plans (UNEP, 2005; Pleumarom, 2005; and Tourism Concern, 2005). Commentators such as Pleumarom, a Thai-based academic and environmental activist (2005:7) recommend that redevelopment should only be carried out 'after a series of brain-storming sessions about the reconstruction of local people's lives and livelihoods and the rehabilitation of the natural environment.' It still remains to be seen if the advice will be heeded this time around or whether it will be set aside in favour of more powerful forces. Considering that the legacy provided by the tsunami was not just one of the destruction of infrastructure and lives but of the continued loss of earnings of those reliant upon the tourism industry on the island, it might be suitable therefore to include amongst the options for redevelopment an exploration of strategies to diversify the economy (Pleumarom, 2004).

Research that bears the closest similarity to this study is that undertaken by Dodds (2011). Her research sought to analyse the effectiveness of implementation and achievement of sustainable tourism practices on Phi Phi Don in light of an expressed desire amongst stakeholders to strive for greater levels of sustainability post-tsunami. Employing a multi-method approach to data collection, Dodds gathered data from the stakeholders of Phi Phi's development,

including owners of land and accommodation, tour agencies and government representatives, although the topics listed in her 2011 article do not appear to actively capture data on sustainability practices and their effectiveness. There is a greater emphasis on impacts of tourism and barriers to implementing sustainability rather than how sustainability is conceptualised by stakeholders. It was not the intention of the study (unlike this one), to compare stakeholders' interpretations. The article does however provide some solid contextual information of relevance to this study in the challenges faced by inhabitants of the island, elaborates some of the potential barriers to sustainability on the island and recognises the role that power struggles play in impeding sustainability, although it is not within the remit of her work to elaborate on these struggles. The work does not appear to reach a definitive judgement on whether the island is moving towards or away from sustainability.

1.13 Redevelopment post-tsunami

From the outpouring of volunteer assistance and fundraising efforts undertaken by the international traveller community following the tsunami, it can be seen that despite criticisms of the island's development trajectory, the island had a loyal following of return visitors and long-stay tourists, all of whom had great affection for the destination (www.hiphiphi.com). It is perhaps due to this that following the tragic deaths of both Thai people and tourists, appeals, funds and trusts in the name of redeveloping the island and re-establishing the livelihoods of islanders were established. In particular, Phi Phi Aid, Phi Phi Releve Toi, The Piers Simon Donation Appeal and the Lisa Smith Appeal demonstrate the concern of foreign donors, in the form of family members, friends and associates of tourists and workers who were killed or injured during the tsunami (Europe Intelligence Wire, 18/01/05) and their commitment to assisting with the rebuild of the island. The most prominent volunteer organisation, Hi Phi Phi (Help International Phi Phi), established by Dutch-born, long-term Phi Phi resident Emiel Khok and his partner Ralph Toll was instrumental in coordinating the search for relatives, clearing of rubble, stimulating a volunteer effort of over 2000 people and raising funds (www.hiphiphi.com). In fact, it was funds of this nature that contributed to the majority of the rebuild of homes and businesses on the island (Greenhough, Jazeel and Massey, 2005). Researchers claim that it is for this reason that the Thai government abandoned the island. Ironically, whilst the Thai government asserted its position geopolitically through offering assistance to smaller neighbouring states, it refused assistance offered by the international community (ibid., 2005).

Despite claims in 2005 by the Thai government that no further development is to be granted at present on Phi Phi Don, plans have been released for the establishment of two new 'all-inclusive' concept resorts on the island: one in Lanah Bay, to be developed by Intercontinental Hotels Group, on land owned by Jumreon Chittarasnee, owner of the Holiday Inn which was due to open in 2007 (Phuket Gazette 25/09/05); and the other by Sofitel scheduled for opening early November 2005 (TAT 29/09/05). These development plans are confirmed by Choo (16/09/05) in a news release for Intercontinental Hotels Group, and Sritama (21/12/05) who report the signing of three new management contracts

to operate luxury hotels in Thailand, amongst those being one development on a private beach in Phi Phi and were later ratified through primary data collection with two different representatives from the Intercontinental Hotels group.

Based upon this evidence it could be proposed that the Thai government did have plans for the redevelopment of the island post-tsunami and indeed it would appear that there is a trend toward capturing the luxury market, which is certainly in line with experiences elsewhere in Thailand (see Koh Chang and Koh Samet) and the ideology of the TAT, in contrast to the backpacker market from which the island originally gained popularity. There is evidence that several of the destinations affected by the tsunami (in particular Sri Lanka) plan to pursue the 'high-end' market as an alternative to their traditional forms of tourism under the banner of 'sustainable development'. They hope to attract high-spending tourists and 'big business' at the risk of alienating small-scale traditional industry (Rice, 2005). In a similar manner to Dredge's (2010) observations following research of place change and tourism development conflict using a case study of a cruise ship terminal proposal on the Gold Coast of Australia, the Thai government's plans for the future of Phi Phi look set to exacerbate development conflict, and through this erode local social meanings that are inconsistent with the neoliberal objectives the government claim to be pursuing. Dredge recommends that in constructing a public interest framework, planners should:

- address the collective interests of the public;
- acknowledge the diversity of interests over time and across scales; and
- evaluate the different development scenarios (e.g. development versus no development) in terms of the public interests. (Dredge, 2010: 111)

Pleumarom (1999) highlights the trend toward the internationalisation of the tourism industry following trade liberalisation, and suggests that there is greater occurrence of this during times of economic hardship, as Thai-owned businesses may not have the necessary capital to shoulder the burden of debt. This was particularly true in Thailand following the Asian Financial Crisis of 1998-1999 when the Thailand Tourism Society made proposals for the launch of a Foreign Business Bill. This represented a form of liberalisation of the hotel, restaurant and travel agency sectors, which would permit foreign investors to acquire a 100 per cent stake in a business in contrast to the previous 49 per cent (Pleumarom, 1999). The economic rationale for this can be demonstrated, but continued and increased internationalisation of the tourism sector can have serious implications in terms of economic leakage and reduced local control, potentially jeopardising the sustainability of development on Phi Phi (Pleumarom, 1999), hence the launch was subsequently stopped by the TTS president.

The Thai government was widely criticised with regard to inaction on Phi Phi (Rice, 2005) resulting in illegal rebuilding of infrastructure whilst awaiting government plans for the island, in a similar manner to the National Park encroachment pre-tsunami, an activity that was to be supposedly prohibited this time around. From discussion fora on the island's development (www.hiphiphi.com discussion pages, June 2005) it would appear that some consider the

volunteer efforts a barrier to any real assistance from the Thai government. An anonymous islander placed the following comment upon the discussion forum pages of Hi Phi Phi's website: 'how do the locals put pressure on the Government to get help when the do-gooders are running around playing housy-house' (Fluiddiver, June 8th 2005). This highlights a frustration that the volunteers make limited impact on the most pressing issues for islanders, such as improvement of basic utilities but also, by their presence, reduce governmental desire to assist as a loss of face occurs. However, other sources report that it is the on-going indecision of the Thai government with regard to the production plans and conflict over which organisation should be responsible for overseeing the development is hampering the rebuild effort (Phuket Gazette, 9/9/05). Only broad-based redevelopment plans for the Andaman Region exist in the form of 'The Andaman Tourism Recovery Plan, 2005' (TAT, 10 January 2005). However, these policies appear to focus primarily upon the image of the destination rather than infrastructure redevelopment.

As of late 2005, after consultation with numerous government and tourist industry stakeholders, it would appear that the only strategic plans formulated for the region with regard to redevelopment of infrastructure are that of the 'Build Back Better' campaign for Koh Lanta (UNDP, 13/05/05) and the 'Final Report from a study and workshop using the World Tourism Organisation Methodology on Sustainable Tourism Indicators' for Phuket, (WTO, May 2005), which both recognise the need to adopt sustainability principles as part of their planning process, although offering limited assistance on how this is to be achieved. The Phuket Action Plan was hailed as being the 'ideal opportunity to foster co-operation and co-ordination among all the affected countries … to correct mistakes of the past' (Rice, 2005:12) However, there is no legal responsibility for governments to adhere to recommendations put forward by the report, only to adapt as they see fit, leaving much room for interpretation.

Certainly, it would appear that, upon an initial scoping visit to the islands (July 2005), there was much frustration and confusion with regard to the provision (or non-provision) of a strategic plan by the Thai government. In fact there appears to be common concern for the lack of transparency about the reconstruction plans of all destinations affected by the tsunami (Rice, 2005; Altman, 2005). Researchers note in Phi Phi a 'dysfunctional response to the crisis' (Rigg *et al.*, 2005:375). Altman (2005:3) reports that survivors were told by the Thai government to refrain from rebuilding damaged homes and businesses until a plan was finalised that would 'recreate Phi Phi as a safer, structurally stronger, and more Eco-friendly Island.' Comfort (2005) and Ingram *et al.* (2006) claim that this is often the objective of leaders in response to disaster: to build back quickly but better than before. In fact, in the wake of the tsunami, the only government guidance that was provided was that partially damaged buildings could be temporarily restored, but that islanders were prohibited from rebuilding completely damaged structures (Altman, 2005). A failure to react quickly only serves to heighten the vulnerability of affected populations (Ingram *et al*., 2006).

The only progress made is the decision that the Organisation for Specific Areas Administration for Sustainable Tourism Promotion (OSAASTP), under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, would be given the responsibility for maintaining and improving island infrastructure (Phuket Gazette, 9/9/05). This is, however, contradicted in Altman's report (2005), which states that the responsibility for reconstruction lies with the City

Planning and Public Works, with the Island Master Plan being co-ordinated by Tanya Hanpol, the acting Director of the Designated Area for Sustainable Tourism Administration (DASTA). A master plan for how this will be conducted was not available as of early 2005, yet was claimed to be due for release in May 2005 (McGeown, 2005) and then again on 27 January 2006 (Phuket Gazette, 6/01/06). The master plan was finally sent for consideration by Central Government in 2006 (personal communication, interview respondent 21). The Phuket Gazette (24/01/06) detailed a meeting that had taken place on the island with Deputy Prime Minister Suwat Liptapanlop, to discuss the future development of Phi Phi. Many islanders were again frustrated by the lack of progress, reported to be 'a lot of talk but no decisions' by Phankam Kitithorankul, Chairman of Or Bor Tor (Ao Nang Tambon Administration). It was expected that the next meeting scheduled for 27th January 2006 would provide the same result, and indeed it did. The only recommendations that were made at the meeting concerned the pier improvements, with a policy that once the pier had been completed, all trip boats must pick and drop off passengers from the pier rather than the shoreline in order to improve the visual appearance of Ton Sai, turning it back into a 'tourist paradise'. Rebuilding had been delayed due to unsuccessful funding bids (Phuket Gazette, 24/1/06).

There was still in 2006 only speculation as to how the Thai government planned to rebuild the island's tourist market. The majority of commentators appear to believe that the Thai government plans to reposition the tourist product of the island to provide a high-class luxury resorts in contrast to that of the backpacker and dive tourism that has existed successfully until now (personal correspondence with islanders, April 2006). Certainly it would appear that a trend towards development of luxury hotels on Phi Phi is appearing to include the Zeavola, Phi Phi Villa and Spa and the new Intercontinental Hotels development (Rosenfeld, 9/01/06; Phuket Gazette, 6/01/06; Altman, 2005; Sritama, 21/12/05; Choo, 16/09/05). Other commentators suggest that the government plans to adopt zoning techniques and reclaim encroached national park land to develop a central 'Leisure Park' where the original tourist village used to be (Lonely Planet 2005; McGeown, 2005), in addition to banning residents' houses from being rebuilt along the beachfront, which is expected to deprive locals of their livelihoods and potentially prevent displaced islanders from returning to their homes, and is certainly contrary to the needs of a fishing community.

However, whatever the rhetoric of the Government's plans, it is already a concern of the islanders (Lonely Planet update, 2005:1) that 'the pace of recovery is more rapid than most official accounts suggest. The reconstruction is fairly controversial as many stakeholders do not want the island to be overbuilt as it was in the past.' Annabel Hart, a Lonely Planet researcher (2005:2) commented that 'negotiations between public officials, landowners and community groups are now taking place to determine Phi Phi's fate. While most players agree on avoiding the chronic overdevelopment the island has seen in the past, some interpret the Government's insistence on sustainability as an effort to reduce the former tourist village to a few fancy resorts.' It would appear that although the government has invited a Bangkok-based Special Areas Development Organisation to draw up plans for the redevelopment, little progress has been made and findings are not yet available to the general public. In the Phuket Gazette article of 24th January 2006, the only plans that highlighted were the allocation of evacuation routes and a retraction of the previous governmental statement that: 'no rebuilding would be allowed ever' and deferred any further comment until the

meeting of 27th January 2006. It is heartening that responsibility for the island's reconstruction now lies with a department who are supposedly focused upon sustainability, but many islanders fear that 'the Government is taking advantage of the clean slate to transform Phi Phi into something that it inherently was not – an island catering to rich tourists' (Altman, 19/12/05:1). It must be questioned to what extent the new island master plan will address sustainability practices.

The subsequent planning meeting occurred on 16th February 2006 between the Krabi Governor Sonthi Techarat, the Prime Minister's Office Inspector General, Nathi Premrassami, approximately 200 island residents and business people and officials of the Interior Ministry's Public Works and Town and Country Planning Department. Despite previous plans to put the island under DASTA, meaning that it would be developed along lines to accommodate high-end tourism and be rehabilitated under the scrutiny of government agencies, it was announced that Phi Phi would now not be placed under DASTA but the island's future would be managed by government agencies such as the Public Works Department who were said to be drawing up a new town plan (Anon., Bangkok Post, 17/02/06). Whilst sustainability has remained high on the agenda of discussions for Phi Phi's redevelopment, as of 2010 when Dodds, Graci and Holmes carried out their research on the island, no agreed master plan had been put forward (Dodds, Graci and Holmes, 2010).

Other proposed plans are to rebuild public utilities, through a cable link with the mainland to provide the island with electricity and installation of desalination plants in order to provide fresh water (Bangkok Post, 17/02/06). There are already plans to sell reverse osmosis technology to Phi Phi residents, produced by the Provincial Waterworks Authority (Phuket Gazette, 24/02/06). It is claimed that through providing electricity from the mainland, the noise pollution caused by generators will be reduced (Phuket Gazette, 24/02/06). However, it is yet to be determined the extent of environmental marine impact that will be experienced in the construction of this cabling. Yet again, it appears that the future of Phi Phi is now in question. The only clarity that is evident is the wish to develop an infrastructure quickly that will again support large tourist numbers (ibid., 24/02/06).

As of September 2005, the clean-up and rebuilding effort was coordinated predominantly by Hi Phi Phi, funded solely by public donations and established by several expatriates and long-term travellers (McGeown, 2005). The efforts of Hi Phi Phi have been tremendous in clearing rubble and mass destruction caused by the tsunami and assisting the re-establishment of local businesses. However, in the absence of governmental guidance and strategic redevelopment plans, the organisation's work can move no further forward than the post-tsunami clean-up. This delay has a significant impact upon the rebuilding of livelihoods and represents a vicious circle, because in the absence of Government plans and with the prohibition of reconstruction, locals are prevented from returning to the island to resume and rebuild their lives and businesses (McGeown, 18/03/05). There are, however, criticisms of the role that transnational social capital has played in the recovery of the island, citing proposed projects that are not favoured by the Thai community (e.g. the tsunami museum near the pier) and cultural insensitivity of clearing up in bikinis and shorts in a largely Muslim community (Rigg *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore, Conran (2011) in her observations of

Volunteer Tourism in the North of Thailand notes that NGOs involved in volunteering in Thailand are predominantly foreign, proceeding to demonstrate the class inequalities that exist in a form of tourism that is 'a rebellious acquiescence to the status quo of neoliberal global capitalism' (Conran, 2011, *article in press*).

From the literature, it would appear that the media image of the region following the tsunami has deterred many tourists, inundated with images of death and disease and buildings in ruin (Asia Africa Intelligence Wire, 17/01/05). Certainly, Phi Phi is in a worse state of repair that some of its regional counterparts. However, there is still room for tourism. This is reinforced by Phankam Kitithorankul, Chairman of the Ao Nang Tambon Administration, in response to an interview in the Phuket Gazette: 'many people think that all of Phi Phi was damaged but in fact it was not. We have many rooms available on Phi Phi for tourists who want to travel here' (Phuket Gazette, 9/09/05). This is reinforced by Hart (2005:3), who during a research visit to the islands commented that although in the Andaman region Phi Phi is the second to Phuket in terms of popularity, 'media attention and Government-backed aid seems to have forgotten Thailand's runner-up piece of paradise.' In addition, the priorities of the Thai government in supporting and promoting the redevelopment of Phi Phi appear to impact greatly upon the speed of recovery. Kitithorankul, who is responsible for marketing Phi Phi commented that 'the central Government had still to help boost Tourism to the islands. It seems that everyone has forgotten Phi Phi; they are focusing only on Khao Lak and Phuket' (Phuket Gazette, 9/09/2005). Placing Phuket and Khao Lak as priority cases must be questioned as they have traditionally been extremely high profile, high-end destinations within Thailand.

1.14 Tourism planning and policy formulation in Thailand

Thailand's system of Public Administration is highly characteristic of a centralised, top-down approach (Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010; Gunn, 2002; Arghiros, 2001). The central administration is comprised of the Office of the Prime Minister and nineteen Ministries, including the Ministry for Tourism and Sports (UN ESCAP, 2012). Thailand is divided into 76 provinces, each headed by a Governor and their deputies, which the central Ministry of the Interior appoints. The administration for Phi Phi falls within the jurisdiction of the Krabi Province. However, there is currently much governmental rhetoric concerned with de-centralised policy processes, suggested by some to be a reaction to an increasing attention to corruption and abuse of power by the media and NGOs (Hewison, 2002). Thus local government organisations called '*Tambon* Administration Organisations' (TAOs) were created in 1996 to demonstrate a commitment to democracy, although moves were made, particularly under the Thaksin government, to incorporate the TAOs into centralised structures (Pongpaichit and Baker, 2004; Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010).

TAOs, which are comprised of elected representatives, still have limited autonomy. The government is hesitant to devolve power, as observed in Phuket by Krutwaysho and Bramwell (2010). TAO leaders were often hesitant to implement environmental policy if it reduced the chances of local people to make money, as it was felt that this would

limit their legitimacy and electoral support. Each *Tambon* is subdivided into *Kamnan*, comprised of several villages headed by village heads, referred to in Thai as *Pu ya ban* (UN ESCAP, 2011). This system of government involves complex and sluggish policy implementation (Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010).

This centralised system of government has supported tourism promotion through the establishment of The Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) on the 18th March 1960 as the first organisation in Thailand specifically responsible for the promotion of tourism (http://www.tourismthailand.org/about-tat/) in addition to embedding tourism objectives within the National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP), which is seen as the blueprint for the country's economic and social welfare and development (McDowell and Choi, 2010).

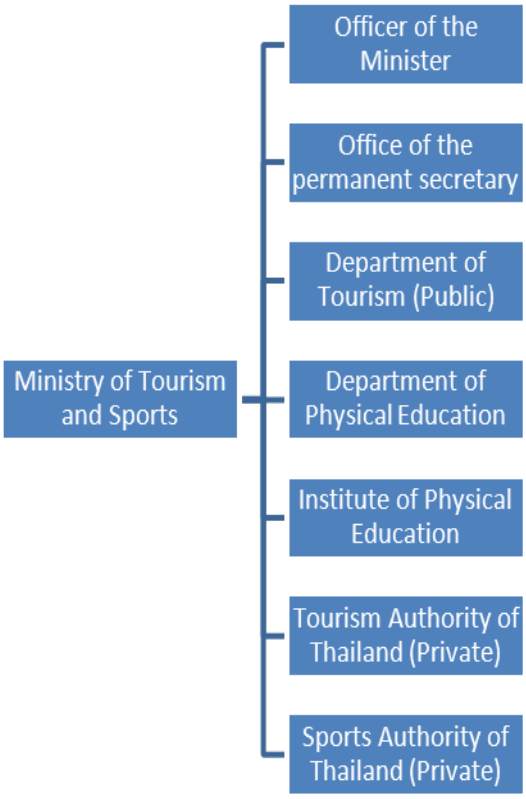


Figure 7: Structure of the Thai Ministry of Tourism and Sports (Source: Ministry of Tourism and Sports, 2012 http://www.mots.go.th/ewtadmin/ewt/mots_eng/ewt_news.php?nid=2976)

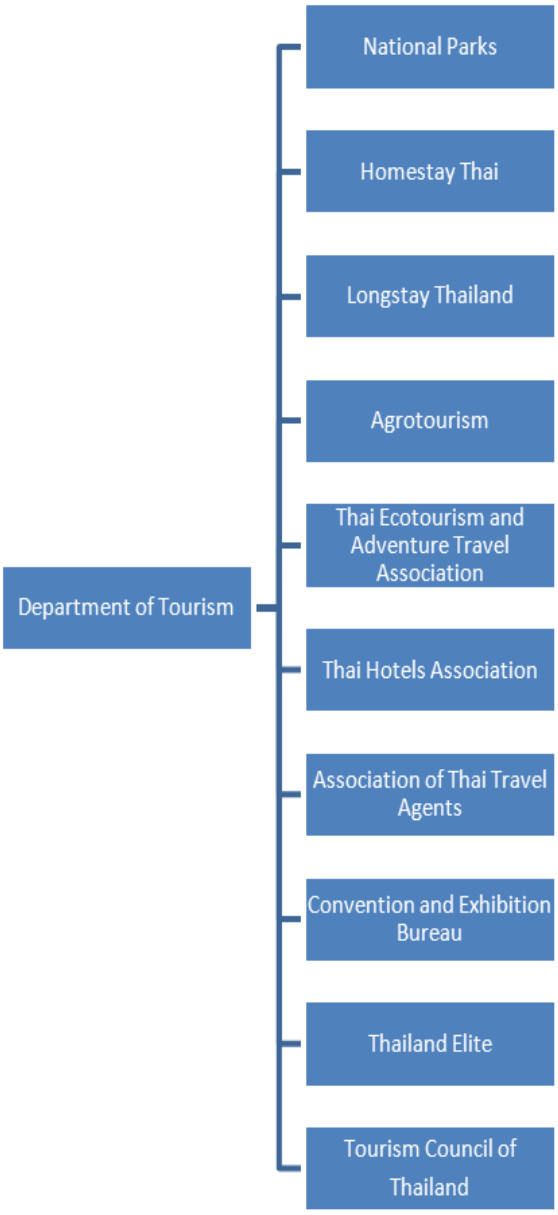


Figure 8: Structure of the Department of Tourism (Source: Ministry of Tourism and Sports, 2012, http://www.mots.go.th/ewtadmin/ewt/mots_eng/ewt_news.php?nid=2976)

From the structure shown in figure 8, the current strategic intent of the Minsitry is evident, demonstrating a commitment to niche and alternative forms of tourism to include longstay, homestay, ecotourism, agrotourism and high-end (or 'elite') tourism.

Provincial jurisdiction and structure for planning and governance of the tourism industry for Phi Phi is illustrated in Figure 9. As can be seen, in theory, centrally-produced plans are established by the relevant Ministry and

responsibility for their implementation is devolved through the Provincial Government to the Tambon Administration. In a tourism context, this activity is supported by the Department of Public Works and Planning.

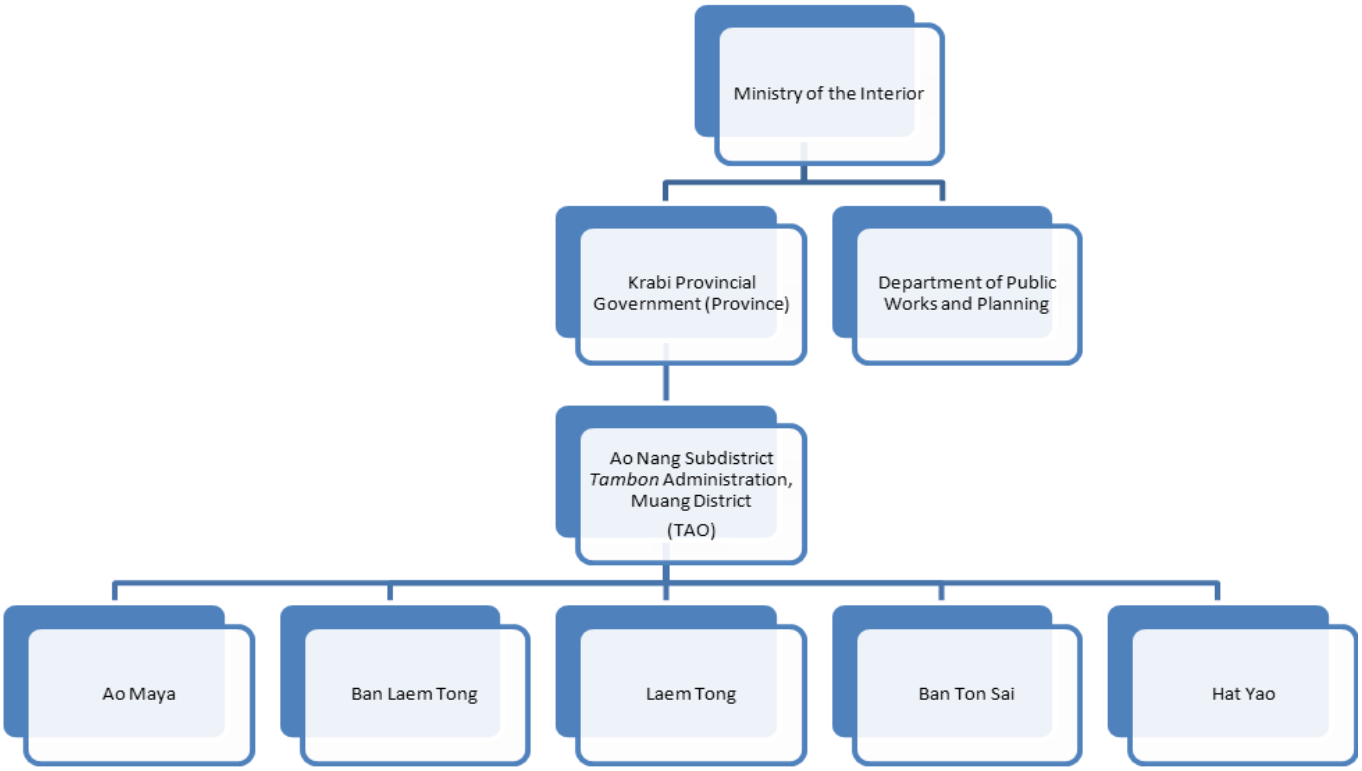


Figure 9: The Structure of Krabi Provincial/Ao Nang Tambon Administration (personal communication with the Office of the Krabi Governor, November 2006)

Kontogeorgopoulos's (1998) research in Phang Nga, Thailand, notes rhetoric of sustainability in Thai tourism policymaking. It appears that the Thai government acknowledges the social and environmental limitations of past tourism development (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998) with sustainability playing an increasingly major part of the National Tourism Master plan and ecotourism being a popular catchword. The 1998 plan, produced by the Thai Development Research Institute (TDRI) on behalf of the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998) allocated 3 billion baht towards projects centred on environmental rehabilitation and protection, development of ecotourism and income generation for local communities. In addition, the government established an ecotourism training centre in Nakorn Rachasima to support this strategy. Around this time, the TAT awarded its first annual

Thailand Tourism Awards to companies that promote natural and cultural conservation (ibid., 1998). Kontogeorgopoulos's (1998) empirical research notes that, despite good intentions, the Thai tourism industry continued to develop in a highly unsustainable manner, and that when policies and practices towards sustainability are scrutinised, they reveal the operation of marketing tools.

In 2003, Mr. Auggaphol Brickshawana, the then Director of the Policy and Planning Department, gave an address on behalf of the Ministry for Tourism and Sports, highlighting the main principles of tourism policy, which included promoting sustainable tourism whilst simultaneously 'enhancing the quantitative expansion' of the tourism industry (Brickshawana, 2003:5). There was still a perception of sustainable tourism as a marketing tool. The resulting policy objectives (similarly to Kontogeorgopoulos's earlier observations) paradoxically seek volume whilst also seeking carefully monitored, small-scale tourism. Particular strategies highlighted at Brickshawana's (2003:7) address include 'expansion of tourism areas' and 'enhancing mass marketing'. It may be unsurprising, therefore, that implementation of sustainability practices is poor if the government views sustainability as a marketing tool.

Early visions of the Tourism Authority of Thailand focused upon a desire to 'expand tourism sites to more remote areas to facilitate more equitable income distribution' (TDRI, 1997:15), particularly the expansion of tourist sites into national parks as a form of ecotourism (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998). The desire for this is understandable, especially when one considers that a principle of sustainable tourism development requires there to be equitable distribution of the benefits of tourism. However, surely a desire to penetrate deeper into the untouched Thai wilderness would integrate them further into the tourist system and make them vulnerable to the negative effects of tourism? Promotional campaigns of the TAT in the 1990s include the 'Amazing Thailand' campaign, which ran from January 1st 1998 to December 31st 1999, and further serve to demonstrate a lack of commitment to sustainable tourism. This campaign focused upon shopping, adventure tours, events, conventions and cultural demonstrations establishing targets for tourist arrivals of 17 million tourists per year (Kontogeorgopoulos 1998), emphasising size and scope over sustainability. Ironically, the same 'Amazing Thailand' campaign is currently being re-used (2012).

Recently, the newly elected Prime Minister, Yingluk Shinawatra, reaffirmed a national commitment to increase tourist arrivals in her address to the national assembly on 23rd August 2011 (Shinawatra, 2011), emphasising the importance of tourist safety and demonstrating a desire for growth again in alternative forms of tourism, namely ecotourism, but additionally medical tourism and cultural tourism. This policy statement represents a shift in language used by the government in respect of tourism development within the last decade; whilst increase in volume is still sought, there is a move towards quality and value added (Shinawatra, 2011). Again, this rhetoric is yet to be enacted. Interestingly this policy statement does not discuss sustainable tourism per se;, discussion of reviving natural and cultural attraction is in the context of exploring new areas for development (Shinawatra, 2011). Nonetheless, notions of a 'sufficiency economy' philosophy to Thai economic development, as envisioned by King Bhumibol Adulyadej have recently been

gaining increasing precedence in policy making circles (Noy, 2011; http://thailand.prd.go.th/view_news.php?id=6434&a=2) seen by UNESCO as a new ethical paradigm for sustainability (UNESCO, 2012). However, Piboolsravut (2004) and Krongkaew (2000; 2004) observe that the King's 'sufficiency economy' hegemony has been a longstanding feature of the country's development strategy, from its foundation in the King's Birthday speech of 1974 when he wished the nation '*Por You Por Kin'* which is translated to mean, 'sufficient to live and eat' (Krongkaew 2004:979), it has only in recent years been at the forefront of development discourse. The philosophy places emphasis upon strengthening the country's economic foundation, attaining balanced development, meeting basic economic needs, which will lead to a more resilient and sustainable form of development (Noy, 2011). It offers guidance for the country's economic and social developments and may be interpreted to account for the country's hesitance to liberalise trade and become enmeshed in systems of development aid offered by supra-national institutions such as the World Bank in a similar manner to other developing countries. However, as Krongkaew (2004) stresses, the 'sufficiency economy' philosophy is not anti-globalisation, it calls for a 'middle way' to be observed in line with Buddhist principles at all levels throughout society, in keeping with an increasingly globalised world. The emphasis is on localism, moderation and reasonableness, establishing the goal that in every village or sub-district there should be a reasonable amount of sufficiency (ibid. 2004). This philosophy laid the foundation of the nation's 9th Economic and Social Development Plan (2002-2006).

Certainly, empirical research undertaken in specific locations within Thailand (see Konisranukul and Tuaycharoen, 2010), for example Koh Mudsum, located close to Koh Samui district in the Surat Thani Province, illustrates an interest in sustainability within the implementation of the nation's 10th National Economic and Social Development plan, which seeks to: 'promote the development with regards to the diversity of biology, to build the security of environment and resources, and to create good-quality surroundings in order to make a good quality of life' (Konisranukul and Tuaycharoen, 2010:13), although it was Thammasat University acting as a bridging organisation who were responsible for a specific plan for Koh Mudsum. Within this process, it is claimed that public participation was a key facet from the start. Nevertheless, upon further examination there is a lack of detail concerning how participation was facilitated, in addition to the participants being notably the landowners, a similar picture to that which emerged on Phi Phi. Konisranukul and Tuaycharoen (2010) elaborate the planning stakeholders of Koh Mudsum as:

- Landowners
- Local People
- Developers
- Government agencies

Tourism planning in Thailand has, according to Parnwell (1996) as cited in Theerapappisit (2008:27), been the 'preserve of established technocrats located in the capital city of Bangkok, mainly for the benefit of a wealthy elite. This 'top-down' development approach is evidenced through the production of National Development Plans produced by the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) since 1957. These plans provide general guidelines, following which the various government agencies provide support. Parnwell and Khamanarong (1996:288) consequently observe a large gap between the 'planners' and the 'people'. Furthermore, a range of scholars observe conflicting policies of the TAT and the Ministry for Tourism and Sports (Chaisawat, 2006; Chudintra, 1993; Parnwell, 1993)

It appears that the need for 'sustainable' practices has been recognised in Thailand. However, widespread commitment to the cause is yet to be evidenced and implementation of policy is weak. What is evident, however, is that most discussion surrounding sustainable tourism concerns marketing of the industry to ensure long-term economic wellbeing rather than an holistic consideration of the 'triple bottom line' dimensions of economic, environmental and socio-cultural sustainability: 'Thus it is unrealistic to achieve sustainable tourism development and expect tourism to promote greater equality in the distribution of the benefits of that industry, if the forces making for inequality are left free to reign in their society and if policies aimed at the eradication of poverty are not vigorously pursued' (De Kadt, 1979: 45).

1.15 Political economy and (re)construction

The review of literature has highlighted a range of cases, which demonstrate the influence of political economy upon development and reconstruction at different levels of analysis. These cases may be used as a basis for understanding the dynamics and experiences of Phi Phi's reconstruction and be the basis of comparative analysis, grounded in a similar level of economic development (Caribbean), similar level and form of touristic development (Koh Chang and Koh Samet) and in some, that they represent examples of the influence of political economy upon reconstruction in a post-natural disaster context (Hurricane Mitch and Katrina; The Asian Tsunami on Sri Lanka). The analysis may not only provide a theoretical background through which to understand the experiences on Phi Phi but also assist theoretical building resulting from this research, on the basis that experiences on Phi Phi are reflected in other cases. The analysis spans down to more localised examples within Thailand and on Phi Phi itself.

Ayub and Cruikshank (1977:38) report that 'economic development in the Caribbean is dependent upon the interplay of certain political and social factors, which set it apart from other developing areas of the world'. Despite this claim, later work (Klein, 2005; 2008) would suggest that this is not the case, therefore providing further theoretical insights for the researcher. Key claims of their work (Ayub and Cruikshank, 1977) voice the economic significance of the

tourism sector as a developmental aid to the region and a contributor towards GDP, employment and foreign exchange earnings. This is nothing new: they are all factors identified in any text when discussing the economic benefits of tourism. The significance of Ayub and Cruikshank's work lies in the discussion surrounding business trends, highlighting a concern for the significant (dangerous) power held by multinational corporations over the Caribbean economy, locking them into a world system of dependency. Their work (ibid, 1977:38) reports Prime Minister Manley commenting: 'Clearly, political independence and national sovereignty are inconsistent with a situation in which the 'commanding heights' of the economy are foreign owned and controlled … it must be at the very least a long range objective to bring these sectors of the local economy under local ownership.' In this statement, the dangerous influence of multinational corporations over the economy of developing countries is highlighted, and hints are made towards now pivotal considerations of sustainable development theory: that control of development should be retained locally and the introduction of multinational corporations may go some way towards developing industry that is unsustainable owing to the loss of control and leakage of economic benefits.

Klein's (2005; 2008) work surrounding the political economy of post-disaster reconstruction is significant also: not only because it counters claims Ayub and Cruikshank (1977) that the Caribbean is an isolated case, but hints to the generalisability of political economic influence upon other developing countries. Klein's work (2005 and 2008) elaborates, through cases dating back to the 1950s, how the principles of shock therapy allegedly applied at McGill University under Dr Ewen Cameron were mirrored through economic shock therapy preached by the Milton Friedman Chicago School movement, whereby starting with Pinochet's Coup in 1972 in Chile, large-scale shocks were exploited to impose extreme capitalist takeovers (Klein, 2008) under the guise of neoliberalism. Klein's work on shock therapy through disaster capitalism (2005; 2008) offers a critical discussion of the reconstruction effort of the Bush Administration following events such as the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and natural disasters in Haiti, Hurricane Mitch and the post-tsunami relief effort, hinting at the trend towards 'disaster capitalism'.

Her subsequent discussion (Klein, 2008:385) criticises reconstruction agents including consulting firms, NGOs, government and UN aid agencies and international financial institutions, suggesting that there is a 'rise of a predatory form of disaster capitalism that uses the desperation and fear created by catastrophe to engage in radical social and economic engineering.' 'Terra nullius' is diminishing, particularly in the case of tourism, whereby tourists increasingly seek out 'new, exotic places' (Poon, 1993) and therefore a 'clean slate' in developmental terms might be quite appealing. Should this 'clean slate' be used as an opportunity to redevelop a longstanding unsustainable tourism destination along more considerate lines, thus enhancing the quality of life of the host community, then perhaps some hope can be gleaned from such disaster. If, however, Klein's (2005:3) claim is true that 'disaster is the new terra nullius' whereby financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF can provide reconstruction loans in the form of structural adjustment policies with crippling conditions, enabling the privatisation of industry and loss of control to foreign corporations, then disaster reconstruction may present an unsustainable future for those countries affected (Willis, 2005; Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

Klein's (2008:386) subsequent publication 'The Shock Doctrine' explored these issues further through a variety of post-disaster cases including that of Sri Lanka. Her research uncovered many issues of significance to this research. Most notably, her discussions with coastal communities highlight widespread dissatisfaction with a mass evacuation plan in the name of 'building back better'. New rules imposed on coastal communities forbade rebuilding for safety reasons within two hundred metres of the shoreline, making the beach 'off limits' for small boat fisher-people. However, tourist resorts were exempted from the buffer zone rule, on the condition that they classified their reconstruction work as 'repair'. New homes would be found for the fishing communities several kilometres inland (Klein, 2008). It is proposed that the tsunami was the answer to the prayers of businessmen and politicians, 'since it literally wiped these coastal areas clean of the communities, which had previously stood in the way of their plans for resorts, hotels, casinos and shrimp farms' (Klein, 2005:3; 2008). Klein (2008: 402) likens the post-tsunami situation to colonial times: 'if the land was declared empty or wasted, it could be seized and its people eliminated without remorse.'

Other global cases where the political economic influences of reconstruction are evident are plentiful. Hurricane Mitch is mentioned by Klein (2005), supported by Bradshaw (2002:871) in her critique of the reconstruction processes in Nicaragua, highlighting that 'disasters tend to reveal existing national, regional and global power structures, as well as power relations within intimate relations' (as adapted from Enarson and Morrow, 1998:2). In this case, it is clear that the reconstruction processes are the result of existing power struggles and structures and that rarely do disaster responses contribute towards long-term development: they can in fact undermine it (Bradshaw, 2002). The case of Nicaragua highlights the inequalities that exist within.

In a similar vein, Harvey (2006; 2007:29) acknowledges a rise in attempts to 'accumulate by dispossession', a new form of imperialism seeking to preserve the hegemonic position of the US in global capitalism. In fact, neoliberal approaches to development are cited by Harvey as an hegemonic discourse in itself: 'with pervasive effects on ways of thought and political-economic practices to the point where it is now part of the common sense way we interpret, live in, and understand the world' (Harvey, 2007: 21). Other researchers have critiqued disaster capitalism as a form of neoliberal thought through study of its impact upon public services; specifically, education in New Orleans post-Hurricane Katrina, Democracy "Promotion" in Iraq, and Chicago's Renaissance 2010 project and the impact of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) (Saltman, 2007a; 2007b). Similar studies have been conducted on Healthcare provision by Berggren *et al*. (2006) post-Katrina. Saltman's (2007a; 2007b) work draws many parallels with Klein's (2008) when he considers how disasters both natural and manmade have been used by businesses and power brokers to profiteer from the educational sector. Saltman identifies 'smash and grab capitalism', which he claims threatens democracy in the US. The researcher should therefore be aware of the politico-economic forces that shape development outside a post-disaster context in addition to special case situations.

At a regional level, Klein's (2005; 2008) and Saltman's (2007a; 2007b) observations are further reinforced in the case of post-disaster reconstruction following the tsunami. Following widespread destruction across numerous developing countries, the challenges and conflicts faced by host communities are comparable. Important work had commenced surrounding the political economy of post-tsunami reconstruction in Thailand as part of a PhD study by Dararat Kaewkuntee, Government official in the Office of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy and Planning. Tragically and unexpectedly, Khun Kaewkuntee passed away in February 2006, leaving her work unfinished. Her published work to date discussed the complexity of land rights problems in Thailand, highlighting that the tsunami only served to 'unveil' the conflict that awaited community members, governments and private investors (Kaewkuntee 2006:15). She states that in Thailand land rights are a nationwide issue and that 'many communities have been making use of public land both before and after the public land and national forest law', thus creating a situation whereby ownership and land boundaries are hazy. The issue is heightened, however, owing to the fact that land in Thailand is one of the country's most precious commodities that may be exploited, particularly when significant sums of money are offered by private investors to get their hands on prime beachfront land. In the name of capitalism, therefore, minor landowners and traditional inhabitants are tempted to sell their sought-after land for brief economic gain and retreat to inland locations, or alternatively encroach on public land (Kaewkuntee, 2006).

There have been many examples of conflict following the tsunami in the Andaman Region, including Ban Namken, Tungwa, Ban Laem-Pom and Tubtawan communities (Kaewkuntee, 2006; Pleumarom, 2005). The stories follow a familiar pattern: following the tsunami these communities have been forcibly relocated by the government under the claim that they have been encroaching on public land (Rigg *et al*., 2005). Another common tale is that ownership rights have been claimed over the land, usually by a development company or someone with close Governmental links (Pleumarom, 2005). Inhabitants report returning to the place where their home used to be to find armed guards and barbed wire fence encircling the settlement (Rigg *et al*., 2005). Land rights therefore remain of pivotal concern in the post-tsunami reconstruction effort. Saltman (2007b) further claims that the tsunami permitted large corporations to seize coveted shoreline properties for resort development, a claim that is supported by Klein (2008) and research undertaken in the Andaman Region by Tourism Concern (Rice, 2005).

At a local level, the islands of Koh Chang (Trat Province) and Koh Samet (Rayong Province) further illustrate a trend in Thailand towards a new form of 'high-end' development, hailed by the Thai government to be 'sustainable', although in practice this has resulted in increased ownership by powerful outside business interests. Development in both destinations stemmed, in a manner similar to Phi Phi, from growth in the backpacker market and were characterised by bamboo bungalows, beach-front restaurants, dive shops and fire shows. Koh Chang, whilst relatively undeveloped still in 2001, became the focus of a development scheme by the Thai government that would provide a significant boost to the economy of the Trat region (www.iamkohchang.com). This scheme, however, was focused away from the tourist market that had previously sustained the island in a fairly low-key manner and now aimed to target 'well-heeled tourists' only, reflecting the 'high-end' trend that seems to be permeating Thailand. Land prices

rose as government officials purchased prime developments, and ideas were proposed such as turning Koh Chang and Koh Kood into a 'lost world' concept, living world museum, whereby tourists might observe the locals carrying out their 'traditional activities' in their natural surroundings. Ironically, one must again remember that Koh Chang is part of a National Park; it was the Royal Forestry Department Chief that made this proposal. Development on the island was catalysed through the opening of a passenger ferry to serve the island and a domestic air terminal on the mainland near Trat, serviced by Bangkok Airways twice daily (www.iamkohchang.com).

The growing tourist numbers were then accommodated through the construction of over 20 major resorts, many categorised as 'luxury'. One of south-east Asia's largest conglomerates, C.P. Group, owner of 7-11 convenience stores, saw the opportunity that Koh Chang presented and purchased a significant amount of land on the island. Thus followed rapid unplanned expansion of facilities, characteristic of other Thai island destinations such as Phuket, with an oversupply of services, diminishing the profit that could be made by locally operated companies (www.iamkohchang.com). The latest development in Koh Chang's development is that it has been designated under DASTA's 'special areas' development scheme by 'drafting a Tourism development blueprint and integrate work between relevant agencies to reclaim forest land and public beaches from encroachers' (The Nation, 11/5/05). It is claimed that the agency has collaborated with forestry officers to oppress local residents and 'operate destructive projects'. There is widespread dissatisfaction with the work of DASTA in Koh Chang due to the lack of consultation with local residents, and the policies of the agency.

The case of Koh Samet is similar. Despite a reasonable level of satisfaction with the existing tourist product (low-rise, basic beach bungalow development), the host community of the island is now threatened by a recent government initiative to develop the island under DASTA (Bangkok Post, 22/4/06; The Nation, 7/3/06). Islanders fear the DASTA proposal, although it should have the islands best intentions in mind, and are concerned that it would mean the entry of big investors, squeezing out local business, as has occurred on Koh Chang. There has already been evidence of a move towards this 'high-end' trend that is sought after by DASTA as 'wooden huts are being replaced by massive concrete bungalows and that incremental encroachment and concentration of tourist facilities can be experienced everywhere on the island' (New Frontiers, March-April 2006). Residents of Koh Samet have reported DASTA 'taking a top-down approach, it (DASTA) does not consider the thoughts of the local people important' (Thai day, 22/6/06). There are further claims to question the agenda of DASTA in an article published in Thai Day (22/6/06) highlighting that the role of DASTA is to 'search for new tourist attractions' and develop and derive revenue from the country's natural resources and culture, whilst the role of the TAT is to market these attractions. Should this claim be true, it is rather ironic that an organisation whose name suggests a purpose of sustainable development should be such an important agent in preventing such practice. Again, Koh Samet belongs to a National Park. It is also worthy of note that DASTA's executive committee 'is composed of high ranking officials and Thai Rak Thai Sponsored Groups' (Thai Day, 22/6/06). If these concerns are realised in not only Koh Samet but other areas earmarked for 'special areas designation' under DASTA such as Koh Chang and Phi Phi, it may be important for the research to note that, despite

DASTA claiming to strive for the sustainability of tourism development, their plans may mean that the contrary is true. The same may be said of this increasing trend towards 'high-end', as has been evidenced in Koh Samet: it is not sustainable to the host community only to appeal to the 'high-end' tourists and conglomerates that serve them.

In Phi Phi, proposals were made for the island to be designated under DASTA, and although these plans have now been allegedly revoked (Pleumarom, 2005), the DASTA trend appeared to be taking a similar path as to the aforementioned cases of Koh Chang and Koh Samet. Following the tsunami, a vast amount of island infrastructure was destroyed. This therefore presented the opportunity for proposals to be made regarding the island's future, the responsibility for this being awarded to DASTA. In anticipation of the new 'city plan', islanders were prevented from rebuilding destroyed structures (Srimalee, 2005). There was significant conflict and unease regarding the future of the island between inhabitants and DASTA. Over a year later, no formal plan for the island had transpired and inhabitants, having been halted for over a year, could wait no longer to start rebuilding homes and businesses. Therefore, there was much speculation about the future of the island, rebuilding had been prohibited, yet recommenced in the same unplanned, *ad hoc* manner that was characteristic of the island's development prior to the tsunami.

At the local level, there is an important pre-existing example of the influence of political economy upon tourism development in Phi Phi. This is shown by the filming of *The Beach* discussed earlier in this chapter. There was extensive press coverage in Thai-based English language dailies such as the Bangkok Post and The Nation, not to mention other international press to document that permission had been granted by the Thai Royal Forestry Department to film on National Park Land (Bangkok Post, 6/11/98; 29/10/98; 30/10/98; 12/11/98; The Nation, 13/11/98; 15/11/98; 21/11/98. These are only a small sample of articles that overwhelmed the press at that time). These articles, led by Thai-based environmentalists and academics, voiced sincere opposition to the actions of both the Thai Royal Forestry Department and 20th Century Fox, with key arguments associated with permission being granted in the first place and the restructuring of Maya Bay. It was claimed by these opponents, that in exchange for a cash contribution of 4 million baht a 'permanent damage deposit' of 5 million baht (The Nation, 3/11/98) and the promise of increased tourism receipts of 300 million baht (Bangkok Post, 30/10/98) the production team were permitted not only to remove native plants such as Giant Milkweed, Sea Pandanus and Spider Lily that support the sand dunes and prevent erosion, but to plant coconut trees (Bangkok Post, 29/10/98) to more accurately mirror 'paradise' (Bangkok Post, 30/10/98). Opponents were outraged not only that restructuring was permitted, in violation of the 1992 Environmental Protection Act and the 1961 National Park Act (The Nation, 11/11/98) but that this case was another 'vulgar sell-out' by the country's policy-makers in the name of the tourist dollar (The Nation, 4/11/98).

It was voiced that the 'sell-out' of Thailand's environmental resources was no different to the sale of bodies in the sex districts of Patpong, Bangkok, claiming that anything can be sold to titillate the desires of the tourist (Puthipucha, 1998). Despite various demonstrations, campaigns, the submission of a petition against the filming and a subsequent

enquiry conducted by a panel of environmentalists, headed by Surapol Surada of Chulalongkorn University (The Nation, 4/12/98), filming was be permitted, despite the sentiment that the panel was not neutral, being set up by the Royal Forestry Department (The Nation, 5/12/98, Bangkok Post, 5/12/98). These events illustrated the willingness of policy-makers to be influenced in the name of economic gain, a lack of environmental pre- and post-impact assessment and inadequate consultation with all stakeholders. There was also much publicity at the time of threats being made against the lives of key activists in the campaign against filming (The Nation, 4/12/98; The Nation, 1/12/98). This case points to the wider concern for the fate of Thailand's National Parks, voiced in an article of The Nation on 2nd December 1998 where it was argued that 'places like Phi Phi Don will suffer under the weight of environmental decay like Pattaya … but the Phi Phi islands were not supposed to follow either of these routes. Like other increasingly popular spots such as Koh Samet and Koh Chang, the area is supposed to be a National Park … National Parks are the one place where the rules of the marketplace are not supposed to reign.'

1.16 The political economy of Thailand

Within any analysis of redevelopment plans, it is vital to examine the political context within which redevelopment is occurring. This leads to an investigation into the governmental structure of the country in question and the philosophy with regard to policy-making. Elliot's (1983) research merits attention. Elliot suggests that the internal political environment of Thailand is dependent upon three forces: the monarchy, the military and the bureaucracy. The military is the largest organised source of power within Thailand, with most prime ministers being army officers (ibid., 1983). Elliot highlights a close relationship between political and economic elites, noting that parliamentary power is highly dependent upon the on-going support of the monarch and the military.

From 6 January 2001 and during the main phase of data collection, Thailand was governed by Thaksin Shinawatra (McCargo and Pathmanand, 2005), who has been leader of the Thai Rak Thai (Thai loves Thai) party since it was founded in 1998. He is a leader characterised as a 'phenomenon' of two faces: that of a representative of Bangkok's 'nouveau riche' and also with the ability to perform to his 'carefully choreographed populist agenda' (McCargo and Pathmanand, 2005: 1), which proved extremely popular with Thailand's rural poor (Tejapira, 2006). Thaksin's political rhetoric is multi-faceted. At one end of the spectrum he is one of Thailand's wealthiest citizens and claimed to be above the corruption of his predecessors. He vowed to govern Thailand 'according to business principles' (McCargo and Pathmanand, 2005: 5). However, this leadership approach is commonly associated with authoritarian political culture, meaning a shift from the democratic culture to which Thailand was becoming accustomed. It could be argued, however, that this could have been expected with Thaksin's background in successful business practices and the Thai Police Force (McCargo and Pathmanand, 2005: 5). Ironically, it is suggested by some that the Thai Police are characterised by 'pervasive corruption, low standards and low public esteem' (ibid., 2005).

Within the economic transformation that characterised the 1960s onwards came a 'a wealthy Bangkok based business elite', some of whom functioned within the law, whilst others were associated with people trafficking, illegal logging, gambling, prostitution and drug-dealing (McCargo and Pathmanand, 2005: 3). In addition to this the commercial focus of the Thai Government has increased the power of large organisations, whereby 'corporations have become dominant governing institutions, often exceeding Governments in size and power. Increasingly, it is the corporate interest more than human interest that defines the policy agendas of states' (Korten, 1996:12). It is predicted that this process will continue, presenting greater problems for the host communities of less economically developed countries via schemes such as GATS (General agreement on trade and tariffs) and Free Trade Zones, making fragile destinations more accessible for international corporations and breaking down trade restrictions (Goldsmith, 1996).

The Thaksin government is accused of representing the 'first assumption of capitalist state power by the big capitalists themselves' (Tejapira, 2006: 10), combining aggressive neoliberalism with 'capitalist cronyism' (ibid., 2006:10). Tejapira goes onto argue that, combined with populist social policy, there resulted a radical transformation in Thailand's patterns of power relationships and elite resource allocation. It is claimed that Thaksin's five-year rule may be attributed to a longer historical uneven development of Thai politics and economics (Tejapira, 2006). Further empirical studies including Pathmanand's (1998) discuss the intimate links between money and politics in Thailand, reporting how Thaksin's widespread privatisation of telecommunications and mass transport projects and capitalist groups such as the Vilailuck family and CP Group had access secured through political connections. Thaksin himself benefited through his privatisation policies, listing public enterprises on the stock market, purchasing shares and becoming a major shareholder in Thai Airways and the Petroleum Authority of Thailand (Pathmanand, 1998).

Thaksin Shinawatra's time as Thailand's prime minister was shrouded in controversy (Tejapira, 2006) with anti-Thaksin rallies headed by Sondhi Limthongkul gaining momentum in early 2006 following the sale (for $1.9bn) of the Thaksin family's 49.6 per cent stake in the giant Shin Corporation to a Singaporean investment corporation (Tejapira, 2006). Shortly afterwards the People's Alliance for Democracy was formed under Limthongkul, with four other high-profile leaders, each representing major components of the opposition: Srimuang, Thongchai, Kosaisuk and Phongpaiboon (Tejapira, 2006). After a series of demonstrations and rallies across Thailand, Thaksin was ousted by a military coup in September 2006 (BBC, 24 June 2011) accused of corruption and abuse of power, and has lived since in self-imposed exile in Dubai and the UK. Rather ironically, Thaksin still effectively controls the Pheu Thai party, which his younger sister led to power on the 3rd July 2011 (BBC News, 24 June 2011).

The political environment during the main phases of Phi Phi's growth and in the post-tsunami reconstruction can therefore shed light on the priorities held and approaches taken towards development. It appears that political rhetoric is often ignored (or forgotten) when faced with high financial gains from business interests as evidenced in the master plan for reconstructing Patong Beach post-tsunami, where it was proposed that controls should be placed upon beachfront construction (Rice, 2005); in practice all hotels were rebuilt in their original location demonstrating little

awareness of the master plan. This might also assist in providing an explanation of why the Royal Forestry Department allowed the reconstruction of Maya Bay on Phi Phi Le when Maya Bay is part of Hat Noppharat Thara National Marine Park.

Government objectives are further highlighted by the post-tsunami reaction in Thailand. There is extensive literature to suggest that the Thai Meteorological Department were aware of the tsunami threat in advance, yet did not issue a warning due to the potential damage that it might wreak upon the tourism industry should the tsunami not occur (The Nation, 28/12/04; The Scotsman, 28/12/04; Bangkok Post, 29/12/04). Further to this, in the aftermath, government priority was assigned to the 'reconstruction of the tourist industry' (Pleumarom, 31/12/04) above the reconstruction of livelihoods. As reported in The Scotsman (28/12/04), 'Tourism is Thailand's number one foreign exchange earner and Thai Government officials are extremely sensitive about any news they perceive as damaging the cash cow.' The reconstruction of the tourist industry can be viewed as the reconstruction of tourism supporting infrastructure and the reclamation of tourists to support the economy.

Klein (2005:1) has voiced her concern that reconstruction' – even in its post-tsunami context – is increasingly promoted in several countries within the following political context:

> 'Few ideologues can resist the allure of a blank slate – that was colonialism's seductive promise: 'discovering' wide-open new lands where utopia seemed possible. But colonialism is dead, or so we are told; there are no new places to discover, no terra nullius (there never was), no more blank pages on which, as Mao once said: 'the newest and most beautiful words can be written.' There is, however, plenty of destruction - countries smashed to rubble, whether by so-called Acts of God or by Acts of Bush (on orders from God). And where there is destruction there is reconstruction, a chance to grab hold of 'the terrible barrenness.'

Khor (as cited in McLaren, 2003:2) suggests that

> 'before colonial rule and infusion of Western systems, people in the Third World lived in relatively self-sufficient communities ... the modes of production and style of life were largely in harmony with the natural environment. Colonial rule … changed the social and economic structures of Third World societies. The new structures, consumption styles, and technological systems became so engrained in Third World economies that the importation of Western values, products, technologies and capital continued and expanded.'

From this description it would appear that, globalisation, in addition to providing economic benefits for communities can also lead to detrimental effects such as the corrosion of culture, economic leakage due to repatriation of profits, over-reliance upon the dominant state and abandonment of traditional industry (McLaren, 2003). This is reinforced by ISEC ('The trouble with Trade'', No. 12) who comment that, 'In the new Global economy, production everywhere will be focused on the needs of a single, Western monoculture, while indigenous cultures and diverse location-specific

adaptations will be steadily erased. Local self-sufficiency will be steadily erased.' If true, globalisation is just as detrimental (and unsustainable) as poorly planned development. Recently, travel reviews of the island report that, 'When you arrive on Koh Phi Phi you don't feel like you are arriving in a different country. You could be on any beach in the world, there just happens to be limestone cliffs surrounding you. All of the restaurants serve western food and advertise in American or English to pull the tourists in.' (ohmytravels.blogspot.co.uk/2011/06/expatted-excuses-and-kho-phi-phi.html#!/2011/06/expatted-excuses-and-kho-phi-phi.html, accessed 29/03/12).

1.17 Summary

Further research is required to ascertain to what extent the processes introduced in the preceding sections have occurred on Phi Phi. Further, if claims are true that the Thai government wishes to expand the luxury hotel market on the island by inviting multinational corporations to develop Phi Phi, how this process will be implemented and the influence that it will have on islanders and the pursuit of sustainability is of great interest. There is evidence of a desire for liberalisation in Thailand in order to open up destinations to 'foreign operators' (Pleumarom 1999, No. 2) shown by the threat of a 'foreign business amendment bill' Thailand Tourism Society in 1999, designed to open up industry to foreign business through mergers and acquisitions. In this post-disaster context, this may result in a form of disaster capitalism, as described by Klein (2008) in the context of other tsunami-affected locations. At the time this liberalisation was resisted by the Thai Hotel Association as it was felt that Thai hoteliers could not compete financially with outside investors. However, under Thaksin's regime commercial interest has become the more dominant force. Present evidence suggests that the Thai government may have a hidden agenda for the delayed release of the master plan for Phi Phi's reconstruction and many locals fear that they are being forced away from their beachfront locations by Governmental representatives who have attempted to purchase local business peoples' land at 'deflated' prices (Altman, 19/12/05). In addition it has been rumoured that the OSAASTP will make proposals that island residents should relocate away from beachfront areas to allegedly 'safer' hillside areas (Phuket Gazette, 6/1/06).

Development philosophy in Thailand can be comprehended through theories on development closely aligned with modernist and neoliberal thinking. Opponents of modernisation question its viability, when modernity can be viewed to change the nature of what made the destination attractive in the first instance (McLaren, 2003). If the modernist paradigm reigns in respect of Phi Phi's development, the original attraction of the island would be lost, replaced by a Westernised version. According to Plog (1974) with regard to tourist typology and Butler's (1980) destination development model (Weaver and Lawton, 2002), the destination would then attract an entirely different type of tourist concurrent with mass tourism (Plog, 1974), which would consequently experience the detrimental effects experienced by mass tourism destinations. Is such a change inevitable? And how strong a force will the emergent alternative paradigm present on Phi Phi? Is sustainability on Phi Phi a realistic alternative or will it result in another case of the neoliberalism of nature?

Chapter Two The review of literature

2.1 Introduction to the review of literature

The review of literature will involve identification and synthesis of available works surrounding the research questions, in order to gain a comprehensive view and understanding of the context and theoretical framework within which the research will take place. The work of key political economists, NGOs and Thai-based analysts such as Pleumarom (1994; 1995; 1996), Mowforth and Munt (2009), Truong (1990) and the Tourism, Investigation and Monitoring Team will be used as a foundation for the political economy-related research in addition to other key literature surrounding the political economy of development (Scheyvens, 2002; Mowforth and Munt, 2002; Bianchi, 2003; Britton, 1987; Hannam, 2002; Mosedale, 2011; Holden, 2013 *in press)*. Additionally the work will be theoretically grounded in the literature of sustainable tourism development and the politics of sustainable tourism development (Swarbrooke, 1999; Holden, 2008; Hall and Lew, 2009; Weaver, 2006; Cohen, 1982; Cohen, 1983; Dodds, 2010; Dodds, 2011) whilst also considering work on disaster and post-disaster reconstruction (Faulkner, 2001; Copolla, 2007; Ritchie, 2005; Sonmez *et al.*, 1999; Turner *et al.*, 2003). Other works published in Thai-based texts such as New Frontiers, the Bangkok Post, The Nation, The Phuket Gazette and The Tourism Authority of Thailand have been used in Chapter 1 to provide context for the political economy of Thailand and development on Koh Phi Phi and to document the planning process for redevelopment, whilst others document the plans to develop an economically lucrative luxury tourism market by encouraging the involvement of multinationals such as Sofitel and Intercontinental. Whilst these texts may be considered more journalistic in nature (and inherent limitations regarding bias and authority are duly acknowledged), they are vital in providing up-to-date context in the field and their content will be weighed against empirical research available such as Dodds (2010); Dodds *et al.* (2011) and the extensive work of Cohen (1982; 1983) in Thai island locations, amongst other academic commentators.

This literature will aid a more comprehensive understanding of the theoretical and context subject matter, thus enabling primary data to be gathered, which will not only contribute to, but extend knowledge in, the subject domain. The discussion of literature will be structured loosely in a thematic manner around the research objectives, which are to:

- investigate the conceptualisation of sustainable development held by stakeholders in the reconstruction of Phi Phi;
- evaluate the forces (internal and external) of political economy that shape tourism development;
- comprehend how hegemonic relationships influence tourism development at a local level;
- analyse the influence of a natural disaster upon tourism development and planning.

2.2 Origins and discussions of development theory

Researchers have observed a gradual shift from agricultural societies to industrial economies. This has resulted in enhancing living standards for the majority, and consequent academic interest in how societies develop (Power, 2003). The term 'development' has a plethora of conceptualisations and applications. As Friedman (1980: 4) suggests, it is an evolutionary process, which should be viewed positively: involving an 'unfolding from within'. However, in Klein's (2008) arguments, Friedman's Chicago School movement was an extremist view, which incited a trend towards what she terms 'disaster capitalism'. The concept of development used to mean economic growth, modernisation, distributive justice, socio-economic transformation and spatial reorganisation (Mabogunje, 1980). It can, therefore, be viewed both as a process and a state (Hall, 1994). Subsequently, the process of development may be interpreted as a method of remedying social problems such as population increase and scarce resources; job losses and unemployment; and poverty (Cowen and Shenton, 1996). Tourism development, on the other hand, 'might be narrowly defined as the provision or enhancement of facilities and services to meet the needs of tourists. Tourism might also be seen as a means to development in a broader sense, the path to achieve some end state or condition' (Pearce, 1989: 15). Unfortunately, it is viewed by many as representative of the uneven power relations inherent in the capitalist system (Britton and Clarke, 1987). Pleumarom (1994) would agree that traditionally tourism in developing countries has been promoted as a way of integrating communities and countries into the global market economy.

Following the end of the Second World War a strong bond was established in policy formulation between economic progress, the development of society and politics (Holden, 2013, *in press*). This marked the ideological divide between capitalism and communism (Cowen and Shenton, 1996). It was also a period when countries within Asia and Africa were achieving political independence from European colonial powers as the geopolitical map was redrawn (ibid., 1996). Within this changing global political context, an event of great significance in establishing a terminology of development was President Truman's inaugural speech as in 1949 (Power, 2003). Truman distinguished between the 'developed' and the 'underdeveloped' worlds, and the 'First' and the 'Third' worlds, based upon quantitative measurement of national income and political orientation (ibid., 2003). The First World encompassed the industrialised and capitalist nations of north America, western Europe, and Australasia (Khor, 1996). The 'Third World' comprised the economically developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Truman's speech also had an element of interpreting the world's poor as a threat to established global political order and capitalism (Cowen and Shenton, 1996).

The significance of this imagined world political geography was the use of Western aid to re-create the political and economic spaces of several Third World countries, administered through the Bretton Woods establishment (Mowforth and Munt, 2009). The establishment of Bretton Woods institutions arose from a perceived need by the leaders of the 'allied nations' of the United States and Britain to govern the post-war global economy. Of particular concern was avoiding the hardships of the Great Depression in the 1930s. Hence, a meeting of international leaders convened in

Bretton Woods in 1944, which resulted in the establishment of institutions that sought to regulate the world economy, the most significant of which remain highly influential in determining the political economy of global policy and include the World Bank and IMF (Mowforth and Munt, 2009). George and Sabelli (1994) observe that although the World Bank's charter defines it as an economic institution, it also holds immense political power on the basis that since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the World Bank (as a supranational agency with its close ties to the United States government) is permitted to operate and enforce policies on a global scale, imposing its own view as the norm (Pleumarom, 1994). As George and Sabelli (ibid.) and Klein (2008) point out, the Bank may have more to say about state policy than many states. However, Pieterse (2010) observes that American hegemony is currently challenged by the rise of China as an economic superpower, which has substantial foreign reserves for investment in other countries, presenting it as an alternative source of funding to the Bank.

The World Bank has also been instrumental in linking development with poverty, notably under the stewardship of Robert McNamara (President during the 1970s) (Holden, 2013). Although a controversial figure, not least because of his pro-war stance regarding Vietnam, McNamara's 1973 Nairobi speech was instrumental in redefining the notion of 'development' as perceived by the World Bank (George and Sabelli, 1994). The previous emphasis of development in the Bank had been to ensure that states had sufficient electrical power, transport and communications i.e. the infrastructure for progression to a state of modernity (Krongkaew, 2000). During the second half of the twentieth century the notion of development encouraged by the World Bank became synonymous with economic progress and quantifiable measurement, and other types of wealth were ignored (e.g. societies with rich cultures, as Reid (1995) observes). Consequently, the dominant measure of development was economic and material wealth, quantified through indicators such as GDP. This approach marginalised the range of democratic, gender, political and environmental issues that determine the individual and collective quality of life and led to criticism of the World Bank (De Chavez, 1999). George and Sabelli (1994: 163) suggest that the World Bank took the view that 'nature is basically a reservoir of raw materials to be used in creating growth, to which there are physical limits'. The degradation of environment is particularly significant for the poor as they are often highly dependent on the natural resources of the place they inhabit for their survival (Holden, 2013, *in press*). A lack of participation of the poor in development that degrades the environment may lead to them losing access to natural resources whilst simultaneously not benefiting economically, leaving them highly vulnerable to external 'shocks' e.g. floods and droughts as has been shown by Ingram *et al.* (2006) and Calgaro and Lloyd (2008) post-tsunami.

If one accepts the World Bank's approach of equating development with economic growth, logic suggests that if a country is considered underdeveloped, it requires economic growth to raise living standards and benefit the poor. The association of Third World countries with notions of backwardness, underdevelopment and poverty provided a powerful context for economic and political intervention by First World countries on the pretence of humanitarian grounds (Mowforth and Munt, 2009). Intervention and the desire to 'develop' countries would similarly offer opportunities for an expansion of the capitalist model into new markets, at a time when the world was dividing on ideological lines between capitalism and communism (ibid.). Neo-Marxist critics of development therefore interpreted

this ideology as a form of neo-colonialism and a global domination of capitalist ideology in a post-communist era (Pleumarom, 1994; 1999). Seabrook (2007) interprets the process of development as marking the dominance of Western hegemony and capitalism, its purpose being to reduce the self-sufficiency of communities to fulfil their own needs, and make them 'buy in' their needs through the market mechanism, a notion clearly in contrast to the ethos of sustainability (Dickenson et al, 1996)

2.3 Paradigms of development

Different paradigms of international development have been formulated since the post-war period, predominantly based upon a comparison of economic levels of growth between countries in the 'developed' and 'developing' worlds (Cowen and Shenton, 1996; Mosedale, 2011). Inherent to these paradigms are political ideologies and concerns, which reflect the opposing philosophies of capitalism and communism (Hall, 2008). They also reflect the dominance of the World Bank and the IMF since the early 1990s, which advocate development models rooted in capitalist and market doctrines (Pleumarom, 1999). Development has subsequently been subjected to political and economic analysis, which has influenced the direction of policy and routes to achieving it. The most recognised theories of development are modernisation, dependency, neoliberalism and alternative, which in turn reflect broader paradigms of classical and neo-Marxist socio-economic theories.

2.4 Modernisation theory

Modernisation theory places socio-economic development as an evolutionary and linear path from a traditional to a modern society (Power, 2003), combining economic growth with political modernisation and national benefits (Pieterse, 2010; Rostow, 1960). Its roots lie in a variety of different perspectives applied by non-Marxists to developing countries, but it is most clearly described by Rostow, an economic policy advisor to President Johnson. His most influential work encompassing the notion of modernisation, 'Stages of Economic Growth – A Non-Communist Manifesto' (published in 1960), presents an analysis of development that extended beyond the theoretical prepositions into a political manifesto designed to fight off the threat of communism. Rostow's work was heavily influenced by an organic analogy of functionalism, i.e. the idea that societies, like natural beings, mature through different stages of evolution driven by an internal dynamic (Holden, 2005). Rostow stresses that progressive stages of economic growth are the route to a more developed status, the ultimate being that of the 'Age of High Mass Consumption' (ibid.), as can be seen in today's 'developed' nations (Weaver and Lawton, 2002). His work emphasises development as synonymous with modernity, following Western models of evolution through defined stages of economic growth. This paradigm of development was characterised by optimism, the assumption being that the challenges of the less developed world would be solved quickly through a transfer of finance, technology and experience from developed nations (Elliott, 1994; World Bank, 2000). The modernist ideas of Rostow were

subsequently applied by Burton (1995) in her model of tourism participation, which forms a correlation between economic development and the propensity to travel.

Rostow's work (1960) outlined the five main stages of economic growth that societies would progress through under optimum conditions. In his view of modernisation, Rostow suggested that rapid economic development could only occur if barriers to tradition and superstition could be overcome, and if the values and social structures of traditional societies were changed (Holden, 2013). Slattery (1991: 146) observes through a sociological perspective that, 'Just as we often talk of a child being immature, even retarded, when its mental development doesn't match its physical growth, so we talk of underdeveloped even backward societies, of Third World countries held back by illiteracy, ignorance and superstition'. In Rostow's view, such a change in values and social structures would involve the expansion of investment capital, entrepreneurial skills and technical knowledge. He further recommended that if such features were absent, possibly because of the conservative nature of tradition, they could be diffused from outside. Consistent with the theme of modernisation is the notion of 'Westernisation', in which the structures of less developed countries become like those of the West (Harrison, 1992). In this way, Rostow appears to justify colonialism (Harrison, 1992), on the basis that the European powers transferred elements of investment capital and technical knowledge to their colonies, albeit based upon the pursuit of their own interests. Some commentators argue (Conran, 2011; Wilson, 2004; Pongpaichit and Baker, 2002; Thongchai, 1994; Rigg, 2004) that although Thailand was never colonised, the Thai development trajectory was constructed in part as a reaction to European power and Western discourses of development, and that specifically since the Cold War and the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997, Thailand has been coerced into agreeing to political economic agreements favourable to Western investor relations. Nevertheless, in recent years, the push towards a 'sufficiency economy' (Noy, 2011) might be interpreted as a legacy of Thailand's historical independence.

Given its capitalist emphasis and Western-centrism, modernisation theory has, perhaps unsurprisingly, received substantial political and economic criticism (Mosedale, 2011; Holden, 2013, *in press*). These include the unidirectional path of development suggested in Rostow's (1960) model, which may be incorrect. Developing countries can learn from the West, and through borrowing essential skills, technology and expertise, may actually bypass sequential stages in the model. For example, a country such as Thailand may plan to use tourism as a primary economic driver for development as a replacement for (or accompaniment to) traditional agricultural production or fishing. Tourism as a means for modernisation reflects changes in international trade since the 1960s, particularly the growth in services (Harrison, 1992). Modernisation theory has also been criticised for its western-centrism and the assumption that traditional values are not compatible with modernity. A significant further criticism is on environmental grounds: if developing countries industrialise using resources as the same manner as the West, the strain on nature's resources would be insupportable (George and Sabelli, 1994).

A pivotal modernist discourse in cementing the role of tourism for development and influencing international policy-making evolved from the Checci Report (Truong, 1990) entitled *The Future of Tourism in the Far East and Pacific*, produced by Checci and Company in 1960, a US-based private organisation specialising in tourism and regional development. Fuelled by a desire to assist countries in the region by building up a basis for tourist business as an element of their economic development (Clement, 1961), Checci and Company rationalised their work as a means for building international understanding (Truong, 1990). Despite critique of their methodology (Gray, 1970), the report became widely cited and recommendations have been applied within UN policy discourse, the most significant recommendation being that, 'Tourism requires and deserves the kind of attraction given to trade development' (Clement, 1961: 67), with further recommendations made to governments to finance tourism programmes supplemented by raising appropriate private capital through the abolishment of 'various regulatory hindrances' (Clement, 1961: 67).

2.5 Dependency theory

The criticisms of modernisation were manifested through a paradigm of thought originating in Latin America, known as 'dependency theory'. In a radically different view, dependency theorists argue that developing countries have external and internal political, institutional and economic structures that retain them in a dependent position relative to developed countries (Bianchi, 1999). Subsequently, development theorists attempted to explain the causes of underdevelopment, based upon the interaction of economic and social structures. Through analysing the comparative underdevelopment of Latin America in relation to the West, dependency theorists agreed that underdevelopment occurred through the operation of a capitalist system (Willis, 2005). The argument central to dependency theory is that a 'core' of industrialised nations developed their economies through the exploitation of the non-industrialised peripheral nations (Willis, 2005). Subsequently, emphasis was put on analysing the exploitative exchange relations between historically powerful metropolitan states such as the US and Western European countries and their dependent 'satellites' (ibid., 2005).

A major influence in discussions of dependency within development was Andre Gunder Frank, who saw the 'development of underdevelopment' as part of a world capitalist system (Frank, 1967). Frank (ibid.) argued that the lack of development in Third World economies was because the Western nations purposefully sought to under-develop them, and not because of their own inadequacies or a failure to develop what was termed by Frank a 'culture of enterprise'. Frank emphasised that this relationship of exploitation and dependency can be traced back to colonialism, when European powers conquered and colonised the continents of Africa, Asia and Latin America, integrating them into their imperial system. Subsequently, with the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of a world capitalist system, an international division of labour also emerged, which forced colonies to specialise in the production of one or two primary products to satisfy the import needs of the mother country. Frank argued that through this model, a 'world system' of dependency and underdevelopment evolved, in which 'core' nations such as

Britain exploited 'peripheral ones' such as India. A key element within this relationship was the city, which represented a nucleus of power, as colonial powers built cities or used existing ones as a means of governing areas and forging points of connection with ruling local elites. The ruling upper class in the peripheries generally collaborated with colonial powers, using their control of local markets to exploit the rural poor, progressively becoming more linked themselves into a Western way of life and removed from that of the majority of their own people (ibid., 1967).

Frank also stated that, to preserve their position of power and wealth, ruling elites within the peripheries might use military means to suppress local people at times of political unrest with arms supplied from the West. There existed a system of 'metropolises and satellites', in which development in one part of the world occurred at the economic and political expense of another part: the 'centres' or 'metropoles' exploit 'peripheries' or 'satellites'. Through this mechanism of unequal exchange, economic value was transferred from the relatively underdeveloped to the relatively developed regions (Harrison, 1992). Instead of aiding their development, the world system actually hinders the development of less developed countries. Since the beginning of the end of contemporary colonialism in the late 1940s, it is arguably the multinational organisations that maintain this unequal relationship through their co-operation with elite counterparts in the less developed countries and the ownership of resources. As to how this system of development and underdevelopment should be rectified, dependency theorists have different approaches (Willis, 2005). 'Reformists' advocate reform of the existing capitalist trade system; and 'neo-Marxists' maintain that the overthrow of capitalism is the only solution. Frank was an advocate of the latter solution, believing that within capitalism, peripheral countries would always be exploited (Willis, 2005).

The influence of dependency theory on policy has been limited, however, and it has received substantial criticism that its theoretical concepts are vague, its ideas too radical and too Marxist (Mowforth and Munt, 2009). Modernisation theorists counter the notion of dependency by arguing that multinationals and Western aid brings considerable benefits, and that the developing countries rely upon other countries as sources of new investment and new markets (ibid., 2009). Frank's work is also criticised as being too generalised and failing to recognise the differences between countries and levels of development. Marxists have also attributed Frank's limitation to an inability to provide a revolutionary programme for how countries can break free of the world capitalist system. A further criticism came from the ability of 'newly industrialising countries' (NICs) of east Asia, including Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea, to generate rapid economic growth based on labour-intensive manufacturing industries in the post-Second World War era. The economic success of these countries challenged the notion that it was in the interests of the developed core to purposefully under-develop the periphery (Brohman, 1996; Holden, 2013, *in press*).

The dominant philosophies of dependency and modernisation placed immense pressure upon destinations and communities to engage with the global tourism industry (Hall and Lew, 1998; Britton, 1982), with what has been argued to be a resultant unsustainable tourism product fuelled by negative environmental and social impacts. As argued by Hall and Lew (1998: 37), under modernisation 'market conditions will determine the pace and form of tourism development, with local actors playing only peripheral roles'. This is indicative of the unequal participation

that dependency theorists speak of, eroding the basis upon which sustainable tourism development relies (Britton, 1982). As Britton discusses, tourism is often promoted as a development strategy to boost employment and transfer technology and knowledge systems, which results in the adoption of a modern way of life with Western values (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). In the wake of modernisation, Furtado (1964) reports that three hybrid sectors remained: the remnant economy of cash crop and subsistence farmers; the domestic sector of goods and services for local consumption; and the internationally oriented sector. Remenyi (2004: 63) argues that 'the existing world order is being re-made to serve the greed, class interest and … profits of this small group'.

Under modernisation, some failed to acknowledge that distribution of benefits would not always be equal (De Kadt, 1979). Thus through dependency it was observed that benefits were accrued predominantly by multinationals and local elites, and tourism growth was pursued vigorously, often to the neglect of local needs and degradation of society (Scheyvens, 2002; Harrison, 1992). Ideas of neo-colonialism serve to illustrate the potential loss of control that the host community may have in the face of foreign tourism interests (Hall 1994: 124) or competing or co-operating groups and classes, each influenced by external forces and each attempting to use these external elements to their own advantage (Cardoso, 1982). As Di Marco (1972, as cited in Kingsbury *et al.*, 2004: 54) observes, 'Global commerce took place between the rich and powerful developed economies and the much weaker peripheral economies. Not surprisingly, the rules of the trading system were systematically manipulated in favour of the powerful western-based corporations to benefit the already rich countries' (Di Marco, 1972). This is supported by Frank (1967), who states that: 'rich countries achieved growth by systematically exploiting their colonies and the rest of the undeveloped world' (as cited in Kingsbury, 2004: 54). Ultimately, this has contributed to a simultaneous disintegration of an indigenous economy and its reorientation to serve the needs of exogenous markets (Hall, 1994:1 23). Not only is a 'core' and 'periphery' evident at a national level between developed and under-developed, according to Opperman and Chon (1997) it is also couched at a regional level between rich and poor regions, and at an individual level between the elite and mass. In discussions of dependency, Britton (1989) notes how this core-periphery relationship prevents destinations from fully benefiting from tourism, because of the structural dependency that the incidence of foreign ownership brings. Britton (1982:336) proceeds to discuss how many third world countries have lost control of their tourism industry to foreign organisations who 'create, coordinate and market' the tourism product and who perpetuate control through commercial practices. Britton maps these structural dependencies back to the colonial past of these developing countries. Holden (2005) enhances this discussion in a more contemporary sense when he notes that the power relationships that exist between nation states and different groups in society in political and economic terms will influence how benefits are distributed.

Studies of dependency in Thailand (Lacher and Nepal, 2010) highlight a lack of research on dependent relationships at a smaller scale and in attempting to fill this void explain the contributors towards leakage levels of between 15 and 61% in rural villages of northern Thailand. They observe a disproportionate accumulation of benefits at a local level, between the gateway city and rural hinterland because of political manipulation from central and regional government,

and deeply entrenched issues of land ownership (ibid., 2010). Thus the rural periphery faces similar challenges when competing with urban areas as developing countries do when competing with developed nations.

2.6 Neoliberalism

A re-evaluation of development theory took place after many developing countries failed to meet their debt repayment requirements on loans from various sources, including private banks, foreign governments and the World Bank, to finance large-scale infrastructure projects (Power, 2003). This was attributed to a fall of commodity prices in the late 1970s that led to a decline in import earnings (ibid.). Developing countries' reliance upon primary industries as their chief exports and earners of foreign exchange meant that a decline in their world commodity prices was catastrophic (Holden, 2013, *in press*). The revitalised advocacy of markets was supported by a form of classical economic thinking termed 'neoliberalism', which became favoured in influential policy decision-making circles. Developed by economists such as Milton Friedman (Power, 2003), neoliberalism conveys an ultimate belief in economic rationalism and efficiency in free markets as a path to development (Klein, 2008). Some tourism scholars see 'neoliberalism' as modernist thinking in a new guise (Scheyvens, 2002).

Integral to neoliberalism is the process of market liberalisation, through the privatisation of state assets and minimal state intervention. Key components include a recognition of the private sector as an engine of economic growth, whilst simultaneously shrinking state bureaucracy and public expenditure (as opposed to focusing on the immediate needs of local people); removing barriers to foreign investments and the ownership of resources; privatising state-owned industries via open competition; and encouraging exports of services such as healthcare and education (Klein, 2008). Essentially, the implementation of this set of measures can result in the integration of a country's resources, including human and natural capital, into an open and free global market. This agenda was imposed onto developing countries as a precondition for the continuation of loans from the IMF and World Bank, in part a response to the vicious cycle of indebtedness between the rich and the poor worlds (Maathai, 2009; Pleumarom, 2004; 2005). The dominance of the market was given further credence by the collapse of the Soviet Union. A mix of political coercion and bureaucratic inefficiency led to this collapse, an event that was seized upon by the West (Seabrook, 2007) as proof that only through free markets and the integration of the global economy could poor countries be lifted out of debt (Maathai, 2009).

Key drivers of neoliberal policy included Friedman, who headed the Chicago School of politics (Klein, 2008). Heavily supported by the World Bank, neoliberalism was the dominant philosophy of the US and Britain, espoused by President Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the late 1970s (Weaver and Lawton, 2002). The package of neoliberal measures recommended by the US, Europe and the World Financial Institutions (including the World Bank, IMF and WTO) are known as the 'Washington Consensus' (Holden, 2013, *in press*). Central to these measures has been the application of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), which have been accepted by national governments in

exchange for continued financial support from the World Bank and IMF (Willis, 2005; De Chavez, 1999). SAPs were based upon free market economic principles, the aim being to improve a developing country's propensity for attracting foreign inward investment through stabilising its economy. SAPs were typically implemented in stages. Firstly, this involved diminishing the role of the state in the national economy and reducing government deficits through spending cuts, including in health, utilities, education and welfare (Klein, 2008). Once stabilised, adjustment measures are then introduced into the economy to lay the foundations for long-term changes that should allegedly contribute to a more prosperous future (Willis, 2005). These adjustment measures typically include the privatisation of government-owned enterprises, business deregulation and, if appropriate, currency devaluation to boost exports. According to neoliberal theory, through removing restrictions on the ownership of resources and introducing wage suppression in the public sector, a country should become more attractive for foreign inward investment, which should in turn lead to development and a comparative advantage in specialised economic sectors. Nevertheless, the imposition of SAPs on developing countries during the 1980s and 1990s raised substantial controversy and demonstrates how economic policies contrived in the developed world can be imposed on developing countries (Willis, 2005; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Pleumarom 1994; Klein, 2008).

As Mowforth and Munt (2009: 303) point out, the use of SAPs effectively forced governments to pursue 'specific policies not of their own design'. The implementation of a blueprint by supranational institutions that fails to respond to the environmental, cultural and social needs of a particular place causes increased hardships for the poor as they find themselves disenfranchised from resources and lack the income to buy essential services that are now privatised and exchanged in the market place, rather than supplied by government, as elaborated by Klein (2008) in respect of education and healthcare in New Orleans post-Hurricane Katrina. Maathai (2009) views SAPs as having had a range of highly negative impacts that have led to the cutting of essential services in infrastructure development, health and education. The sum effect has been that the quality of the lives of the majority of Africans has declined and the governance of many states has failed to improve. Maathai's (2009) is a view strongly supported by other authors such as Pleumarom (2004; 2005) and Klein (2008) who have discussed the impact of SAPs in a variety of contexts.

The influence of SAPs upon the tourism industry is illustrated by Dieke's (2000) analysis of changes to the Kenyan tourism industry during the 1980s. Since political independence, the resources for tourism, including national parks, transport and accommodation suppliers, all came under state control. The subsequent privatisation of these assets benefited a set of elites who were able to purchase these assets and then either sell them or form partnerships with foreign-owned chains. There was subsequently a switch from an industry that were excessively controlled by government to one that was largely unregulated and exogenous. This transfer of Kenya's tourism resources to foreign control combined with an increased level of foreign inward investment effectively shifted hegemonic control and the bulk of revenue earnings to outside the country (ibid., 2000).

SAPs have also encouraged developing countries to develop their resources for tourism, as within neoliberalism emphasis is placed upon market-orientated growth and increasing levels of imports through the development of

industries that reflect a country's economic comparative advantage in world markets. An emphasis upon export-led production has led to a shift in development strategy from an inward perspective to an outward one (Brohman, 1996). This includes the expansion of previously ignored economic sectors such as international tourism, which can be grouped with other new 'growth' sectors e.g. non-traditional agricultural exports to Western countries. It is these sectors that are believed to show much promise for stimulating rapid growth based on the comparative advantages of developing countries in terms of tourism appeal. The role of tourism as an export industry and foreign exchange earner, combined with a simultaneous reduction in state economic regulation, has led to an increase of interest from multinationals as they attempt to secure new markets for their products (Pleumarom, 2004). The implementation of SAPs has in the majority of cases led to serious negative consequences such as increasing poverty (Willis, 2005). By the late 1990s, the growing concern over these detrimental effects challenged neoliberalism and the Washington Consensus. It became evident that the economic inequalities between the developed and the developing worlds were growing and that the 'miracle growth' witnessed in the Tiger economies of east Asia had been encouraged by strategic state intervention in infant industries (Scheyvens, 2007).

Thus, there has been a re-evaluation of the usefulness and direction of SAPs and a refocusing of economic growth on reducing poverty and inequality by supranational agencies. This shift since the beginning of the millennium has been labelled the 'Post-Washington Consensus' (PWC). However, whilst this incorporates a greater recognition of the need for state intervention in markets, more democratic governance and an effective targeting of the poor to develop economic opportunities, the principles of private sector dominance and trade liberalisation remain, leading Power (2003) to suggest that the term PWC has been coined prematurely. In 1999 the IMF and World Bank replaced SAPs with Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) as the preconditions for loans and debt relief. However, the extent to which PRSPs represent a real break from neoliberalism is uncertain and highly contested by authors such as Storey *et al.* (2005) and Mowforth and Munt (2009), who see them as policies not of the countries' choosing, but again imposed by international agencies (Power, 2003).

2.7 Alternative development theories

A significant challenge to existing development policies arose from increasing scientific evidence that suggested growth was exceeding the environmental capacities of the earth's resources and systems (Weaver and Lawton, 2002). Alongside the emergent environmental agenda of the 1980s were issues of civil society, agency and democracy in the decision-making process of development (Potter *et al*, 2004). An alternative paradigm of development to the mainstream consensus led by environmentalists and NGOs began to have a louder voice. Postmodernist thinking originates from the growing disenchantment with modernist and dependency paradigms, and the government, often seen as the catalyst of development, became part of the problem (Kingsbury, 2004; Potter *et al*, 2004). Postmodernist thinking placed power back into civil society and their struggle for emancipation, realising that it is civil society that

must define goals, objectives and methods of development. This 'anti-development' stance (Potter *et al.*, 2004) embraced 'micro-approaches' to development that encompassed gender and environmental issues and perhaps catalysed the 'green' movement in the mid-1980s. As Kingsbury (2004: 64) says, 'the aim of development must be to escape from this trap and to reflect the real needs and goals of the people involved, although it is far from clear how this is to be achieved.' Kingsbury *et al.* go on to state that 'development may well be possible using alternative regimes and models that are more congruent with local conditions, histories and institutional frameworks'. Neo-populist perspectives are similar, suggesting that communities need to have more control over tourism processes if they are to experience the full range of benefits (Scheyvens, 2002: 20). Thus emerged discussions of alternative tourism development approaches whereby more locally-oriented views were recognised (Potter *et al.*, 2004). These discussions are not free from criticism, however, and there is a growing body of literature that shares a similar view to that of Pleumarom (1994), recognising the limitations of alternative tourism as an attempt to mitigate adverse impacts of tourism development are ingrained in discussions of political economy and dependency.

Central to the 'alternative' paradigm is the desire to challenge externally-imposed policies for development, a key tenet being 'agency', meaning the capacity of people to influence and direct change locally, and consequently stressing local participation (Potter *et al.*, 2004). There is a subsequent emphasis on objectives of development that reflect locally-defined needs and methodologies of decision-making that are participatory and endogenous (Swarbrooke, 1999). However, beyond this basic principle, alternative development is more problematic to define. Nevertheless, criticisms of modernisation and neoliberal theories have resulted in new methods for assessing development that extend beyond solely economic measurement, for example the Human Development Index (HDI). As Mowforth and Munt (2003) emphasise, these new systems of social, environmental and economic quantification, represent a move towards people-focused and participatory approaches to development (Holden, 2013, *in press*). Indicative of this change is the increasing use of the term 'social capital', which refers to the ability of people to work collectively to fulfil common goals, a theme now advocated by the World Bank (Power, 2003). The emphasis of development subsequently becomes one of fulfilling human needs, including basic ones such as food and shelter, and higher-level needs such as self and social esteem and self-development. Through alternative development strategies, direct action is taken towards problems such as infant mortality, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy and lack of sanitation. In the planning process, emphasis is placed upon inclusive and participatory processes that recognise indigenous theories of development as they incorporate local conditions and knowledge systems, rather than purely Western models of development (Swarbrooke, 1999). This is in marked contrast to modernisation theory, which held local customs and traditions as barriers to economic development and to neoliberalism, which seeks a universal blueprint of nation state comparative advantages and free markets (Mowforth and Munt, 2003).

2.8 Sustainable Development

In addition to participatory approaches and the development of civil society, there is also a strong environmental discourse that necessitates the conservation of natural resources and ecosystems in the alternative paradigm (Holden, 2013, *in press*). Linking human development with the conservation of natural resources is summed up as 'sustainable development', which has subsequently been adopted and adapted into the paradigm of sustainable tourism development. The term 'sustainable development' is typically associated with the Brundtland Report, officially the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, 1987). Arising from concerns over the detrimental effects of economic growth upon the environment and commissioned in 1984 by the UN, the Brundtland report is the outcome of an investigation of an independent group of 22 people from various member states to identify viable long-term environmental strategies for the international community (Elliott, 1994). Whilst the independent group was considered representative of developed and developing nations and the subsequent proposals were deemed universally applicable, the study cannot be argued to consider of the diverse range of environments and cultures in which tourism takes place. Accompanying a heightened awareness of environmental problems was a realisation that the environment and development are inextricably linked. Development cannot take place in a deteriorating environment; neither can the environment be protected, when development fails to recognise the costs of its destruction (Swarbrooke, 1999). The way industrial development has been pursued for much of the twentieth century, characterised by a general lack of concern for the natural environment, has led to the use of natural resources in a way that is unsustainable, i.e. many finite resources are being exhausted whist the capacity of the natural environment to manage waste is being exceeded (Weaver and Lawton, 2002).

Whilst sustainable tourism development is a phenomenon of the 1990s, it evolved from sustainable development, which has been practised for centuries, commencing with traditional agricultural systems and through conservation, community and economic theory in ancient form (Swarbrooke, 1999: 3; Hardy *et al.*, 2002). It is suggested that the thinking behind sustainable development primarily evolved through a shift in the prevailing 'Dominant Western Environmental Paradigm' in the 1950s and '60s, a condition of modernisation (Sustainable Development Commission, UK, 2005; Weaver and Lawton, 2002), resulting in increased recognition of the adverse effects that arise through a quest for economic development with minimal regard for environmental issues (Weaver and Lawton 2002: 342; Hardy *et al.*, 2002). The Dominant Western Environmental Paradigm, which evolved following the Second World War, placed emphasis upon industrial progress and economic integrity to the detriment of the environment. The environmental effects of industrialisation evident in the depletion of forests, ozone and subsequent global warming (UK Government, Sustainable Development Unit) resulted in an opposing world paradigm that challenged the prevailing paradigm and the consumption patterns that were placing a burden upon the environment (UK Government, Sustainable Development Unit, 2005; Holden, 2008). Thus a 'green paradigm' evolved, concerned with environmental preservation and conservation of natural resources with increased emphasis upon the future (Weaver and Lawton, 2002).

This paradigm shift was first acknowledged at a UN Conference on Humans and the Environment in Stockholm in 1972, the first in a series of conferences to discuss global environmental issues, marking the convergence between economic development and environmentalism (Hardy *et al.*, 2002). The term 'sustainable development' was not introduced at this point, however: 'the international community agreed to the notion – now fundamental to Sustainable Development – that both development and the environment, hitherto addressed as separate issues, could be managed in a mutually beneficial way' (UK, Sustainable Development Unit, 2006). This was the first time that these two things had been treated as if they were interrelated. The 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development provided a 'classic definition' of sustainable development in the report entitled 'Our Common Future', more commonly known as the 'Brundtland Report' (UK, Sustainable Development Unit, 2006). It was claimed that sustainability is a concept pertinent to the long-term effectiveness of the tourism industry to 'achieve development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987: 43), encompassing three aspects: the environment, people and economic systems (Swarbrooke, 1999: 3). It is argued that even at present we are not meeting global needs, let alone making provision for the future (UK Government, Sustainable Development Unit) and unless remedial action was taken, we would face an uncertain future. Significant to the Brundtland Report is the premise that poverty alleviation based upon sustainable development is critical for the long-term environmental wellbeing of the planet. Poverty is a major cause of environmental destruction, a relationship that is particularly exacerbated in regions of the world where the population is growing rapidly, and forced into more marginal environments (WCED, 1987). The report also emphasises the need for consideration of both intra- and inter-generational equity as an important part of a more harmonious society and environmental conservation (ibid., 1987). Not only is there a necessity for a fairer distribution of wealth now, but there also needs to be provision in planning and policy for development to ensure the wellbeing of future generations.

Sustainable Development was first addressed at an international level in 1992 at the UN Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (www.un.org, accessed 27 July 2005). This conference established the UN Commission on sustainable development, responsible for the production and implementation of seminal policies, two of the most visible being Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (UN, 1992). This conference was designed primarily to discuss development; the concepts derived were later applied to the development of tourism. In the Rio Declaration, sustainable development was defined as follows: 'the right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations' (UN June, 1992). It was at this point that sustainable development was first raised within the political arena following the publication or 'Our Common Future', providing credence to governmental and non-governmental organisations alike (Hardy *et al.*, 2002). This document proposed twenty-seven principles to be recognised and ratified by supporting states. Agenda 21 highlighted key principles of sustainable development to focus upon longer-term considerations in development planning rather than short-term economic gain, whilst recognising that 'we do not inherit the Earth from our forefathers but borrow it from our children' (Murphy. 1995, as cited in Swarbrooke, 1999: 4). The action plan was subsequently reaffirmed at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg in 2002. It includes reference to tourism, specifically recognising it as offering sustainable development potential to certain

communities. Further to this, the Bellagio Principles (1997), resulting from a meeting of international practitioners and researchers in Bellagio, Italy in 1996, were developed as guidelines to measure and assess progress towards sustainable development (Maida, 2007).

The term 'sustainable development' has subsequently become widely used by governments, international lending agencies, NGOs, the private sector and academics. The fact that the term can be readily adopted by such a diverse range of organisations with divergent and politically opposed objectives is a reflection of the inherent ambiguity of the concept (McNeill, 2000). Much of this ambiguity can be traced to the most commonly-quoted definition of sustainable development taken from the Brundtland Report. The inherent problem is that, whilst most people would agree with the definition in the report, the divergence of opinion of how to achieve it is significant, and political tensions underlie much of the debate about its interpretation (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Distinctions can be made between a 'light green' or 'techno-centric' approach to achieving sustainable development, and a more radical 'dark green' or 'eco-centric' approach (Baker *et al.* 1997:11). The latter approach is more radical because it challenges patterns of consumption in developed countries, calling for a change in economic and political structures, and a reorganisation of society. This fundamental division is between those for whom sustainability represents little more than improving technology and environmental accounting systems, whilst preserving the balance of existing hierarchies and power structures in society, and those who have more radical political agenda involving changing the value systems and power structures of society (Baker *et al.*, 1997).

Since there has been growing recognition of environmental problems such as global warming, pollution, ozone depletion and deforestation (fuelled by the Rio Summit and Agenda 21), greater focus has been placed upon sustainable development and subsequently sustainable tourism development (Middleton, 1998; Swarbrooke, 1999; Mason, 2008; Weaver, 2006; Hall and Lew, 1998). It is the 'classic definition' as provided in the Brundtland Report that has been developed and adapted by a range of development stakeholders to produce a definition that best suits their particular needs and role within the development process, resulting in the absence of a single definition, but rather several subtly different definitions that operate along similar lines (Sustainable Development Unit, UK). This is recognised by McNeill (2000): 'divergent perspectives, interests and assumptions translate into competing claims as to the very definition of the term' (as cited in Maida, 2007: 1). These definitions differ depending upon how temporal, economic, social and environmental considerations are emphasised (Sustainable Development Unit, UK). Scholars also argue that traditionally the focus has been on environmental and economic impacts, and more focus should be given to community involvement (Hardy *et al.*, 2002). Community involvement is vital in any plans for sustainable development in order to lessen the likelihood that the community will feel alienated and oppose development (Hardy *et al.* 2002; Scheyvens, 2002).

Furthermore, there appears to be limited guidance as to the emphasis that should be placed on each aspect of contemporary practice of sustainable development, although it is not important to get bogged down in a 'definitional quagmire' (Sustainable Development Unit, UK, 2005). The UK Government provide their own interpretation:

> The goal is to enable all people throughout the world to satisfy their basic needs and enjoy a better quality of life, without compromising the quality of life of future generations … that goal will be pursued in an integrated way through a sustainable, innovative and productive economy that delivers high levels of employment; and a just society that promotes social inclusion, sustainable communities and personal wellbeing. This will be done in ways that protect and enhance the physical and natural environment, and use resources and energy as efficiently as possible (Sustainable Development Unit, UK, http://www.culture.gov.uk/about_us/7306.aspx)

This places equal emphasis upon economic, social and environmental concerns whilst also including a temporal component. Nevertheless, there is no guidance to suggest what 'true' sustainability means, i.e. which elements are most important? As Redclift (1987) notes, some scholars support the emphasis upon 'human progress', whilst others view economic progress as paramount. The classic definition can be considered problematic as it fails to consider the nature and location of the destination, and provides little guidance as to how sustainability is to be achieved. This makes sustainable development particularly difficult to implement, measure or enforce (Swarbrooke, 1999: 13).

Furthermore, it has been recognised by some commentators that host governments should differentiate between sustainable tourism and sustainable tourism development, as the two offer entirely different principles and associated impacts and are sometimes used 'loosely and interchangeably' (Liu, 2003:460). On the one hand, the development of sustainable tourism implies that the tourism industry can be sustained i.e. offer long-term prospects, supporting the community for years to come. This misconception and the quest for sustainable tourism can lead to an over-reliance on the tourism industry and a focus on sustaining the tourism industry to the detriment of host community needs. Sustainable tourism development, however, is concerned with not solely the maintenance of the tourism industry, but also social, environmental and economic factors. It is this difference that could potentially lead to misunderstanding of the true meaning of sustainable development, subsequently result in inadequate planning or failure to address sustainability principles.

A comprehensive commitment to sustainable tourism development is also required, which is not always possible in the face of competing stakeholder interests. Scheyvens (2002) suggests that at a destination level, there is a complex interplay of class, values and power, and that power may be exercised with a view to obtaining the outcome most preferable to higher status members of society, and therefore some members of the host community may not enjoy the benefits of tourism. Equitable participation and consultation in the planning process is therefore a key challenge to tourism developers.

It is suggested by Liu (2003) that despite decades of support for Sustainable Tourism development, there is still disagreement on what should be sustained and how to measure implementation. In fact, it is often claimed that 'developing an effective, yet practical measurement process' (Murphy, 1998:180) is even more challenging than conceptualising sustainable tourism development. To allow measurement of sustainability the principles of

Sustainable Tourism development are often adapted to form codes of conduct or indicators. However, these fail without the support of stakeholders. To facilitate the implementation of sustainability policies, community involvement in consultation and planning is vital to lessen the likelihood of community alienation and subsequent opposition (Hardy *et al.*, 2002) and also to ensure that the 'local community', often viewed as the hospitality resource of the destination (Smith, 1994), gain more from tourism and are subsequently motivated to preserve resources and offer support for the industry (Liu, 2003). In the anthropological literature (Maida, 2007), a far more subjective approach to assessing of sustainability is taken, placing greater emphasis upon traditional practices of sustainability and the significance of indigenous knowledge over indicators developed through Western hegemony.

A variety of 'alternative' forms of tourism practices are gaining greater precedence through the discourse on sustainability (Weaver and Lawton, 2002), including eco-tourism, community-based tourism, nature-based tourism and agro-tourism, all of which claim to avoid (or attempt to minimise) limitations associated with neoliberal approaches to tourism development, protecting and enhancing the environment, maintaining local control and optimising the quality of life for destination inhabitants. However, as has been shown by authors such as Kontogeorgopoulos (2005), Pleumarom (1999) and Liu (2003), the benefits of these forms of tourism may not be fully realised and on occasion may be used inappropriately as a marketing tool (Pleumarom, 1999), and thus these emergent forms of tourism may not be that far removed from their neoliberal predecessors.

2.9 The convergence between tourism and development theory

Tourism development is essentially a political concept (Hall, 1994). The perceived benefits of such development raise questions about the economic, social and political elements of the development process (De Kadt, 1979). Political philosophy and ideology will have a substantial impact upon the tourism development processes, whereby overt and covert values may be expressed (Dredge, 2010). Selection and implementation of these values will depend upon the relative power of 'winners' and 'losers' in the political processes. Given the potential of tourism to contribute to development, it is perhaps surprising that as several authors (Bianchi, 2002; Hall, 1994; Telfer, 2002, Wall, 1997) have commented, the link between development theory and tourism remains relatively limited when compared to other economic sectors. Bianchi (1999) suggests that this lack of engagement with the paradigmatic debate of development studies is a consequence of an emphasis on studies of an applied and practical nature. Despite an early lack of theoretical interest in tourism, recognition of its potential for development by the supranational agencies has its origins in the late 1950s, when it was prescribed as a top economic policy for Third World governments by the World Bank (Srisang, 1991: Dickenson *et al*, 1996). Other UN specialist agencies, including the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) supported the World Bank's plan alongside Western governments. Recognition from the UN of the potential for tourism for development was emphasised through

the creation of the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) in 1970 (later re-designated the United Nations World Tourism Organisation or UNWTO in 2003).

During the 1960s, the use of tourism for development reflected the ideology of the modernist paradigm. Generally, modernist theory sees tourism in a very positive light. Modernist thinkers viewed development as a process, and the state of 'development' one that 'less developed' countries should aspire to, as until that stage they were supposedly inferior (Scheyvens, 2002). As explained by Kingsbury (2004), through this thinking: 'all nations however poor were able with the implementation of correct policies to achieve a modern standard of living by following exactly the same growth path as that pioneered by the Western nations'. Tourism was seen as a means to facilitate this process. Wall (1997:484) equates this era with the 'trickle-down effect', that is the idea that investment in large-scale development will lead to economic benefits being passed down to the lower social classes of society, in a classic 'top-down' approach to development (Gunn, 1994; Scheyvens, 2002; Hall, 1994). The Prebisch thesis, however, states that trickle-down effects do not exist in the real world (Hall, 1994). Typically, macro-economic benefits were sought from investment in tourism and tourism expenditure, including the earning of foreign exchange, employment creation and the stimulation of different types of economic multiplier effects in national, regional and local economies (Telfer, 2002). Unlike the private sector-led development that characterises neoliberalism, in some cases the large-scale development of tourism was initiated by state investment, referred to as 'pump-priming'. For example the Mexican strategy of building a number of very large resort complexes in such places as Cancun in the hope that economic benefits would be diffused over a larger geographical area (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Consequently, tourism as a form of modernisation involved the transfer of capital, technology, expertise, and 'modern' values from the West to less developed countries (Scheyvens, 2002). Little consideration was given to how the poor could be integrated into the tourism industry and markets (it was assumed that economic benefits would trickle down to them), nor was consideration given to the environmental, cultural and social impacts of tourism (Hall, 1994).

During the 1970s, when a wider re-evaluation of development took place through dependency theory, there was a similar re-evaluation of the economic and social effects of tourism. Whilst international tourism demand increased during the decade from approximately 166 million arrivals in 1970 to 277 million by 1980 (Holden, 2013, *in press*), benefits were questioned as studies pointed to lower multiplier effects and higher levels of economic leakage than were expected (ibid.). The application of disciplines such as sociology to tourism studies also emphasised the negative social and cultural impacts that could be caused by exploitative situations arising from marked economic inequalities, where wealthier tourists from developed countries and poorer communities in developing countries came into contact with each other (Turner and Ash, 1975). In line with dependency theory debates, a central criticism was that tourism perpetuates exploitative economic relationships between metropolitan generating countries and peripheral destination societies (Britton, 1982). In this sense, Turner and Ash (1975) refer to the tourist-receiving destinations of the developing world as the 'pleasure-periphery' of the developed world.

Hall (1994) suggests that the terms of neoliberalism and imperialism are powerful terms to describe the relationship between core and peripheral areas, illustrating the potential loss of control that the host community may experience in the face of foreign tourism interests and the actions of local elites. Similarly, Nash (1989: 39) comments that 'metropolitan centres have varying degrees of control over the nature of tourism and its development ... It is this power over touristic and related developments abroad that makes a metropolitan centre imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism'. The power that Nash (1989) refers to is typically built upon the possession of superior entrepreneurial skills, resources and commercial power. This sentiment of imperialism is also expressed in Britton's (1982) work, which through the case study of Fiji suggested that when a developing country uses tourism as a development strategy, it would enter a global system over which it has little control.

Dependency theorists also point out that the social and structural frameworks within a society determine the way that the international economy integrates with it. Applied to international tourism, a model of multinational companies working with elites thus replaces the model of colonial governments working with local elites (Britton, 1982). Only the privileged commercial and political groups in the periphery, along with foreign interests, are in a position to co-ordinate, construct, operate and profit from the development of a new industry such as tourism. It is consequently argued that the economic outcome of such a model is the removal of part of the economic surplus by foreigners, and the non-productive use of much of the remaining surplus by ruling elites (ibid.).

Whilst the application of dependency theory to the international tourism system highlights the unequal economic and political relationships between countries of the developed and developing worlds and the negative social and environmental impacts of tourism, it fails to offer solutions to these problems. Solving these issues necessitates consideration of the alternative development paradigm in the context of tourism, the most popular manifestation of this being sustainable tourism development. Given the Brundtland Report (1987) was concerned with issues of environmental degradation; poverty; gender inequality; lack of democracy; human rights abuses; and intra and inter-generational inequity, it could be expected that sustainable tourism would emphasise these different components. However, the concept of sustainable tourism has a similar ambiguousness to the concept of sustainable development, with no agreed common definition.

The debate about the meaning and interpretation of sustainable tourism development also applies to other types of 'new tourism'. Similar confusion exists as to the real meaning of 'ecotourism' (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005). As per sustainable tourism, there are different interpretations, ranging from an alternative philosophy of tourism development to little more than a business or marketing tool (Hvenegaard and Dearden, 1998; Pleumarom, 1999; Liu, 2000; Duffy, 2008; Fairhead, Leach and Scoones, 2012). Other concerns also arise over the economic and political relationship of ecotourism to developing countries. In an early discussion on ecotourism, Wheeller (1993) referred to the concept of 'ego-tourism' in reference to the high costs and possible elitist perception of ecotourism. Mowforth and Munt (2009) similarly emphasise the duality of discourse between the perception of elitism and a means of protecting endangered ecological habitats in the developing world.

The debate about sustainable and eco-tourism raises issues about the extent to which they truly represent something different from mainstream neoliberal discourses and paradigms, and to what extent they are merely a more ethical representation of it. To achieve a more radical alternative tourism agenda that will target poverty reduction, there is a need to politicise the tourism industry, a requirement that Mowforth and Munt (1998) highlighted. The issue of how tourism is developed and how it is used to provide opportunities for the poor is political one as much as it is economic. Can real change of the existing political economic structures be achieved with what House (1997) refers to as a 'reformist' school of thought or is a more radical agenda that challenges existing structures and development paradigms necessary?

2.10 Debates on sustainability

Rather than impose a Western ideological view of sustainable development as an ideal trajectory (Swarbrooke, 1999) without challenging the rationale for adoption, it would appear prudent to discuss the benefits to the destination and host community of adopting a 'sustainable approach' to tourism development. Although the discourse surrounding sustainability is highly Eurocentric in origin, the practice of sustainability, as Maida (2007) recommends, is essentially a local concern due to heterogeneity in needs and quality of life concerns, which may account for the challenges associated with its implementation. The importance of 'local knowledge' should be regarded as paramount, as in the research of Geertz (1983) and Scott (1976) in south-east Asian agrarian societies. They observed how regional culture provides a diversity of practices, which guarantee a minimal return on the harvest (Maida, 2007). Maida stresses that cultural processes guide human adaptation, and in that sense culture can be seen as a form of 'strategic coping' (ibid., 2007: 4). This is evident in the rice terraces of the Ifugao Community of the Philippine Cordilleras (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/722), listed by UNESCO as an outstanding example of an evolved living cultural landscape in which the community, through a cooperative approach, has sustained the terraces for over 2000 years using indigenous knowledge of the agro-ecosystem, respecting lunar cycles, zoning concepts, soil conservation and pest control.

Some regard sustainable tourism as the antithesis of 'mass tourism' (Weaver and Lawton, 2002) and as such emphasise that, despite the positive impacts reaped by mass tourism destinations, there are also significant potential detrimental impacts (Scheyvens, 2002). Some authors draw a correlation between the form of tourism, the subsequent typology of tourists in that destination, and the impacts that ensue (Butler, 1980; Cohen, 1983; Plog, 1974). Such theorists believe a destination passes through various stages of development. Butler (1980) suggested that resorts experience six stages of development (Shaw and Williams, 2002). Following this model, destinations will finally reach the stage of decline when 'attractiveness continues to decline, visitors are lost to other resorts and the resort becomes more dependent on day visitors from a limited geographical area unless action is taken to rejuvenate the area' (Shaw and Williams, 2002: 198). This implies that as a resort progresses through the six stages, consolidation

will occur in concert with mass tourism. Mass tourism is defined by Poon (1993: 32) as 'a phenomenon of large-scale packaging of standardised leisure services at fixed prices for sale to a mass clientele.' Nevertheless, whilst Cole (2009) argues that the destination life cycle (Butler, 1980) remains the most enduring model for understanding the evolution of tourism destinations (see also Pearce, 2001), he also asserts that there is much left unexplained by the TALC, such as irregular patterns of growth and decline caused by interruptions to demand. Critics align the application of life cycle models closely with modernist perspectives (Sharpley, 2003; Telfer and Sharpley, 2008; Lacher and Nepal, 2010), noting that the core-periphery relationship is beneficial in that the investment and expertise of the core generates income and greater tourist volumes for the periphery.

Critics of mass tourism draw a correlation between mass forms of tourism and detrimental socio-cultural effects (Weaver and Lawton, 2002). Mass tourists are thought to be likely to have a greater impact upon the host community as they require 'homogenous and predictable products, security in numbers, familiar food and surroundings' (Poon, 1993: 16). Shaw and Williams (2002: 213) argue that mass tourism 'is potentially an agent for profound economic and cultural change', which occurs through, 'commodification of culture and traditional ways of life.' Criticising Butler's (1980) model, Weaver and Lawton (2002: 318) state that the model implies that all destinations follow this cycle. However, in reality there may be factors that prevent or facilitate progression onto the next stage, such as natural disasters.

Culture is defined by Burns and Holden (1995: 112) as 'the interaction of people through social relations and material artefacts. It consists of behavioural patterns, knowledge and values, which have been acquired and transmitted through generations'. Hofstede (1991) defines it as mental programming and states that the sources of this programming lie within the social environments in which we grow and learn, and so accords with Burns and Holden (1995) that culture is learned. Ap and Crompton believe that:

> The social and cultural impacts of tourism refer to the ways in which tourism is perceived to contribute to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family relations, collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies, and community organisations. (Ap and Crompton, 1998:125)

Hofstede (1991) argues the core of culture is defined by values, a view supported by the work of Trompeneers (1993). Both authors are esteemed in their respective studies on how values are influenced by culture. Hofstede (1991) for example from empirical study on employees of IBM from over 70 countries, distinguished between cultural values using four dimensions; Power Distance (PDI), Individualism versus Collectivism (IDV), Masculinity versus Femininity (MAS) and Uncertainty Avoidance (UAI). A fifth dimension of Long Term Orientation was added to the model through a later study by Bond in 1991. Whilst initially derived to comprehend cultural values within organisations (Hofstede, 1991), the model offers valuable insight for both research and within the education sector (see Merritt, 1998), enabling the researcher to differentiate between nations of core values. However, there are a

number of limitations to Hofstede's (1991) prepositions (see Harrison & McKinnon, 1999; McSweeny, 2002), notably the quantitative nature of the survey method used, the variability within cultures (Smith, 2002), and cultural propensity to change over time, which would lead one to place value upon studies that consider what is practised (or observed to be practised).

In addition, Theobald (2002: 60) suggests that 'the cultural gap is closing since the tourist and the resident are exchanging ambitions and ways of life.' Ryan (1993: 147) states that the extent of change depends on 'the belief and cultural systems of the host and the physical and psychological carrying capacities of the area.' UNEP, in addition to other authors, considers cultural change a form of negative social impact, manifested in a variety of forms including 'change or loss of indigenous identity or values, commodification, standardisation, staged authenticity, adaptation to tourism demands, culture clashes, economic inequality and job level friction.' (http://www.uneptie.org/pc/Tourism/sust-Tourism/soc-drawbacks.htm). This is reinforced by Hardy *et al.* (2002) who suggest that often the host community does not benefit from tourism via a 'trickle-down economic effect', yet experience a range of responses through interaction with tourists, explained through models such as Doxey's (1976) Index of Irritation, Dogan's (1989) Strategies for Adjustment and Butler's (1980) Destination Lifecycle (as cited in Hardy *et al.*, 2002). Nevertheless, opponents to this view see cultural change in a positive light, as a means to facilitating modernisation, brought about through increased contact with foreign societies, new ideas and different cultures (Tragen, 1969; Truong, 1990). Hence, tourist establishments such as hotels and airports provide the stage for developing countries to meet foreigners and are appropriate environments for doing business (Tragen, 1969). According to the WTO in their Guide for Local Authorities on Developing Sustainable Tourism (1998: 127), there are numerous positive socio-cultural impacts of tourism development, including 'employment and income from working in the tourism sector, conservation of the cultural heritage of an area, renewal of pride by residents in their culture and the multiplier effect of tourism serving as a catalyst for the expansion of other local economic activities.'

Plog (1977) proposed that destination evolution is linked to tourist typology. Typologies are used to 'examine tourist motivations as well as attitudes to destinations and modes of travel.' (as cited in Shaw and Williams, 2002: 79) Although in theory there is no provision for tourists to change typology over time, this is an issue that has not been proven to reflect reality (Shaw and Williams, 2002: 79). Shaw and Williams (2002: 84) highlight that the greatest benefit of allocating tourist typologies is that 'such perspectives provide a platform from which to explore the relationships between tourist consumption and the socio-cultural fabric of destination areas.' Plog's theory classifies tourists into groups based on psychographic traits (Cooper *et al.*, 1998:191). According to this theory 'A resort may typically begin by attracting a small number of allocentrics, but will soon develop in order to attract larger numbers of visitors. During this process the allocentrics will be alienated and they will move on to look for new destinations to 'discover'.' It is evident that the investigation and allocation of tourist typologies can assist planners to predict the extent of impact upon a destination. It may be possible to develop methods of minimising potentially detrimental impacts. This may also enable researchers to consider links between typologies and tourism impacts. Through

identifying a resort's stage on the Destination Life Cycle, measures can be taken to prevent progression to the stagnation and decline stages where maximum detrimental impact occurs.

What, then, is the rationale behind a more sustainable focus to tourism development? It is widely recognised that despite the positive potential impacts to be reaped by highly developed tourism destinations there are also significant potential detrimental impacts, particularly of an environmental and social nature. It is claimed that the level of development in a destination may have implications for primarily the type of tourism that takes place, the subsequent typology of tourists in that destination and the consequent impacts that ensue. The starting point therefore would be to acknowledge that 'sustainable tourism' has been viewed as an alternative to 'mass tourism' (Weaver and Lawton, 2002) and that through alternative strategies; destinations and industry alike might contribute toward sustainable development. Swarbrooke (1998: 10) gives a detailed rationale for the adoption of sustainability principles including an increased understanding of the impacts of tourism, a fair distribution of benefits and costs, and, importantly, equitable and transparent consultation and decision-making.

It is clear that the previous and present nature of tourism development in many destinations warrants attention, with greater emphasis placed upon longevity of the tourism destination, rather than a quest for rapid development. In pursuit of alternative tourism strategies that have a long-term focus, there is much evidence to suggest or at least claim that 'sustainability' should be a common goal. These claims are voiced by proponents of the 'green movement', highlighting that destinations and the tourism industry alike should seek to improve environmental practices, protect cultural heritage and ensure equitable distribution of wealth generated through tourism (Kamamba, 2003; Swarbrooke, 1998; Liu, 2003). As previously mentioned, the application of Sustainable Development principles to the process of tourism development is increasingly sought-after, following growing support of the 'green paradigm' and increasing awareness of the potential detrimental impacts of mass tourism. Some feel that these impacts may be controlled through alternative tourism strategies (Liu 2003) that fall under the umbrella term of 'sustainable tourism' such as eco-tourism or community-based tourism with their common objective of providing tourism that is long-lasting and more beneficial in not only economic terms, but also socio-cultural and environmental terms.

However, in practice it is claimed that none of these instruments can be relied on as a means of producing sustainable tourism development (Liu, 2003). What can be used are a vast range of principles and indicators of sustainable development. Harris (2000: 5) organises principles according to the three pillars of sustainability: 'An economically sustainable system must be able to produce goods and services on a continuing basis, to maintain manageable levels of Government and external debt and to avoid extreme sectoral imbalances which damage agricultural or industrial production.' Ecological goals should be to 'maintain a stable resource base, avoiding over exploitation of renewable resource systems or environmental sink functions, and depleting non-renewable resources only to the extent that investment is made in adequate substitutes' (ibid., 2005). Finally, 'a socially sustainable system must achieve distributional equity, adequate provision of social services including health and education, gender equity and political accountability and participation' (ibid., 2005:5). In the UK, the Sustainable Development Unit of DEFRA utilises a

model of shared principles to inform the delivery of Sustainable Development policies (DEFRA, 2005). For a policy to be sustainable it must meet all five requirements. The responsibility of Sustainable Tourism development is threefold:

1) make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity;
2) respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance; and
3) ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation. (WTO, 2012, http://sdt.unwto.org/en/content/about-us-5)

It is evident that the limitations of sustainability include the fact that it is difficult to measure in practice. To allow measurement of sustainability, sustainable tourism development is often adapted to form codes of conduct or indicators. Following the tsunami, affected areas have had the chance to reassess their development policies. The provincial Government of Phuket have embraced this opportunity (in rhetoric), identifying the need to 'correct the mistakes of the past and make the re-emerging destinations among the best in the world in terms of environmental conservation and community involvement in the planning process' (WTO, 2005), addressing this in the 'Phuket Action Plan for Tsunami Recovery' (2005). However, the action plan makes no specific provisions for sustainability and mentions Phi Phi only with regard to the extent of damage caused by the tsunami (the Phuket Action Plan can be found in **Appendix 2**, pp. 295-296). In addition, the Provincial Government of Phuket is in collaboration with the WTO to pilot a comprehensive set of sustainability indicators (WTO). Ultimately, the researcher would support the view of some (Dovers and Handmer, 1993) that for sustainability to be achieved one must first identify the reasons for non-sustainability.

There are numerous areas of critique with regard to the discourse on sustainable development. In addition to this 'definitional quagmire', it is sometimes claimed that sustainability is an ideology (Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 46), considered highly unsuitable when developed nations suggest that sustainable development should be practised by all, when they might have failed to achieve this in their own country (Pleumarom, 1994). In fact, one might observe that the majority of literature surrounding sustainable tourism development originates from developed countries, representing an ideal type of development, which is feasible given the right economic, political and social environment, yet fails to acknowledge the specific nature of developing countries, usually the type of destination that is attractive to tourists due to their rich environmental diversity and traditional cultural practices, which may prohibit the achievement of this type of development (Tosun, 2001:290). Tosun's research into the feasibility of planning for sustainable tourism development in Turkey recognised that environmental factors such as national economic priorities, a lack of contemporary tourism development and the structure of the public administration system in less economically and socially developed countries may restrict sustainable tourism development, creating a 'get rich

quick' mentality. Other authors such as De Chavez (1999:4) argue that 'it is no wonder therefore that cash-starved Third World countries view tourism as a shortcut to rapid development'. Nevertheless, both this 'quick-fix' mentality and the pressure for many developing countries to accept finance packages such as the IMF's SAPs with their predetermined conditions leaves developing countries exposed to mass unplanned development, exploitation and takeover by international organisations, which by its very nature, is unsustainable (Mowforth and Munt, 2009).

It could further be argued that sustainable development, despite its ideological discourse, is another form of globalisation (a transfer of global ideology) that could potentially be as damaging as cultural imperialism. This is demonstrated by the presence of multinationals in rural areas, something that is characteristic of inappropriate development and inadequate consultation (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Globalisation, although beneficial in terms of growth of foreign trade and the path to greater wealth and success (McLaren, 2003) through the transfer of services, cultural values and technology amongst other factors (Martens and Rotmans, 2005), has been subject to much criticism. The act of transfer means more freedom for dominant world powers, in the form of economic wealth, multinational, political power and financial institutions imposing their values upon the weaker party in their interactions, (Pleumarom, 1999). Not only is tourism development facilitated through globalisation, it is an essential process of globalisation (Hannam, 2002). Hannam observes a re-working of tourism destinations as a result of globalisation in locations such as Singapore, who now adopt a themed approach to destination development, borrowing cultural resources around the world to facilitate a contemporary perception of modernity and exoticism. Furthermore, Duffy (2000) recognises that the ecotourism industry in Belize is a globalised product of money laundering and drugs and that political elites exercise economic and political power through invisible and informal structures within this system. Thus globalisation has led to a reconfiguration of power relations in political, economic and cultural terms (Hannam, 2002) and can be interpreted as a being facilitated through the presence of neoliberal policies to development.

As Hannam (2002) argues, globalisation is significant transforming force, following the patterns of colonisation. It has changed the social and economic structures of many developing countries resulting in a deep integration of Western values and financial dependency upon dominant world powers (Khor, 1996). This has been facilitated not only through IMF-World Bank conditionality but the World Trade Organisation General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATTS), central components of neoliberal policy, resulting in the increased takeover of business by foreign investors, which subsequently may mean greater repatriation of profits and a lack of community involvement in decision-making (De Chavez, 1999). Many commentators, including Khor (1996) and McLaren (2003) suggest that globalisation has created a situation whereby the 'global North' can easily access, and claim power over, the 'global South', imposing cultural values that dilute traditional practices. Thus, there is evidence to suggest that globalisation may significantly restrict sustainable tourism development.

With reference to the paradigm of sustainable tourism development, if one examines sustainability on a global scale it could be suggested that this ideology has been the paradigm of certain 'dominant political powers' (Mowforth and Munt, 2003:49). Sustainability has largely evolved within the First World, on the understanding that its principles suit the needs of the First World, and through the ideology of environmentalism. This further accentuates the power of dominant First World economies to influence decision-making in their second and third world counterparts, demonstrating the hegemonic properties of sustainable development as a principle (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). It is argued by McLaren (2003:3) that due to the globalisation process, 'production everywhere will be focused on the needs of a single, Western monoculture, while indigenous cultures and diverse location-specific adaptations will be steadily erased. Local self-sufficiency will become an ever more distant memory'. Other commentators (Potter *et al.*, 2004; Power, 2003; Dickenson *et al.*, 1996) attribute the ideological limitations to the Euro centricity of development theory. Potter *et al.* (2004: 13) argue that almost all major strategies for development are Eurocentric in origin and bias: 'not only was this westernised development not working for most third world countries, but the west itself was continuing to be the beneficiary of the distorted development that it produced.' As Potter (2003:62) affirms, by the 1980s, development theorists could not 'credibly ignore power relations, dependency and imperialist legacies.'

There is further evidence at a more local level that sustainable tourism development can be shaped by dominant powers, reinforced by Pleumarom (1998:47), who argues that attempts at sustainability under the banner of eco-tourism are Western concepts being globalised, and suggesting that these attempts at environmental preservation have 'not necessarily served to preserve the environment and safeguard local communities' rights, but have been co-opted and distorted by official agencies and private industries for profit-making purposes.' Whilst some commentators claim that ecotourism offers an eco-friendly, low-impact alternative to mass tourism, aspects of which may be classed as sustainable, others suggest that it leads to the targeting of destination areas previously untouched by tourists, which are ecologically fragile and now subjected to large numbers of visitors (De Chavez, 1999; Pleumarom, 1999; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005).

It has been claimed that ecotourism has been used for marketing rather than conservation, in order to charge higher rates for the experience. There are also claims of bio-piracy as an exploitative practice under the guise of eco-tourism (Pleumarom, 1999). Furthermore, one must acknowledge that there appears to be a continuum of eco-tourism (Poon, 1993). 'Soft' eco-tourism does not differ greatly from traditional mass tourism. There is evidence to suggest that the impact experienced by destinations that have been developed along the principles of eco-tourism may be severe; not only similar to that caused by mass tourism, but more severe due to the fragility of the cultural and ecological environment concerned.

Pleumarom (1999) reports that, although eco-tourism in Asia is hailed as a 'flagship project' to encourage tourist expenditure, ironically further loans and foreign investment are required to initiate such practices. This, in turn, increases dependency upon global economies and results in a reduction of local power and economic independence, contrary to the principles of sustainable tourism development. Kontogeorgopoulos (2005) has shown that eco-tourism

can offer benefits such as employment, social status and mobility and incipient environmentalism, although it does so at the expense of local initiation and control, spatial isolation, social cohesion, and ecological sustainability.

Certainly, discussions of power within tourism development discourse are receiving increasing levels of attention (Hannam, 2002) and particularly political and economic concepts of power (Mowforth and Munt, 1998), something that this research will seek to further. Not only are tourists regarded by some as the holders of power, as in Urry's (1990) discussion of the Tourist Gaze and Dann's (1999) consideration of travel writing, but tourists are also the targets of power relations (Cheong and Miller, 2000: 308) as they may operate from 'insecure positions' in an unfamiliar environment. One may cite references to the connections between power and knowledge. Cheong and Miller (2000) in particular identify that power has resulted in specific discourses and specialisms in relation to tourism; perhaps here we can include discussions of sustainability. This is supported by Hollinshead (1999) who urges an assessment of the ideologies of dominant groups to comprehend policy decisions. In fact, it is specifically stated by Hannam (2002:232) that 'the professional academic bodies that control tourism knowledge production allow certain debates to speak within a limited terrain, such as sustainability without any closure.'

2.11 Tourism stakeholders

Milne (in Hall and Lew, 1998: 35) criticises existing literature on tourism and development, describing it as weakened by a fascination with theoretical models that predict linear paths of destination evolution. He urges consideration of the impact of human agency and stakeholder relationships in the generation of sustainable development (Hall and Lew, 1998) similarly to Reed's (1997) recommendation that the impacts of power relationships upon tourism planning should be explained in light of power relations being an endemic feature of emergent tourism settings. Importantly for this research, Milne (ibid.) argues that sustainability takes on different forms at different levels and that community and stakeholder interactions are vital in shaping this analysis. This is an area, he notes, that offers great research potential. In fact sustainability's relative 'vagueness' (Redclift, 1987) surely offers potential for interpretation and implementation far more suitable to the local setting. Indeed, as Holden (2008) argues, this ambiguity permits a variety of perspectives and approaches.

Tourism must be viewed as a transaction, incorporating the exogenous forces of global markets and multinationals as well as the endogenous powers of local residents and entrepreneurs (Chang *et al.*, 1996). Priorities will surely differ. For the householder, particularly in a post-disaster context, survival is paramount. For the multinational hotel chain, the overriding goal is the profitability of the site. Governance of development also differs (Blunden, 1995), from socio-political and ecological constraints at local level, to macro-economic constraints at national level. It is also acknowledged that global financial institutions have great power in shaping the nature and progress of tourism development.

The majority of existing research concerning tourism's impact upon a destination is, according to McDowell and Choi, (2010) focused upon identifying positive and negative impacts from the host's perspective. There is a substantial body of literature that suggests that residents' attitudes may change over time (Doxey, 1976; Anderek and Vogt, 2000); that attitudes may differ due to a direct relationship with the tourism industry and sense of benefit (Pizam, 1978; Gursoy *et al.*, 2002); and that attitudes may differ depending on the level of engagement in planning for tourism projects (Gunn, 1994). McDowell and Choi's (2010) research on resident perceptions of Tourism in Thailand found that the most commonly perceived impacts of international tourism development were cultural pride, increased investment and increased government earnings. Similarly, Nunkoo, Gursoy and Juwaheer (2010) recommend Social Exchange Theory and Identity Theory as appropriate means to comprehend how communities' identities influence their perceptions of impacts (including occupational identity, environmental identity and gender identity (Nunkoo, Gursoy and Juwaheer, 2010).

Doxey's Index of Irritation (1976, as discussed in Theobald 1998: 141) is an evolutionary model of change in local attitudes towards tourists (Cohen, 1984) derived from research undertaken in Niagara, which proposes that, as resorts develop, the reactions of the host community towards tourists will pass through various stages, namely: 'delight in the contact, increasing indifference with larger numbers, concern and annoyance over price rises, crime, rudeness, cultural rules being broken and finally covert and overt aggression to visitors' (Weaver and Lawton (2002: 277). This leads Weaver and Lawton to suggest that 'widespread dissatisfaction of local residents as a result of inappropriate tourism development is an extremely important consideration for all destination managers since this can lead to direct and indirect actions against tourists.' The same authors also highlight the importance of community involvement: 'The maintenance of support among local residents through the prevention and amelioration of negative impacts is a prerequisite for the long term well-being of the tourism sector'. Cohen (1984), in line with Doxey (1976), attributes antagonism to factors such as rapid increases in tourist density, competition for resources, and the conduct of tourists, especially in situations where there is no segregation between host and guest. Theoretically, Doxey's (1976) assumptions are applicable to Phi Phi due to the high tourist to local ratio, rapid increase in tourist numbers and lack of segregation (Pleumarom, 2004). It has been suggested that, as resorts develop, the host community become less satisfied, and may become openly hostile towards tourists. However, flaws in Doxey's Index (1976) flow from the assumption that all residents will progress to the antagonism or resignation stage (Weaver and Lawton, 2002: 288). This theory does not appear to consider those employed by the tourism industry and businesses created as part of a tourism infrastructure, and the notion of 'communities within a community', which Cole (2006:689) advocates.

> In less developed countries in particular, poverty and social desperation necessitate a great need for the local community to benefit from tourism development, but the inability of the host population to fully participate in the development process results in the lion's share of tourism income being taken away or 'leaked out' of the destination (Liu, 2003:465).

One of the core elements in working towards sustainability is the involvement and satisfaction of all stakeholder groups. However, it is evident in much of the post-tsunami redevelopment planning that this does not occur, as highlighted by Rice (2005:26): 'these plans are being put together and implemented with little or no input from the very people whose lives and futures are most affected by them'. Other authors such as Cole (in Smith and Robinson, 2006) note that even for those invited to attend planning meetings and so on, the extent to which they are empowered to actively participate may be restricted due to a lack of knowledge about tourism, lack of self-belief or lack of skills. A Phi Phi resident wrote, 'as a long term resident and business owner … I feel very strongly about getting the island back on its feet, to again promote tourism, but to have it rebuilt in a proper fashion … with volunteers working away it is very difficult to make any headway with the government.' ("Fluiddiver" Hi Phi Phi Discussion Forum, June 8th 2005).

It is important to consider how the power and responsibility of the various stakeholders in tourism development lies, to ensure equitable participation in line with sustainability principles, and that no satisfaction shortfalls exist. Weaver and Lawton (2002: 288) highlight the importance of satisfaction in certain stakeholder groups to ensure long-term sustainability of tourism in that area: 'long-term viability of the tourism sector in a destination depends on the continued support and satisfaction of local residents.' Dodds, Graci and Holmes (2010) note, however, the lack of research concerning the perceptions of stakeholders and responsibility in relation to tourism, and particularly how stakeholder influence is determined, a gap that this research seeks to address. Nevertheless, many authors clarify the importance of community involvement to ensure satisfaction of all stakeholders: 'there is a need for coordination among the different agents involved in order to achieve a degree of sustainability. There must be sufficient flexibility in planning procedures to enable them to adapt to changing trends and circumstances' (Priestly, Edwards and Coccossis, 1996: 198). Other commentators, such as the UN, state that: 'policy development and implementation should take place in co-operation with all interested parties, especially the private sector and local and indigenous communities' (http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/sdissues/Tourism/tour2.htm#dec). This is reinforced by Ap and Crompton (1998:124): 'for tourism to thrive in an area it needs support from the area's residents'. Swarbrooke (1999: 17) focuses upon eight stakeholder groups when considering sustainable development planning, including the host community, government bodies, the tourism industry, pressure groups, the media, experts, the voluntary sector and tourists.

However, in a study that seeks to gain views from community members and stakeholders of Phi Phi and views their participation as essential, it is prudent to consider the meaning of 'community' as communities in a tourism area are often not static. The original islanders of Phi Phi were Thai from Koh Yao, and were traditionally Muslim fisher-people. Bernard (1973) distinguishes between 'the community' and 'community' in the sense that 'the community' is a collection of people at a location, whereas 'community' implies a sense of social interaction, intimacy and cohesion through time. Stoddard (1993) illustrates this in his 'interdependence theory'. As per earlier discussion of the meaning of community, if we are to acknowledge that modern communities are formed from the interactions and

involvement of global networks and media, as Zeldin (1995) suggests, one must be mindful that conceptualisations of sustainability in Phi Phi originate from a global knowledge pool. This will affect not only perceptions of sustainability, but its implementation too.

2.12 Hegemony and tourism development

The future of many tourism destinations appears to be sealed, with local community members having neither a voice in how the industry will develop nor a powerbase from which to exercise control (Butts, 2005: 201) Butts argues that: 'little attention has been directed at attempting to explain why host populations, some of whom openly admit they do not wish to see tourism development in their communities, are unable or unwilling to keep development from occurring' (Butts, 2005: 199). Perhaps this phenomenon can be explained through the notion of hegemony.

Gramsci (1971, as cited by Boggs, 1976), identifies hegemony as a 'permeation' through society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that may be a mixture of true and false beliefs (Heyman, 1999), which supports the status quo in power relations. Hegemony in this sense might be defined as an 'organising principle' that is diffused into every area of daily life. At the point that prevailing consciousness is internalised by the population, it becomes part of what is generally called 'common sense', so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite appears to be the natural order of things (Boggs 1976: 39). Hegemony, rooted in the notion of intellectual and moral leadership (Kurtz, 1996: 103), follows the assumption that the underdeveloped should not be treated as a homogenous whole. The development path of a society, and indeed its choices about the goals of development itself, are historically conditioned, and heavily influenced by the pattern of institutions that have emerged over time (Kingsbury *et al.,* 2004:64).

Driven by traditional intellectuals (agents who represent and direct the interests of those in power (Butts 2005: 199)) and organic intellectuals (those who represent and direct the interests of subaltern populations who are being exploited), 'intellectual devices are used to infuse ideas of morality to gain the support of those who resist or may be neutral, to retain the support of those who consent to its rule, and to establish alliances as widely as possible' (Kurtz, 1996: 106). This could be viewed as a balance between domination (coercion and force) and hegemony (intellectual and moral leadership). As Heyman (1999) notes, the effectiveness of hegemony is dependent upon the skill that is used to promote the naturalness of the existing state of affairs and hence legitimisation of hegemony is an outcome of struggles within discourse and application, and as such, criminalising actions are often a pivotal part of such struggles. Britton (1982) writes that small island states within the developing world are particularly vulnerable in a global economy dominated by multinationals from the West on account of their technological and intellectual advantage. As Britton (1982) explains in his doctoral research undertaken in Fiji, the international tourism industry is a product of metropolitan capitalism. Through superiority of resources, skills and commercial prestige, the industry has been able to dominate many tourist destinations in developing countries, enveloping those destinations into a system over which

they have little control. Britton examines the dynamics of this process, which is relevant to the case of Phi Phi due to geographical similarities and a proposed increase in the presence of the international tourism industry on the island. Britton warns that the manner in which the industry is structured reinforces dependence and the vulnerability of the island destination. Furthermore, the highest financial gains are accrued by foreign and local elite interests.

The underlying principles of hegemony assume that dominant powers exist within the global economy (rather than being attained through force occur due to economic or technological dominance), thus presenting opportunity for manipulation and exertion of power over those less developed in terms of economics or infrastructure. Tourism development in this context may take the form of well-crafted government plans. However, these are rarely realised due to lack of coordination, corruption, deficiency in expertise and real power. The plans are designed to impress on paper, and 'consequently, the form development takes within a given destination is shaped by the business agendas of the main stakeholders operating in that destination' (Calgaro, 2005: 33). De Kadt (1990:30) highlights the 'well known tendency of local elites to appropriate the organs of participation for their own benefit.' Other factors affecting power structures within communities are gender relations (Kinnaird *et al.*, 1994) and race (Din 1992), as well as the ways in which communities are embedded in broader socio-economic and political structures (Hall and Lew, 1998). Milne (in Hall and Lew, 1998) explains that the ability of certain groups to influence decision-making may increase or decrease as one moves up or down the global/local nexus.

Hegemony permits comprehension of the prevailing developmental discourse. Already hegemony has been evident in the discourse of development theory and frequently in the Tsunami aftermath, particularly with regard to land rights. Whilst the process of land rights in Thailand has been previously discussed, numerous commentators (including CNN, 4/12/05) highlight ways in which claims are being manipulated by wealthy developers: 'seeing the government's panicked efforts to lure back tourists as a green light to grab land in damaged villages to transform into profitable resorts. The gigantic waves washed away, villages have now once again become an idyllic haven, and such of course is a dream setting for a resort.' These appear to be the consequences when economic recovery has been given absolute priority in a post-disaster environment (Pleumarom, 2005; CNN, 4/12/05). This describes the fate of Ban Nai Rai village within the Phang Nga province, but this village is not alone. It is feared that within these same frame conditions, Phi Phi's fate will be determined by powerful developers (ibid., 4/12/05). This research will seek to explore the nature of hegemonic relationships in the discourse surrounding Phi Phi's post-disaster redevelopment.

Nevertheless, studies of counter-hegemony (for example, the research of Scott (1985) in a rural farming community in the state of Kedah, Malaysia) reveal a form of resistance, different to formal, organised political activity, which Scott (1985: XV) argues is: 'typically the preserve of the middle class and intelligentsia'. This takes the form of a constant struggle, using weapons frequently employed by less powerful groups: foot-dragging, false compliance and feigned ignorance, to name but a few. Interestingly, in this case Scott (1985) notes that: 'peasantry is a political nullity unless organised and led by outsiders' (ibid., 1985: XV). In fact, in Foucauldian notions of power, in every site of power there is a site of resistance (Hannam, 2002). Whilst Hannam suggests that this resistance is commonly subject to

actions ranging from verbal or written action to physical violence, Scott (1985) clearly illustrates that more subtle forms of resistance may be employed. Certain actors may play a role in articulating such resistance as evidenced by Warren (1998), who studied the role of the regional press in Balinese resort development. From earlier discussions, it is clear that regional and national press in association with environmental activists and academics play an active role in articulating resistance in Phi Phi.

2.13 Tourism and disaster

It is widely accepted that the tourism industry is extremely sensitive to external shocks (Sonmez *et al.*, 1999; Cooper *et al.*, 2008; Bonn and Rundle-Thiele, 2007; Ritchie, 2004; Faulkner, 2001), whether natural or man-made, and that such shocks are increasing in frequency (Faulkner, 2001; Ritchie, 2004). This increasing frequency, particularly of natural shocks, are alleged by many to be a result of the 'current state of the world' (Brammer, 1990:18) puts it; the pressure of economic development upon the environment, a notion also supported by Richardson (1994); human activity; and the pressures of globalisation (Jessop, 1999).

There have been many attempts to categorise crises in order to better understand them, mostly according to severity as presented by Parsons (1996) and through Burnett's (1998) Crisis Classification Matrix (Figure 10). Ritchie (2004) explains that through classification, one can develop strategies to deal with such events based on an understanding of time pressure, extent of control and magnitude. In particular, Burnett's (1998) sixteen-cell model differentiates threat level, response options, time pressure and degree of control. Burnett's model also acknowledges the difference between hazards and disasters and notes that not all hazards will become disasters, the determinants of which are vulnerability and risk (Coppola, 2007). The proposal here by Coppola (ibid.) is that several countries may be exposed to the same hazard, but some are more vulnerable than others based upon physical, social, economic and environmental factors. A disaster in this sense, therefore, as defined by Faulkner (2001: 136), refers to: 'situations where an enterprise (or collection of enterprises in the case of a tourist destination) is confronted with sudden unpredictable catastrophic changes over which it has little control.' Many of the characteristics of the tsunami fit with Burnett's (1998) level 4 cell, namely intense time pressure, low control, low threat level and few options. This is where he claims the most challenging disaster management problems exist.

Time pressure		Intense		Minimal	
Threat Level	Degree of control / Response options	*Low*	*High*	*Low*	*High*
Low	*Many*	(4) Level 2	(3) Level 1	(2) Level 1	(1) Level 0
	Few	(8) Level 3	(7) Level 2	(6) Level 2	(5) Level 1
High	*Many*	(12) Level 3	(11) Level 2	(10) Level 2	(9) Level 1
	Few	(16) Level 4	(15) Level 3	(14) Level 3	(13) Level 2

Source: Burnett (1998:483).

Figure 10: Burnett's (1998) Crisis classification matrix

Many researchers note the profound effects of disaster upon tourism destinations, particularly supply side impacts and the perception of risk associated with the destination (Sonmez *et al.*, 1999). Terrorism severely intimidates the travelling public; natural disasters are similarly off-putting (Sonmez *et al.* 1999) but arguably have a greater effect upon the tourism destination (Lee and Harrald, 1999). Further to the discussion of risk perception, research undertaken by Rittichainuwat (2006; 2011) in tsunami-affected locations provides empirical evidence of the impact of cultural differences upon travel deterrents post-disaster. He observed that destinations can be perceived as safe physically but unsafe psychologically due to association with ghosts and bad luck, in line with the cultural beliefs of different groups, for example Chinese tourists behaviour post-tsunami (Rittichainuwat, 2006; 2011). Rittichainuwat observed that whilst ghosts acted as a travel barrier for some Asian tourists, other nationalities that would not consider ghosts in their travel purchase behaviour were motivated to travel on account of the lower prices, cleaner beaches, and peace and quiet (ibid., 2006; 2011).

Authors in this field (Ritchie, 2004; Richardson, 1994; Fink, 1986; Roberts, 1994; Faulkner, 2001) have traditionally focused upon the development of prescriptive life cycle models of disaster, which share a common goal of aiding understanding of the crisis and future proactive and strategic management of crises. The assumption of these models is that disasters follow a series of sequential stages and that strategies can be developed at each stage to prohibit progression onto the next. These stages are summarised in the chart below:

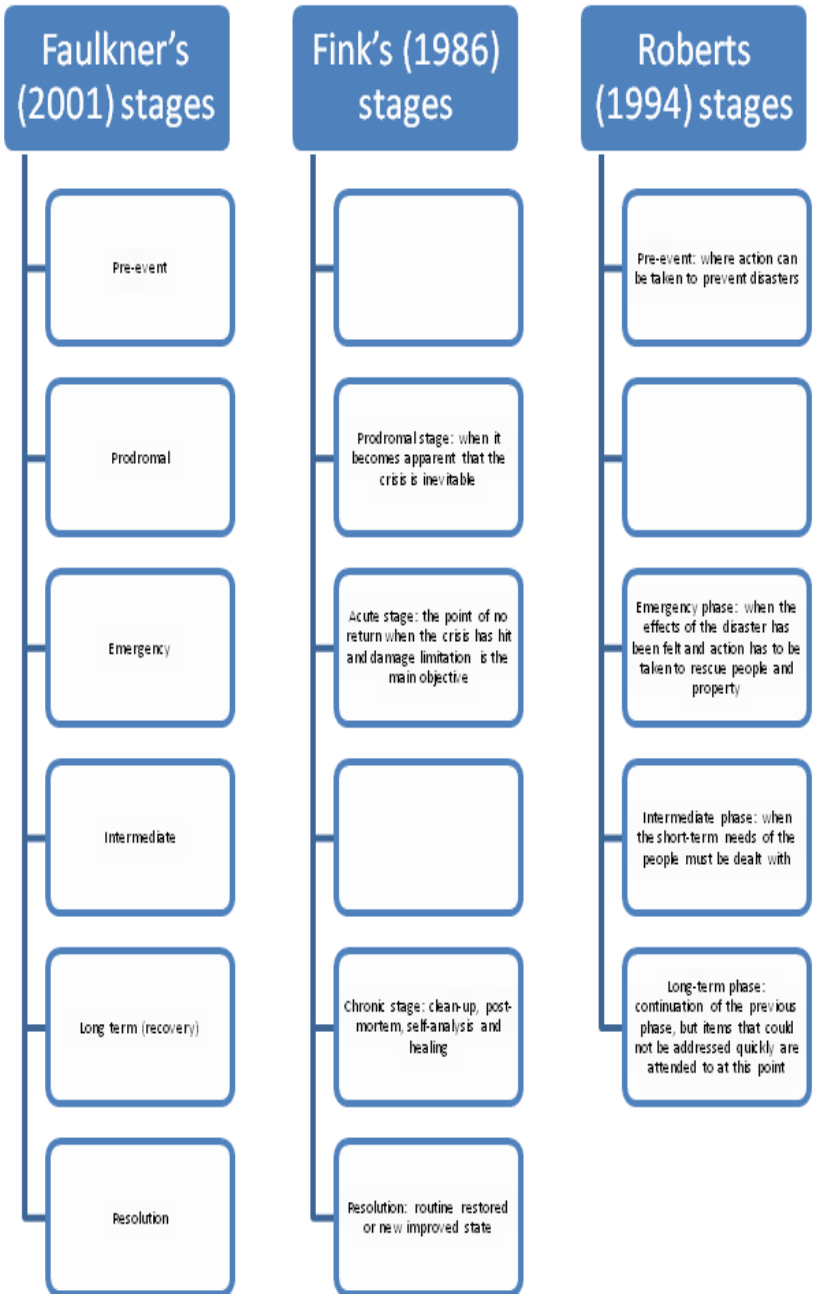


Figure 11: Life Cycle Models of Disaster (adapted from Ritchie, 2004)

In more recent years, the 'pre-event' stage of disaster management in tourism locations has become more significant. When applied to literature of disaster management, as in Miller *et al.*'s (2006) framework, it can be seen that equal weight is given to the stages pre-disaster and the stages of prevention or 'mitigation' and 'preparedness'. Disaster managers recognise what should be done to prevent the disaster, reduce its impact and minimise its losses (Baldini *et al.*, 2012; Miller *et al.*, 2006). In preparedness, the inference here is that facilities and resources are ready to respond (Baldini *et al.*, 2012). Classic mitigation measures include more stringent building codes for new construction and

more readily enforced land use regulations (Olsen, 2000), whilst preparedness measures incorporate programmes such as public education and awareness, warning systems and evacuation plans (Olsen, 2000).

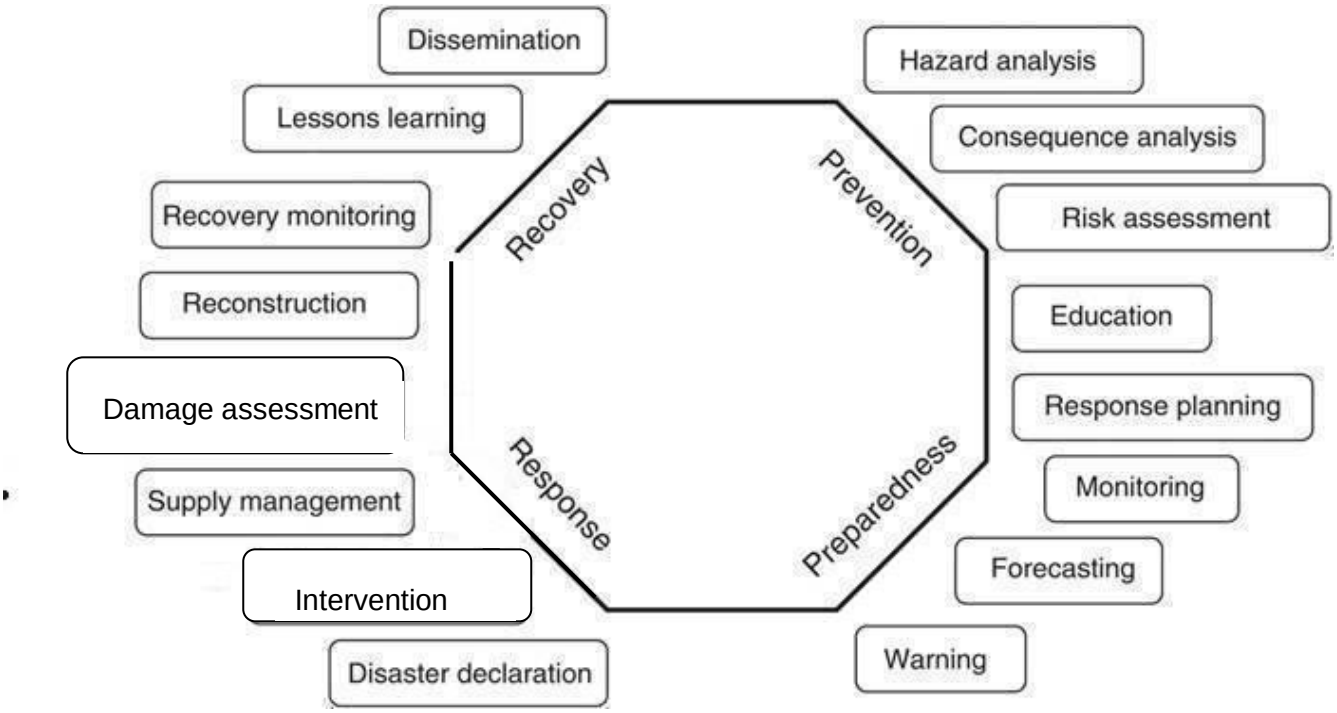


Figure 12: Phases of an emergency crisis (Source: Baldini *et al.*, 2012; adapted from Miller *et al.*, 2006)

Whilst Ritchie (2004) suggests that humans have limited ability to prevent disasters (particularly natural ones) and whilst pre-warning is minimal (Tsai and Chen, 2010), the effects of a disaster can be managed and mitigation measures can be put in place (Coppola, 2007). In fact some accounts of social and ecological resilience to coastal disasters (Adger *et al.*, 2005) recognise that disaster preparedness may be either heightened or eroded, which in turn affects vulnerability, through established practices of living with, and learning from, change and unexpected shocks. Such practices as the transmission of indigenous knowledge as in the fisher-people of Simeulue Island, west of Sumatra, enabled their survival through inherited local knowledge of tsunamis (Adger *et al.*, 2005). Erosion of inherited knowledge in Thailand had the opposite effect, and weakened ecosystems such as mangrove swamps and coral reefs not only removes natural barriers, but reduces or slows economic recovery (ibid.).

Other explanations of destination vulnerability may be drawn from the notion of a 'boiled frog syndrome', which is acknowledged within the literature surrounding strategic management of organisations and business failure, however to a much more limited extent within the literature on the strategic management of tourism destinations and disaster. However, the theory presents some clear parallels with the experiences on Phi Phi, which will be discussed later in section 6.4. Coined initially by Villiers in 1989 in respect of business, Richardson, Nwankwo, and Richardson (1994) explain that if you:

> put a frog into a container of hot water, it will feel the heat and jump out. Put a frog into cool water and then gently heat the water to boiling point and the frog will happily sit there unaware of the incremental, dangerous change occurring in its environment. This well-observed, generic form of business failure has its roots in the tendency of organization managers to become trapped in their own "boiled frog syndromes" (Richardson, Nwankwo and Richardson, 1994: 4)

This phenomenon is a key feature of complacent managers who remain 'blissfully unaware whilst the environment around them heats up' (Richardson *et al*., 1994: 4), something Johnson (1998) describes as strategic drift, illustrated in Figure 13.

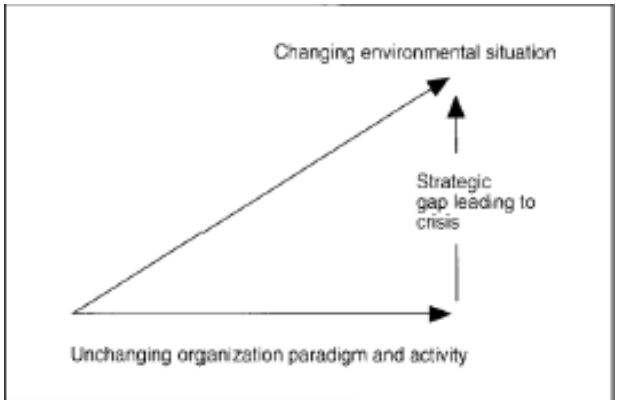


Figure 13: Strategic Drift Model (Johnson, 1998)

Importantly, this model shows that inertia in changing circumstances increases the likelihood of a crisis. In a tourism context, Sonmez et al. (1999) recommend that tourism destinations vulnerable to crises should incorporate strategic crisis management planning into their overall sustainable development and marketing strategies in order to protect and rebuild a positive destination image and re-establish the area's functionality. Certainly perception management is an important consideration when managing crises (Faulkner, 2001; Rittichainuwat, 2006; 2011). In fact, researchers suggest that the effectiveness and speed of a destination's recovery hinges on the efficiency of re-establishing tourism facilities and sending clear, consistent messages that the destination is once again ready for business (Rittichainuwat, 2011; Bierman, 2006; Henderson, 1999). Misinformation is considered one of the greatest barriers to recovery (Bierman, 2006; Henderson, 1999). In Bonn and Rundle-Thiele's (2007) research concerning strategic decision-making following shock events, they observe that the manner in which this is undertaken will differ significantly from institutional decision-making in a stable environment. Post-shock decision-making can be more intuitive; less analytical and less inclined to consult (ibid.). In light of this, Ritchie (2004) has developed a strategic disaster

management framework (Figure 14). This framework stresses the significance of a strategic and proactive approach to disaster management.

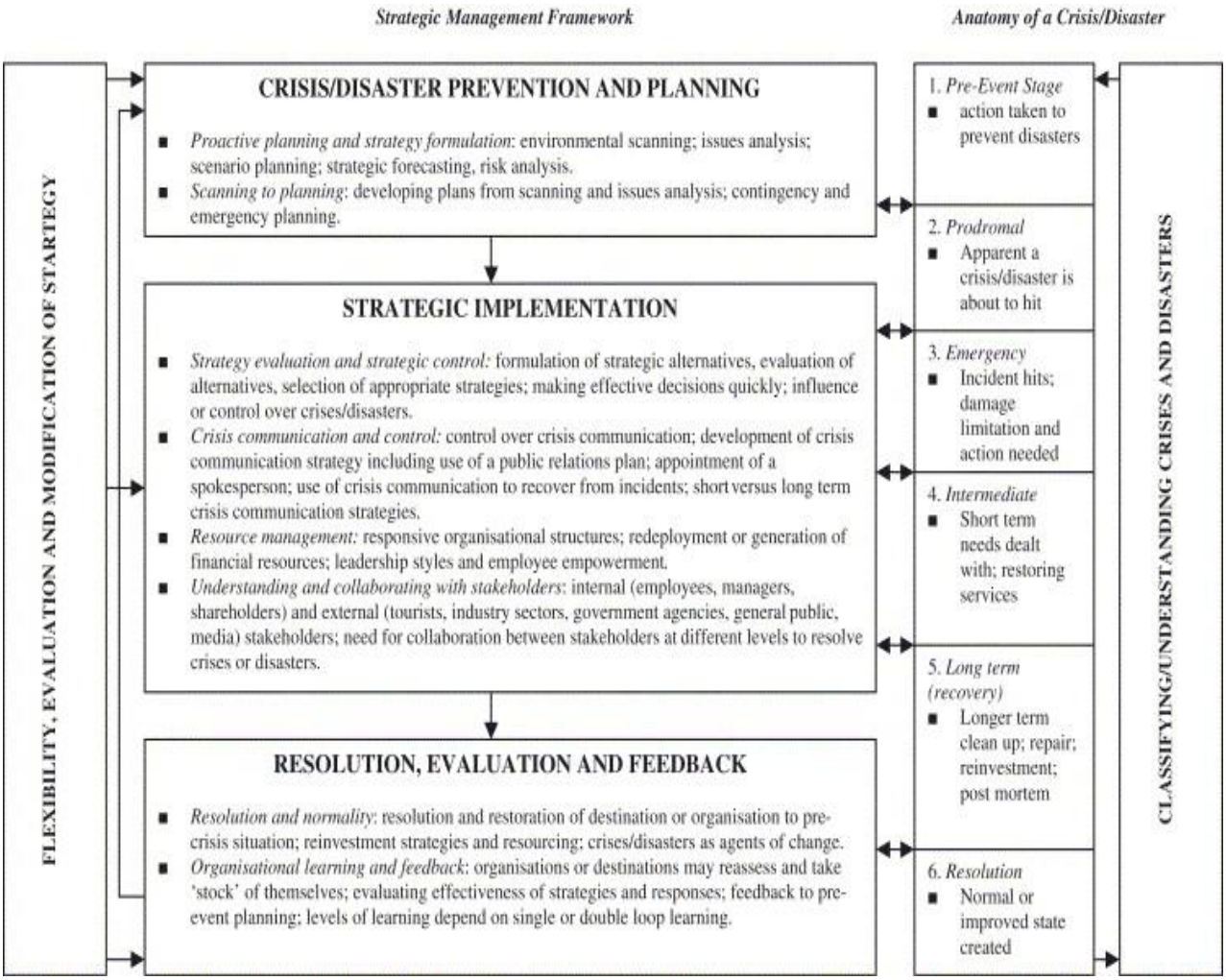


Figure 14: Strategic disaster management framework (Source: Ritchie, 2004)

Again it can be seen that in the tourism models, greater emphasis is placed upon the response and recovery over the mitigation and preparedness. However, lack of preparedness appears in a vast amount of the literature (http://www.globalissues.org/article/523/asian-earthquake-and-tsunami-disaster; Morgan *et al.*, 2006; Calgaro and Lloyd, 2008). These reports note deficiencies in both mitigation and preparedness, most significantly the complete absence of a disaster warning system in the Indian Ocean. There is similar evidence that the Thai Meteorological Office were aware of the tsunami threat in advance, but decided not to issue a warning due to the potential damage that it might wreak upon the tourism industry should the tsunami not occur (The Nation, 28/12/04; The Scotsman, 28/12/04; Bangkok Post, 29/12/04).

The Thai Government have, however, acted swiftly to restore confidence in the security and safety of Thailand as a tourism destination, attempting to alleviate the perception of risk that can create further damage to the tourism

industry in a post-disaster situation (Ritchie, 2004; Faulkner, 2001). However, as Huan, Beaman and Shelby (2004) argue, crisis management plans are all too often reactive rather than proactive, as would appear to be the case here. A National Disaster Warning Centre has now been in operation since 31st May 2005 with the key actors and processes shown in Figure 15, with warning towers erected across the provinces of Ranong, Phuket, Krabi, Phang Nga, Satun and Trang. The tsunami evacuation plan has been in place since 2006 with annual drills held and a full evacuation held last on the 21st August 2009 across all provinces (Svetasreni, 2009). Sadly, it is often found that reactive policies and long lead in times responding to disaster may further heighten the vulnerability of populations (Ingram *et al.*, 2006).



Figure 15: Structure of disaster early warning system (Source: Svetasreni 2009, Tourism Authority of Thailand)

Ingram *et al.*'s (2006) work in Sri Lanka post-tsunami recognises socio-economic disparities created by a hastily-designed coastal buffer zone policy of a 100-200m gap between buildings and the shoreline, which led to significant displacement of coastal populations, who were subject to the 'discriminating impact the wave had on poorly constructed buildings' (Ingram *et al.*, 2006: 2; Khazai, 2006). At the same time, wealthier citizens and hoteliers benefited from rapid expansion of rebuilt structures (Rice, 2005). Ingram *et al.* (2006) apply Turner *et al.*'s (2003) Vulnerability Framework to show that 'adjustment and adaptation' plays a critical role in influencing vulnerability. Rather than removing coastal communities (quickly reducing exposure to risk in the short tem), Ingram *et al.* (2006) recommend that attention needs to be given to underlying sensitivity issues such as socio-economic disparities, lack of economic diversification, and directing attention to sustainable mitigation measures, including conservation of natural protective resources such as mangroves and reefs.

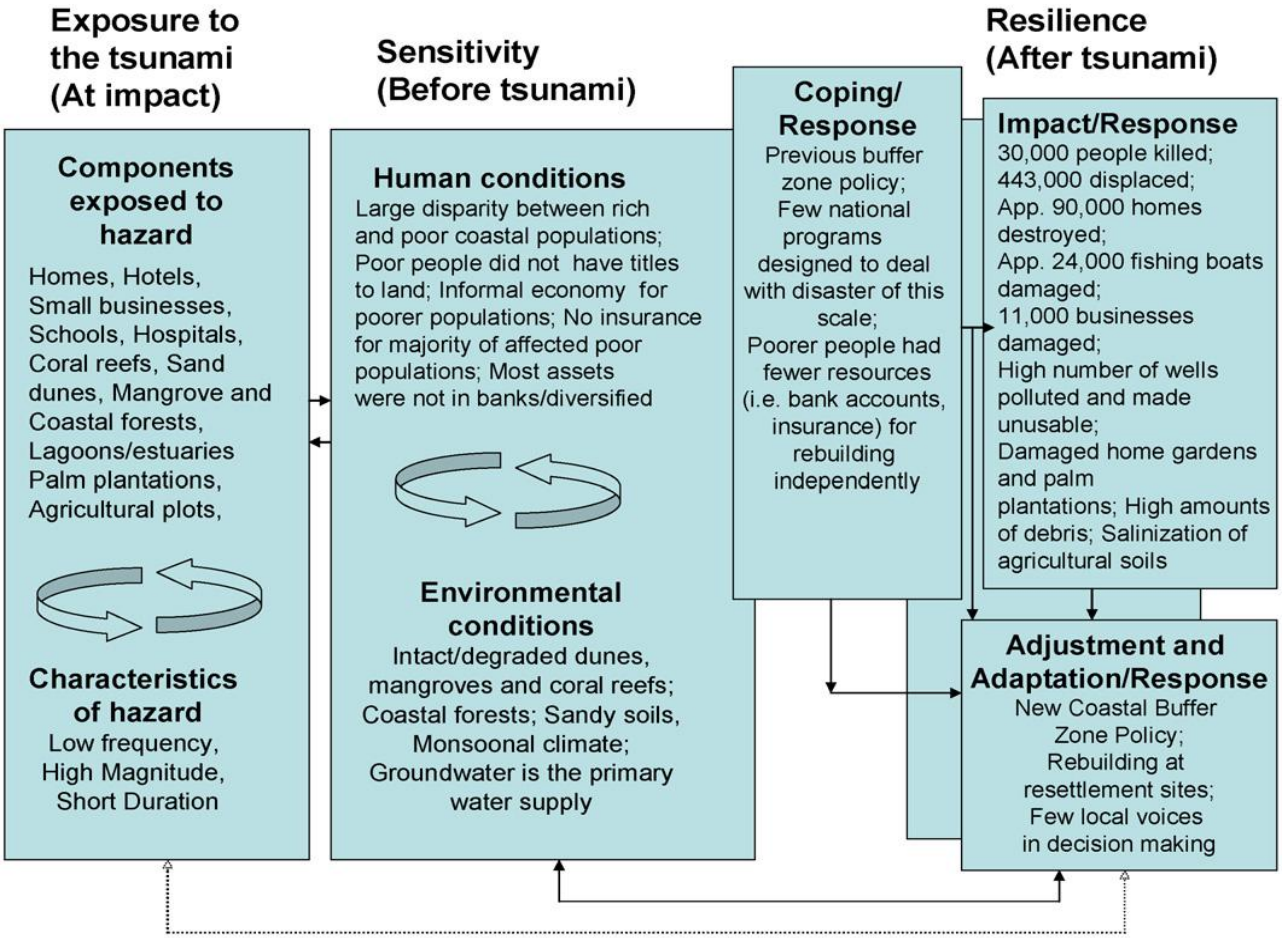


Figure 16: Turner *et al.*'s (2003) Vulnerability Framework contextualised for the tsunami-affected areas of Sri Lanka as adapted by Ingram *et al.* (2006).

Solid lines represent the interactions between components of vulnerability, as proposed by Turner *et al.* (2003). Dashed lines represent a deviation from these interactions in post-tsunami Sri Lanka as a result of the buffer zone policy. The framework demonstrates the manner in which resource entitlements and usage are influenced by socio-political and environmental processes, and additionally that vulnerability is affected by multiple stressors (Calgaro and Lloyd, 2008).

This framework is applied and developed by Calgaro and Lloyd (2008) in the context of Thailand post-tsunami, specifically Khao Lak, in order to expose the causal factors that contribute to the exposure, sensitivity and resilience of Khao Lak in the wake of the tsunami. The research was carried out using face-to-face interviews with tourism stakeholders conducted over a one-month period in 2005 (Calgaro and Lloyd, 2008). Their findings presented thirteen factors that they felt influenced Khao Lak's vulnerability and adapted Turner's (2003) framework in light of this context (Figure 17).

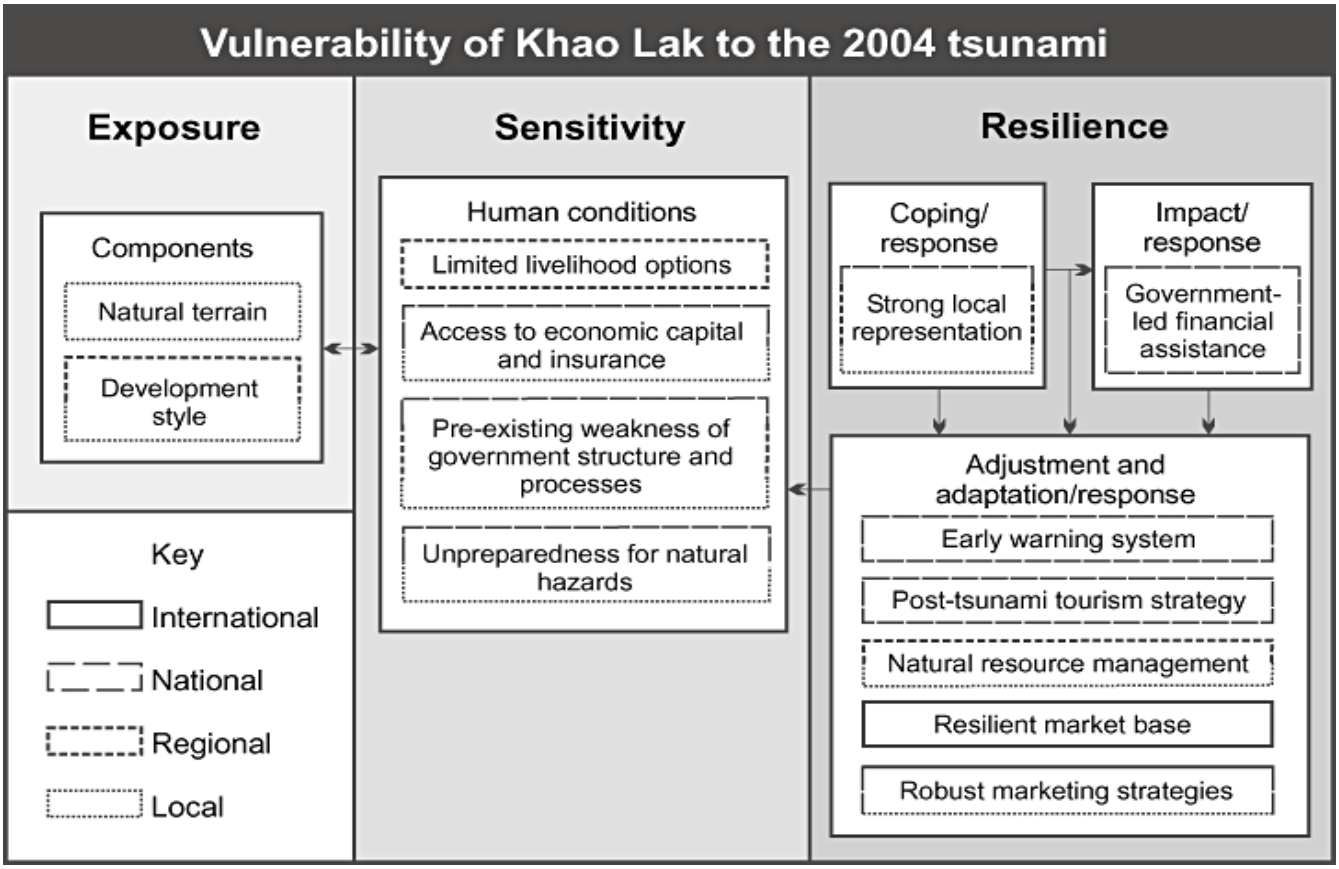


Figure 17: Turner's adapted Vulnerability Framework for Khao Lak, Thailand (Source: Calgaro and Lloyd, 2008)

The findings of this research are significant as they offer important contextual information that may be applicable to Phi Phi due to the similarity of context, but also a basis for comparison. Turner *et al* (2003) offers a framework that can be applied to Phi Phi to establish the root causes of Phi Phi's vulnerability, permitting recommendations for future sustainable development of the island and exposing socio-political factors that have exacerbated vulnerability, allowing the author to identify whether these same factors influence the nature of the post-disaster redevelopment. Importantly, as Blaikie *et al* (1994) point out, the factors of vulnerability are often reconstructed following a disaster and as such may create frame conditions for a repeat disaster. Calgaro and Lloyd's (2008) work also recognises how a destination's unique socio-political conditions influence vulnerability, notably their recommendation that further longitudinal research in other tsunami-affected locations is required to refine their framework, an important contribution that this research will offer.

Rigg *et al.* (2005), in their research concerning the socio-economic impacts of the tsunami in Thailand, base their empirical study on three locations, including Phi Phi. They reveal a 'dysfunctional' response to crisis. They note the wider 'ripple' effects that such a disaster has on the local area and that the town of Krabi (where Phi Phi's inhabitants and bodies were repatriated to) was ill-equipped to deal with the magnitude of the trauma. The refugee camp at Nong Kok is still inhabited by those not wishing to or unable to return to the island, and changes the nature of Krabi, which

itself is a tourist destination. The research further reveals the extent of the tsunami's socio-economic footprint in terms of migrant workers affected, not only from other parts of Thailand, but countries such as Myanmar.

Of specific relevance to this research, Rigg *et al.* (2005) observe uneven geographies of recovery, stating that social capital plays an important part in mobilising towards recovery and that this is highly dependent on the cohesiveness of pre-existing community and social networks. To illustrate these differences, they noted that, in Koh Lanta, organisations such as UNICEF, the Thai Red Cross and UNDP played an active part in working with communities to aide recovery, whereas in Phi Phi, the community response was less unified and less local (Rigg *et al.*, 2005). In Phi Phi, the reliance upon transnational social capital was notable. Rigg *et al.*'s (2005) research notes that after evacuation community members were scattered across multiple sites and no clear strategy to re-establish the community was proposed. It is worth attempting to establish why a sense of community was absent in Phi Phi in the post-disaster context, and the implications this has for the redevelopment of the island. Hystad and Keller's (2008) longitudinal research also recommends the paramount importance of stakeholder cooperation in effective disaster management.

Conversely, while the devastating effects of crisis are widely acknowledged, some commentators, as in Faulkner's (2001:136) notion of a 'triggering event', recommend that events may be sufficiently significant to 'challenge the structure, operations and survival of an [organisation]' and this may lead to positive transformational connotations (Prideux *et al.*, 2003). Tsai and Chen's (2010) research concerning tourism development on the island of Taiwan shows that despite a desire amongst operators to build tourist facilities to exploit natural resources of the island, it is recognised that these locations are high disaster risk. The Taiwanese government has therefore actively sought methods to ameliorate the desire for tourism and economic development with disaster prevention and relief work.

While the body of literature concerning management of disasters in tourism areas is undoubtedly growing (Hystad and Keller, 2008; Beirman, 2003; Faulkner, 2001; Glaesser, 2003; Ritchie, 2004) and the need for disaster management plans is urged, there is recognition of a lack of longer-term studies, which not only would elaborate how disaster has shifted the nature of the destination and tourism product, but also identify successful strategic processes and actions in disaster response (Hystad and Keller, 2008.), which is another important contribution that will be made in this research. Hedman (2005) recognises that the substantial shortcomings in the response to the tsunami draw attention to relations of power and politics within affected nations and that a range of protection concerns have been revealed, including 'access to assistance, enforced relocation, sexual and gender-based violence, safe and voluntary return, loss of documentation and restitution of property' (Hedman, 2005: 5).

Hedman's (2005) observations from the perspective of humanitarian response to the tsunami confirms Thailand's declaration of self-reliance in the coordination and delivery of emergency relief and suggests that, in the wake of the disaster, it afforded Thaksin an unrivalled opportunity to campaign and succeed in the February 2005 elections. Other contributors highlight a relative inattention to the politics of disaster, as disasters are inherently political: a shock, to which a modern political system must respond (Olsen, 2000; Bommer, 1985). In response, it is suggested that rather

than managing the disaster, government officials are frequently faced with pressures of explaining the disaster in terms of what happened, why losses were so high and whether the response was adequate (Olsen 2000). Not only do disasters themselves raise issues of a politico-economic nature, international and national politics influence disaster planning, as shown by Bommer (1985) in his early analysis of the Managua earthquake and flooding in Nicaragua in 1972 and 1982.

2.14 Chapter Summary

This chapter has traced the origins of sustainable tourism development as an alternative discourse on development, highlighting key areas of rationale for adoption. The chapter's main focus encourages the reader to question Western ideological discourse, suggesting that, despite its benefits, there appear many limitations associated with the adoption of sustainability principles, including the juxtaposition of definitions, implementation difficulties and the influence of power in shaping development. Coupled with Faulkner's (2001) observations that there is an increased need for research on crisis in the tourism industry, the impact of crisis and response to such events, it builds a strong case to use Phi Phi as a case study through which to examine the influence of political economy and conceptualisations of sustainability upon post-tsunami reconstruction. Tosun (2000:289) states that: 'any operation of principles of sustainable development necessitates hard political and economic choices, and decisions based upon complex socio-economic and environmental trade-offs.' These trade-offs appear to a greater extent to be shaped by not only the political economy within which the destination operates but also the pressures of global politico-economic forces.' As reinforced by the WTO, Agenda 21, guidance for implementation, the ability to manage tourism sustainably is reliant upon numerous factors, including 'democratic legitimacy, permanence and ability to take a long term view' and economic policy (UNEP, 2003:8). Referring back to the discussion of the rationale for adoption, it becomes clear that sustainable tourism initiatives may not necessarily achieve all that is claimed, but rather become compromised by power struggles between conflicting stakeholder interests, which unavoidably (but perhaps understandably) continue to shape development in developing countries. Korten (1996:12) highlights that: 'increasingly, it is the corporate interest more than the human interest that defines policy agendas of states, although this reality and its implications have gone largely unnoticed and unaddressed.' Therefore, the opportunity for further study is presented. It appears that when considering the implementation of sustainable tourism development, there are numerous trade-offs that must take place and much conflict to overcome. On the one hand we have the 'ideology' of a 'green paradigm' that is forcing development, and on the other it appears that achieving this type of development is restricted by political-economic forces. Research suggests that, rather than enabling communities to develop a form of tourism that is sustainable, tourism is increasingly defined by those who exercise the greatest power (political or economic). Furthermore, the review of literature concerning the politics of disaster reconstruction in tourist areas shows a number of notable gaps, as identified by Olsen (2000), Hystad and Keller (2008) and Calgaro and Lloyd (2008), which this research will attempt to contribute to.

Chapter Three Methodology and conduct of research

Part One *Research design*

3.1 Introduction to the chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the philosophical debates that governed and shaped the design of the research. As Leedy (1997:91) suggests, 'methodology is merely an operational framework within which the facts are placed so that their meaning may be seen more clearly.' The chapter will address how philosophical assumptions influenced epistemological choices and how this in turn informed data collection and the methodology. The chapter will be constructed with a critical eye, and attention will be paid to inherent limitations within the research design and how these were overcome.

3.2 Philosophical assumptions

As highlighted by Hall and Elliott (1999:1251), 'methodological inquiry is important in political economy; it aids understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of various methodological viewpoints, and helps assess the cogency of various methods'. Thus, the chosen research paradigm and the resultant underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions should be reflected upon. This research holds that reality is created from the perceptions and consequent actions of social actors (Saunders *et al.*, 2009) and the research sought to uncover the influences 'working behind' stakeholders' conceptualisations of sustainability and subsequent actions in respect of redevelopment; this concurs with Remenyi *et al.* (1998). Epistemologically, therefore, this follows from an interpretive paradigm, which explores the subjective meanings motivating such actors (Saunders *et al.*, 2009), leading the researcher to seek, collect and analyse qualitative data. This approach is conducive to research that wishes to add value and meaning to the subject being studied, producing theory that is 'grounded' in reality (Silverman, 2000: 2).

The focus of the research was concerned with obtaining the richness and depth of opinions and constructs of island stakeholders in order to identify conceptualisations of sustainability and impacts and feelings toward government plans for the rebuild of Phi Phi. Therefore, the interpretive model appeared most appropriate. Veal (1997: 31) states that: 'interpretivism places more reliance on the people being studied to provide their own explanation of their situation or behaviour'. This is supported by Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2002: 31) who confirm that interpretivism places emphasis on the individual's views and experiences, obtaining description of how things are experienced firsthand. Clearly, this approach was more akin to the study of people's opinions and emotions, often allowing for recognition of 'multiple realities' concerned with the differing interpretations of certain stakeholder groups (Easterby-Smith *et al.*, 2002: 31). This is reinforced by Saunders *et al.* (2000: 86) as research 'that aims to capture the rich complexity of

social situations', resulting in the collection of qualitative data (Easterby-Smith, 2002: 42). Nevertheless, one must be aware that a key facet of social phenomena is that they are in a constant state of revision, leading the researcher to undertake a study that was longitudinal and exploratory in nature rather than cross-sectional, more compatible with the study of development and change (Saunders *et al.*, 2009). This research therefore involved the collection of data over an extended period from 2006 to 2011, although the researcher had been familiar with the destination since 2000.

When taking a qualitative approach to research, potential limitations are nevertheless acknowledged, such as an 'anecdotal' use of data, which is argued to devalue the transferability and validity of the data (Silverman 2000: 11). This concern was overcome by allowing for methodological triangulation, to confirm findings through a convergence of methods and reflexivity within the research design, claimed by Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000: 22) to be achieved through 'interpreting one's own interpretations, looking at one's own perspectives from other perspectives and turning a self-critical eye onto one's own authority as an interpreter and author.' A research diary and field notes were kept to document and reflect upon field study and findings, and hence a more holistic view of the research was made available, rather than concentrating only on findings that would yield the most desirable results. This reflexive journal comprises the second part of this chapter and can be viewed in Appendix 10 (pp. 306-324), as some would ultimately argue that the process of analysing qualitative data is one of continual reflection (Creswell 2003: 190).

Having acknowledged inherent limitations of using a purely interpretive paradigm and the recognition that methodological purity is near unobtainable, with research practices nowadays lying somewhere along a continuum between qualitative and quantitative (Creswell 2003: 4), as suggested by Creswell (2003: 15) in support of a 'mixed method' approach: 'all methods have limitations, researchers felt that biases inherent in any single method could neutralise or cancel the biases of other methods through triangulation of data sources – a means of seeking convergence across qualitative and quantitative methods.' Bearing in mind the increasing 'acceptability' of a 'mixed method' approach, it could be argued therefore that the research borrowed from a 'pragmatic' approach, adopting a 'problem-centred' enquiry (Creswell 2003: 11), thereby allowing the researcher to select the approach that works best for a particular problem at a particular time, allowing for a convergence of mixed methods.

Having considered some of the inherent advantages and disadvantages of the interpretive philosophy, it would nevertheless appear most fitting for the research in question (fuller justification offered below and illustrated in **Table 1.** Epistemological Selection). This has been compiled from the debates that show an increasing awareness of the acceptability and benefits of a mixed method approach, designed to provide a more complex view of the research problem, resulting in a 'problem-centred' enquiry.

Paradigm	Characteristic	Relevance to this research
Interpretivism	Meanings are constructed by human beings	The research sought to canvas opinion on how sustainable development of the tourism industry is conceptualised through the eyes of the stakeholders at a grassroots level

	Information is gathered personally	Primary data was collected solely by the author to enable greater sensitivity to the subject, greater comprehension and ownership of the data
	Develop subjective meanings of their experiences	The research sought to uncover the meanings that individuals place on sustainability of development and development of the tourism industry and how these meanings are constructed by their own experiences through involvement with tourism
	Develop complexity of views	The research sought to gather a complexity of views representative of the stakeholder population of Phi Phi
	Negotiated socially and historically	The research attempted to map the social, historical, economic and political influences of how Phi Phi's touristic development is conceptualised

Table 1: Epistemological selection (Adapted from Creswell 2003: 4-12)

3.3 Research strategy

In this research, it was not the intention to facilitate replication, but to unearth richer and deeper interpretive understanding of the perceptions of tourism stakeholders in Phi Phi. Subsequently, an inductive aproach was used to permit the 'multiple realities' held by the island's stakeholders to emerge, rather than a deductive approach which seeks to prove or disprove hypothesis (Veal, 2006). This also assisted in tempering any bias introduced by the researcher's own 'self' by beginning free from pre-conceived views.

The research adopted a case study approach as a means of providing a holistic, in-depth investigation and the provision of a test site for theory building based on the perspectives of all main stakeholders. As Denscombe (2003: 30) argues, case studies allow a range of methods to be utilised in order to be reactive to meet research needs and leads to a detailed study of one particular instance or situation. The characteristics of a case study allow unique insight into the case study and a holistic view to be sought, most appropriate for the nature of this research focused upon a single destination. Therefore it was beneficial for the researcher to immerse herself in the case study and to study from all perspectives.

3.4 The process of research

A systematic process to research design and implementation was conducted. This process, informed by various commentators including Denscombe (2003), Glaser and Strauss (1967), Eisenhart (1987) and Creswell (2003) is shown in Appendix 4 (p.298).

This process led to the collection of primary data, which occurred in two phases, outlined below:

Period	Context	Data Collected
PHASE ONE (I) October 2005	To analyse selected web discussion fora to elicit key themes and contacts Development of a specific research website and online questionnaires	Qualitative data from web discussion threads Eleven online open-ended questionnaires completed
(II) April 2006 – Three weeks of fieldwork	To conduct preliminary (pilot) interviews and secure employment in Thailand to fund the main period of data collection. To generate contacts – key informants	Five in-depth pilot interviews with development stakeholders Observational and visual data Generation of contacts and networks Reflexive journal and observational notes
PHASE TWO (I) June 2006-December 2006 Six months of fieldwork	To live and work within the field To be sensitised to the internal and external environments of the field Main phase of primary data collection	21 in-depth interviews Progressive observational and visual data collection to document change Policy documents for regional and destination specific development plans Phi Phi Island master plan Reflexive journal and observational notes
(II) December 2007 – two weeks of fieldwork	To document change in the island's infrastructure To gather further primary data in the form of interview, visual and documentary sources.	To photograph the island, documenting change To gather film footage To contribute to the reflexive journal and observational notes
(III) April 2008 – three weeks of fieldwork	Three weeks of immersion in the field to gather further primary data and explore emerging themes with stakeholders of Phi Phi's development	38 extended answer Thai script written interviews with residents, business owners and operatives of Phi Phi 76 open answer questionnaires to island visitors Photography and film to document change Reflexive journal

Table 2: The phases of primary data collection

3.5 Data collection

As mentioned above, the research methodology sought qualitative data, and thus consideration must be given to the inherent limitations and complexities associated with this (**Table 3)**.

QUALITATIVE DATA		
STRENGTHS	**WEAKNESSES**	**MEASURES TO OVERCOME WEAKNESSES**
Assess change over time	Purely subjective	Opinions were reinforced through factual data obtained from planning documentation, meeting minutes and policy documents
Understand people's meanings, richness and detail of data	Difficult to measure	Data analysis was facilitated through the use of NVivo qualitative data analysis software in order to identify and categorise themes
Allow contribution to new theories	Costly	Researcher budgeted for the costs of field study; some funding was made available by employer to attend conferences in Thailand. Employment was sought in Thailand to ease cost and access to Phi Phi
Flexible	Can be biased	Researcher sought to gain the opinions of multiple stakeholders and acknowledged personal biases within the researcher reflexivity and analysis of data
Allows in depth explanation of actions/opinions – grounded in reality	Interpretation of data difficult	A desired outcome of the research was to document the interpretations of the participants of the research therefore the data spoke for itself in line with an inductive approach
Tolerance of contradictions due to individuality of opinionated response	Data may be less representative	Multiple methods were used to elaborate different perspectives within the research. Research was longitudinal with a significant amount of time spent in the field. Sample was constructed using purposive and snowball techniques to represent views of the population and data collection continued until saturation took place

Table 3: Limitations of qualitative data (Adapted from Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2002: 42), Denscombe (2003: 279) and Veal (1997))

Authors offer a profusion of techniques suitable for the collection of qualitative data (Silverman, 2000; Seale, 1998; Finn, Elliott-White and Walton, 2000; Veal, 2006). Empirical data was sought through a mixed method approach, allowing for the use of methodological triangulation resulting in validation of data (Creswell, 2003). In agreement with Hjorland (2005), only through the collection of empirical data could experiences, observations and sense data be used, and thus primary data was essential. Data was collected through online and offline techniques including interviews, documentary sources, fieldwork observation, visual records and website fora (Table 4, p. 118).

Figure 18 illustrates the relationships between data collection techniques. The mixed methods approach allowed the researcher and readers of the research to have confidence in the validity of the results (Guion, 2002). The use of

multiple sources of data permitted methodological triangulation between the sources of data and the responses offered by participants in the data collection, the purpose of which, as Saunders *et al.* (2009: 146) put it, 'is to ensure that the data are telling you what you think they are telling you'. The researcher sought consensus in the responses offered by different stakeholder groupings across all data collection methods. The research also involved the use of 'more than one research approach and a single study to gain a broader and more complete understanding of the issue being investigated' (Veal, 2006: 107) This triangulation was facilitated through the joint processing of all sources of data through NVivo software, which sought to draw a set of conclusions common to all data sources and thus establish validity. The research also employed complementary methods to overcome the weaknesses of one approach with the strengths of another (Veal, 2006). For example, Thai script questionnaires were used to overcome language barriers and fear of participating in a face-to-face interview. Also, in-depth interviews with development stakeholders were used to confirm visual evidence and vice versa. As Duffy (1987) has identified, there are four main approaches to triangulation, which involve the use of multiple sampling methods, multiple methodologies, multiple interviewers and multiple techniques of analysis. In this study, the researcher used multiple sampling techniques, purposive and snowball and multiple methodologies, illustrated in Figure 18 below.

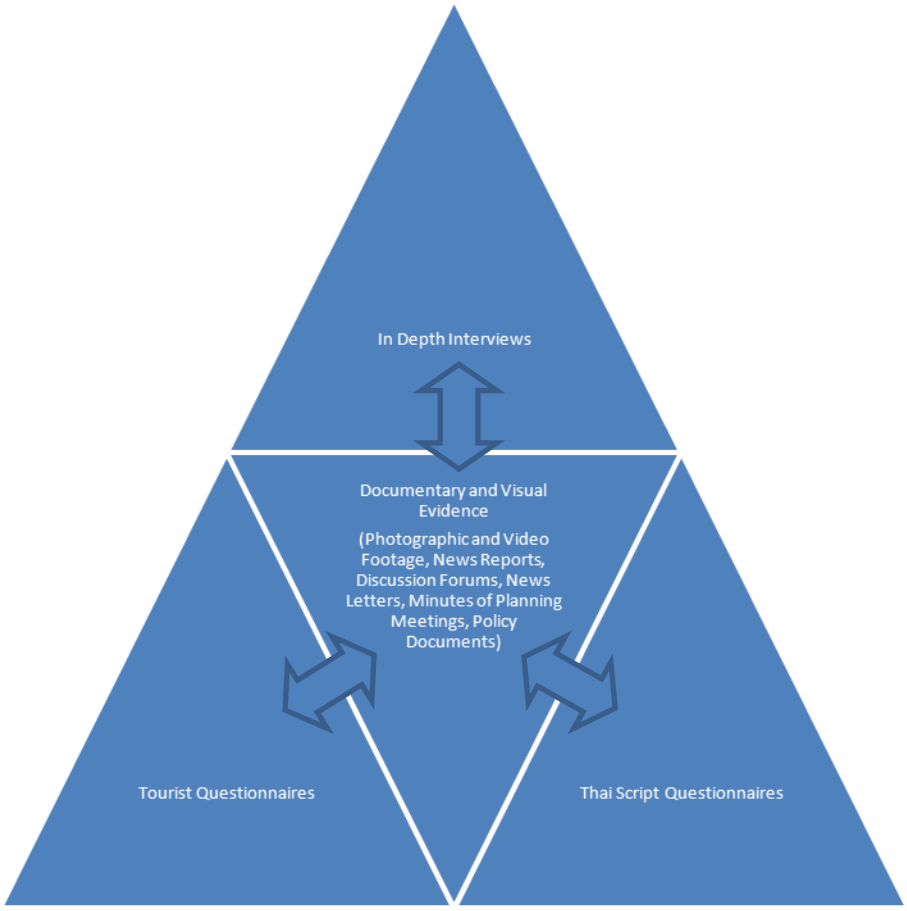


Figure 18: Triangulation of data collection techniques (Author's own)

Method	Location	Type	Quantity
Online questionnaires generated through website	Through the internet	Text data received via electronic media	11
Face-to-face in-depth interviews with development stakeholders	Thailand: Bangkok, Phuket, Krabi and Phi Phi	Recorded and non-recorded data in transcribed form responding to specific questions	26
Open-ended Thai language questionnaires to Thai islanders	Phi Phi	Rich text data, written in Thai language to be later translated. Centred on the research questions.	38 written transcripts
Open-ended questionnaires to tourists	Phi Phi	Predominantly rich text data in English responding to questions that will ascertain level of understanding about SD and tourists' perceptions of Sustainable Tourism	76 random sampled completed questionnaires
Field Notes	Thailand	Field notes in text form and reflexive journal of initial time spent in the field	28 typed A4 pages 1 A5 notebook
Photographs	Phi Phi	Visual images collected in the field RealPlayer video clips	300 images 8 clips
Video	Phi Phi	A visual moving image of infrastructure developments and tourist activity captured in the field in April 2006 Two DVDs produced in Phi Phi in December 2004 to document events following the tsunami	3 Videos
Newsletters	Phi Phi	Newsletters from aid organisations operating on Phi Phi to document reconstruction progress	Jan 2006 – December 2006
Web Discussion Forum	Via the internet	Thorntree and Hi Phi Phi Discussion forum content surrounding reconstruction of the island	58 A4 pages
Policy Documents	National and Provincial Government	Policy Documents in Thai Minutes of Meeting to discuss development Island master plan	August 2006 November 2006

Table 4: Research methods utilised

3.6 Online research

Online research formed a significant part of this study. In recent years, researchers have written increasingly about the opportunity to transfer existing research techniques for studying the behaviour of communities to online methods (Wright, 2005; Escobar, 1994; Grossnickle and Raskin, 2000; Hakken, 1999; Jones, 1999; Kozinets, 1999; Miller and Slater, 2000). It is also acknowledged that the internet provides significant opportunities for research, through a

medium that allows personal transactions to be conducted between individuals and web communities (Gunter *et al.*, 2002; Illum, Ivanov and Liang, 2010) and forms of social interaction that are diverse and accessible (Berry, 2004). Nevertheless, there are significant ethical concerns with the use of online research that must be considered, such as privacy and access to data (ibid.) coupled with other limitations of web-based surveys such as potential low opening and response rates (Illum, Ivanov and Liang, 2010; Duffy, 2002).

The nature and location of the case study posed some challenges in relation to logistics and finance to undertake lengthy periods of field study. Therefore, online techniques provided the perfect opportunity to gather data prior to the field study, thus validating the research questions and focusing the field study, which in turn made the fieldwork more effective. The Internet also provided the opportunity to maintain contact with the contacts established throughout the entire period of study, enabling the researcher to validate responses and data as analysis occurred, as well as being aware of new developments on the island.

3.7 Establishment of contacts

A fundamental requirement of this research was to establish contacts amongst stakeholders. The purpose was threefold: to identify key literature to form the basis of the literature review; to obtain opinions from stakeholders to provide the basis for future contacts and targeted interviews as the research evolved; and to keep abreast of new developments. Establishing contacts in the early stages and maintaining these throughout the research provided a holistic view of the development of Phi Phi, considering the opinions of a wide spectrum of stakeholders and therefore making broader recommendations about the future.

Contacts were sought in a variety of areas. Firstly, during a visit to Phi Phi Don in June 2005, contact details of local businesses, accommodation providers and tour operators were obtained. Upon return, emails were sent to these businesses to introduce the research and ask permission to contact them again in the future. Other contact with stakeholders was established through a visit to the Hi Phi Phi shop and subsequent postings on the Hi Phi Phi website and discussion forum. Once the tailored research website was designed (discussed in section 3.8), the URL was also posted on the Hi Phi Phi website. This ensured that contact was established with islanders, volunteers, expatriates, tourists and local businesspeople.

Using the Internet as a secondary data source, native newspapers, periodicals, gazettes, journals and seminal texts were identified and the authors were contacted to establish rapport, identify further reading and research being undertaken in the field. Through contacting key tourism industry and government personnel in the region, a report on a workshop for the implementation of WTO sustainability indicators in Phuket (The Phuket Action Plan) was obtained. An annex of this document detailed potential contacts, which were followed up and proved fruitful. Contacts were then established with industry and government representatives, key authors and researchers, national media

representatives and pressure groups. This provided the basis for future contacts and other key stakeholders were subsequently directed to the author using snowball-sampling techniques.

3.8 Designing a tailored research website

To assist the primary information search and data collection, a website was designed with the following objectives in mind:

- to establish contacts throughout the spectrum of Phi Phi's stakeholders;
- to assist in identifying key literature surrounding the research questions;
- to obtain key policy and planning documents;
- to provide a forum for discussion of the development of Phi Phi that will identify those that support development and those that oppose it; and
- to gather primary data through online questionnaires.

This website was designed and maintained for a nominal monthly fee, through the web host 'freewebs'. The URL is www.freewebs.com/fayetaylor. It was established in August 2005 and is still active. A screen 'grab' from the website can be seen in **Appendix 5** (p. 299).

3.9 Website content

The website was designed by the author to incorporate a home page describing the purpose of the website and the research objectives. The 'background' page explains the importance of sustainability and inclusion of stakeholder interests in the creation of tourism plans, in addition to the personal rationale for undertaking such research. Content was selected to confirm a neutral standpoint, in the hope that a wider range of opinions would be provided.

The website includes a resources page, designed to describe the context within which the research was being undertaken and theoretical links to provide a definition of key concepts to non-academic stakeholders. A page is also made available for an online questionnaire to be posted, designed to elicit a response from a wider catchment of stakeholders. In the initial stages, generic questions were posted in order to identify key contacts and provide an overview of the context within which the tourism industry operates on Phi Phi. The subsequent questionnaire is informed by the research questions and has been designed following reflection on initial pilot responses. Open questioning was utilised to elicit maximum qualitative response and allow respondents to express opinions freely in their native language. It was ensured during the question design that key terms were defined in order to ensure that questions were fully understood, although it is since acknowledged that, had time and resources permitted, a translated

version of the site should have been provided to overcome language barriers. Questions were worded to ensure that respondents were not led. The questionnaire was designed for maximum ease of use and completion online. Upon completion, the form was sent directly to the author.

Finally, the website provided the opportunity to post messages in a discussion forum and for users to contact the author directly via a 'feedback form' to provide a free opinion of the development of Phi Phi. This is enhanced by a photo gallery containing photographs taken by the researcher before and after the tsunami, for information of interested parties, and to prompt discussion on the discussion board.

It was evident that significant biases could be introduced if the website was solely used by those directed to the site by the author (i.e. existing contacts and acquaintances). This was addressed by marketing the website through the following methods:

- every contact that was established was directed to the website;
- the website URL was posted on the Hi Phi Phi message board, a key forum for those involved in the island's development;
- a generic email was circulated to businesses, guesthouses and tour companies operating on Phi Phi;
- submission to popular search engines;
- website URL posted on the footer of the researcher's academic emails;
- submission of URL to the TRINET research community; and
- posting of URL on selected blogs and discussion fora.

It should also be noted here that biases associated with computer access and literacy were tempered by a mixed methods approach, which will be subsequently discussed.

3.10 The use of electronic communities as a data source

Increasingly, web communities are seen as a valuable source of data for social science projects as an increasing amount of communicative activity takes place through this new medium. There has likewise been a significant increase in primary research on virtual communities, online relationships, and a variety of other aspects of computer-mediated communication (Wright, 2005; Illum, Ivanov and Liang, 2010). Whilst studies of online populations have led to an increase in online research methods to capture data about these communities, the communities themselves present the opportunity to gather data on a wide variety of other topics. The advantages of this approach are numerous. Firstly, more sectors of society are using the Internet for communication (Nie *et al.*, 2002), thus presenting the researcher with the opportunity to access a wider base of respondents, in terms of volume or geographical location,

essential for a study of this kind. The Internet also presents the opportunity to access respondents that may not be accessible through other channels (Wellman, 1997) and (in this case) can be a means of overcoming reluctance to participate in an interview, due to the anonymity of web-based research.

Wright (2005: 12) notes a distinct advantage of the use of online communities: 'they offer a mechanism through which a researcher can gain access to people who share *specific* interests, attitudes, beliefs, and values regarding an issue, problem, or activity'. Consequently, should groups exist that demonstrate an interest in the case being researched, one might judge that those participating in the group would present active viewpoints on the topic area and indeed be willing to communicate their views. Conversely, Illum, Ivanov and Liang's (2010) research concerning the use of online survey tools in travel research cautions the reader against several limitations, including the inability to follow up incomplete surveys and a lack of (or improper understanding of) question terminology. In respect of the last concern, a facility was created on the research website to explain theoretical terminology. However, it must be noted that, as the intention was to gather conceptualisations of sustainability from the point of view of the respondent, it was not the intention of the author to lead the respondent, but to allow meaning to emerge in an inductive manner. Therefore, even though respondents may have a different conceptualisation of how sustainability is defined, it is these differences that are of interest to the study. Taking this into consideration, a search of Internet discussion groups took place to identify active discussion threads concerning travel to Phi Phi, Thailand and post-tsunami reconstruction, and groups such as Thaiblogs, Virtual Tourist, Lonely Planet Thorntree and Bangkok Post were used.

3.11 Limitations of web-based research

The research website www.freewebs.com/fayetaylor was initially posted on 7th August 2005 for a trial period, to ensure that any limitations were quickly identified and rectified.

Limitation	Implication upon validity of research	Method of rectifying/ minimising limitation
Language barrier	Responses are only received from English-speaking respondents therefore creating bias.	Providing a translated version of the site
Technical language	Responses are omitted due to lack of comprehension of technical language	Providing explanation of technical language or links to information pages
Answer to please	Non-representative response of true opinion may be received from those who answer to please researcher due to cultural differences (Redmond, 1998)	Anonymity selection may allow a representative response to be obtained. The option of a 'blank page' to allow anonymous true opinions to be recorded in Thai, and then translated. Use of discussion forum
Concern/fear of answering truthfully	Non-representative response may be received from those who fear action of 'powerful' stakeholders	Anonymity/alternative identity to be used in publication of findings

Sampling	Due to computer ownership, website marketing and distribution lists the response may not be representative of the population	Combine this method with others that do not exclude areas of the population, such as targeted interviews

Table 5: Limitations of web-based research

3.12 Interviews

In Calgaro's (2005: 26) view, *'The aim of interviews is not to be representative but to gain insight into the complexities of social phenomena through the eyes of social actors that form part of the social tapestry'* and thus in-depth interviews were employed in line with the interpretive philosophy to gain a nuanced insight into the main stakeholders involved in shaping tourist activity in the area. This can provide a rich source of overlapping opinions and multi-dimensional responses, hence 'multiple realities' (ibid., 2005: 26)

Denscombe (2003: 6) agrees that interviews allow the researcher to *'view comprehensively and in detail',* highlighting that they are defined by three key characteristics: 'wide and inclusive coverage, specificity and empirical research'. These characteristics were most pertinent to the research in hand as the research sought to be inclusive in order to obtain a comprehensive response from the spectrum of stakeholders, specific to the situation post-tsunami and empirical in that the research should be novel. A multitude of survey types were available to the researcher, including postal, face-to-face, telephone or observational typology (Denscombe, 2003: 10). However, after consideration, the most suitable for this research was the in-depth face-to-face interview, which has the following benefits and limitations:

BENEFITS	**LIMITATIONS**
Direct contact between researcher and respondent	Time-consuming
Information obtained richer and more detailed	Expensive
Immediate means of validating information	Respondent 'answers to please'
Possible to identify if false information is being provided	Language barriers
Ability to engage with respondent	Gaining trust of respondents (cultural differences)

Table 6: Benefits and limitations of the face-to-face interview method (Adapted from Denscombe, 2003: 8)

It is evident that, through the face-to-face survey, detailed qualitative information could be obtained that will be of great importance. However, it was also identified that there were a number of limitations to this approach (**Table 8**), broadly associated with cultural issues. In this research there were a number of cultural and language issues that could have acted as a barrier to obtaining an inclusive response. Thai culture is commonly associated with an 'answer to please' concept (Deveney, 2005; Redmond, 1998; personal communication with colleagues in Thailand), on account of the desire to pursue a harmonious life free from conflict (Van Esterik, 2000; Mulder, 2000; Brown, 2000; Truong, 1990; Mam, 2007) the implications are that respondents may respond as they assume the researcher wishes them to, rather than giving their actual opinion. To combat this, it was decided that this barrier could be partially overcome by allowing for confidentiality of the respondent (with exception of their status as a stakeholder of the development), and by providing the respondent with a blank page upon which they could express their true feelings (in Thai), which was then submitted confidentially and translated (see Thai questionnaires, section 3.15).

3.13 Formulation of interview questions

The interviews followed a structured format initially, with flexibility should the researcher wish to pursue a topic in more detail. The initial questions of the pilot study were adapted as it was found that a highly structured approach resulted in a more descriptive account of the island's development, which could easily be sought within documentary and secondary data. Subsequent interviews (interview 6 onwards) used a semi-structured format, using the research questions as a guide, to ensure that the data collection fulfilled the goals of the research (interview questions can found in **Appendix 6**, p.300). The exception to this was Interview 10, which was with a representative of the new Intercontinental Development in Laem Tong on Phi Phi. On account of the very specific information sought from this respondent, alternative questions were used (**Appendix 8**, pp. 302-303). As all interviews were face-to-face, technical terminology could be explained by the researcher as necessary. In total, 26 in-depth interviews were conducted between April and November 2006, using a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques based upon stakeholder theory (Swarbrooke, 1999; Weaver and Lawton, 2002). Respondents were selected purposively and on the basis of their role and familiarity with Phi Phi. Further details are given in the reflexive journal (**Appendix 10**, pp. 306-324).

3.14 Tourist questionnaires

Research in the literature and observations from initial field visits suggested that one of the greatest influencing factors in shaping the island's future development was the tourist market. Therefore, in order to ascertain the typology of tourists visiting Phi Phi to comprehend the nature of demand and subsequent impacts of tourism (in line with proposals made by Plog (2001). Wickens (2002) and Cohen (1979)), a snapshot, convenience-sampled, short-answer

questionnaire was developed. The questionnaire was designed provide a profile of the tourists visiting the island, and to learn more about the needs, motivations and desires of the tourist market at this time, as was similarly undertaken by Dodds *et al.* (2010) approximately six months later. The questions posed therefore had these goals in mind. The questionnaire was designed to be short for ease of completion, as respondents were approached in a variety of environments including the beach, ferries, restaurants, bars and in tourist accommodation. The majority of questions were open-ended to solicit unbiased responses (A**ppendix 13**, pp. 330-331).

3.15 Thai script interviews

Prior discussion within this chapter (section 3.12) has highlighted limitations with both online surveys and face-to-face interviews, in the sense that respondents may answer to please. This issue, in addition to language barriers, was further addressed during phase two (April 2008), whereby research questions translated into Thai script were developed and handed by the researcher to 38 inhabitants of Koh Phi. These questions were pre-tested with a Thai colleague to ensure comprehension. These questionnaires were left with the respondents for half a day or a whole day, to enable them to write a full, unbiased response in Thai. This went some way toward overcoming language barriers and biases introduced through the face-to-face interviews (which were predominantly in English), and also enabled respondents to express themselves clearly their own language. However, other influences and biases are introduced through the use of convenience sampling such as willingness to participate in the study and visibility within the community (Saunders *et al.*, 2009). Nevertheless the researcher was satisfied that the sample fairly represented the views of Phi Phi's Thai inhabitants due to the settings in which the respondents were identified. Samples of blank and completed Thai script questionnaires can be seen in **Appendix 9** (pp. 304-305) and **Appendix 14** (pp. 332-335 with translation). The responses were translated by a native Thai colleague.

3.16 Visual data

Banks (2002; 2005) discusses the use of visual data, including photography as a 'visual notebook'. Most certainly, in a study seeking to document change, and project future change, this method would seem highly appropriate. Film and photography may be used to gain understanding of societies and cultural forms (Edwards, 1992) and the study of spatial behaviour (Hockings, 1995). However, as Banks (2002:2) cautions, 'as representations they are therefore subject to the influences of their social, cultural and historical contexts of production and consumption', meaning that as with the fruits of an interview or observation, visual data is subject to interpretation and influence. Therefore, research using visual methods should be mindful of not only what is contained within the image, but the context in which the image was constructed (Banks, 2005). Researchers therefore advise that visual methods are combined with text-based analysis (Harper, 1987). Within this research therefore, this method was used in combination with other data collection techniques as detailed. The purpose of using visual data was to document change over time (2006-

2011) and to validate observational field notes and interview data. Banks (2005) discusses how images may be used. The photography in this research was not intended as visual anthropology, but rather as a visual record and *aide memoire* (Knowles and Sweetman, 2005).

3.17 Data ordering and analysis

Due to the nature of the research undertaken, the greater part of data obtained was qualitative, and therefore careful consideration was given to the most suitable method of analysing such data. The very nature of qualitative data is 'a concern with meanings and the way people understand things' (Denscombe. 2003: 267), and this can create difficulty in analysis due to the highly diverse range of potential responses. It is vital that when attempting to analyse qualitative data that it is primarily organised into similar formats, allowing space for the researcher to add comment and to code responses (Denscombe, 2003: 269). In this research, all interviews (with the exception of four interviews; 15,16, 18 and 23) were recorded using an MP3 device and stored on marked CDs. The interviews were then transcribed and stored in hard copy. The data was processed through NVivo 8 qualitative data analysis software. Other qualitative data such as observational and visual data was stored in hard copy and observations were recorded in a research diary. The process of analysing these findings was as follows:

- breaking down the data into like categories for analysis;
- designating code categories;
- reflecting upon categorisation;
- identifying trends in responses and relationships;
- returning to the field to reinforce emerging trends;
- developing findings; and
- using findings to adapt or build upon existing theory.

(Informed by Denscombe (2003: 273) and Creswell (2003: 192))

The storing, processing and analysis of data was facilitated by the use of NVivo qualitative data analysis software, version 8. This software allows researchers to store all data in project format, and enable identification of themes emergent from the data as a whole in order to challenge Spangenberger's (2005 as cited in Saarinen 2006: 1124) proposals that conceptualisations of sustainability have no easily identifiable common denominator. This also permits segregation of data according to the 'multiple realities' existing in an interpretive study of this kind (Easterby-Smith, 2002). NVivo is argued by Veal (2006) to be the most widely used qualitative data analysis software due to its ability to coordinate the analysis of computer-stored text files and assistance in shaping and understanding data.

3.18 Influence of 'the self' and researcher reflexivity

Discussions of axiology study the influence that personal values play in all stages of the research process (Saunders, 2009) in line with Heron's (1996) argument that personal values are the guiding reason for all human action. It is widely acknowledged that in the collection of qualitative data, personal involvement in the data collection process can be deemed either a strength or a limitation (Denscombe, 2003: 268; Creswell, 2003:200) due to the perception of the researcher in the interpretation of data collected and the influence of personal opinion in the data collection process. This need not necessarily be a limitation, as long as it is explicitly acknowledged. Intertwined with the ability to remain objective (Denscombe 2002: 158), the role of the 'self' needs consideration in order to take the decision of whether to attempt to 'bracket' the self and personal beliefs, and biases of the researcher, something Finlay (2009) claims is impossible, or to acknowledge the researcher's centrality (Tribe, 2005).

The researcher's standpoint must be questioned. Do they acknowledge their personal beliefs and use them as motivation for conducting the research? Or do they attempt to remain objective and detached (although it may be argued that detachment is not possible in any attempt to gather predominantly qualitative data, where the researcher is generally immersed in the data) (Easterby-Smith, 2002: 34; Neuman, 1997: 14, cited in Weaver and Lawton 2002: 389; Saunders *et al.*, 2009). Nevertheless, in the research design, one must acknowledge the role of the researcher, and the influence that his or her 'self' may have upon respondents, the relationship with the respondents, the data and the interpretation of results. As this research is concerned with an interpretive view, and subjective meanings of sustainability will be sought, the researcher's own subjective meanings will consequently play a part.

Boucher (in Bonner *et al.*, 1994:144) states that, in order to avoid the subjective-objective trap, researchers 'must show that their life experience does or does not influence her research.' This encourages reflexivity. However, opponents to this view would suggest that objectivity is not necessary in phenomenological research, but that reflection will showcase the researcher's position within the research. In accordance with Denscombe (2003) and Creswell (2003), this may therefore mean that a researcher, acknowledging their personal interpretation of the research topic, approach to research and subsequent interpretation of findings might be influenced by personal opinion or experience, might be considered biased. This is not necessarily a limitation, as passion for and personal involvement in a topic may lead to a more detailed account of one's perspective and the quest for information that other 'less involved' researchers might not achieve. Therefore, whilst acknowledging that the researcher remained as objective as possible in order to reduce bias, the claim must be made that undoubtedly the interpretation of the results will be at some point (if not throughout) tainted by personal opinion. The provision of the reflexive journal in part two of this chapter (see **Appendix 10**, pp. 306-324), in line with Lincoln and Guba's (1994) concept of a research log, goes some way towards acknowledging the researcher's own values (Heron, 1996), in addition to the primary data

being segregated to demonstrate how the researcher's own statement of personal values relate to the topic of study (Heron, 1996).

3.19 Closure at theoretical saturation

With many qualitative studies, a key consideration is when data collection should be closed in order to reduce conceptual inadequacy. Glaser and Strauss (1967: 65) suggest that closure is possible when:

> no additional data are being found whereby the (researcher) can develop properties of the category. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated ... when one category is saturated; nothing remains but to go on to new groups for data on other categories, and attempt to saturate these categories also.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) further state that closure should occur when relationships between categories have been validated. Thus, informant saturation would exist at the point when all stakeholders had been interviewed or responses in each stakeholder grouping did not generate new data. It was the latter assumption that informed closure of data collection in this case.

3.20 Ethical considerations

Whilst considering the collection and analysis of data, specifically data that deals with emotion and personal opinion, ethical considerations are paramount. The research dealt with politically and economically sensitive topics, and with emotionally-charged experiences following the tsunami. Therefore, in order to preserve the anonymity of key actors and respondents in the study, selected information has been removed from the published thesis. In accordance with Clark (2002), if human development should pursue 'an objectively desirable human life', then so should any research concerning development. Furthermore, a predominantly qualitative approach using mixed methods that are 'interactive' and 'humanistic' (Creswell 2003: 181) requires the researcher to respect the values and rights of their respondents, whilst ensuring that they are unobtrusive. Furthermore, Leedy (1997) advocates a research design that is fair, honest, clear in intent and respectful of the individual. This study was informed by the professional code of research ethics, as proposed by the American Sociological Association (see **Appendix 7**, p. 301). The researcher acknowledges that, prior to conducting any primary research, respondents must give 'informed consent' whereby the nature, purpose and use of the data must be illuminated (Denscombe. 2002: 183; Silverman, 2000: 201). However, there were logistical challenges here.

It is recognised that informed consent should be obtained in written form (Creswell, 2003: 2002). However, as Veal (1997: 201) suggests, 'subjects can never be as fully informed as the researcher' and at times one must make a judgment about what is reasonable. Thus when faced with the reality of obtaining informed consent in the field, factors such as literacy, location and formal structure had to be considered. It could not be assumed that all subjects would be literate, despite being able to comprehend written English, and being hesitant to deter cooperation from potentially valuable respondents, alternative procedures for informed consent were enforced. As the majority of interviews were recorded, for transcription purposes, at the start of each interview, verbal disclosure of the exact nature of the project was given and consent was requested, therefore providing informed consent in a way appropriate to the nature of the research, yet rigorous enough to provide a permanent record.

3.21 Part Two Conduct of research and researcher reflexivity

The rationale and justification for epistemological and methodological approaches has now been given. The remainder of this chapter takes the form of reflection upon the data collection period and details observations made during visits to Phi Phi Island and during the author's time in Phuket. The chapter will reflect upon moments of 'emic' and 'etic' perspective gained, and position the author within the context of research (Morris *et al.*, 1999. For more detail see **Appendix 10**). The researcher acknowledges that for the greater part of the research, an etic position was held with moments of emic insight afforded by the time living and working in Phuket with Thai friends and students. This is perhaps unsurprising as the researcher's background is a management perspective over that of an anthropological perspective on tourism, and thus the methods employed were different to those of an emic researcher (Morris *et al.*, 1999; Geertz, 1983). Nonetheless, if considering the emic/etic contrast as a continuum, (as Headland, Pike and Harris (1990) do), it can be seen that elements of both have been employed.

The purpose of this is to demonstrate the author's research 'journey', and to add context and detail to the data, in line with Finlay (2009), that in phenomenological research it is impossible to set aside or bracket the researcher's experience and understandings. The reflection also provides some useful parallels and insights into Thai lifestyle and culture, which adds meaning to the results. For interviews that were not recorded, the notes made are detailed within the journal. The chapter is designed to enhance reflexivity within the research; to demonstrate the author's emotional entanglement with the work; to outline the author's assumptions regarding the topic and context of research and how the author's assumptions have been challenged and may have changed throughout the process of research. As Tribe (2005) asserts, an indication of the increasing maturity in tourism research is a growth in reflexivity within research practice. As Finlay (2002) and many others (Ateljevic *et al., 2005*; Boterill, 2003; Finlay, 2009; Johnson and Duberly, 2003) recommend, reflexive practice is a method of comprehending the entanglements faced by a researcher embarking upon qualitative research, and makes a conscious decision to fully disclose person and identity, particularly with regard to their position as embodied researchers (Tribe, 2005). The reader should be aware that this section is written in a less formal style, as extracts are taken verbatim from the author's research notes.

3.22 Data collected

From April 2006 to July 2009, primary data was collected according to the schedule (see Table 2, section 3.4). The respondents are detailed below.

3.23 Online questionnaire responses

In total, eleven responses were submitted via the website to the open-ended questionnaire. Respondents have been made anonymous, but an indication is given of the stakeholder group to which the respondent has been assigned. These allocations form the basis of later disaggregation of results, to aid data analysis. An example of a response can be seen in **Appendix 11** (pp. 325-326). In order to put the data supplied by participants into perspective, brief profiles of the participants are presented below.

Respondent Code	Occupation	Respondent Group
E1	Unknown	Tourist
E2	Tourism Student	Tourist
E3	Volunteer	Resident (non-Thai)
E4	Unknown	Tourist
E5	Environmental Policy Manager	The International Hotel Industry
E6	Lecturer (Thai-based)	Academic
E7	Tourist Information	Resident (Thai)
E8	Eco-tourism Operator	Resident (non-Thai)
E9	Tour Agency	Resident (Thai)
E10	Sustainability Researcher	Academic
E11	Lecturer (Thai-based)	Resident (non-Thai)

Table 7: Online questionnaire responses

3.24 Face-to-face interviews

A summary of in-depth, face-to-face interviews conducted is below. As with the respondents to the electronic questionnaires, an indication of how the respondent has been categorised for disaggregation purposes is given. All of the interviews (with the exception of four respondents who wished not to be) were recorded using an MP3 digital voice-recording device. A sample interview transcript can be seen in **Appendix 12** (pp. 327-329). In total, 26 in-depth interviews were conducted. Profiles of the participants are detailed below.

Code	Nationality	Occupation	Respondent Group
I1	Dutch	Planner (Bangkok-based)	Academic
I2	Austrian	Sustainability Manager (Phuket-based)	International Tourism Industry
I3	Thai	Hotelier and landowner on Phi Phi	Landowner
I4	Thai	Landowner on Phi Phi	Landowner
I5	British	Dive industry on Phi Phi	Resident (non-Thai)
I6	Thai	Tourist Association Phuket	Government
I7	German	Academic, Bangkok-based	Academic
I8	German	Resort Marketing Phi Phi/ Phuket	Resident (non Thai)
I9	Thai	Charity, Phi Phi	Resident (Thai)
I10	American	Planner, Phi Phi	International Tourism Industry
I11	British	Volunteer, Khao Lak	Volunteer
I12	Thai	Tour Agency/ Rock Climbing, Phi Phi	Resident (Thai)
I13	Thai	Accommodation, Phi Phi	Resident (Thai)
I14	German	Gift shop owner, Phi Phi	Resident (non-Thai)
I15	Thai	Provincial Government, Krabi	Government
I16	Thai	Planning, Krabi	Government
I17	Thai	Local Government, Ao Nang	Government
I18	Thai	Environmentalist/academic, Bangkok	Academic
I19	Spanish	Hotel Manager on Phi Phi	International Tourism Industry
I20	American	Charity worker and academic, Phuket	Academic
I21	Thai	Office of Natural Resources and the Environment, Phuket	Government
I22	American	Professor, Phuket	Academic
I23	Thai	Ministry of Tourism and Sports, Krabi	Government
I24	Thai	Environmental Activist, Bangkok/Phi Phi	Academic
I25	Thai	Department of Town and Country Planning, Bangkok	Government
I26	English	Thai-based charity worker and researcher, Krabi/ Phi Phi	Academic

Table 8: Interview participants

Chapter Four Findings and discussion

4.1 Introduction

Upon completion of the primary data collection, all qualitative data was organised into project form using NVivo version 8. NVivo was selected as the preferred method of data processing and coding over manual techniques for reasons of efficiency. The data was generated from the face-to-face interviews, the reflexive journal and field notes, online questionnaires, and the translated Thai questionnaires. Using NVivo, the raw data was filed in the 'internals' folder according to their source. Subfolders were created according to respondent category to handle data either as combined in order to aid triangulation of results and present an overview of the issues of significance to the stakeholders of Phi Phi in their entirety, or as segregated according to respondent group in order to provide an illustration of how themes were represented according to distinct stakeholder groups. Recurring items were identified as themes. These themes were then organised into main and sub-themes, providing a coding overview of the entire dataset initially, in order to demonstrate a consensus overview of responses. The codes were then exported to MS Excel to produce graphs. As the tourist questionnaires elicited a mix of qualitative and quantitative data, the qualitative elements were processed through NVivo whilst the quantitative elements were summarised using MS Excel.

The respondent categories were as follows:

- Thai inhabitants of Phi Phi;
- non-Thai inhabitants of Phi Phi;
- landowners
- government representatives;
- academics;
- volunteers;
- tourists;
- international hospitality industry

These categories were developed to broadly reflect the stakeholder groupings in Phi Phi's development following a synthesis of existing authors' categorisation of stakeholders in respect of tourism destination development (Cohen, 1983; Swarbrooke, 1999; Cooper *et al.*., 1998; Weaver and Lawton, 2002; Dodds, 2011). It was not possible to segregate further due to unequal distribution of respondents across categories.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to present the results of the primary data collection, discuss the emergent themes and discuss how these findings relate to existing academic debates and theoretical frameworks. Selected findings will be diagrammatically represented to demonstrate the frequency of recurring themes and the variation of sources that these codes were derived from (i.e. how many different sources they were mentioned in). Data will be presented in combined response firstly (section 4.3, p. 137 onwards) and segregated secondly (section 4.4, p. 193 onwards). Any emergent models to illustrate relationships between themes will be presented in Chapter 5.

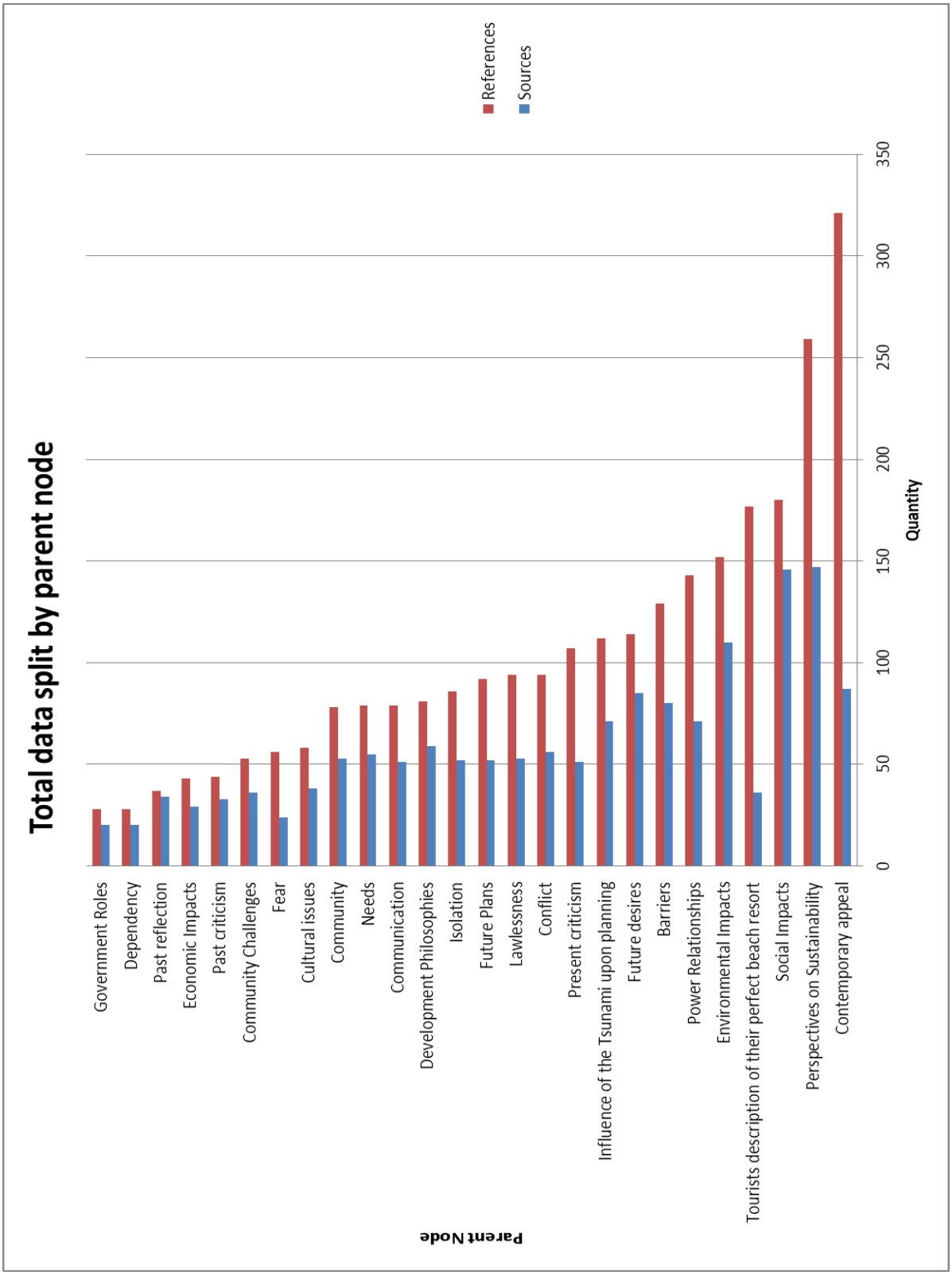
4.2 Emergent themes

Twenty-five main themes were identified. They are listed below in the order of the quantity of references that were made by respondents to that theme.

Parent Theme	References	Sources	Explanation
Contemporary appeal	321	87	The reasons why people visit Phi Phi (post-tsunami)
Perspectives on sustainability	259	147	Conceptualisations of sustainability held by the stakeholders of Phi Phi
Social impacts of tourism	180	146	Impacts, both positive and negative upon the inhabitants of Phi Phi, in social terms
Description of their perfect beach resort	177	36	Data originating from the tourist questionnaire, to gauge typology
Environmental impacts of tourism	152	110	Impacts both positive and negative upon the environment and natural resources of the island
Power relationships	143	71	Level of power and influence leveraged by identified stakeholders and links between stakeholder groups
Barriers	129	80	Barriers to redevelopment and more specifically sustainable redevelopment post-tsunami
Future desires	114	85	The desires expressed by stakeholders for the future development of the island (measured from 2006 to 2010)
Influence of the tsunami upon planning	112	71	Examples of how the tsunami has affected planning and redevelopment
Present criticism	107	51	Criticisms of Phi Phi's present state (2006-2010) post-tsunami
Lawlessness	94	53	Examples of illegal activity, being 'above' the law or differing policies applied to identifiable stakeholder groups
Future plans	92	52	Future plans for the island
Isolation	86	52	Illustrations of Phi Phi's perceived abandonment/isolation
Development philosophies	81	59	The ideas and ideologies underpinning Phi Phi's future development
Communication	79	51	Perspectives on communication and information sharing on Phi Phi
Needs	79	55	Contemporary needs expressed by Phi Phi's stakeholders
Community	78	53	Determination of who comprises Phi Phi's community
Cultural issues	58	38	Identifiable cultural characteristics that appear to affect and influence the nature and pace of development
Fear	56	24	Expressions of fear, uncertainty and mistrust by island stakeholders

Community Challenges	53	36	Contemporary challenges faced by Phi Phi's community in their everyday lives
Past criticism	44	33	Criticism of Phi Phi's past touristic development (pre-tsunami)
Economic impacts	43	29	Impacts both positive and negative upon the economy, business and prosperity of Phi Phi
Past Reflection	37	34	Reflections upon Phi Phi pre-tsunami from a range of stakeholders
Dependency	28	20	Illustrations of dependency/reliance that exist on Phi Phi
Government roles	28	20	Perceived and actual government roles in Phi Phi's redevelopment

Table 9: Summary and explanation of parent themes with significance



Graph 1: Parent themes with reference and source count

As can be seen in the graph above, themes have been organised according to their significance in terms of how many times they were referred to in the data. The contemporary appeal of the island emerges as the most frequently mentioned theme, with 321 references throughout the research but these references originated from 87 different sources. The proportion of sources to references for this theme is 27% coverage, indicating that, whilst it is important, it emerged in fewer data sources, namely the tourist questionnaires. The contemporary appeal theme will be discussed in section 4.3 (p. 137 onwards).

Perspectives on sustainability is second in significance for all stakeholders, with 259 references from 147 sources, demonstrating a coverage of 57%, indicating a broad discussion across data sources. Perspectives on sustainability will be discussed separately due to specific questioning utilised to elicit respondents' conceptualisations of sustainability in line with the research objectives i.e. perspectives on sustainability did not emerge naturally in an inductive manner from the data as all other themes did. Social impacts of tourism were widely recognised and discussed by Phi Phi's stakeholders, showing 180 references from 146 sources and a coverage of 81%, which indicated the discussion of social impacts across a broad range of data sources. As will be seen when the data is segregated, however, there are distinct differences in the precise nature of social impacts that are identified by different stakeholder groups. Tourists' description of their perfect beach resort emerges as important in terms of reference; however, this is a perspective attributable to only a small sector of the island's stakeholders at 20%. Other themes that demonstrate high significance in terms of references and sources are environmental impacts of tourism, power relationships and barriers to sustainability.

The graph above also illustrates the range of sources that a particular theme was referred to within. Clearly, both are important, for different reasons. A high count in terms of 'references' indicates that this is an important issue, even if only identified in a few different sources. A high count in terms of sources indicates that the theme has been mentioned in a wider variety of the data collection methods used and could therefore be argued to better represent the views of a wider spectrum of stakeholders. Therefore, one can deduce that the most dominant themes for the research will be those that have both a high 'references' count and a high 'sources' count. Themes fulfilling these criteria include social impacts, environmental impacts, future desires, past reflection and needs.

Each theme will be discussed, initially through the combined response from Phi Phi's stakeholders, and then a segregated response will be considered. This discussion will be enhanced through examples and quotations obtained from the data, further validated with selected visual evidence obtained from the field from April 2006-December 2011, and context added from the author's reflexive journal. It must be noted that quotations are presented verbatim and hence grammatical errors are due to the respondent not being a native English speaker.

4.3 Collective Results for Stakeholders

Contemporary Appeal

The components of the contemporary appeal theme are illustrated in **Appendix 17** (pp. 338-339). It is clear from the graph that, according to respondents, the island's main contemporary appeal centres on the beaches, aesthetic beauty, diving, nightlife and the 'laid back' atmosphere.

Phi Phi Don has fourteen major beaches, the two central, which fringe the sandy apple core isthmus being Ao Tonsai (where the ferries and dive boats dock), with only a small amount of beach space available on account of the boat movements, and Ao Lo Dalaam, a much shallower beach that can only be accessed by long tail boats, previously characterised by coral reefs across the entire bay, although the coral is now dead. The beaches are illustrated below in an image taken on 26th March 2006 from the island's highest viewpoint. Ao Tonsai can be seen to the left of the picture and Ao Lo Dalaam can be seen to the right. The picture also depicts the scenic appeal of the limestone karsts that characterise the region. These karsts are of archaeological significance (Fahn, 2003) and home to fragile ecosystems (they are used on Phi Phi for rock-climbing and cliff-jumping).



Image 10 Viewpoint image of the island post-tsunami

The image shows the impact of the tsunami, as there had previously been dense construction on the central 'apple core' of the island. The remaining structures are the three-storey Phi Phi Island Cabana Hotel (to the right) and the four-storey Phi Phi Hotel (to the left). A closer shot of Tonsai Bay (Image 11) taken on 11th September 2006 shows a beautiful secluded beach. However, this is only the far corner of the beach and was taken before the day-tripper and dive boats arrived en masse. Lining this shoreline prior to the tsunami were low-rise beach bungalows. Due to their proximity to the shoreline the bungalows in this area were the first to be destroyed when the tsunami struck.

Bungalows have since been rebuilt along this stretch of beach despite the 30-metre setback ruling imposed post-tsunami.



Image 11 Tonsai Bay

Other popular beaches are shown in **Appendix 18** (images 46 and 47, p. 373). The first is to the far east of Tonsai, where many of the bungalow resorts are located. This stretch of beach is also directly adjacent to the front of the village school, an issue of much concern to interview respondent 8, a long-term non-Thai resident of the island who works in a bungalow resort on Long Beach, and who raised concern for the scantily-clad tourists sunbathing on the stretch of beach directly in front of the village school, the majority of whose students are Muslim. From this point on Tonsai Beach (Image 46), one can experience the famous view encountered by Leonardo Di Caprio and his travelling companions when considering a 2km swim cross to the island, alleged to be the location of the perfect beach resort in *The Beach*. This beach (Maya Bay) is in fact located on Phi Phi Le. Maya Bay is, in addition to the numerous dive spots, a major component of Phi Phi Island's tourism. Underlying the beauty of Maya Bay and the fame, recognition and commerce it has bought the islands, there is a hotbed of controversy (see sections 1.6 and 1.10). Today, Maya Bay is still a key attraction of the islands and people still travel to the island to see the place where *The Beach* was filmed, to watch the film in one of the many restaurants around the island and to be photographed in the 'perfect' beach resort.

Another facet of Phi Phi's contemporary appeal is the nightlife. Respondents (Interview 11, a British volunteer and Electronic 1, short-term tourist) spoke of spending their time sunbathing in beautiful surroundings and partying at night. Certainly Phi Phi has ample nightlife to satisfy these desires. Fire shows, beach parties, full moon, half-moon

and black moon parties are a regular event in Phi Phi's nightlife offer. Tourists enjoy the lively nightlife and extremely cheap alcohol. Phi Phi is famed for selling 'buckets' of alcohol at low prices (approx. £3). Below is also a collection of scanned flyers collected from the island during the research period to illustrate the nightlife activities on offer.



Image 12: Promotional flyers for Apache and Tiger Bar

Social impacts of tourism

Socio-cultural concerns were also a dominant theme arising within the notion of tourism impacts. Most significantly, respondents recognised socio-economic factors as the positive outcome of tourism development on the island. The impact of tourism upon generating employment and improving quality of life resounded amongst Thai inhabitants and landowners, whilst other respondents demonstrated concern about effects regarded as detrimental, including a lack of separation, lack of cultural understanding and selling out to tourism. These issues, and the subsequent impacts upon the community, are discussed vehemently by Interview Respondents 5 (Resident, non-Thai) and 8 (Resident, non-Thai) and Electronic Respondent 3 (Resident, non-Thai). Interview Respondent 5 (resident since 1999) provides an illustration of how the tourist typology has changed during their time on the island and how the behaviour of such

tourists is inappropriate for a Muslim community, which has resulted in a response to tourists similar to those explained through Doxey's index of irritation (Theobald, 1998):

> A long time ago it was backpackers, people who wanted to do something a little bit different. Now we are getting our 'Magaluf' types. I hate it and the drinking, this is a Muslim island and it is a National Park. It is illegal to sunbathe topless. I know that the Thai boys enjoy it, but it is a Muslim island and in high season I do not even go out. It is horrible, the people [tourists] are so wasted on Sangsom (Thai Rum), they are walking around the streets completely pissed up. There are fights. I mean, before there would perhaps be one or two big fights and a local guy would sort it out and it would be done every once in a while, but now, it's tourists.

This lack of cultural understanding is further illustrated by Respondent 8 (non-Thai island resident):

> We have a mosque and then we have a late night bar right next door to it making lots of noise and a bikini shop right next to it. I know that not only the Muslims but the Thais themselves are against all these bikinis; a proper Thai lady would never wear a bikini … she wouldn't go on the beach because they don't like getting a suntan, they like the white skin. They are always discreetly covered up all the time. If you see a Thai lady swimming, she was … fully dressed. They don't like these men in their bikini shorts either.

This also illustrates the impact of having no separation between 'front stage' and 'backstage' areas: the destination becomes a living 'zoo' for tourists (Interview respondent 7, academic and researcher).

Electronic Respondent 3, a non-Thai resident, discusses the impact that this intrusion and behaviour has upon the community:

> For over 20 years there have [sic] been a constant flow of visitors to Thailand, who do not study any [sic] of Thai culture. So, to them Thailand is a playground, and the more tourists come the more they interact with more Thais. If you live in a beach area and have thousands of new people coming daily who are all ignorant of your basic social and culture[al] daily life, you begin to become very jaded and lose a simple happiness that was always there before.

This proximity is illustrated in image 13 below taken on 27th March 2006 in the pier area. In peak season, there is a constant flow of tourist traffic through the village.



Image 13 Crowded streets in the Pier area of the island

Description of the perfect beach resort

This theme originated predominantly from the questionnaires distributed to tourists during the April 2008 field visit. The reason for this question was to determine their motivants ('pull' factors) of destination choice and to therefore aid analysis of the tourist typology. This data also allows comparison of their description of a perfect beach resort and the 'contemporary appeal' that they attributed to Phi Phi. The most dominant sub-themes occurring were 'peace and quiet', pristine beaches, clear blue sea, clean and 'not overcrowded with tourists'. Reflecting back on the theme of 'contemporary appeal', Phi Phi would appear to match the tourists' desires in respect of scenery, although when considering the tourists' perceptions on the negative impacts of tourism, it can certainly be seen that Phi Phi does not fulfil the tourists' desires of a perfect beach resort in respect of being un-crowded, clean, peaceful and having clear blue sea.

The question is, therefore, why they have come to the island if it does not match what they are looking for? In fact, ironically their descriptions of a perfect beach resort with palm trees, hammocks, beach huts and white sand beaches with crystal clear water describe Phi Phi twenty years ago and the image captured by Alex Garland in *The Beach*. Respondents offer their opinion on the controversy surrounding the filming of *The Beach*. Interview respondent 4 (a Thai landowner) states that:

> the National Park (Royal Forestry Department) … are so powerful then [sic], they have a powerful voice, more powerful than the locals. So they now start to build up a toilet on the island [sic], and there is supposed to be no

> building but now there is some kind of construction so now we have a toilet and a small office for the officer who takes care of Maya to stay overnight. Even a small office is a kind of construction. The local, the boatman and even [the [information removed for anonymity purposes]] do not agree with the building because they shouldn't have anything, even a toilet, not even a single construction on the island.

These discussions are supported by electronic respondent E8 (Ecotourism Operator):

> One thing that everyone seems to have missed is that Phi Phi was, and still is, a National Park. By Thai law no permanent structures are allowed on National Park [land]. That means that many tsunami victims were residing in illegally built lodging. I don't know why a good lawyer hasn't picked up on this.

Furthermore, it is particularly ironic, albeit perhaps unsurprising, that a story which tells of a destination's demise on account of the traveller's quest for 'utopia' (Garland, 1997) should catalyse a similar effect on Phi Phi. It is clear to see that there are many linkages between the impacts of tourism and lawlessness. To achieve the perfect beach resort requires unlawful activity and results in negative impacts of tourism.

Environmental impacts of tourism

Environmental impacts of tourism were identified as one of the most significant themes due to the spread of references across different data sources. The graph showing the composition of sub themes can be seen in **Appendix 17** (pp. 343-344). Particularly strong was concern for environmental degradation attributed to touristic development. Other issues of significant concern to respondents were waste disposal, pollution, crowding and overburdened infrastructure.

These issues were discussed with passion by several respondents, such as Interview Respondent 7, a Thai-based academic and researcher, who commented that:

> environmentally it was a disaster. In the years pre-tsunami when you arrived at the bay … on top of the mountain it looks wonderful, but you could see already that there was an oil film on the water. [It] is not very nice to swim. This one time there was human excrement in the water, so that put me off, and with the garbage that was also a long-term problem. All the small islands, Bamboo Island, Krabi, are all full of these plastic water bottles and garbage. Phi Phi has an incinerator, but they never used it.

This is supported by one of the most high-profile landowners on the island (Respondent 4, Thai landowner):

> and the fuel, if you see the ferry [sic] that arrive in the morning and the long tail boat, sometimes you can see the oil on the water on the surface but the oil never leave[s]. We have a tide, high tide, low tide, but at the pier if you look down at the bottom you see a residue, a brown residue on the bottom. The cause is also from the fuel from the ferries and long tail boats, but because we [are] on open sea, the tide will get rid of oil.

The images contained within **Appendix 18** further strengthen concern for an overburdened infrastructure and degraded environment. Images 48 and 49 (p. 374) are taken in Tonsai Bay at the pier area. The stark contrast between the serenity of the white sand beach against the limestone cliffs and the tightly-packed ferryboats, serving a variety of destinations including Phuket, Koh Lanta and Krabi, can be seen. This is the bay that Interview respondent 7 refers to above. Little wonder the water's surface is covered by an oil film with the amount of boats operating in the area.

Waste disposal emerged as one of the strongest sub-themes throughout the research and recurs across all stakeholder groups. It was mentioned also within the theme of dependency, in the sense that the island is dependent upon the mainland for its waste disposal; within the themes of past and also present criticism, in respect of the inoperable wastewater treatment plant; and indirectly in the themes of needs and community challenges in respect of inferior facilities/utilities. Interview Respondent 2 (international tourism industry) said that: 'at the moment, Phi Phi doesn't have any wastewater treatment, that's also a problem. A Danish company that is going in … [has] offered to build a wastewater plant for the whole island but there again there are some political issues. At the moment it just gets pumped out to sea.'

Image 50 (in **Appendix 18**, p. 375) depicts a channel of 'grey' (untreated) water leaving the [information removed for anonymity purposes] resort, joining a larger channel of water that runs out to the sea from the reservoir. In 2006 when the research commenced, this was one of the 'backstage' areas that tourists did not see. Now it flows underneath one of the island's main thoroughfares, a stark contrast to the landscaped tropical gardens that surround the pool of the [information removed for anonymity purposes]. Pre-tsunami, this area of the island was home to corrugated iron huts that housed the 'alleged' illegal migrant workers from Burma in unsanitary conditions (Respondent 5, island resident, non-Thai). When the tsunami hit, the huts were destroyed and the majority of the workers killed. [information removed for anonymity purposes] was built on this land after the tsunami when no other building was permitted by the government, causing controversy. Respondent 5 illustrates this:

> you have got the big hotels and then they bring over a hundred to two hundred workers. Where do you think their accommodation is? They don't put them up in the hotel, they build sheds and then they make temporary sewerage systems like all the accommodation behind the reservoir. They are all made out of tin that is for [name] who owns a lot of the land here. Don't just have a look at where they live, look at the toilet facilities. We have had so many people coming and a living terrible conditions because of [the] power that [[information

removed for anonymity purposes]] holds on the island. The big hotels have all got contacts with the local Government.

The impacts that are seen through the data mirror the concerns raised within Agenda 21's discussion of island tourism: 'on some islands tourism dominates the economy and may even be the sole source of income and employment. Islands are often environmentally vulnerable, facing problems of resource supply and management (such as drinking water and pollution control) and a concentration of tourism in a limited space.' This, therefore, raises a number of important issues in respect of Phi Phi's development pattern: a) a sole reliance upon the tourism industry and lack of economic diversity creates vulnerability and dependency; and b) the nature of Phi Phi's present pattern of development is unsustainable, as it is putting too much strain on the resources, infrastructure and society on the island. When applied to characteristics of unsustainable development as proffered by authors such as Krippendorf (1982), Lane (1989) and Swarbrooke (1999) such as rapid uncontrolled development, short-term concern, inappropriate scale and development without planning, one can see that the description they offer fits of Phi Phi, not only before the tsunami, but afterwards too.

Power relationships

Perspectives on the power relationships that exist on the island emerged strongly from the data, combined with reflections on how this power was exercised. The composition of this theme can be seen in **Appendix 17** (pp. 345-346). One of the strongest sub-themes lies with the landowners, greatly surpassing what one might expect with local or central government. Several respondents (including Interview Respondents 1, international tourism industry; 9, Thai resident; and 26, academic and researcher; and Electronic respondent 8, ecotourism operator) explain how traditional landowners were tempted to sell. and how land was acquired by wealthy businesspeople from Phuket, Krabi and Bangkok:

> They are so uneducated, they do not understand. They take the fast gain and take the money and go and buy a new TV. They don't consider the future or the consequences. I get 1 million baht, that is great, I'm rich! They don't understand that this money will be gone in ten to twenty – this has been going on for the last five years. The situation hasn't changed after the tsunami; this is nothing to do with the tsunami.
> (Interview respondent 1, international tourism industry)

A similar shift in landownership from insider to outsider is recognised during the same period on Samui and Phuket by Cohen (1983). On Phi Phi the situation does not mirror precisely what happened on either Koh Samui or Phuket, but elements of both are represented. Cohen (1983: 159) comments, with regard to Phuket: 'a powerful and far sighted economic elite had foreseen the touristic potential, bought up land from the locals, and initiated the development of tourism long before the locals even became aware of the beach as a potential resource.' This is certainly the case for

the greater part of landowners on Phi Phi, who, one could argue initiated development of the island. Although conditions for full integration into the international tourism industry are unfavourable on account of unsafe and unreliable ferry transport and poor access in comparison to alternatives such as Phuket, Khao Lak and Pattaya, there is evidence of claims being staked in the establishment of management contracts by Intercontinental, supported by the government's 'high-end' or 'elite tourism' policy.

The comments of some respondents would lead one to believe that the short-sightedness in taking the 'quick buck' over retaining control of their land is culturally based, being predominantly concerned with the here and now. Interview respondent 7 (Thai-based academic) supports this:

> There was a Muslim community, and then there were those who set up businesses there. They were at first people from Bangkok, and strictly speaking they are not local residents; they are businesspeople who took over and also corrupted the Muslim community. It is very clear how they got corrupted, people collaborated with the business community. Also the drinking [of] alcohol.

Some of the original community comprised the Chao Le and the only area they now retain is the rocky shores of the north-east of the island, towards Laem Tong. There are a limited amount of landowners who could now be considered 'insiders' on account of being native to the island or descendants of original settlers on the island.

Similarities can be drawn here between the power structures evident on Koh Samui in the early '80s, as highlighted by Cohen (1983), who reports a high degree of self-regulation, tightly controlled by local 'strongmen', although in Phi Phi's case women also play a dominant role. Cohen (1983) explains how disputes are settled using the means of choice, normally force. Whilst Cohen (ibid.) reports Phuket at that time to be more incorporated into national society than Samui, he observes that the island's strong economy attracts many migrant workers, who threaten the traditional social structure of the island. Contemporarily in Phi Phi, elements of both can be viewed: whilst Phi Phi also has a high migrant worker population, this does not appear to have weakened the strong local power structures, which still leaves Phi Phi relatively isolated from national society (see 'Isolation' later), creating a sense of 'us against the world'. Nowadays there are few traditional inhabitants left, and if they do remain, they do not own land (personal correspondence with village headman, April 2006). Electronic respondent 8 (ecotourism operator) confirms this:

> There are few, if any, local people left on Phi Phi. Many will say that they are local but when one traces their background, they are usually businessmen from Phuket or Krabi. The powerbroker who broke the ice to allow development on Phi Phi literally owned the Democratic Party, including when they were in national power and [he] considered himself above the law – and he was right.

This comment illustrates a theme that emerged from the data (the link between government and landowners). Many commentators appear fearful of the links between landowners and the government, as they are familiar with other

cases, such as Koh Chang and Koh Samet, when rich businesspeople have bought up the land under the guise of 'sustainable development' and later developed the site as a high-end resort. It later emerged that the landowner was related to a member of the government. This fear is discussed by Interview respondent 5 (island resident):

> what is going on in Phi Phi is that all [those] who run Koh Chang want to come and run this island. They are a group of businessmen who come in and they invest on the island but they also take care of all the amenities, in particular the roads and then the islanders have to pay tax to them and then they become their own governing body. They are outsiders, they are from Bangkok and the islanders don't want them there.

Interview respondent 5 (island resident) confirms the land ownership arrangements on Phi Phi Don:

> right now Phi Phi is owned by 33 major landowners, and five of them own about 80% of the island. So you've got a lot of landowners and then the National Park supposedly owns the mountains. From what I understand they are not supposed to develop on land that is greater than 45° that's because it's National Park land. The landowners on the island are not all locals, they are Chinese Thais and because they are business people, they came over and bought the land off the locals because they didn't really realise what the consequences were.

Whilst some respondents perceived the Government to have the power over the island's future development (Electronic Respondent 7, island resident; Interview Respondent 8, island resident), a member of the provincial government (Interview respondent 15) confirmed that:

> there were three major players; one being [information removed for anonymity purposes], owner of the [information removed for anonymity purposes] Hotel, currently under reconstruction. [information removed for anonymity purposes]. I was also informed that this person was an ex-policeman and related (cousin) to the mayor of the Ao Nang Tambon Administration.

This respondent proceeded to say that, 'there were three people controlling the island, whose power surpassed that of the government and the other inhabitants were all dependencies of those people in many terms but mainly because everything that is built on the island, ultimately ownership reverts back to the landowners.' From personal deduction, the three players this respondent spoke of were [information removed for anonymity purposes].

[information removed for anonymity purposes] is the owner of the [information removed for anonymity purposes]. A shrewd and successful businessperson, their methods of success were often questioned by respondents within this research. Respondent 12's story (Thai resident and business owner) in particular was noted in the reflexive journal:

> I witnessed one respondent's tale that one of these landowners had been a close friend for seventeen years. The respondent's home and business was on rented land of this landowner. With one week's notice and 20,000 baht

> [approx. £240] compensation, this respondent was forcibly removed from the family home. These buildings are now being knocked down with plans to use the land for a new 3000 baht per night luxury hotel. The respondent had had to take a loan of 1 million baht from the Thailand Island Foundation to try and rebuild her home and business. The respondent concluded that on this island business is clearly more important than friendship. I was advised that there is no longer a host community on the island; it is best just to speak to those who have been here the longest.

These findings to some extent contradict Klein (2005; 2008) and Ayub and Cruikshank (1977) in respect of the political economy of post-disaster reconstruction. Their claims of an increased takeover of global powers and a dangerous level of power held by multinationals are not apparent in this localised case study. There is an evident trend in Thailand for the pursuit of high-end tourism. However, this is not exclusively pursued through selling out to international hotel chains. Furthermore, there is evidence of plans on Phi Phi to privatise utilities, but this is at a local level. There has been a loss of local control on Phi Phi, but that did not happen post-tsunami, nor even shortly before the tsunami. The loss of local control occurred in the early 1990s when the traditional inhabitants sold their land to wealthy businesspeople from the mainland. Therefore, local control was demonstrably lost, but on a regional-national basis. There is no evidence of the 'radical social and economic engineering' that Klein (2005) speaks of.

Far more fitting in the case of Phi Phi would be the considerations of Pleumarom (1999) and Bradshaw (2002), who note the inequalities that exist within society and the influence that these inequalities have over developmental outcomes. These inequalities are certainly apparent on Phi Phi. As is clearly illustrated in the Power Relationships graph in Appendix 17, those who own land on the island, and most specifically the major landowners, have the greatest level of influence over development. One may argue from the evidence considered that there may have been a desire to 'capitalise' on the disaster (Klein, 2005; 2008), as the government have been accused of trying to do in order to take advantage of the so-called 'clean slate' that the tsunami afforded. However, the strong socio-political structure created by the major landowners on the island has resulted in limited success. Bradshaw's (2002) observations would be most apt for the situation on Phi Phi, that 'reconstruction processes are not newly constructed in the light of the disaster but are the result of existing power struggles and structures'. Scheyvens (2002) adds strength to this argument, highlighting the complex interplay of class, values and power, which ultimately may result in a lack of equitable participation and consultation in planning for tourism. This would certainly appear to be the case on Phi Phi, where economic power and land ownership have allowed landowners to become the key players in shaping the future of Phi Phi's development. There would further appear to be evidence of hegemonic relationships within Phi Phi's redevelopment. Brohman (1996:50) claims that, 'there is a well-known tendency of local elites to appropriate the organs of participation for their own benefit'. One can see that these types of structures exist within the community of Phi Phi. Phi Phi is essentially governed by a small group of ruling elite and, as Calgaro (2005) argues, it is the agenda of these that shape the form of development within a destination.

It may initially appear that the government's position is weak in relation to these landowners, as Respondent 15 would like one to believe, and certainly evidence in the form of illegal building would suggest that is the case. However, as has emerged from the research, there are identifiable links between the landowners on the island and provincial government, so one can see that (albeit indirectly), government do have an influence. Furthermore one may cynically state that on account of the links between government and landowners, it would not be in the government's best interests to push too hard for development plans that call for a ban on construction. Perhaps this is why the new island development plan that had been prepared and was awaiting government consideration in December 2007 has yet to be implemented at the time of writing.

Barriers

The 'Barriers' theme (**Appendix 17** pp. 347-348) comprised a range of barriers that respondents perceived as preventing any form of sustainable redevelopment on Phi Phi. With greatest significance, respondents identified factors that they attributed to governmental planning and decision-making: the inaction of the government and ban on construction first and foremost, with poor governance, lengthy waits for the release of plans and instructions and lack of accountability all having high significance within the sub-themes. Even though it may be that not all respondents have positioned knowledge (e.g. they were not involved in planning meetings nor aware of the precise details of plans for the island), it is important to note that these are issues that emerged from the responses the participants offered and thus are important views on what is preventing sustainability on Phi Phi. Interview respondent 4 (a Thai resident who was present at planning meetings) confirms the islanders' dissatisfaction with the Government's lack of action and poor governance of the reconstruction effort post-tsunami:

> …because after tsunami the government gave away money to the local people, but just money. But money you can use for just a few days, maybe for a month and it's gone, right? But in terms of what is realistic, electricity, nothing … as I mentioned to you earlier, everyone [is] dissatisfied ...but in terms of [the] long term, even now things have to stop because of political instability and because they have to concentrate on elections. I am sick of elections already! The elections have taken the Government's attention away from everything else, especially what they have promised to us. They can just say, oh, because we are so busy because of [the] election.

These findings are supported within the literature, where it is reported that the Thai government's indecision with regard to the production of plans and who should be responsible for overseeing the redevelopment is hampering any progress (Phuket Gazette, 9.9.2005).

Phi Phi has been the subject of long-term criticism for poor governance in respect of the nature and pace of development and this does not look set to change in the post-tsunami redevelopment. This is supported by Electronic

Respondent 6 (Thai-based academic): 'Phi Phi has the potential to fit the definition of a coastal paradise in the tourist sense, but unchecked and rampant development means that Phi Phi is now far from the serenity, calm and naturalness that a paradise involves.'

Future desires

The strongest sub-theme within future desires was the expressed desire to revert 'back to the beginning' (see **Appendix 17**, pp. 349-350). A full understanding of what this means is examined under the theme of 'past reflection', but one respondent (T23) in a Thai Script questionnaire sums up what this would involve: 'I would like to see Phi Phi in the past – not many buildings and a lot of coconut trees.' In fact, most past reflection of Phi Phi is favourable. By past here, the author is referring to pre-*The Beach*, not pre-tsunami, as many would argue the island was already ruined before the tsunami. This effectively calls for the island to revert to its natural state prior to tourists.

Contradictorily, the second strongest desire is to get back to normal and for expansion of the tourism industry. Respondents do not appear to see the interconnectedness of the increase in tourist numbers and demise of their island, or, alternatively, the economic drive and basic necessity to secure their livelihoods outweighs a fanciful daydream of how it would be nice if the island would revert back to its beginnings. This is confirmed by Electronic Respondent 11 (non-Thai resident):

> stakeholders are attempting to maximise both tourism numbers and revenue regardless of the long-term consequences'.

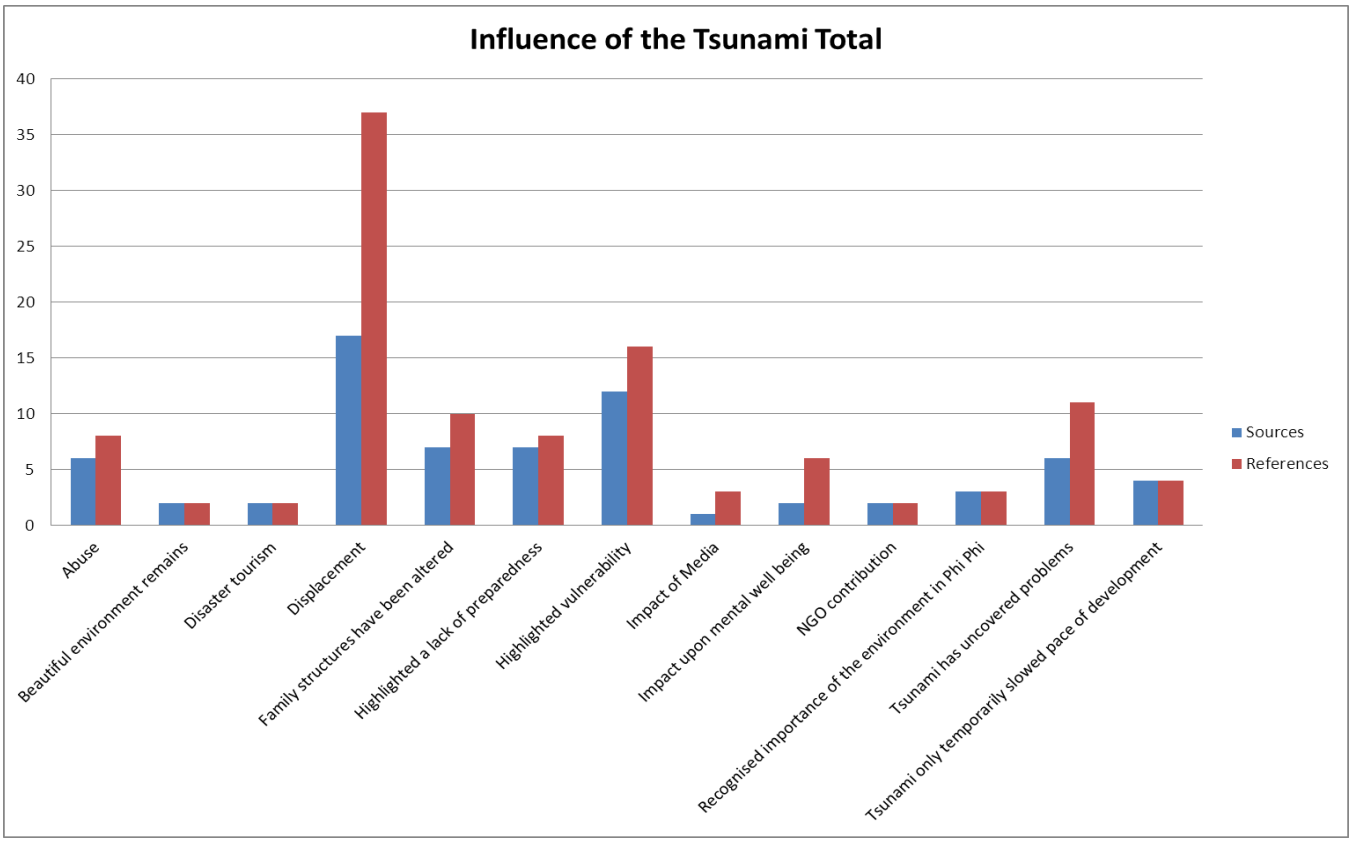
Respondents do seem to acknowledge that the island's appeal is based upon nature and that in future development there is a need to be considerate of nature, but this is only to secure the long-term viability and sustainability of the tourism industry. A respondent to the Thai script questionnaires (T25) sees that this is the responsibility of the tourists: 'I wish tourists be more concerned about nature environment and keep clean, be gentler to Phi Phi.

This respondent does not, however, acknowledge the role that the host community must also play.

Influence of the tsunami upon planning

The tsunami was not the strongest theme within the research (Graph 2 below). This may be on account of being informed early on (Interview respondent 1) that it is inappropriate to dwell on the past and therefore the author's sensitivity was heightened to avoid questioning that may cause emotional distress to respondents, in line with ethical principles. Additionally, the author was informed that nothing has changed; the situation is not different after the

tsunami; the tsunami only served to uncover problems that existed before and temporarily slow the pace of development down (Electronic Respondent 11, non-Thai resident), a finding that supports the initial empirical findings of Kaewkuntee (2006) in Khao Lak, Thailand, post-tsunami. In fact, sub-themes within the influence of the tsunami elaborate upon these problems, including incidence of abuse, a lack of preparedness and how vulnerable the island and its community was in the light of shock events. The nature of this vulnerability will be explored using Turner *et al.*.'s (2003) Vulnerability Framework subsequently in Chapter 5 (p. 260).



Graph 2: Influence of the tsunami upon tourism planning

Whilst the opportunity was presented to take stock and reconsider an alternative form of tourism to the island (as it appears the government wanted), this was not taken: 'The appeal of the island has not changed, it remains a beautiful place. The tsunami did not change the island's appeal, but rather continued poor environmental practices and poor building regulations continue to decrease the beauty of Phi Phi' (Electronic respondent 6, a Thai-based academic). This may be on account of concerns, as voiced by Rice (2005) in a post-tsunami assessment study by Tourism Concern, that the secondary impacts of the tsunami would be almost destructive as the tsunami itself i.e. loss of earnings and livelihoods from the tourism industry. It is no wonder, therefore, that to rebuild lives through the only way they know (tourism) is one of the key shaping influences post-tsunami.

Systems put in place to ensure the safety of the island inhabitants are being used ineffectively: 'there is a tsunami warning system in place to warn the local population of an impending problem. In reality the system is used to tell people of an event in the local school. The road posts informing people where to go in the event of an incoming tsunami have either been removed or are swamped by other advertising signs' (Electronic respondent 7, Thai resident). In fact, the research findings provide empirical evidence of the limitations in the strategic management of the tsunami disaster on Phi Phi. This permits the author to develop an adapted Strategic Disaster Management Framework (Ritchie, 2004) in Chapter 5 (p. 259) and as such highlights that the actions taken towards the management of the crisis are in fact contrary to the recommendations made in the literature surrounding disaster management in tourism areas.

Whilst in the literature there was a profusion of viewpoints that recommended that the island use the tsunami as an opportunity for a 'clean slate – the opportunity to build anew in areas that had had been developed in environmentally and socially unjust ways' (CNN, 4 December 2005; Tangwisutijit and Warunpitikul, 2005; UNDP. 2005; Cummings, 2005), there is minimal evidence that this opportunity has been taken. Respondents argue that the tsunami has had no real impact in terms of reassessing the development philosophy and has only served to heighten (and in some way, permit) further destruction. Electronic respondent 8, an ecotourism operator, and Interview respondent 7, a Thai-based academic, have similar views: 'the tsunami was an excuse to build high rises on Phi Phi. I doubt that any credible land use planner anywhere would consider high rises appropriate on the formerly beautiful island' (Electronic respondent 8).

Interview respondent 7 explains how, through their own research, they have observed a trend in the development of Thai island destinations, which in government rhetoric is focused upon sustainability, but in practice results in a transfer from small-scale, local- owned enterprises to outside investment, highlighting a clear conflict in the interpretation of sustainability:

> this was a major thing after the tsunami. They took the opportunity to grab more land and then they said it is as part of this sustainable tourism plan because when the big investors come in, they all do it in an orderly way, you know, and not … backpacker[s], crazy people who pollute the sea, build shacks on the beach and so on. In Koh Samet also it was the same situation. In these small businesses they all produce the dirt, so they come in and they build the posh hotels. For that they set up the staged authenticity fishing communities, which look like a living museum. That is what their vision of sustainable tourism is.

The images below illustrate the impact that the tsunami had upon the central 'apple core' area. It can be seen how densely populated Tonsai village was pre-tsunami. Significantly, this land is only two metres above sea level at its highest point.

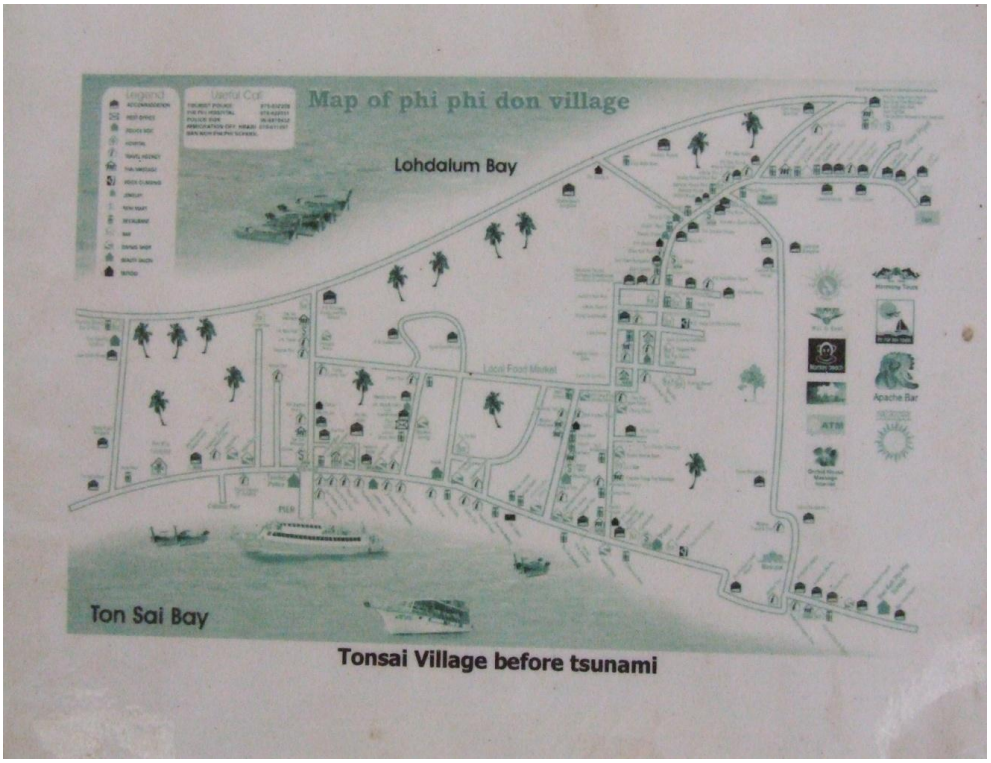


Image 14: Map of construction in the central area of the island pre-tsunami (taken 29.3.2006)

The orange area in image 15 below depicts the parts of the village in which the infrastructure was totally destroyed, with the lighter orange representing partial destruction.

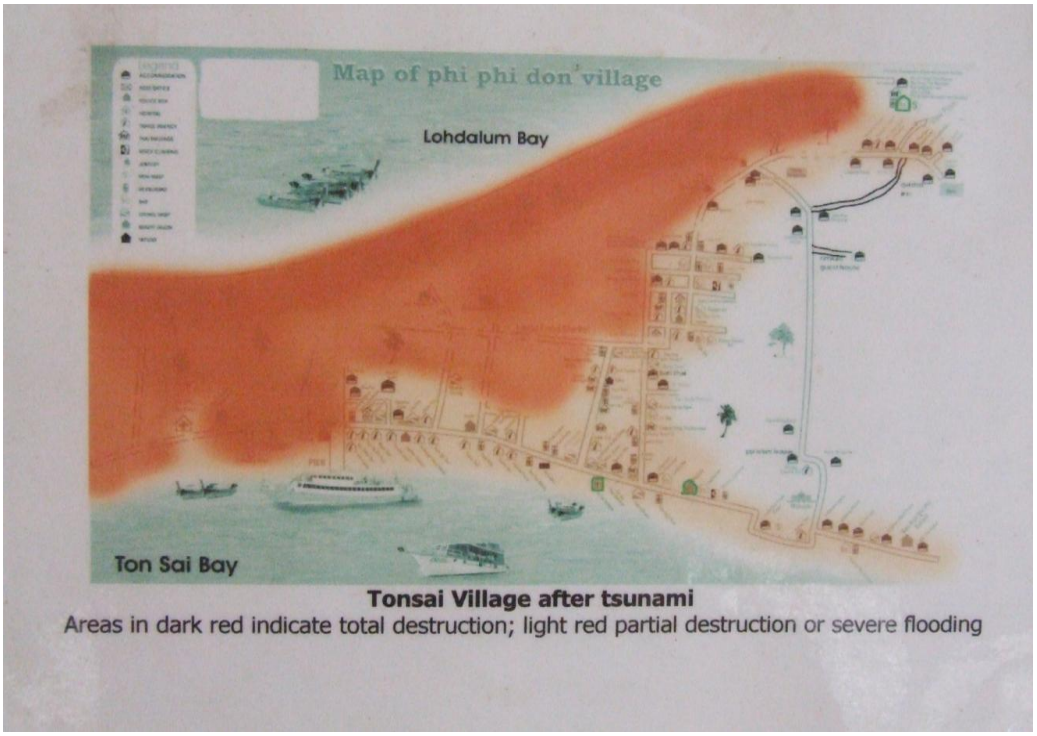


Image 15: Map of destruction in the central area of the island post-tsunami (taken 29.3.2006)



Image 16: The so-called ‘clean slate’ – taken 11.12.2005

One can see how the government might have viewed the opportunity to revert this ‘apple core’ area back to an area of no construction post-tsunami. However, within their original plan, this would involve moving all remaining construction up onto the hillside. It would also mean that the major landowners’ land and high-rise accommodation would be affected. It is therefore no wonder that the plans did not proceed, due to the level of power retained by the landowners on account of their wealth, land ownership, knowledge and status. The results of the research, therefore, present empirical evidence that, although a shock event such as a tsunami may temporarily stall the pace of development, it does not create a clean slate situation, on account of the pre-existing ideology. The desire in the aftermath of the shock event is to recreate that which existed before, with haste.

Given that the results of this research combined with evidence presented within existing literature have exposed significant critique concerning the manner in which the tsunami was handled in respect of Phi Phi, it is appropriate at this juncture to apply Ritchie’s (2004) strategic disaster management framework to identify the shortcomings of the disaster response and use this in line with the research objectives to comprehend how such a disaster has influenced tourism development and planning on the island. In essence, what can be seen here through the experiences on Phi Phi is a mirror opposite to the manner in which a disaster should be strategically handled; according to the academic debates on disaster management (Ritchie, 2004; Adger *et al.* 2005; Miller *et al*., 2006; Olsen, 2000; Coppola, 2007; Faulkner, 2001; and Baldini *et al*., 2012, amongst others). An exploration of why this occurred is linked with discussions of vulnerability, which will subsequently be pursued through application of Ritchie’s (2004) Strategic Disaster Management Framework in Chapter 5. It can also be seen that vulnerability played a significant role in the immediate and longer-term effects of the crisis, and through a more comprehensive analysis of Phi Phi’s vulnerability,

other socio-political factors influencing the tourist development on the island may also be uncovered, thus in a similar vein to Calgaro and Lloyd (2008) in Khao Lak a Vulnerability Framework has been applied (in Chapter 5).

Present criticism

Most visible within this theme are criticisms in terms of provision and maintenance of utilities and facilities. Respondents believe the island to be too commercialised and expensive. In respect of utilities, again longstanding criticism with respect to systems of waste disposal, lack of sanitation and cleanliness and inadequate utilities mirror the content of the later 'community challenges' theme. Islanders appear to be caught in a vicious circle: because of reliance upon the tourism industry and desire to promote and regain tourist numbers post-tsunami, the island again has become 'too commercialised', which has further placed a strain on the island's utilities and waste disposal systems to the extent that it has become degraded and does not function properly. Therefore. the island has to depend on the mainland to assist with waste disposal and utilities, which pushes the prices up; an expense which is further exacerbated by the island's relative geographical isolation. This is confirmed by Interview respondent 6 (local government):

> … so on the beautiful island [over] the past twenty years it [has been] built up, full of commercial tourist attractions and you create the rubbish to create the pollution and the sort of water you have, the waste water and sewerage system and waste water going to the sea and it makes the sea turn brown. It has been like this the past seven years.

Lonely Planet (2004: 348) noted the change in Phi Phi between the 1980s and pre-tsunami:

> whilst postcards of Phi-Phi show a paradise of curving bays of untouched sand and dense tropical forests, sadly most of these photos were taken before developers got their hands on Phi Phi Don. Today Ao Ton Sai is almost unrecognisable; it's hard to believe that this polluted beach with its concrete pier and hordes of longtail boats was once a pristine strip of white sand.

Small wonder, then, that Thai questionnaire respondent T36 disclosed that:

> I still like to walk around the island but do so with a different view of what it used to be. The problems on the island stem from a lack of planning at the start, no one takes control. The island is 'lawless'.

These findings support the widely documented criticism of Phi Phi's touristic development. In particular, Fahn (2003) and Byrne *et al*. (2005) note the extent of damage that 'crude development had wrought' on the islands. They speak of the same issues that were observed by the researcher and through the data: overcrowding, pollution, ineffective use of

the wastewater treatment plant and incinerator. They further note the slum-like circumstances that the local people are living in within the interior of the island, an observation that is matched by electronic respondent 7. Brix *et al.* (2007) confirm that, prior to the tsunami, residents faced appalling living conditions caused by standing wastewater, overflowing septic tanks and strong odours and that the new wastewater treatment plant was designed specifically to look appealing and avoid bad odours.

The images below illustrate the development of the new wastewater treatment plant. Pre-tsunami this area of the island was the location for the island's incinerator and the 'reservoir' although the reservoir was mostly empty, filled with rubbish and a breeding ground for mosquitoes, which introduced Dengue fever to the island.



Image 17: The site of the wastewater treatment plant



Image 18: Development of the wastewater treatment plant

The image below shows that attempts are being made to employ recycling techniques (image 19). However, the island itself is not capable of self-sufficiency in recycling terms, and therefore this waste has to be transported (along with all other rubbish) to the government boat to Krabi Town on the mainland.



Image 19: The recycling effort

Piles of rubbish are often seen dumped in various locations around the island (image 20). Although these are supposed to be collected and taken to the government boat every evening, there are often piles of garbage left rotting throughout the day, something that all stakeholders have highlighted.



Image 20: Piles of rubbish awaiting collection

Conflict

Sub-themes arising within discussion of the barriers to sustainability and the future plans for the island similarly observe that a delay or lack of action in respect of redevelopment might be attributable to disagreement with and resistance to government plans (the author termed this 'conflict'). In any reconstruction scenario there are a variety of priorities that stakeholders hold, not necessarily in line with one another and the process through which stakeholders present and negotiate whose priorities will be acted upon often creates conflict, the investigation of which being a key facet of this research.

One can see how the notion of conflict is comprised on the graph in **Appendix 17** (pp. 353-354). Here, the most regular occurrence of conflict is between the islanders and the government, which is for a number of reasons: a lack of empathy with local needs that is reflected in the proposed plans, and a feeling of abandonment prior to the tsunami, but then over-interest after the tsunami. Interview respondent 4, a Thai landowner, noted that it feels like the government are trying to take advantage of the local people, and therefore locals are suspicious. However, a respondent from the provincial government (respondent 15) argues that this is not the case and that offers of help have been made, which islanders have refused. These findings would only partially support Pleumarom's (1999) observations that global economic forces and local interests are in conflict, as the most significant conflict occurring here on Phi Phi is at a local, regional and national level. The findings are therefore suggestive of a form of resistance, initiated and communicated by local elites (Landowners) who have the appropriate platform (planning meetings) and status (afforded by the strict social hierarchy) to leverage their views against the Government. Whilst the interests of islanders are in line with the Landowners to a certain degree; in the sense that they desire longevity of the tourism industry on the island for livelihood purposes, the interest of the Landowners cuts deeper on account that government interference (as they view it) would have substantial repercussions for the usage of land which would no longer mean a productive use of assets for the Landowners. Thus the communicated resistance to the Government plans represents the hegemonic effects of the local elites. The notion of the King's 'sufficiency economy' philosophy appears to bear influence here, but misinterpreted to mean 'self-governing', without external assistance and governance. Ironically, the true sense of 'sufficiency' could not be achieved without external assistance in the first instance. However, claims of abandonment by the Thai Government at the stage when the islanders need it most (to secure a robust system of utilities to be 'sufficient') may also be explained through a loss of face, which was the result of initial resistance by the islanders.

Another significant conflict is over land rights on the island. It has been previously stated how initial land claims may be lodged, through having proven that one has worked and occupied the land for ten years or more. Coupled with this. there is still on-going confusion over which parts of the island actually belong to the National Park. There are many conflicting statements. Fahn (2003) states that: 'Thailand's land rights system is confusing and subject to manipulation.' It is argued in the Bangkok Post (29.12.04) that even though 'tourist establishments are allowed to put down roots using dubious legal documents on land', the authorities turn a blind eye as they provide a significant boost

to the Thai economy, or, alternatively, as Fahn (2003:66) suggests, the people wishing to secure the land have sufficient financial backing to 'grease the wheels of officialdom.'

There are many documented cases across the region and beyond of the tsunami serving to uncover conflict with respect to land ownership and, in several cases, a lack of clarity in ownership has been manipulated in order to 'grab' prestige beachfront property, which will be later developed for the tourism industry. Kaewkuntee (2006) discusses how land in Thailand is one of the country's most precious commodities. Hazy boundaries and ownership arrangements may be exploited. Her work concurs with some of the conflict reported on Phi Phi, that following the tsunami communities have been forcibly removed by the government, 'under the claim that they have been encroaching on public land.' Another common tale is that ownership rights have been claimed over the land, usually by a development company or someone with close government links (Kaewkuntee 2006).

On Phi Phi, the scarcity and high value of land make it a precious asset. Islanders are not willing to give up even a little of their land to accommodate government plans, even if they are for 'safety' or 'sustainability', this is indicative of what Beritelli (2011:611) terms a 'prisoner's dilemma' referring to a situation whereby actors do not cooperate, even though it may be in their best interests to do so, thus representing a tragedy of the commons. Interview respondent 3, a Thai landowner, expresses this well:

> If their house has been destroyed by tsunami, and … they start building their house … what happens if the government decide[s] to expand the road? And then what if the houses get in the way? They have to tear it down, so that is why at the minute it is a conflict [sic]. So, if the government do decide to expand the road, they have to pay the landowner if they want to expand the road, because who is going to give the land for free?

This also expresses frustration with the government's lack of action. The islanders need to rebuild livelihoods and yet lack of clarity and action in the production of plans leads to uncertainty: the island is in limbo.

Land conflict is also held accountable for delays in government help by Interview respondent 6, a representative of the provincial government. This respondent argues that before plans can be made, it needs to be established who owns what:

> One fine day, the tsunami came and wiped out everything, so when the government go [sic] in there and try to help with the reconstruction and redevelopment again, they can't do it, because now everybody's in court, because the deeds are still on hold. The first person that holds the land they said [sic] this is good, the land is clear, I will build up a beautiful hotel cannot, because the second one still hold[s] the deed[s] and the contract.

In essence, this respondent is explaining a situation whereby the extent of subletting of land creates confusion as to who holds rights over the land, and means that the true landowner cannot reclaim land through legal means.

Lawlessness

There were many illustrations of 'lawlessness' emerging from the data (**Appendix 17**, pp. 355-356). These range from encroachment across National Park boundaries, through forging ahead with reconstruction even though the government had imposed a ban, building on land with more than a 45° incline, to bribery and corruption.

There are many allegations of lawlessness on Phi Phi within the literature. For example, Cummings (2005) who states how lack of planning has resulted in gradual encroachment onto Hat Noppharat Thara National Marine Park. This is further reflected by Interview respondent 1, a representative of a Thai-based NGO, who states that:

> At the moment, it is the government that dictates by having a complete ban, but, as I say, in this place if they are high up and have enough money they can pay to get around it. There are a lot of laws here in Thailand, but many of these are not implemented, they are not followed up, so people do a little bit of whatever they want, and if the government come in they just pay a bit, then they are off their back.

Government plans for the island stress 'identifying areas where part encroachment has occurred and reclaiming these for protection' (Cummings, 2005; UNDP World Bank, 2005) as a priority, suggesting that in some way they will be attempting to rectify the lawlessness that took place before the tsunami. However, one must question why this encroachment was allowed in the first place, and why, even at the time of writing, that land still has not been reclaimed. Delcore's (2007) research in Doi Phukha National Park noted that protected status heightens competition and conflict, not only within the community, but between the community and the state, and elaborates in a similar manner to Phi Phi, that social structure has substantial influence over access to resources.

Reports of 'pervasive corruption' throughout the Thai Police Force and government (McCargo and Pathmanand, 2005; Hewison, 2002) are certainly mirrored within the data. Interview respondent 5, an island resident, notes how corruption is rife between the government and smaller corporations or individuals to get things done:

> if you pay that to the Government, then there are so many people that you have to pay off. You have to either decide that you can't bow down to corruption and, I'm sorry, but if you don't, then nothing gets done here. Or you have to allow for it and big corporations can't allow for it because it is corruption, so nothing gets done, and they then pick the smaller projects that they can charge more for and make some corruption money.

This is supported by many other respondents, including Interview respondent 2, manager of an international hotel chain based in Phuket, who provides an explanation of why some of the landowners may have been permitted to rebuild in some areas:

> that is purely, I think that because [name] is very influential – I couldn't say for sure but … you come along way with paying things under the table here.

Even a respondent from the provincial government acknowledges the presence of corruption and bribery:

> when I enquired why some rebuilding had occurred prior to the allocated date, I was told that 'kickback' was the answer. [information removed for anonymity purposes] who created problems with maintaining lawful practices. (Interview Respondent 15, excerpt from reflexive journal).

Perhaps this offers a partial explanation of why to date there is a relatively small presence of multinationals on Phi Phi and no presence in the central part of the island, which is controlled by the four major landowners.

As Heyman (1999) asserts, the mere existence of state law inevitably creates zones of ambiguity and outright criminality, and thus law and the evasion of law are highly interrelated. Governments often tolerate certain forbidden activities and may even ally with illegal networks: states do not always uphold the law (ibid.). Heyman's work elaborates on the conditions under which states and illegal practices enjoy an element of symbiosis. Certainly in Thailand and Phi Phi specifically, it is thought that the state (at a local level) and illegal practices enjoy a degree of symbiosis. Due to geographical isolation and the strong socio-political power structures maintained by the island's landowners, practices on Phi Phi are similar to that observed by Cohen in Koh Samui, only superficially controlled by the national civil administration and police (Cohen, 1983). Society is dominated by 'southern Thai strongmen' who often resolve disputes through violence (Electronic Respondent 7, ecotourism operator. who was the subject of such a dispute). In fact, it is through a combination of hegemonic control and criminality that some of these investors acquired land in the first place, through forging links with indigenous inhabitants on the island back in the 1980s, who would stake a claim on the land on their behalf to obtain the title deeds, which would then be sold on to the outside investor for a pittance (Montlake, 2005).

Future plans

Future plans for development of the island post-tsunami are widely documented and debated within the literature (Pleumarom, 2004; Thongpra, 2005; UNDP, 2005; Cummings, 2005; TAT, 2005; Choo, 2005; Sritama, 2005; Rice, 2005). It is no wonder that there remains a lack of clarity over the future of the island. At the last field visit to Phi Phi (July-August 2009 and subsequently December 2011), there was very little evidence that the elaborate plans produced by the Department of Public Works and Planning (in association with DASTA), awaiting approval by the government in December 2007, were ever likely to be approved and implemented. It is well known in Thailand that the government has complex and sluggish implementation processes (Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010), which partially accounts for the delays in the release of official plans. These were the plans that would supposedly relocate all

housing and construction up onto the hillside and retain the central apple core area as a natural leisure park for tourists (Rice, 2005). The underlying aim of the government's plans was voiced by Altman (2005:2): 'to recreate Phi Phi as a safer, structurally stronger and more eco-friendly island.'

The lengthy lead in time in releasing the plans, subsequent loss of face by the Government, on-going political instability in Thailand and the more powerful voices of the landowners overcame the stated good intentions. An extract from the plans can be seen in **Appendix 19** (pp. 380-381). Interview respondent 2 (manager of an international hotel chain based in Phuket) presents their perception of what was planned for the island:

> some thoughts have been made as to turning it into a national park, the whole island, and only allow[ing] day trips. That is one thought. Another has been a wish that there is a development for more of the luxuries [sic] one instead of the backpacker one.

However, Respondent 1 (a representative of a Thai-based NGO) questions DASTA's involvement:

> it is still supposed to be under DASTA except that they created so much [pauses] – it was just a controversy – probably because of poor communication and poor management – that is my personal opinion on Phi Phi because – from what I have read and what I have heard people are just not happy that they are waiting for the plans, but they just can't do a thing.

This only serves to highlight the observations made by Dodds, Graci and Holmes (2010) that whilst plans exist, it is the implementation that is poor and, and as the author of this work has uncovered, there a range of factors that block effective implementation and governance: conflict, ineffective communication and consultation, island power structures and petty corruption.

Interview respondent 15 (from the provincial government) advised that:

> several plans had been produced for the island, but everything depends upon the centralisation of power. The first plan was that there would be no building at all allowed in the central apple core area of the island, but now there has been so much conflict, desires at this level are associated with the island reverting to how it was before the tsunami, except tidier, safer and more beautiful.

DASTA's involvement was confirmed by Interview Respondent 16, a representative of the Department for Public Works and Planning. There are strong opinions raised with regard to the Governmental plans:

> that is why they came up with this impossible and crazy, crazy plan. How can they expect the people to move their lives up to the hills? … It has been so long and we don't know anything what's going on [sic]. It's like a conflict – we cannot wait any longer, we have to make a living. (Interview Respondent 3, a Thai Landowner)

Electronic respondent 6, a Thai-based academic, confirms that the plans proposed by the Government were widely contested:

> Town meetings under the guise of negotiations have been taking place since March 2005, but locals have expressed that they have little involvement in these meetings and only have the opportunity to 'listen', demonstrating the non-participatory nature of consultation in the planning process.

There is, however, much evidence of a desire to pursue the 'high-end' of the tourist market, as is the trend across Thailand (Phuket Gazette, 25.9.2005; Choo, 2005; Sritama, 2005), in line with Klein (2008) in a post-disaster context. However, in the central 'apple core' of Phi Phi Don, this trend faces resistance from the longstanding backpacker market. Essentially, what is taking place in this area is an upgrading of accommodation by the major landowners. In some cases, tenants in low-cost guesthouse accommodation have been evicted with little notice and minimal compensation (Respondents 12, 13 and 14). The fear surrounding this trend is that 'it is instrumental in attracting high spending tourists and 'big business' at the risk of alienating small traditional industry' (Rice, 2005), and, additionally, increased leakage out of the Thai economy and loss of local control (Pleumarom, 1999), thus jeopardising potential sustainability. Nevertheless, from research carried out with several multinational hotel chains (Interview respondents 2, 10 and 19), it would appear that, should the organisation pursue a socially responsible philosophy, they actually have the capability to pursue sustainability initiatives. Interview respondent 2 (manager of an international hotel chain based in Phuket) discusses the business objectives of Six Senses and other similar multinational hotel chains:

> they want to reduce their green[house] gas emissions to zero or using renewable energy, solar, biomass boilers and so on. That is one of their goals and so that is their commitment to it. It is a bit down the line but, yeah, they are working that way, so if you get companies like that in that would be I know [sic], like the Holiday Inn, I know that they don't care too much about the environment but they also recognise that if Patong gets so polluted than they cannot survive so they have their own waste water plants, they do beach cleaning, they do some stuff, put in these energy-saving chillers, but they do it purely for economic saving[s].

Henderson (2007) notes that, whilst corporate social responsibility is a relatively new concept in Asia, certain international companies do 'espouse' it and arguments in favour of CSR associate it with sustainable development (UN, 2004), whilst critics maintain that wealth creation and profit remain bottom line objectives (Pearce and Doh, 2005).

Whilst 220 houses funded by World Vision were due to be built in order to accommodate displaced islanders post-tsunami, to the author's knowledge, and supported by the views of Respondent 5 (island resident), very few of these have been built due to on-going land conflict. Further developmental projects on the island post-tsunami are illustrated below and in Appendix 18 (images 51-55, pp. 375-377) and demonstrate the planned and completed work (March 2006-July 2009). The next development was the lengthening and widening of the pier in order to accommodate more and larger ferry craft. Image 51 illustrates the signage displaying the planned changes to the pier; image 52 shows the construction underway; and image 53 shows the completed project in December 2011.

Another visible change to the island is in the centre of Tonsai Village on land owned by [information removed for anonymity purposes]. What were in 2000 a series of shacks made of wood and corrugated iron, had gradually become a mish-mash of concrete and more permanent structures. However, shops, restaurants, bars, massage shop houses and tour agencies all located on [information removed for anonymity purposes] land have recently been standardised (image 21).



Image 21: Shop houses belonging to Khun [information removed for anonymity purposes]

Construction on [information removed for anonymity purposes] land (to the right of the Pier) has been standardised into the green concrete styles as shown in image 22:



Image 22: Standardised construction belonging to [information removed for anonymity purposes]

The construction lining the coastal pathway east of Carlito's bar, which belongs to [information removed for anonymity purposes], formerly appearing as depicted in image 23, was destroyed in a fire on 11th February 2007 and since has been reconstructed in the same style (image 24).



Image 23: Stretch of coastal path along from Carlito's bar that was burnt down



Image 24: The same stretch of coastal path in July 2009

Again, in the central 'apple core' area of the island, plans were underway for more shop houses, guesthouses and guest accommodation to be built on [information removed for anonymity purposes] land. The signage is shown in appendix 18 in image 54 (p. 377, taken on 16th January 2006).

The construction underway is shown below in image 25 (note that the construction has exceeded the two storey ruling).



Image 25: Construction work in the Phi Phi Charlie Plaza and the centre of Tonsai Village (16.1.2006)

Other major landowners were quick to forge ahead with rebuilding throughout 2005, even though at that time a ban had supposedly been placed on any re-construction. The image below illustrates the Phi Phi Island Cabana Hotel in March 2006.



Image 26: Reconstruction of the Phi Phi Island Cabana Hotel

Image 55 in Appendix 18 (p. 377) illustrates construction that had commenced in July 2009, on swampland adjacent to the Phi Phi Casita resort that was the location of the construction worker deaths during the tsunami. The signage in front of the construction would appear to indicate it is a base for the Department of Public Works and Planning. Upon the author's last visit in December 2011, the construction of the lower level was still yet to be completed, and the upper level was empty.

It has already been established that, on account of ever-increasing tourist numbers, the island infrastructure is under immense pressure. Coupled with inferior and poorly maintained utilities this presents a great challenge (Brix *et al.* 2011). The issue of wastewater treatment has been discussed previously, but here it is significant to mention that a new wastewater treatment plant has been constructed, financed by donations from the Danish government (Brix *et al.*, 2007; 2011). The plans were implemented in 2007 and the outcome of the project is illustrated below in image 27.



Image 27: The wastewater project completed in 2007

Ironically, although the system was intended to provide a long-term solution to the island's wastewater problems, a follow-up visit to the Island in December 2011 found that the wetlands were no longer aesthetically pleasing. There were extremely strong odours and grey water was overflowing onto adjacent footpaths. Brix *et al.* (2011) confirm that the previous system was flawed in that the centralised wastewater treatment using water stabilisation ponds never operated correctly as it had been built on a slope, and therefore wastewater accumulated in the lowest point of the island (the central shopping district). However, the situation with the new plant has similar effects. Brix *et al.* (2011) confirm problems with the new plant, including clogging of the wetlands, strong odours and standards for oil and grease treatment are not met. Hence, there is often an overflow onto one of the island's main thoroughfares up to the viewpoint.

Whilst from the data the dissatisfaction with the island development plans was evident, the results demonstrate that in this case the destination does not appear to be 'set to be redesigned by a range of Governments, private companies, NGOs and members of think tanks that often do not consult with local communities' (Klein, 2005; 2008; Pleumarom 2004; 2005). However, Phi Phi was set to be redesigned by the central and provincial government of Thailand, who appear to have minimal regard for the interests of the island's inhabitants and have produced plans in consultation with only selected representatives: those who own land on the island.

Isolation

Isolation has traditionally been a dominant theme in Phi Phi's historical and social development. Not only has Phi Phi's isolation from the mainland influenced the development of the island, but also a sense of isolation has created a

sense of defiance and a desire for self-sufficiency. As explained by Respondent 26, who has worked on the island and lived in the Krabi province for many years, 'historically it wasn't considered to be the best land; if you had a son and didn't know what to do with him, you would kick him off to Phi Phi'.

A perceived lack of care from the Government and feeling of abandonment amongst the islanders, when islanders have contradictorily refused offers of assistance, has been discussed under the 'conflict' theme and explanations offered in light of resistance. The concept of isolation also arises under 'dependency' upon the mainland on account of geographical isolation. There was a strong feeling of abandonment, something that is made clear on the hand-written signage illustrated in image 28: 'are we not important?' the islanders ask. Respondent 3, a Thai landowner, summarises how, prior to the tsunami, they were left alone to be a 'self-governing' island:

> I mean, we do good business here, and before the tsunami come [sic] you never come [sic] and help us – never – they promised to bring us electricity and now we have to buy electricity from private owner[s].

Islanders appear happy that they were left alone:

> we don't really get any help from the outside government and Krabi province or Bangkok, so everything has to be done on our own … [we] have our own power and we have our own water supply and we take care of our own rubbish. Everything is done by us the on the island (Respondent 5, Island Resident)

However, they are understandably resentful that after the tsunami an unusual amount of interest is being shown:

> that is how this island is run; everybody has to do it for themselves, that is how things are done here and that's what pisses people off. Why should the Government come in and take over … they've taken no interest before and now they are like ... it is a nice opportunity … now they don't have the land papers and now they are off the land. Let's keep them off the land in Krabi (Interview respondent 5).

This is a sentiment supported by Interview Respondent 4, Thai landowner:

> because they not coming before the tsunami, and they are not involved and they do not give us a hand, they promise, but they don't do the promise [sic]. After the tsunami they try to give us solution[s] but their solution is trying to take advantage of the community.

This phenomenon is partially explained by Greenhough, Jazeel and Massey (2005), who claim that the government may have lost face and abandoned the island due to delays in the formal confirmation of plans for the island, slow support, and that subsequently the rebuild effort was initiated and coordinated by foreign volunteers and donors.

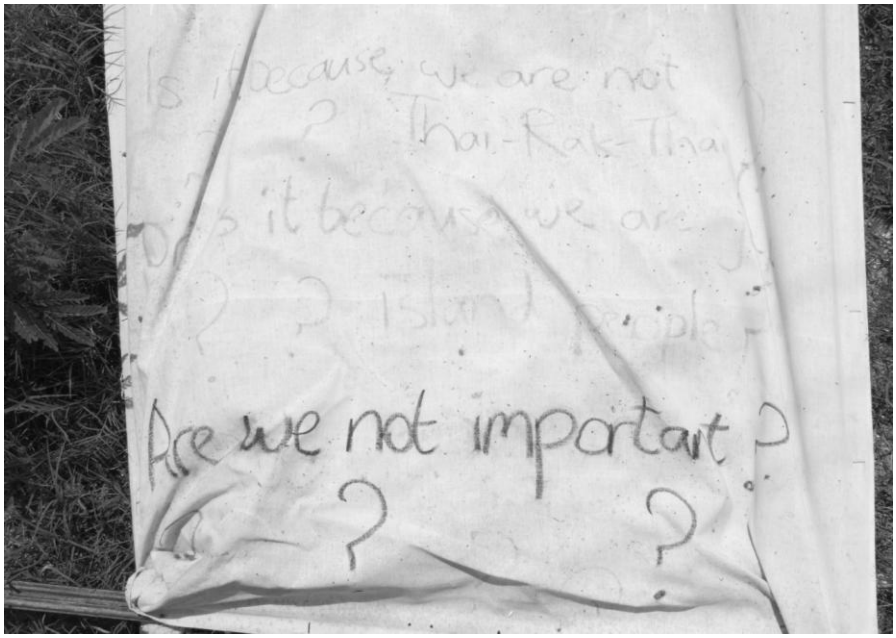


Image 28: Sign of the islanders' frustration

The island's geographical isolation is diminishing, and will diminish further on account of faster, more frequent ferry services and speedboat services. The island can be reached from Phuket, Krabi and Koh Lanta in less than an hour and a half. A seaplane service through Destination Air now operates between Phi Phi and Phuket, which reduces the journey time to 25 minutes. This is a far cry from a four-hour long tail boat trip in the 1980s. Consequently, this ease of access has within the last ten years has opened Phi Phi up to mass tourism. One can see how busy the ferry services are leaving Phuket's Rassada Pier for Phi Phi. Three services depart for Phi Phi at the same time; this is repeated again in the afternoon.

Development philosophies

The fact that economic forces have emerged as one of the most significant factors shaping the island's development has been discussed previously under the theme of 'future desires'. This argument is further strengthened within the theme of development philosophies (**Appendix 17**, pp. 357-358) where the desire 'to derive income from tourism' holds the greatest level of significance, indicating the influence of both modernist and neoliberalist philosophy. Other influential factors emerge as associations with the tourism industry, 'to increase tourist numbers', which further strengthens the argument that the island has 'sold out' to the tourism industry and exists solely as a moneymaking machine. This has not changed post-tsunami: desires post-tsunami are for the island to regain the 'pre-tsunami cash cow approach' (Electronic Respondent 11, Thai-based academic).

Electronic respondent 8, a local ecotourism operator, attributes this to greed: 'Either way the economic drive that predominates the mentality is greed. Get as much out of the tourist for as little as you can.' This finding was hinted at within the literature. Articles written by environmentalists and academics in The Nation and The Bangkok Post (3 November 1998 and 30th October 1998 respectively) discuss the controversy of the Royal Forestry's 'sell out' to Fox for the express purpose of generating revenue via tourism to 'nourish the money-craving nation.' Openly discussed by Cummings (2005) and Pleumarom (2004), the disaster was made worse by the fact that people were occupying parts of the island that they should not. In Pleumarom's (2004) opinion, this was the result of 'incompetence, greed and bureaucratic bungling.' Tosun (2001:289) made similar observations surrounding sustainable tourism development in Turkey, and states that environmental factors such as the lack of contemporary tourism development and national economy priorities may create a 'get rich quick' mentality. From the data, the influence of a modernist philosophy on development is evident, however this is countered against a strong 'sufficiency economy' hegemony diffused from the King, which urges a 'middle way' free from greed to be respected. These influences will be explored further in Chapter 5 (section 5.4 and 5.5).

Other respondents note a combination of economic and political factors, which emerge as shaping forces of development. Interview Respondent 2 (hotel manager) suggests that:

> There are many economic interests and political issues and I think that those really go down to economics – who can benefit from it. One of the rumours is that Thaksin, the former Prime Minister, was really keen to invest in some areas there [Phi Phi]. I cannot tell, but there are rumours about these influential people and that is often how politics works. At the end of the day money is very very important, so that is also where the problem is that it is looking at too short term [sic], not being able to see long-term and at the broader picture.

This is supported by electronic respondent 8, ecotourism operator, who suggests that:

> It seems that there are two factions operating on Phi Phi. Central government have stated that they would like to see the island rebuilt as a boutique holiday resort. as opposed to local officials favouring the backpacker community. Either way the economic drive that predominates the mentality is greed. Get as much out of the tourist for as little as you can. Do nothing to attract the tourist, leave piles of rubbish lying around so that someone else will lift it, display rudeness and generally take the money. Future development is built around this philosophy and shows no signs of abating.

The research sought to ascertain whether the island's reconstruction would be driven by the ideology of sustainable development or by the forces of globalisation and economic development. Certainly the data would suggest that whilst sustainable development is a consideration for some of Phi Phi's stakeholders (the Thai government, environmentalists, investigative journalists, academics and foreigners living on Phi Phi), it is economic development and the impact that the tourism industry has on it that determines the minds of those who have the greatest influence over Phi Phi's future development. Those key influencers are the major landowners on the island, some with family links with provincial government. These observations are supported by the UNDP in their post-tsunami assessment (4-8 January 2005): 'they all rely on an increasingly degraded and fragile environment and are pulled by the major driving force of the rapid and expanding development of mass tourism.'

In an examination of the philosophies underpinning the island's development, it clearly emerged from the data that sustainability is not a priority. This disagrees with Weaver and Lawton (2002) and the Sustainable Development Commission UK, that globally there has been an increased recognition of the adverse effects of the quest for economic development with minimal regard for environmental issues. Whilst some respondents recognise that 'the fear was that you recreate what was there without really changing anything. They should take opportunity from this adversity and create something new and do a bit of better planning – that was the idea,' (Respondent 1, Thai-based NGO). However, unfortunately this opportunity was not taken. Electronic Respondent 8, an ecotourism operator, notes the insignificance of sustainability within Phi Phi's development philosophy:

> sustainable development is a topic that seems to be secondary to land development. Stakeholders seem to believe that new hotels can be erected and opened before any thought is directed toward the pressure that this development will place upon the already overburdened infrastructure. As a consequence, it is not uncommon to witness overflowing sewage outlets, surface water overwhelming the drainage system and back blocking of toilets.

Respondent 15, a provincial Government representative, agrees that it is this mentality that informs business strategy and therefore development.

The philosophy that strongly underpins the island's development is one of complacency: 'there is an assumption that Phi Phi will always be a success tourism-wise and therefore people treat it as a cash cow' (electronic respondent 11, a

Thai-based academic), but as will be argued later (Chapter 6, section 6.4) through the application of the ideas of Villiers (1989), Johnson (1988) and Richardson, Nwankwo and Richardson (1994), this complacency represents elements of a 'boiled frog' syndrome which can be held accountable for both disaster vulnerability and business failure . Electronic respondents 7 and 8 claim that the economic drive that predetermines mentality on the island is to grab as much money as they can from the island:

> Money, money, money! The Thai people that live on Phi Phi are interested in nothing else. They display a concerning disinterest in cleaning up their island, removing litter or generally making the place the paradise that tourists are misled in believing that it is. (Electronic respondent 7, island resident)

Interview respondent 7, a Thai-based researcher, agrees with this, stating that the only thing that Phi Phi is interested in is: 'sustainable business – economic sustainability.' The early warning signs noted by Pleumarom (2004) and Thongpra (2005) that the desire to rebuild and accommodate tourism again would far supersede any consideration for sustainability, appear to be present. The role and importance of marketing to boost awareness in order to achieve 'sustainable tourism' are common to Thai Governmental representatives (Respondents 6, 15, 16 and 17) and within discussions of sustainability originating in Thailand (TDRI, 1997 and the TAT Andaman Tourism Recovery Plan, 2005), but this not seen in discussions of sustainability within Western literature.

Communication

Respondents indicated high levels of dissatisfaction with regard to communication concerning the island's future redevelopment. Strongest within this theme was the inability to express ideas freely, a sub-theme that is closely linked to the concept of fear and culture (later discussed). As discussed within the reflexive journal, one of the greatest barriers to research was the need to inspire trust in the respondents and obtain an accurate and truthful account of their opinions. Resistance or fear, perhaps interlinked with the lawlessness theme, as the islanders know only too well the risks they face if they speak out against something they feel to be unjust. This is also related to the theme of culture, observed by Theerapappisit (2008) and her research surrounding social hierarchy, a defamation of higher status individuals causes a loss of face, which is a highly undesirable situation.

One notes that ineffective communication creates confusion, misunderstanding and very much a one way flow of information. There also appears to be the underlying theme of resignation; islanders have been made promises that never transpire for so long now, and therefore there is an apparent sense of frustration. Reflections such as Respondent 3's (Thai Landowner) account of planning meetings vocalises this:

> The Government makes lots of promises but no action – even before [the] tsunami. In November we have a big meeting for everybody, all the business owners, all the hotels, at the Cabana Hotel to say, 'OK, we have a

budget for the Phi Phi Island [sic] so we are going to bring electricity. People listened. but inside they are like. [sic] 'it's not gonna [sic] be, so we'll just go and listen'. We have to be not listening too much [sic] or hoping too much so … we'll just listen because we know we have been promised for years.

Respondent 5 (island resident) and Respondent 9 (island resident who was present at meetings and supplied the author with minutes) supports the idea that there are lots of meetings held, but rarely are the outcomes effective as there are too many interested parties and therefore a consensus decision can never be reached. The literature talks of many planning meetings (Phuket Gazette, 6.1.06; Phuket Gazette 24.1.06), but rarely were resolutions reported. Furthermore, no detail is supplied regarding the location and participants of the meetings. However, the data would suggest these meetings to be non-participatory and frustrating. One of the key actors in these meetings is [information removed for anonymity purposes], Chairman of Or Bor Tor (Phuket Gazette, 6.1.06 and 24.1.06), and a relative of one of the major landowners on the island. It is interesting to note the gradual change in government thinking towards reconstruction on Phi Phi Island, which commenced with a statement that 'no rebuilding would be allowed ever' (Phuket Gazette, 24.1.06). Building has now been permitted to the same density as previous (albeit safer and more structurally sound). What that translates to is that all of the construction that existed before on the island can be rebuilt in a concrete, more high-rise form.

Image 29 illustrates a handwritten sign abandoned in the wasteland in the centre of the island in March 2006; it encapsulates the islanders' frustration with the lack of consultation.

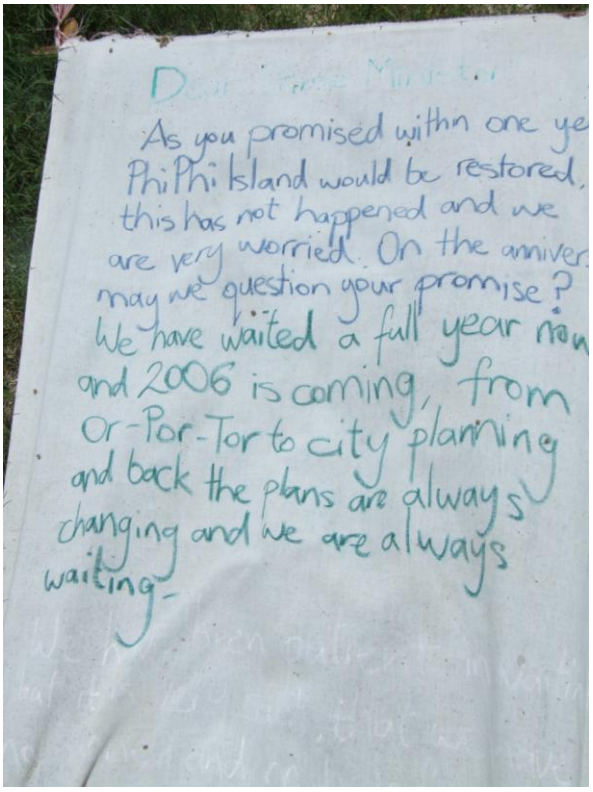


Image 29: Sign of the islanders' frustration

Other respondents such as Interview Respondent 4 (Thai landowner) suggest that the Government do listen, but disregard the islanders' opinions in favour of their own, which are often out of touch:

> The government listen but they are always coming up with a plan that is against the will, against our will … I don't know why but they don't give us what we want. They say 'OK, OK,' but that's all. That is what they call listening, but if they take action it is totally different. I mean, what we want is something that is reasonable, you can make it happen, something that is doing good things to the island, because we are here all along, we see things here. But the government just sit … somewhere high so far away from us.

Even if the government were listening, it is argued by Electronic Respondent 6 (island resident) that: 'governance and the implementation of policy is poor. Despite any environmental initiatives that are written at the provincial level, governmental corruption at local levels means that building regulations and land-use policies are poorly enforced,' thus illustrating the link between the 'lawlessness' theme and barriers to sustainability.

Needs

Islanders expressed needs (**Appendix 17**, pp. 359-360**)** that required fulfilment in order to develop sustainably. Foremost was the need to co-operate, something expressed clearly by Interview respondent 8 (island resident):

> there is a need to get rid of this barrier of working independently and learning to work with one another, but again that is not really in the Thai mentality to do so. They [islanders] need to come to an agreement about the sanitation cleanliness altogether whereas they're doing all their own [sic] thing at the moment. They need to come to an agreement about an evacuation system, for instance. They need to have an agreement about the cost of certain things as well, so there isn't always this very unnecessary competition, because you will find that one resort charge[s] so much for a room and if you go to another resort [with] an almost identical room, you may get it for half the price. In some cases they operate discounts and in others they just categorically don't, so some sort of co-operation [is needed].

One will note later within the 'culture' theme that 'the desire to work independently' emerged. The findings are suggestive that a lack of co-operation may be culture-based, or perhaps it is due to an absence of a traditional community with common goals and interests. The need for co-operation and community involvement is discussed widely in the literature (Henderson, 1999; UN, 2005; Ap and Crompton, 1998), not only to ensure stakeholder satisfaction and support but in order to canvas opinion from all stakeholder groups. This is something that appears to be a major omission in Phi Phi's redevelopment process.

A strong theme throughout the entire research is the lack of a suitable, robust system of utilities and this theme arises again here. As electronic respondent 8, an ecotourism operator, states:

> the infrastructure is not robust enough to support the growing number of accommodation and businesses growing on the island. One example [that] may be cited is the filthy and unhygienic flooding that seems to be a regular event on one of the main roads. The authorities have laid new pipes on the road [not under as one may expect], obviously intending to rectify the situation. However, those pipes have lain there for some four months now with no indication of any imminent work taking place.

This is illustrated in image 30 below:



Image 30: Broken paving and exposed pipe work on the main street leading into the centre of the island

Interview Respondent 8, an island resident, extends this criticism to the basic facilities that the island needs in order to operate as a community:

> They wanted a new hospital to be built much higher up on safe ground. That [is] obviously something needed to be done immediately, so that was the problem of the clinic being wiped out. The new hospital is: a) not finished; b) not being allowed to be finished; c) there not being any suitable ground [sic] and they haven't yet decided what was going to be suitable ground. And exactly the same applies to the school, incidentally.

In Altman's (2005) discussions of impacts of tourism upon Phi Phi, she particularly notes the impact of high volumes of sea traffic caused by day-trippers and the lack of appropriate infrastructure to accommodate them, a need that can be extended for the entire community. This includes public toilets, an organised system of rubbish collection and a

regulated waste management system. Whilst it is reported within the literature that there are proposed plans for better utilities (Bangkok Post, 2006; Phuket Gazette, 24.2.2006) to include an underwater cable link to bring electricity from the mainland and to sell reverse osmosis water treatment technology to the island, rather than resolve the island's needs for a more infrastructurally sound, self-sustaining community, this will surely only heighten dependency upon the mainland.

Community

The literature has already elaborated a difficulty in identifying who the host community are, and therefore the data collection sought to canvas opinion of how the community is comprised (**Appendix 17** pp. 361-362). The author desired to understand the community in order to ascertain whose opinion really mattered. The graph shows that people regard Phi Phi's community as 'fragmented' and 'complex'.

Predominantly, opinion suggests that the community's origins stem from Muslim fisher-people from Koh Yao. Respondent 5, an island resident, states:

> the locals are the Muslim community who have been here for generations. They are the original Phi Phi people. The Thai business owners should have a say, but they need to develop responsibly. There is a lot of irresponsible development. The government should shut up and listen. And there should be a way that no one in the government can buy land, because if they all own the land, how can anything be done fairly? It is wrong. That is why there is conflict at the moment. At the moment, he [[information removed for anonymity purposes]] has stepped back from government, but he is the puppeteer now, he is just behind the person at the front and the people see that and they understand that.

Electronic respondent 8, the ecotourism operator, argues that:

> There are no true local residents on Phi Phi. By the time I arrived on Phuket in 1989 all the original residents of Phi Phi were living in horrible slum circumstances that the TAT called the 'sea gypsy village' in Rawai. There wasn't a single Moken in that slum, but when I talked with residents in the early '90s, they had sold all their land for a pittance and it was exhausted after the first TV or truck, forcing these destitute people into living in the slum until it was finally considered an eyesore by the Governor in the mid-'90s and tor[n] down.

The contemporary community on Phi Phi appears to be a complex mix of descendants of the original Muslim fisher-people and Chao Lay, businesspeople from Phuket and Krabi who have over time bought up land on the island, migrant workers and Farang. Respondent 1 (Thai-based NGO) discusses this:

> we wanted to do work with the local community – here on the east coast there is a small local community, a mix of Muslim, Moken and sea gypsy – they sold everything. But now everything is owned by wealthy businesspeople from Ao Nang, Phuket and Bangkok – everything has been bought out by outsiders.

Respondent 5, island resident, explains the process of acquiring land rights on the island:

> they were traditionally farming and fishing lands and the original Thais on this island came from the majority … I think the four original families came from Koh Yao [Long Island], which is just across the way. So they came over and how it works in Thailand is that once they landed on the island and lived there for a certain amount of years, then they get awarded the land and then they would sell the land to businesspeople who were off the island.

Despite the lack of co-operation on the island, some respondents argue that the community is close and that they are happy living together:

> For non-inhabitants like me and my mum, we are southern people, but my mum has business here on the island and also with the foreigners, the people who work in the dive shops … yeah, he say, no problem [sic]. Everyone is happy living together. (Respondent 4, Thai Landowner)

This 'closeness' also applies to the community's proximity to the tourism industry. The island is small and the community and their lives are on show in a 'living zoo' (Interview Respondent 7, Thai-based researcher). There is no separation, as illustrated in images 31 and 32. The village mosque is at the back of the Andaman resort and next-door to a bikini shop.



Image 31: The Island Mosque in reconstruction (16.1.2006)

The village food, fish and vegetable market is located in a thoroughfare that tourists use to get to the beach.



Image 32: The island's fresh produce market

Personal observations in the reflexive journal reflect upon this complex society:

> it could be considered that Swarbrooke's (1998) method of categorising stakeholders is only broadly appropriate for Phi Phi. The society on Phi Phi is diverse and complex [and it is] … difficult to define whom exactly the people of Phi Phi are. It is known that the original inhabitants of the island were the Muslim and Chao Lay communities. However, due to the influence of tourism and big business and the tsunami, the structure of not only the community, but also family structures have been altered. The community on Phi Phi now is represented by those existing members of the original inhabitants, Thai people who do not originate from Phi Phi but have built businesses on the island, and also foreigners, who have made Phi Phi their home and place of work. I was told by Interview Respondent 9, a Thai resident of Phi Phi, that in reality, the community of Phi Phi would be those having housing registration on the island. However, again this is difficult to measure because many of the migrant workers who come to work on Phi Phi do not register there.

This respondent, who is regarded as a reliable source of data having lived on the island for twenty years, worked in a variety of roles within the tourism industry and took an active role in the post-tsunami clean up and on-going aid effort. In addition, this respondent had attended the planning meetings (see Chapter One) and provided the author with minutes. The respondent elaborated on how community and family structures on the island were changed. not only as a result of tourism development but further post-tsunami. Some examples are given below:

- young Thai people leave families on the mainland and travel to Phi Phi in search of employment within the tourism industry. They send money back to their families on the mainland;
- as there is only a primary school on the island, to pursue secondary education, children of twelve or thirteen must leave their families and travel to the mainland to study;
- through the tsunami, 101 children lost one or both parents. These children are increasingly vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse as they add a financial burden on the relatives or families who took them in (also discussed by Respondent 26, Krabi-based researcher);
- survivors were relocated to refugee camps on the mainland just outside Krabi Town, and some continue to live with relatives;
- some chose not to return and remain on the mainland as it is now difficult to make money on the island due to competition and high living costs
- some desired to return but cannot due to landowners altering the land that they wish to rent, and to whom they wish to rent;
- some members of the Muslim community have chosen not to return because of changes in the island's religious composition; and
- this has resulted in the community being broken up and separated (Interview respondent 26)

There is a sense that Phi Phi's community is very fluid. People come to the island to work and earn a living, tourists come to work in the diving industry (but then move on), and to some degree one might argue that this in itself stands in the way of any true pursuit of Sustainable Development for the island. The shifting nature of Phi Phi's islanders would appear to be more suitably described by Bernard's (1973) notion of 'the community' which he sees as a collection of people in one location over that of 'community' with strong levels of cohesion and intimacy, the data observed that there has been an erosian of 'community' and levels of 'interdependence' (Stoddard, 1993). This bears a number of implications for sustainability; as people are only here temporarily, they are only able to concern themselves with the here and now. Interview respondent 7, a Thai-based researcher, supports this assumption:

> There is always a flow, people go there for easy money and then they go and the workers come and go, they are not locals at all, they come from the north-east … I don't know if in Phi Phi there are many Burmese, but in Phuket it is full of Burmese migrant workers, the whole area in the Phang Nga area. They work in the rubber plantations. It is all migrants and people are coming and going. so this is why people don't want to work with Phi Phi. They don't get involved in these areas because there is nobody to work with.

In addition, the nature of 'the community' bore implications for post disaster recovery. The response was less unified hence organisations such as UNICEF struggled to play an active part in aiding recovery, which resulted in a greater reliance upon transnational social capital in the form of international volunteer effort (Rigg *et al*, 2005). As observed

by both Hystad and Keller (2008) and Rigg *et al* (2005), effective disaster management hinges upon the cohesiveness of the community and their ability to cooperate.

What is interesting is that studies of Thai culture (Deveney, 2005; Dimmock, 2000; Hofstede, 1991; Trompenaars, 1993) observe that, along with other Asian societies such as Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong, Thailand is collectivist, in that people place group goals above individual ones. Another facet of their research is that Thai people are brought up to be loyal to and integrate into strong, cohesive groups. However, in the case of Phi Phi, as emerged within the culture theme, the community is characterised by independence, placing individual goals above collective ones, characteristic of an individualist society (Dimmock, 2000).

Cultural issues

Both from anecdotal observations of the author and colleagues and through the findings of the primary data collection, it is suggestive that certain characteristics of Thai culture may offer an explanation of Phi Phi's development legacy and the priorities of stakeholders (**Appendix 17**, pp. 363-364). Some of these characteristics may be influential in the inability (or lack of desire) to effectively pursue sustainability in its traditional, Western form. That is why this research sought to conceptualise sustainability from the perspectives of the stakeholders, in a non-Western framework, and to compare these conceptualisations against Western frameworks, to illustrate where dissimilarities occur, and thus develop academic understanding of why, at a destination level, the form and nature of tourism development pursued is often different to that prescribed by western development institutions and tourism organisations. The research seeks to compare the conceptualisations of sustainability offered by different stakeholder groups and residents associated with a specific destination *against* Western discourse in order to comprehend where differences exist and thus why barriers may exist to implementing sustainability practice in this form. (Pleumarom, 1994; 1999).

By nature, Thai people do not plan, as electronic respondent 8, a local ecotourism operator notes:

> the local people are not the best at promoting the product, be it tourism or otherwise. They seem to be content to lay back and just wait for the world to come to them. This view may be witnessed by looking at a shop or business owners lying about in their premises with no real interest shown toward the customer in particular, or the continued development of tourism in general.

The phrase 'maybe sometime' is argued by this respondent to be 'common and used regularly to excuse disinterest or a singular lack of action at any time.' More forcefully, Interview Respondent 19 (international hotel manager) explains that they are hesitant to recruit locals in their luxury hotel in the north of the island, because potential candidates have declined work from this hotel on the basis that hotel work 'hurts the back'. They relay a preference for informal forms of income generation through the selling of souvenirs to occupants of the resort rather than

working for the resort itself.

Interview respondent 8, a long-term island resident, continues this discussion:

> We Europeans, we tend to plan our lives and, 'right, you are doing this at the moment, with a view to something or other'. The Thais on the whole do not live in the same way and that is why it is difficult to question what the Thais really want. The Thai mentality is very much 'think about today, maybe tomorrow but not so much about the day after tomorrow'. I've been to trying to persuade this helper of mine to follow up a course of some sort of profession, but I [sic] know he is quite happy here. He cooks for me, he cleans for me, he shops for me and he has plenty of time to do what he's doing at the moment, watching TV. He will not plan. He is a typical example. I have met so many of them, and I think that this obviously applies to, there are some, it also applies to university graduates, it is just a different mentality towards life.

Another cultural issue relevant to understanding Thai relationships with their surroundings arose in the theme of insularity and also through anecdotal personal observations whilst on the island, time spent living in Phuket and informal discussions with Thai and foreign colleagues whilst working at the [information removed for anonymity purposes] University supported by Fahn (2003), and it concerns the Thai relationship with the personal being, the home and space around the home. Fahn suggests that great focus is placed upon personal cleanliness and cleanliness of the person's immediate space i.e. the interior of the home. The view is that, 'if they don't own the land they do not feel any responsibility for what is not theirs.' Unfortunately however, as is elaborated within the 'needs' theme, there is a need for greater collaboration and ownership in order to pursue a sustainable development. At present, everybody is looking out for their own needs and interests, which is in fact contrary to Hofstede's (1983) studies on Thai culture as a collectivist society and may be accountable for failure to acknowledge the collective value of common pool resources (Olsen, 1965) which represents a tragedy of the commons as Hardin (1968) puts it.

Elliott (1983) maps Thailand's appeal to traditions of service and quality and argues that this tradition reflects the hierarchical, aristocratic and elite nature of Thai society. An important notion within many Asian societies is status and face (Deveney, 2005; Mulder, 2000). Personal reflections in the reflexive journal (see Appendix 10) elaborate how face is presented within the literature and features within Thai society. Its significance is notable in the emergent themes from the data. The respondent group for which this theme strongly emerged were the non-Thai residents of the island; they recognised the significance of the notion of status and hierarchy and linked this to an unwillingness to speak out against authority. Certainly the significance of status is notable within the literature on Thai culture (Van Esterik, 2000; Mulder, 2000; Brown, 2000; Truong, 1990; Mam, 2007; Theerapappisit, 2008).

Mulder's (2000) research, which is also supported by Theerapappisit (2008), asserts how wealth, power, seniority, rank and 'being the boss' are all primary Thai values. Thus, status in Thai culture is a significant source of power. Stature is built through accumulation of resources and once, in a position of high status, symbols of status should be

displayed and the bearer should live up to them. This is often undertaken through acts of generosity, an example of which might be the case of [information removed for anonymity purposes] donating some of their land for the World Vision houses to be constructed on. Interestingly, it is seen as loathsome to openly express one's dominant position to make another feel repressed, and thus the social hierarchy exists and will be accepted if it remains in an atmosphere of friendliness and politeness. This is why, perhaps, status emerged in the responses of non-Thai respondents rather than Thai respondents (ibid.). Status also presents greater access to resources (Delcore, 2007).

There are examples through this research of subtle forms of resistance developing against high status members of Phi Phi's community, who have broken the bonds of friendship and expressed their dominant position in the reclaiming of land from long-term tenants (Interview respondent 12, Thai business owner, tenant of one of the major landowners). These subtle forms of resistance are similar to those observed by Scott (1985) as the typical weapons of relatively powerless groups, in this case gossip and character assassination, undertaken behind the landowner's back. Any direct confrontation is avoided, which may be brought about by a lack of power (Scott, 1985). In Thai culture, smooth interaction is valued so highly and avoidance of overt conflict is of paramount importance (Mulder, 2000).

The issues above have some important implications, not only for the manner in which tourism is developed at a local level in Thailand, but for factors influencing communication concerning tourism development, participation and consultation in the planning process and overt and covert ideologies shaping the development. Firstly, the primary values of a Thai person shed some light on the form of tourism development. Paramount is wealth generation, and as one can see, a dominant theme underpinning this research is the desire to improve economically, over environmental and cultural preservation. Thus, despite the aesthetics and notable effects upon the environment and society, all assets (land) in the central part of the island are 'milked' (Electronic Respondent 8, ecotourism operator) for maximum productivity, leaving the central part of the island overcrowded, unsafe and unpleasant. Secondly, the desire to be their own boss has resulted in a saturation of small businesses, all selling the same things (pancake stalls, tour agencies, dive shops), competing on price in a deeply competitive, rather than co-operative, environment (Interview Respondent 26).

In respect of how status influences tourism development, respect for rank and conflict avoidance are key facets of Thai culture and as such, one could argue this prohibits any true sense of participation. Even though lower-status members of Phi Phi's community (tenants, migrant workers, boat people) were invited to attend and present their views at planning meetings (Interview respondent 9), their views reflected a desire for harmony and a distinct reluctance to speak their views for fear that they may cause a higher-status member of society to lose face. The resistance documented in the Thai press (Hart, 2005; McGeown, 2005; Altman, 2005) to the governmental plans for the island in 2006 is presented as the views of all the islanders, yet as Respondent 3 and 9 (who were present at planning meetings) confirm, it was the higher-status members of the community (landowners) who communicated these views.

Fear

Within the communication theme, the researcher introduced the concept of fear: being afraid to express views freely. This took the form of being cautious or afraid to speak out against actions that they disagree with, but also threats being made to respondents and to the researcher herself (see reflexive journal – Respondent 15, provincial government). However, in addition to fear, there are other factors that inevitably contribute to an unwillingness to speak out; this has its origins in Thai culture. According to Deveney (2005), Thai culture values smooth interaction and conflict avoidance, supported by Redmond (1998), who explains that in Thai society, harmony is prized more highly than truth. Not only was this a barrier in generating contacts, but also in being confident that the researcher was being given a true and accurate account of proceedings and feelings.

Whilst the Thai respondents did not openly acknowledge or discuss this, the notion of fear was discussed by the expatriates that resided either in Phi Phi or Thailand (Respondents 5, 7, 8, 20 and 26). Respondent 7, a Bangkok-based tourism researcher, uncovers the reason for this fear:

> It is difficult to generate contacts because a lot of people, when they hear what you will be researching, do not want to speak about Phi Phi. They don't want to say too much. The reason is really because people are concerned about their safety when they say too much or something in public because of the Mafia. What you mean by Mafia? It is mostly … business[es] linked to officials. Wherever [information removed for anonymity purposes] is involved, then you know you have to be very careful because he would come after you.

Thus one may see the link between this theme and the 'lawlessness' theme. In the first interview (Interview respondent 1, a researcher), the respondent advised me that, in the case of Phi Phi, it would be very difficult to learn the truth, and that it was as important to look at what was said as what wasn't said. This was in my mind when analysing the results. The notion of fear is significant to the research in a number of ways. Firstly, as Beritelli (2011) has identified, aspects of trust and fear may hinder collective behaviour. In the researcher's interpretation, relationships within the community, characterised by fear and mistrust, will result in marginalised views and subsequent actions will thus favour the interests of a selected elite in the same manner in which benefits are accrued through tourism by 'local elites' under dependency theory. This secondly presents ramifications for the vulnerability of the community in light of disaster on account of inertia towards cohesion on account of fear and mistrust.

Community challenges

There are so many contradictions when it comes to Phi Phi. Up until the tsunami, the island was left alone to be self-governing. However, the island did not have the correct tools to do so, which is contrary to the King's vision of a 'sufficiency economy' (Noy, 2011). This self-governance resulted in a destination that developed rapidly with no control, to the extent that the degraded environment started to deter tourists that had known Phi Phi's prior appeal. Post-tsunami, the islanders want to be left alone and yet still they do not have the resources to operate as a totally independent island. The government appear willing to help, but want a say in the shape of the island's future (Respondents 15 and 16). This is not in line with what the islanders want and thus a conflict occurs. The key challenges faced by the community of Phi Phi are illustrated in **Appendix 17** (pp. 365-366) to represent the 'Community Challenges' theme.

For example, water quality on the island is poor, and has actually deteriorated post-tsunami on account of damage to wells and o-rings, as Interview respondent 3, a Thai landowner, notes:

> The water quality after the tsunami is not as good as before. We have a small reservoir but many people live on the island and the island consumes a lot of the water and now it is the hottest month of the year and it has hardly rained, so always at this time of year we meet a water crisis.

This is further observed by Respondent 5, another island resident:

> Most of the water that people drink on the island in resorts comes from their own bores. We have one reservoir that is located quite high up, which feeds the rest of the island, but where we've got these o-rings and we've got wells, then there's contamination. If you look in the Bay here, then there's a lot of algae on the bottom and that's from too much nitrogen and that's from sewerage going straight into the water.

Interview respondent 5 passionately describes the pressures created through a lack of basic services on the island:

> we don't have good enough policing on this island, it is a joke – those that we do have [police] have a mammoth job – there is no prison cell, there is no holding cell. The doctor, he has just left; we have got no ambulance, no fire service on the island, we have got nothing that a normal community has. And they still allow more and more people to come.

The island's hospital is shown below in image 33. It is located right on the shoreline of Tonsai Bay and the decision to move to a central, safer location had still not yet been reached in 2011.



Image 33: The Island's Hospital

The following images illustrate the issues discussed above. Image 34 is taken on the road next to the water treatment plant, leading to the viewpoint. One can see that the path is flooded, a common occurrence in monsoon season on account of ineffective drainage. Even though these images were taken a year and two months after the tsunami, no work had yet commenced on the reconstruction of this area of the island. A photograph of the same view can be found in image 42 (Chapter 8, p. 289) taken in December 2011 and there is little difference between the two images. Opinions related to the water treatment plant have already been discussed, and this is further strengthened by Interview respondent 5, an island resident:

> that reservoir is a bone of contention on the island. About seven or eight years ago, Germans came in and built the water treatment plant, reservoirs and holding tanks and I don't think it even ran for a day before it got broken and then the locals didn't know how to run it. People do these things and then they leave and there is no continuation.

Opinion is not optimistic that even with the new treatment plant, the system will be maintained, certainly if one considers opinions on the Hi Phi Phi Discussion Forum concerning the wastewater treatment plant before the tsunami (posted on 8th June 2005):

> it is public knowledge … the waste of money spent on the reservoir, the threats made by locals against its completion and the fact that 40 million baht was spent on it and it was never operational.

It seems a waste that the Danish government donated a significant sum of money for the new wastewater treatment plant if it is not going to be maintained. The system appears impressive, offering not only a collection system but also

a treatment facility and a wetland system for the use of treated water (Brix *et al.*, 2007). It is hailed as robust, reliable and cost-effective (Kootalep *et al.*, 2005; Kadlec *et al.*, 2000). It remains to be seen how the system will be maintained and how the remaining homes and businesses not connected to the system will manage their waste.



Image 34: Footpath that leads from Tonsai Village to Tonsai Bay past the water treatment plant

The image below is taken further along the path, towards the village centre, again illustrating the disrepair of the roads and overflow caused by pressure on the island's infrastructure. This was an issue disclosed by Electronic Respondent 8, ecotourism operator:

> The infrastructure is not robust enough to support the growing number of accommodation [sic] and businesses on the island. One example that may be cited is the filthy and unhygienic flooding that seems to be a regular event on one of the main roads. The authorities have laid new pipes on the road [not under as one may expect], obviously intending to rectify the situation. However those pipes have lain there for some four months now with no indication of any imminent work taking place.



Image 35: Footpath towards the village centre from the viewpoint (16.1.2006)

Past criticism

Phi Phi's contemporary challenges in pursuing sustainable development appear to stem from a development philosophy of the past (and present) that places economic factors in high esteem, with a clear disregard of environmental and social factors, illustrative of conditions under modernist theories of development. It is very difficult to turn back the clock and pursue a different direction even after a 'clean slate' has potentially been afforded by the tsunami. Respondents speak of 'mass, unplanned development', which was 'completely unchecked'. As Interview Respondent 8, an island resident, observes:

> the development of Phi Phi happened far too quickly without any planning, so not enough account was taken of sanitation. For instance, nothing was taken into account as to what would enhance the beauty of the Phi Phi islands. Where there was a bit of land. they built without consulting anybody and without perhaps realising that that the house next door would not like to have a hotel right next to them. and so on and so forth, so not enough planning was done.

This opinion reoccurs throughout the research and is mirrored in the literature (e.g. Fahn, 2003; Byrne *et al.*, 2005; Hart, 2005; Rice, 2005; Cummings, 2005).

Electronic Respondent 6, a Thai-based academic, suggests that building was too close to the shore; development had no regard for the natural environment. One can see, however, in a situation where a place is viewed as a moneymaking machine, every piece of land is precious and must be built on. Without suitable governance, endemic corruption at a local level, fuelled by an ever-increasing demand for more tourist facilities and the filming of *The Beach* on Phi Phi Le, islanders sought to develop quickly to accommodate immediate need. It is not necessarily the Thai Government, as Pleumarom (2004) suggested, but the islanders and landowners that look set to 'nurture a tourism monoculture again.'

Electronic respondent 8, ecotourism operator, has an emotive tale of the impact that this form of greed had on the island:

> The last time I set foot on Phi Phi was 1992. It was so overdeveloped then that I said I would never come back and contribute to the problem. In 1998 I was shooting a Koh Tarutao documentary and wanted to stop off at Phi Phi just to shoot some benchmark video shots. When the boat got within one kilometre of the pier, I couldn't deal with it anymore and waved the boat off. It was horrible. That's the last time I have ever looked at the island.

Interview Respondent 7, a Thai-based academic, agrees that:

from the very beginning, this was one of the worst forms of tourism because it is so intrusive. If they set up a tourist community on a beach, and the local community is somewhere behind the mangrove forest or something, the old fishing community, then that is different because it is separate. But on Phi Phi it is so obviously intrusive, it has always been like that.'

Economic impacts of tourism

Appendix 17 (pp. 367-368) illustrates the composition of this theme. One of the strongest themes underpinning the data is the economic drive demonstrated by islanders to develop the tourism industry as it creates employment and secures livelihoods. This drive does not appear to have abated post-tsunami, as development has sought to regain what was lost and 'pick up where they left off'. Traditional industries that were used on the island to secure livelihoods seem to be long forgotten, such as fishing and coconut farming. These were abandoned in favour of the far more lucrative tourism industry. Further to this, many respondents within this research have acknowledged that on Phi Phi it is very hard to identify the original community because the community today is comprised of people from all over Thailand (and further).

The images in **Appendix 18** (images 56-59, pp. 378-379) illustrate the impact the tourism industry makes in a commercial and employment sense. The first image is taken outside the Phi Phi Hotel, one of the main routes through Tonsai Village leading from the pier. It is the route that tourists seeking accommodation will follow and day-tripper groups will be ushered along to their restaurant. Another major source of employment on the island is in supplying food and beverages. Phi Phi is littered with stalls selling sandwiches, pancakes and 'shakes of all varieties (not a traditional Thai diet, but clearly a provision that has developed over time to suit the Western palate). Many of the pancake stalls are attached to the front of the family's living quarters. Tour agencies again provide a huge source of employment on the island. At present there are too many to count, all selling a wide range of travel products from accommodation bookings, bus and boat tickets, flight reservations and Internet services. Many are attached to their own guest accommodation as depicted in image 57 and image 58 (pp. 378-379).

There are multiple dive spots in the area and consequently an infrastructure has developed to support this core product of the islands, in a similar manner to the provision of boats and day-trips to see Maya Bay. There are approximately twenty PADI dive centres on the island. However, rather than providing employment for Thai people, it is predominantly foreigners (*farang*) that are employed within the diving industry. It is on this basis that the expat community of Phi Phi is formed.

Past reflection

The research findings have already indicated a favourable view of the past and desire to return to how the island used to be. This theme of past reflection (**Appendix 17**, pp. 369-370) highlights some of the key facets of Phi Phi of the past. Terms such as 'ramshackle', 'simplicity' and 'traditional' were used in conjunction with 'magical' and 'paradise'. One commentator provides a narrative of Phi Phi of the past:

> My best friend … has been here about twenty-plus years and she shows me … photographs of what the island used to be like. It was very unspoilt, they had a few bamboo huts where Phi Phi Princess and the Phi Phi Charlie Beach used to be; that was like the big resort on the island. Her friend had a bar, the only bar on the island. There was an old wooden fishing pier … I got here five years ago and they hadn't paved the roads, they were sandy roads the main street is kind of like … what it used to be like [sic] all higgledy-piggledy buildings that don't really match each other, but I kind of like that. That's kind of like being in Thailand and the streets that have now been redeveloped; they were just like little shacks. There wasn't much really over the hill after Apache bar. You wouldn't go as far as the reservoir back then because there wasn't power; it was just a dirt track where all of the locals were living. It was a lot smaller, a lot less developed and a lot friendlier. I really liked it; there were a lot more Thai people. Having one or two big developers is no good because it stops the people who've got the right to have the land using it. (Respondent 5, island resident)

A similar description is heard from Thai questionnaire respondent 36: 'In the past, there were no roads, only sandy beaches and no stores. Everyone knew each other. The Andaman resort charged 80 baht per night for a room. It took four to five hours to get here by fishing boat.' Interview Respondent 8 (island resident) said the following:

> [Phi Phi was] totally simple, no concrete construction whatsoever, it was all bamboo. So very, very simple. In the centre of the island the fishermen were seated there and their wives repairing their fishing nets for instance. Totally simple, totally unspoilt.

These reflections are mirrored in the literature (Cummings, 2005; Fahn, 2003). However, Electronic Respondent 8 highlighted that: I was in Phi Phi in 1997, and then in 1999 – when I vowed never to return as the island was so different in terms of visible, mass, unplanned building, pollution etc.' This respondent, being an ecotourism operator, is clearly well qualified to identify the early onset of environmental damage. However, even to the untrained eye, electronic respondent 11 (a resident of Phuket and visitor to Phi Phi) observed the:

> magical, friendly feel. I love the fact that there are no roads, everything was informal and laid-back. Like finding your own little island. Although it was becoming very, very commercialised, it was still beautiful, especially opposite side to Tonsai bay [Ao lo Dalaam]. Great restaurants and bars, but not 'in your face' sex bars. I loved it, even though it was becoming undoubtedly overdeveloped and facing saturation point.

Ironically perhaps, post-tsunami, when all of the resorts (with the exception of Phi Phi Cabana) fringing Ao Lo Dalaam Bay were devastated, the form of bungalow resort constructed as a quick resolve mirrored those of Phi Phi's beginnings. The Twin Palm bungalows can be seen below in image 36.



Image 36: The Twin Palm Bungalows (27.3.2006)

Other 'ramshackle' developments that characterised Phi Phi in the past and created the well-documented 'charm' have since given way to permanent concrete structures.

Dependency

Closely linked to the theme of 'isolation' emerged a 'dependency' theme, illustrated in **Appendix 17**. Discussed here are some of the more intimate examples of dependent relationships, however the nature and dynamics of development on Phi Phi can be explained well through dependency theory, as will be discussed in Chapter five (Table 23, pp. 243-246). On account of the island's geographical isolation, islanders are not yet self-sufficient and are reliant upon the mainland for many things including clean bottled drinking water, fresh fruit, vegetables and meat, contrary to the King's philosophy on a 'sufficiency economy'. The lack of land available for agriculture is a result of the land being deemed too precious to allow anything other than the tourism industry to use it. This increases the island's dependence upon the mainland thus pushes the prices up, which in turn deters tourists. A vicious circle exists. Interview respondent 5, an island resident, explains how 'there is no water purification on the island so every bit of water that you drink has come on the ferry over here in plastic bottles and then you drink from it.'

Islanders are also dependent upon the mainland for waste disposal, as an effective system does not exist on the island:

> Because we are an isolated island, for the waste and water on the island, the provincial Government will provide a barge. The barge will come every night, arrive here at like [sic] eight at night and all the households, they have to put junk and rubbish, all the waste, in a black plastic bag, and have to wait [un]til night and all the households have to bring all their waste in a black plastic bag and they have to dump on the barge, they have to dump by themselves. (Respondent 4, Thai landowner).

Dependence is also evident between the landowners and the islanders. As the original inhabitants sold their land to outsiders, if they wish to still do business on the island, they have to rent it back, often on unreasonable terms (Interview Respondent 12, Thai resident). This inequality is illustrated in the benefits reaped from the tourism industry:

> those who benefit mostly from the tourist dollar come from the mainland. Local Muslims are not permitted to sell alcohol and miss out on this large market. In addition, locals have been pressured to sell their land and the majority now rent land from mainlanders. (Electronic respondent 6, Thai-based academic)

These findings concur with Liu's (2003) proposals that, in less developed countries in particular, poverty and social desperation necessitate a great need for the local community to benefit from tourism development, but the inability of

the host population to fully participate in the development process results in the lion's share of tourism income being leaked out of the destination. Certainly evidence would suggest that dependency both on the mainland and upon landowners who are not native of Phi Phi would give rise to these circumstances.

Pleumarom (2004:2) recommended, following the tsunami, that 'it might be suitable to include amongst the options for redevelopment an exploration of strategies to reduce the dependency upon tourism and diversify the economy'. Phi Phi's redevelopment is characteristically unsustainable on account of the dependence upon one sole source of economic activity, a trend that shows no signs of abating post-tsunami. The abandonment of traditional fishing and coconut farming industries in the late 1980s has left the island in a state whereby pre-tsunami they were reliant upon tourism as the sole source of economic activity, and therefore post tsunami the drive behind development was to re-establish the volume of tourism to which the island had been accustomed. As can clearly be seen, this dependency creates great vulnerability, as will be elaborated further in Chapter five (section 5.6).

Government roles

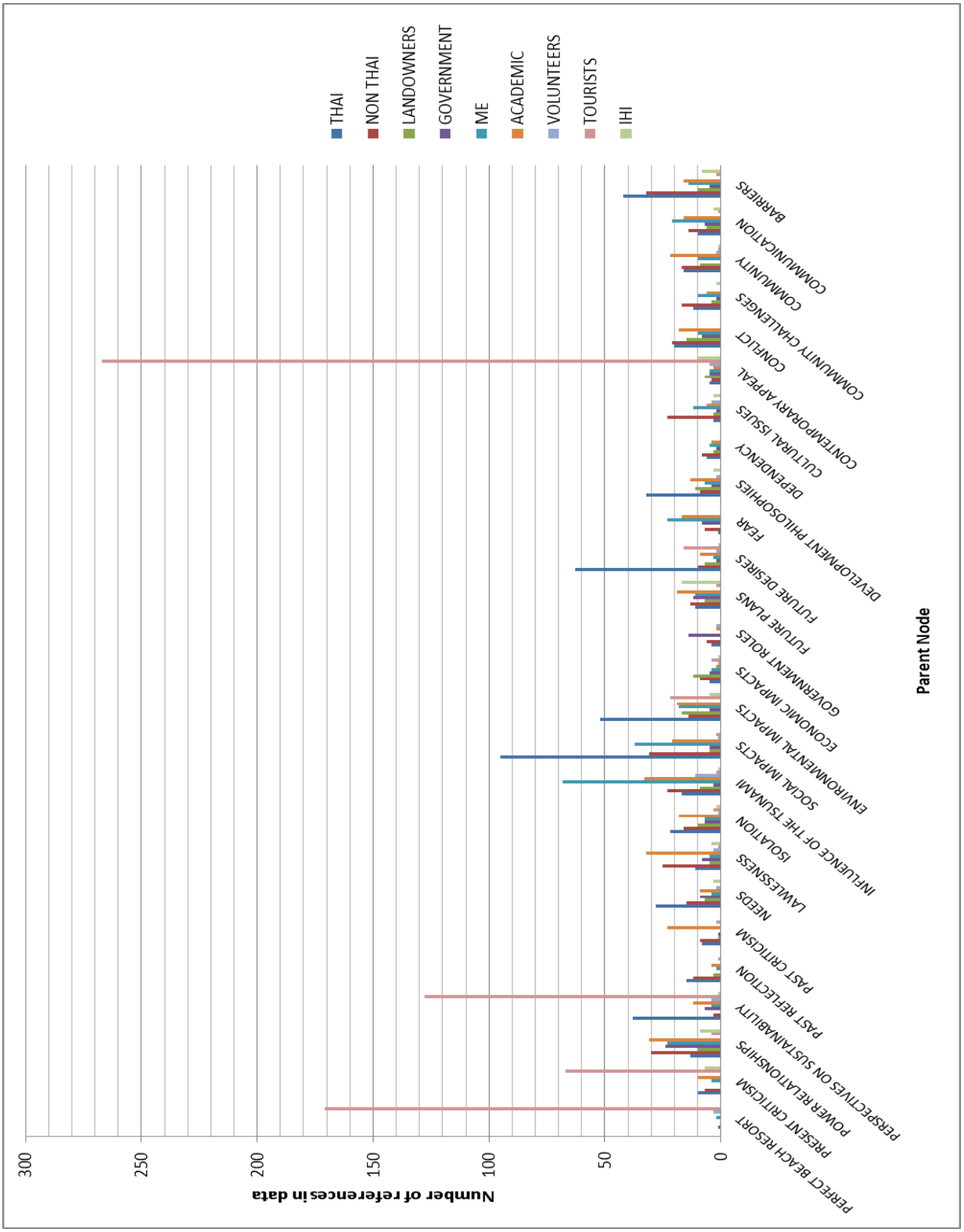
The role of the government in Phi Phi's redevelopment is the subject of much debate. One can see that while the government may have perceived or even stated roles (such as control, governance and planning), whether it is actually fulfilling those roles effectively is under question. It can also be questioned whether the government's ability to control and to implement plans is diminished due to the power relationships that exist on the island and the fact that the power of landowners appears to supersede that of the government (Respondent 15, provincial government). Thai questionnaire respondent 38 notes the government's lack of role: 'nobody organises these problems, even our government, and even now it does not take any role to develop here.' These findings support the arguments of McGeown (2005), that in the absence of governmental guidance and strategic planning, redevelopment can progress no further. The development of policy is not the problem here, but the implementation and governance of such policy, due to endemic corruption at a local level, which prohibits maintaining lawful practices.

Whilst fear was created that the government had designed a 'crazy, impossible plan' (Respondent 3, Thai landowner) for the island, and that this plan would be implemented by DASTA, surrounding which there was so much controversy, Interview respondent 16 (a representative of the Department for Public Works and Planning) confirmed that central government had previously assigned responsibility for Phi Phi's plans to the Or Ba Tor (NGO) of DASTA. However, conflict occurred between the villagers and DASTA due to the villagers' concerns that the DASTA plan would result in their land being taken in the same manner as described by Kaewkuntee (2006) and Klein (2008), who observed disaster capitalism in the beach resorts of Khao Lak and Sri Lanka post-tsunami. Therefore, villagers refused to cooperate with the DASTA plan. The situation was compared quite openly with criticism expressed of DASTA's impact on Koh Chang. It is alleged that there has been a misunderstanding about the authority of the Or Ba Tor (Respondent 16): 'When I expressly enquired as to whether DASTA have the power to take land,

again there was no direct response to this question.' Further to this, Phi Phi's development appears to be following that well-trodden path.

4.4 Results by stakeholder group

When segregated according to respondent groupings, the significance of each theme changes as is illustrated in Graph 3, providing a more accurate picture of the issues of importance to Phi Phi's stakeholders. This segregation will be more fully discussed in the following section.



Graph 3: Representation of themes across stakeholder group

In respect of the Thai islanders, the most visible themes arose from ‘social impacts’ and ‘future desires’ which contrasted the results of the tourist category, who were most preoccupied by the ‘contemporary appeal’ of the island and characteristics of their ‘perfect beach resort’. Thai islanders were also keen to discuss a range of ‘barriers’, which they felt prohibited them from operating sustainable tourism practices. Similar themes were reflected by the non-Thai inhabitants of the island, to demonstrate that there are shared concerns regardless of ethnic origin surrounding the future development of the island. However, the non-Thai inhabitants appeared more liberal and less cautious than their Thai counterparts in presenting their views concerning ‘power relationships’ on the island or illustrations of ‘lawlessness’ and were more willing to give their views on the influence and implications of the tsunami. The thesis posits that this is because non-Thai islanders are not bound by the same cultural traditions and rules and are not embedded within the same strict social hierarchy as their Thai counterparts. Their position as an ‘outsider’ affords them greater freedom of speech, as all still maintain strong social links outside of Phi Phi, hence this also affords them support against local strongmen/women. Academics and researchers were most vocal concerning the critical aspects of the island’s development, aspects of lawlessness, power relationships and past criticism. Again, their position as an outsider presented this opportunity. To illustrate this segregation more clearly, each stakeholder group will be considered in turn.

4.4.1 Thai inhabitants of Phi Phi

SOCIAL IMPACTS
FUTURE DESIRES
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS
BARRIERS
PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAI
DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHIES
NEEDS
ISOLATION
CONFLICT
INFLUENCE OF THE TSUNAMI
COMMUNITY
PAST REFLECTION
POWER RELATIONSHIPS
COMMUNITY CHALLENGES
LAWLESSNESS
FUTURE PLANS
PRESENT CRITICISM
COMMUNICATION
PAST CRITICISM
DEPENDENCY
ECONOMIC IMPACTS
CONTEMPORARY APPEAL
GOVERNMENT ROLES
CULTURAL ISSUES
FEAR
PERFECT BEACH RESORT

Table 10: Segregation of data: Thai inhabitants

To the Thai inhabitants of Phi Phi, social impacts of tourism presented most strongly within the data. However, upon closer examination, these social impacts were more concerned with socio-economic factors such as improvement of livelihoods and creation of awareness of Thailand, rather than issues concerned with negative social change or detrimental cultural effects. As the three Thai respondents in Interview 12 confirmed, people come to the island to work in the tourism industry: 'tourism is the work, providing a livelihood.' The same was true for the three respondents who were employed in tour businesses and the rock-climbing industry. Interestingly these respondents, when discussing their interactions with tourists, whilst despising the behaviour of certain tourist groups and nationalities, demonstrated a form of resignation (Doxey, 1975) in that they feel they must endure the behaviour of tourists, as when there are no tourists, there is no work. It is interesting that islanders appear willing to endure personal discontentment and erosion of their culture in order to maintain the satisfaction of the tourist market in the desire to improve their livelihoods, yet fail to take collective action as a community to maintain the Commons (Hardin 1968), which indirectly will detrimentally effect their livelihoods when the appeal of the destination is tarnished. As

has been discussed, however, while Asian societies are often collectivist in nature, there is evidence on Phi Phi of an individualist society, which presents challenges in establishing and working toward common goals. As electronic respondent 6 (a Thai-based researcher) asserts: 'locals and stakeholders alike are more interested in economic sustainability than they are in environmental viability; tragically most have yet to fully grasp the connectedness of these.' This theme recurs strongly throughout the research, that there is a need to pursue economic sustainability through environmentally viable forms of tourism development on the island.

Future desires also presented strongly. Thai inhabitants of Phi Phi expressed a desire to return to 'normal', which links closely with a perceived state of economic prosperity pre-tsunami. At the same time a desire for expansion of the tourism industry came from these respondents. A desire to be more considerate of nature was expressed, but there was greater emphasis on the tourist being more considerate of nature than acknowledging the part that the Thai community must also play.

4.4.2 Non -Thai inhabitants of Phi Phi

	NON THAI
BARRIERS	
SOCIAL IMPACTS	
POWER RELATIONSHIPS	
LAWLESSNESS	
INFLUENCE OF THE TSUNAMI	
CULTURAL ISSUES	
CONFLICT	
COMMUNITY CHALLENGES	
COMMUNITY	
ISOLATION	
NEEDS	
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS	
COMMUNICATION	
FUTURE PLANS	
PAST REFLECTION	
FUTURE DESIRES	
PAST CRITICISM	
ECONOMIC IMPACTS	
DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHIES	
DEPENDENCY	
PRESENT CRITICISM	
FEAR	
GOVERNMENT ROLES	
CONTEMPORARY APPEAL	
PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAINABILITY	
PERFECT BEACH RESORT	



Table 11: Segregation of data: non-Thai inhabitants

Non-Thai inhabitants of Phi Phi presented most vocally concerning the perceived barriers to implementing sustainability and cited a number of reasons for this including a lack of education and awareness of sustainability amongst the Thai inhabitants of the island. Whilst these commentators appeared keen to be viewed as part of the community, in this respect they differentiated themselves from Thai islanders. Terminology applied by non-Thai respondents, not only by islanders but also in other stakeholder groups, presented the Thai inhabitants very much as the 'other', as in Interview Respondent 8's account of the Thai attitude to planning:

> The Thai is very much 'think about today, maybe tomorrow, but not so much about the day after tomorrow'. I've been to trying to persuade this helper of mine to follow up some sort of profession, but I'll know he is quite happy here. He will not plan. He is a typical example. I have met so many of them and I think that this

obviously applies to, there are some, it also applies to university graduates, it is just a different mentality towards life.

It is therefore possible through the research findings to support the Western-centric hegemony of sustainability as a concept. Whilst the non-Thai inhabitants comprised a mix of nationalities originating from England, America and Germany, and were people who had resided on the island for a substantial period of time (minimum seven years, which was interview respondent 5; maximum twenty-five years, which was Electronic Respondent 8), one can argue that they were socially conditioned at a much earlier age, and that the ideologies and philosophies underpinning the society in which they were educated plays an important role in their conceptualisation of sustainability. It is also necessary to recognise the significance that cultural attitudes appear to hold over development philosophy. These are openly acknowledged by non-Thai commentators such as Interview Respondent 8, but it is also a view confirmed through discussions with Thai colleagues and literary accounts of Thai culture from a Thai perspective (Mam, 2007; Mulder, 1997).

These respondents also cited barriers such as bureaucracy, inaction and lack of accountability, and were on the whole more willing to criticise the role of the Thai Government in Phi Phi's reconstruction. They were also more willing to discuss the nature of power relationships and lawlessness on the island, particularly with regard to issues of inequality and the power of the landowners, perhaps as these respondents were not constrained by the same cultural barriers as their Thai neighbours (Deveney, 2005; Redmond, 1998; Mulder, 1997; 2000; and Van Esterik, 2000). Social impacts were also discussed widely by these respondents, and whilst they noted an improvement in livelihoods, also criticised tourism for being disrespectful of cultural issues, and 'selling out' to tourist desires. On many occasions, the non-Thai inhabitants of Phi Phi presented themselves as the 'voice' of their Thai counterparts, saying what the Thai islanders would not dare to. This compounded an unacknowledged self-perception of neo-colonial, imperialist superiority, in a similar vein to western discourses on sustainability and development and the post-tsunami volunteer zeitgeist.

4.4.3 Landowners on Phi Phi

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS
CONFLICT
ECONOMIC IMPACTS
DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHIES
POWER RELATIONSHIPS
ISOLATION
BARRIERS
INFLUENCE OF THE TSUNAMI
COMMUNITY
NEEDS
FUTURE PLANS
FUTURE DESIRES
CONTEMPORARY APPEAL
COMMUNICATION
LAWLESSNESS
SOCIAL IMPACTS
COMMUNITY CHALLENGES
PAST REFLECTION
DEPENDENCY
CULTURAL ISSUES
PAST CRITICISM
PERFECT BEACH RESORT
PRESENT CRITICISM
PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAINABILITY
GOVERNMENT ROLES
FEAR

Table 12: Segregation of data: Landowners

Landowners appear to recognise the impact that development on the island is having, particularly with regard to degradation, overcrowding and resource use, but they fail to see the contribution that they make towards the problem, apportioning blame to smaller enterprises. The degradation takes place on land and surrounding shop houses that are owned by them but leased out to individual entrepreneurs. From the landowners' perspective, how the land is used is secondary to its profitability. From the tenants' perspective, there is a lack of ownership on account of the temporary nature of the tenancy, and increasingly on account of deteriorating personal relationships between themselves and the landowner, as Interview Respondent 12 puts it: 'business is more important than friendship'. The most significant recognition of the Landowners is the economic benefit of tourism, a view shared with other inhabitants of the island, correlating with Electronic respondent 8's accusation that the approach taken with Phi Phi is to milk the island for all

they can (referring to land and business owners). However, while the landowners are seeking the most productive and profitable use of their land as an investment in what is normally a portfolio of assets (as with [information removed for anonymity purposes] for example), individuals and small business owners are seeking to secure and improve livelihoods, often in order that they can send money back to their family on the mainland or in another Thai Province (commonly Isaan). It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that landowners often cited conflict with the government and government 'interference' as a restrictive process that prevented the expansion of the tourism industry they desired and disrupted their normal business operation.

4.4.4 Government

POWER RELATIONSHIPS
GOVERNMENT ROLES
FUTURE PLANS
NEEDS
LAWLESSNESS
FEAR
CONFLICT
PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAINABILITY
ISOLATION
COMMUNICATION
SOCIAL IMPACTS
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS
ECONOMIC IMPACTS
CONTEMPORARY APPEAL
BARRIERS
DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHIES
INFLUENCE OF THE TSUNAMI
FUTURE DESIRES
DEPENDENCY
CULTURAL ISSUES
COMMUNITY CHALLENGES
PAST CRITICISM
PERFECT BEACH RESORT
PRESENT CRITICISM
PAST REFLECTION
COMMUNITY

Table 13: Segregation of data: Government

Government representatives, particularly at the regional level (Krabi and Phuket), spoke candidly about the power relationships present on the island, but also with the exercise of verbal threat (see Appendix 11) suggesting that landowners, particularly those who they referred to as the 'four major players' ([information removed for anonymity purposes]), and in the case of [information removed for anonymity purposes] 'big shots', have a level of power which surpassed that of the government. Two possible explanations have arisen for this through the research, although further research would be required to ascertain if there are more. Firstly, it has already been established through previous studies that TAO leaders are often hesitant to implement policy if it reduced the chances of local people to make money, as it is felt that this limits their legitimacy and electoral support (Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010). Hence, governance at a local level is reduced and landowners are afforded the freedom to develop land. Secondly, as has been discussed more fully under the theme of lawlessness, the existence of corruption at a regional and local level undermines the efforts of law-abiding officials (McCargo and Pathmanand, 2005; Hewison, 2002).

Government respondents were keen to highlight their contribution in terms of producing plans for development, and were keen to highlight the role they play in resource allocation. As high-status members of Thai society, this may be explained through the notion of 'face'. This was reflected in their discussion of future plans, with the predominant concerns being the cost of the plans and safety plans to be implemented post-tsunami. Stature is built through accumulation of resources and once, in a position of high status, symbols of status should be displayed and the bearer should live up to them. This is often undertaken through acts of generosity, a rejection of a kind gesture would cause the bearer to lose face (Mulder, 2000).

4.4.5 Academics and researchers

INFLUENCE OF THE TSUNAMI
LAWLESSNESS
POWER RELATIONSHIPS
PAST CRITICISM
COMMUNITY
SOCIAL IMPACTS
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS
FUTURE PLANS
ISOLATION
CONFLICT
FEAR
COMMUNICATION
BARRIERS
DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHIES
PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAINABILITY
PRESENT CRITICISM
NEEDS
FUTURE DESIRES
CULTURAL ISSUES
COMMUNITY CHALLENGES
PAST REFLECTION
DEPENDENCY
CONTEMPORARY APPEAL
ECONOMIC IMPACTS
GOVERNMENT ROLES
PERFECT BEACH RESORT

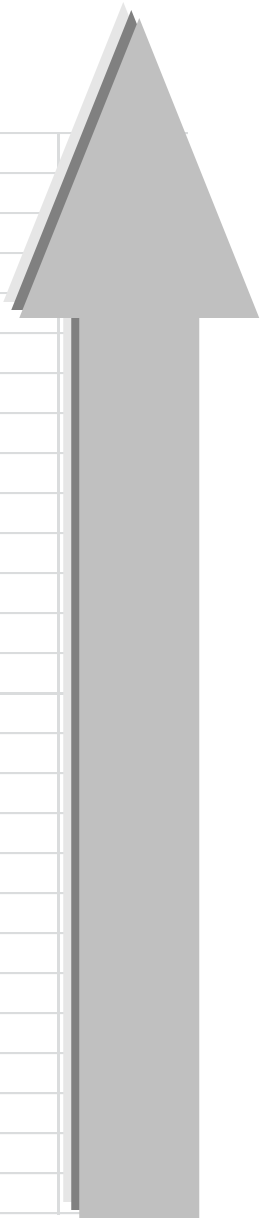


Table 14: Segregation of data: Academics and researchers

Amongst academic commentators, there were observations that the tsunami served to uncover problems such as abuse, alcoholism, suicide and impact upon mental wellbeing. This knowledge came from research undertaken by these actors (particularly respondents 20 and 26, who have been engaged in long-term fieldwork and humanitarian projects in the Phuket and Krabi Provinces, particularly post-tsunami). Additionally, as these factors are taboo within Thai society (Interview Respondent 11, a volunteer working with children suffering the effects of post-traumatic stress post-tsunami), it is unsurprising that they did not emerge in the responses of Thai commentators. Through the opinions canvassed in this research surrounding the influence of such a disaster, what is interesting is the manner in which the tsunami promoted a particular type of response to a post-disaster context. In Respondent 26's view, a

disaster cannot and will not create a 'clean slate'. It is impossible for many reasons: ultimately that inhabitants of the island have debts to pay that were accrued long before the tsunami struck. In comprehending the response to the disaster therefore, one must acknowledge that the post-disaster context will reflect the pre-disaster situation and that the tsunami not only created new challenges but uncovered existing problems. Recovery efforts have demonstrated both the weaknesses and vulnerability of the island and those of the responding agencies in 'high colour' (interview respondent 26), particularly the fragility and limitations of Phi Phi's infrastructure, an issue that has arisen repeatedly through this research; and the lack of provision to deal with psychological trauma arising from such a disaster. Respondent 26 urged that, while limited services to this end were provided by NGOs, there has been a lack of attention paid to psychological recovery amongst non-Thais, particularly holidaymakers. The respondent's own social-psychological research has demonstrated that psychological recovery is more rapid in circumstances where victims remain in situ and see the recovery process through; however, post-shock event, tourists are repatriated as quickly as possible.

These respondents divulged social problems that would severely challenge Phi Phi's label of a paradise island, although as Interview Respondent 11 advised, they are not unique to Phi Phi. These include child protection issues, drug and alcohol abuse and in some cases suicide. Interview Respondent 11 attributes this solely to post-traumatic stress in the rehabilitation period post-tsunami, and stated that they personally found psychological rehabilitation vastly more difficult on account of Thai attitudes to mourning. In Thailand, it is socially unacceptable to carry on grieving after a mourning period of one hundred days, and thus feelings are internalised. Respondent 26 agreed that these problems have been heightened through extreme pressure of a drop in income, increase in expense and potentially more mouths to feed (in the case of orphaned children). However, this respondent felt that it is likely that some of these issues existed before, due to the manner in which tourism has developed on Phi Phi, with no separation between islanders' homes and tourists, children earning money via tourism rather than attending school and consequently being invited to drink alcohol and take drugs.

It was this group of respondents that spoke with less hesitance concerning issues and examples of lawlessness, including the incidence of 'crooked politicians' at a local level, corruption, rule breaking and encroachment onto National Park Land. In respect of power relationships, these respondents, in the same vein as other respondent groups, recognised the power of the landowners, but were particularly concerned with the 'sell-out' of land from traditional inhabitants to 'outsiders'. Other power relationships discussed included concern for the involvement of DASTA in planning for the island's future, and links between landowners and local government.

4.4.6 Volunteers

	VOLUN
INFLUENCE OF THE TSUNAMI	
CONTEMPORARY APPEAL	
PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAINABILITY	
CULTURAL ISSUES	
PERFECT BEACH RESORT	
LAWLESSNESS	
NEEDS	
GOVERNMENT ROLES	
FUTURE DESIRES	
DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHIES	
COMMUNITY	
ISOLATION	
SOCIAL IMPACTS	
ECONOMIC IMPACTS	
PRESENT CRITICISM	
POWER RELATIONSHIPS	
PAST REFLECTION	
PAST CRITICISM	
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS	
FUTURE PLANS	
FEAR	
DEPENDENCY	
CONFLICT	
COMMUNITY CHALLENGES	
COMMUNICATION	
BARRIERS	

Table 15: Segregation of data: Volunteers

Volunteers were, unsurprisingly, most concerned with the influence of the tsunami, proposing that it uncovered and exacerbated a range of social problems, most specifically an increase in cases of abuse of drugs, alcohol and sex, and has heightened the vulnerability of certain groups, such as children orphaned by the disaster and fishermen whose boats and livelihoods were destroyed (Respondent 11, Thai resident and charity worker). They corroborated the opinions of researchers/academics through first-hand experiences. Their contributions, (section 4.4.5) have afforded valuable insight into the vulnerability of Phi Phi and the effectiveness of the disaster response.

4.4.7 Tourists

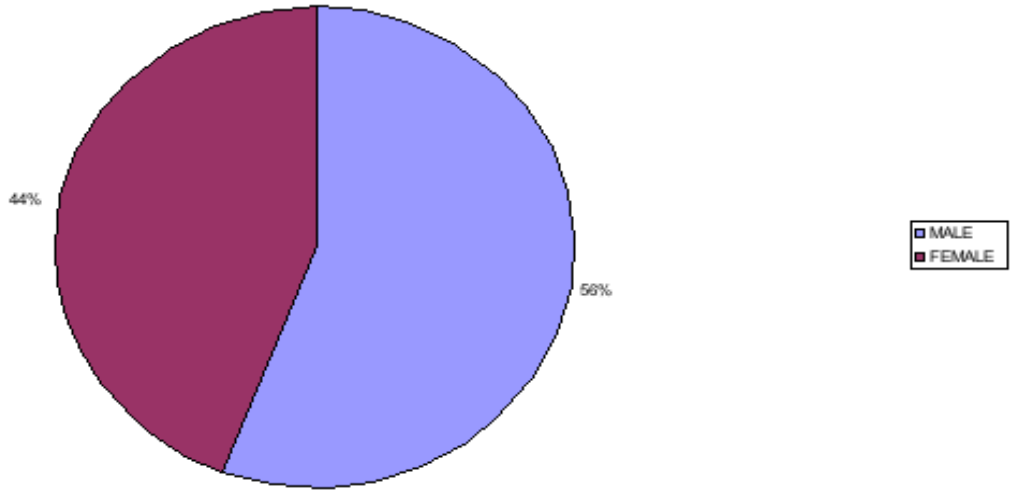
	TOURIS
CONTEMPORARY APPEAL	
PERFECT BEACH RESORT	
PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAINABILITY	
PRESENT CRITICISM	
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS	
FUTURE DESIRES	
POWER RELATIONSHIPS	
ECONOMIC IMPACTS	
ISOLATION	
PAST CRITICISM	
INFLUENCE OF THE TSUNAMI	
SOCIAL IMPACTS	
FUTURE PLANS	
BARRIERS	
PAST REFLECTION	
LAWLESSNESS	
COMMUNITY	
COMMUNICATION	
NEEDS	
GOVERNMENT ROLES	
FEAR	
DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHIES	
DEPENDENCY	
CULTURAL ISSUES	
CONFLICT	
COMMUNITY CHALLENGES	

Table 16: Segregation of data: Tourists

Tourists' responses demonstrated a greater preoccupation with aspects of their leisure experience on Koh Phi Phi. Their predominant concerns were what made the island appealing or not. From the order in which the themes for this respondent group present, it is clear that whilst the community and community challenges are not of concern to tourists, neither are they concerned (or in fact aware) of deeper issues of conflict and lawlessness. They are critical of factors that are also a challenge to the community, such as poor sanitation, waste disposal and overcrowding. This is important, as it is clear that tourists recognise these factors as deterrents and yet there is a lack of dialogue or feedback between tourists and land and business owners. Islanders are indeed 'killing the golden goose' as Interview Respondent 5 suggested.

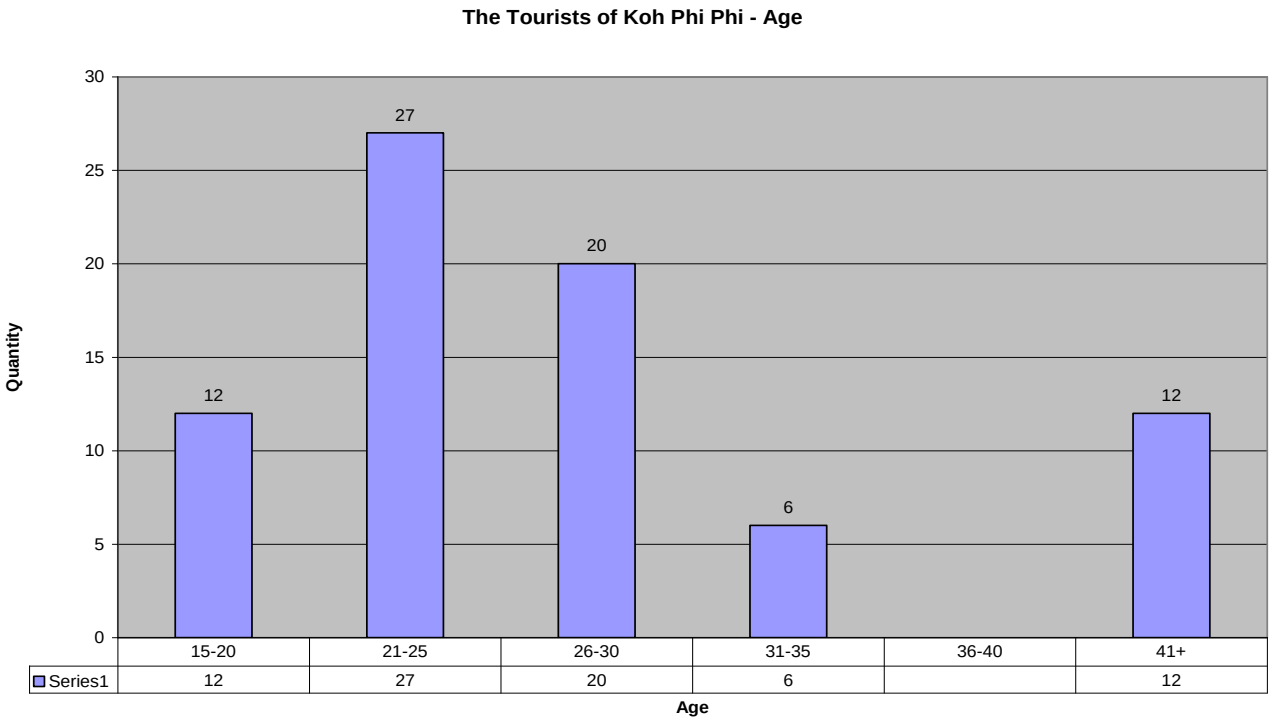
Results of the tourist questionnaires

Questionnaires were issued to 76 tourists on Phi Phi during April 2008 to provide a snapshot, convenience sample of the contemporary tourist on Phi Phi at that time. The purpose of these questionnaires was to determine the nature, desires and motivations of tourists on Phi Phi. As it has already been established, tourism demand is a key 'shaping force' in the island's future development and therefore it was considered important to ascertain the nature of that force. This data is enhanced through the research of Dodds, Graci and Holmes (2010) who sought to profile the visitor in both Phi Phi and Gili Trawangan, Indonesia, to ascertain the factors that tourists felt important in their travel experience and to canvas opinion on who the tourists felt should shoulder responsibility for sustainability. Their research was undertaken in December 2007 and utilised the survey method as a means of generating statistical data.



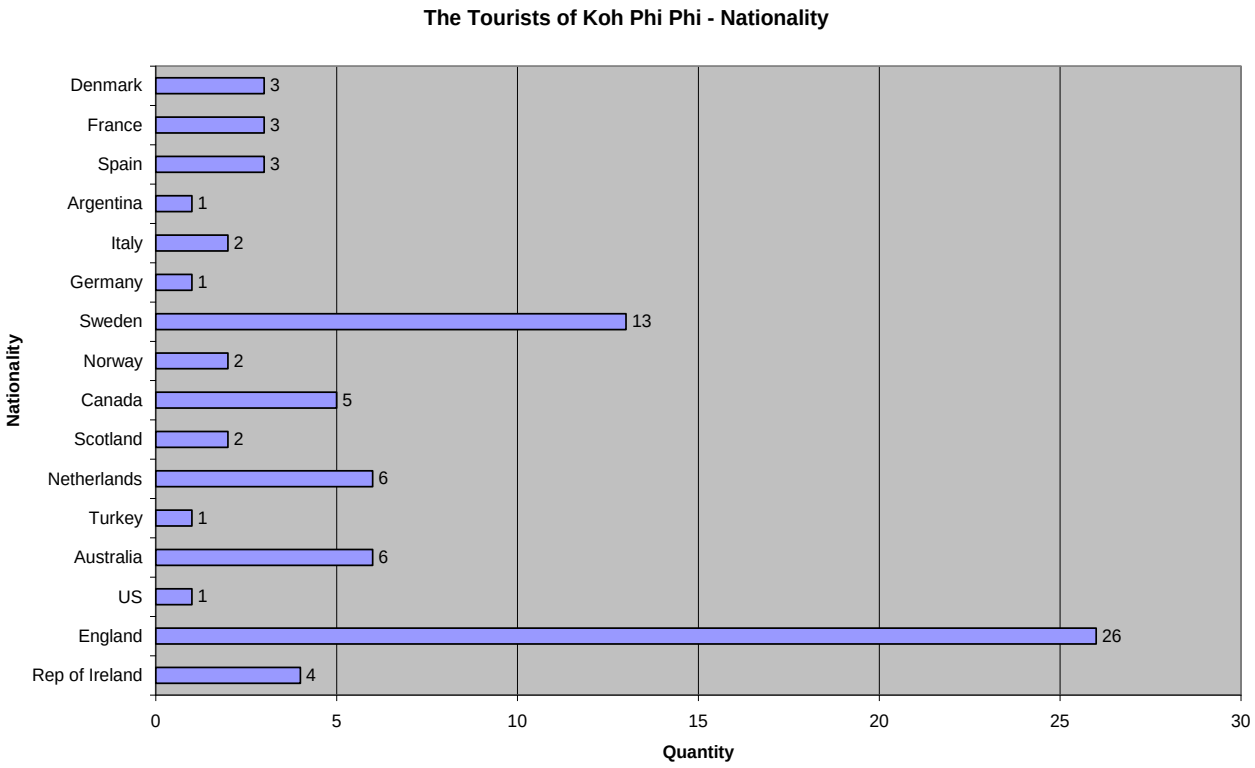
Graph 4: Gender of respondents

As can be seen, the ratio of male to female respondents was roughly equal.



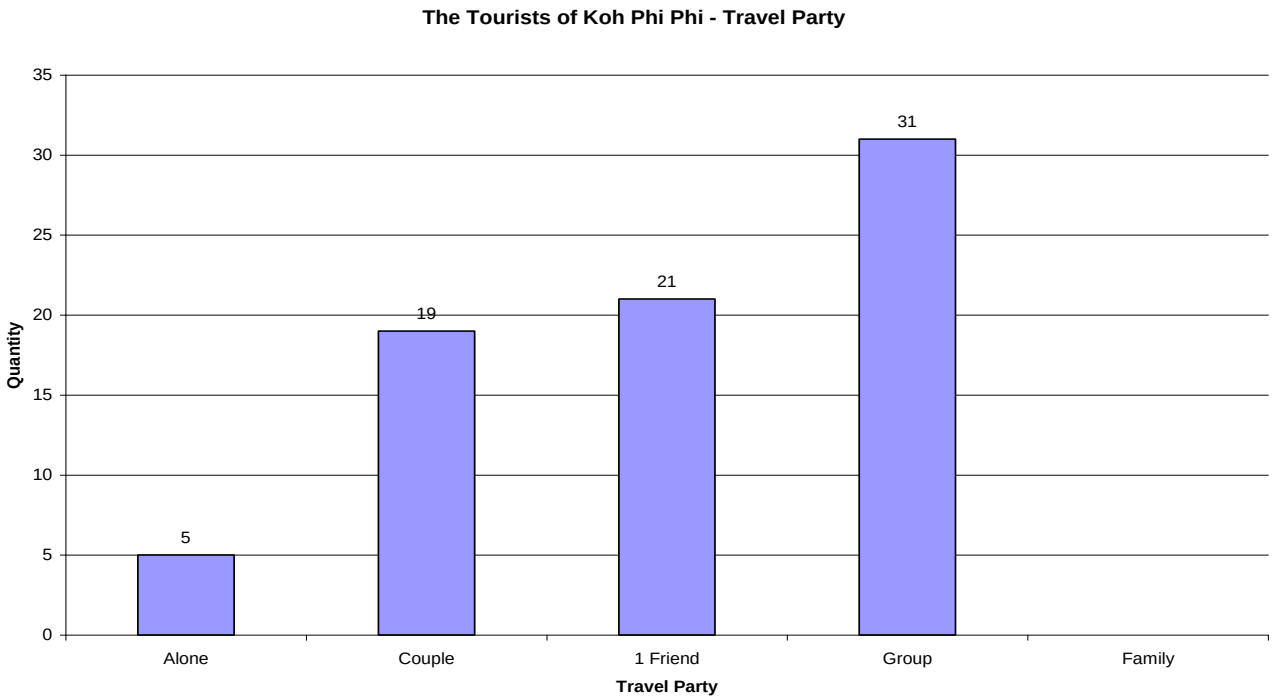
Graph 5: Age of respondents

The graph above illustrates that the majority of respondents fall within the age category 21-25 and 26-30 with 27% and 20% respectively. These results concur with that of Dodds *et al.* (2010) who noted the highest number of respondents in the 18-24 and 25-34 categories.



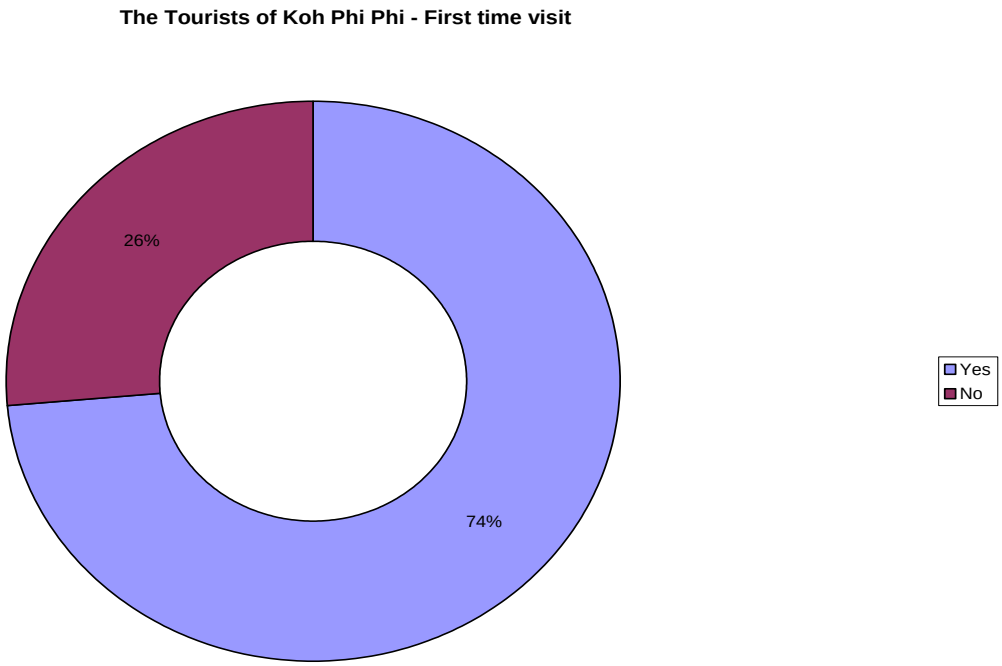
Graph 6: Nationality of respondents

Phi Phi clearly attracts a diverse range of nationalities, the most prevelant being English (26%) and Swedish (13%). One must note, however, that bias may have been introduced on account of the researcher's own nationality and affinity. Nevertheless, many accounts of Phi Phi note Phi Phi's appeal to British and Scandinavians and certainly data from Dodds *et al.*'s (2010) study confirms a similar mix of nationalities.



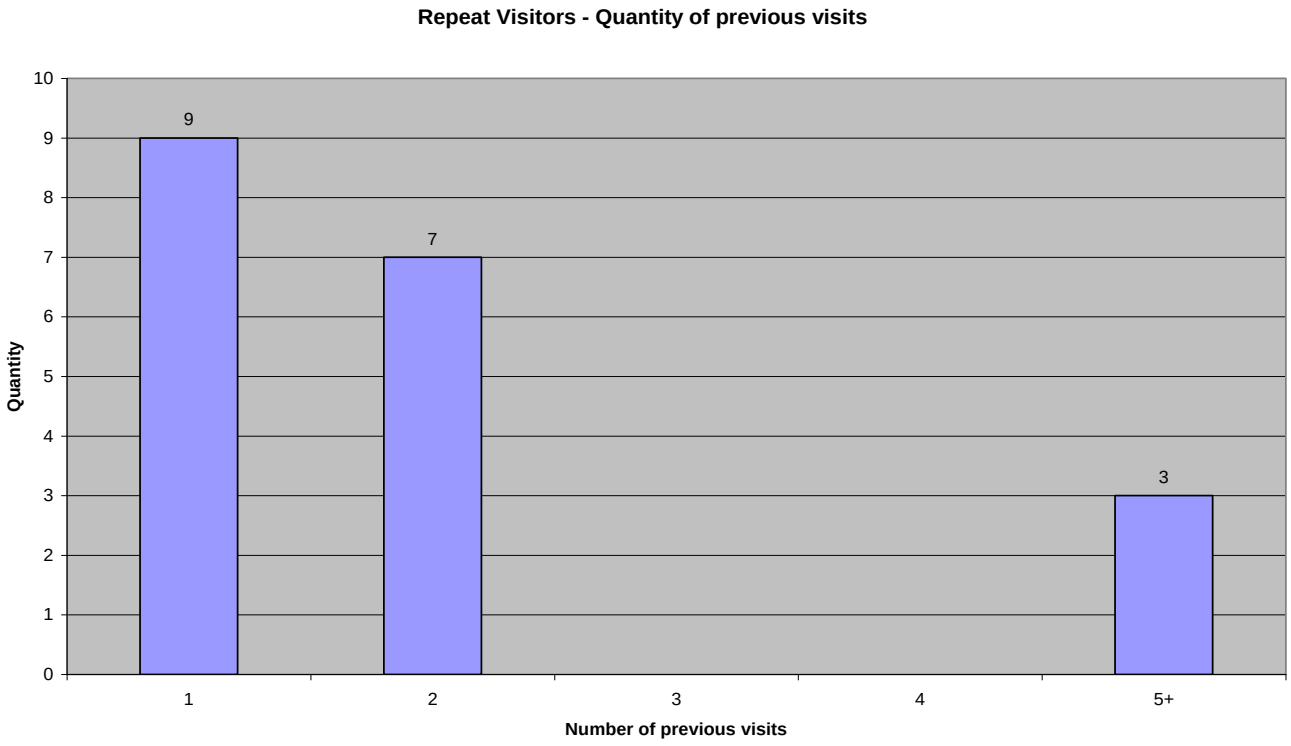
Graph 7: Travel party

As can be seen from the graph above, the majority of tourists on Phi Phi have travelled as part of a group. There are very few lone travellers and even fewer families. However from conversations with these respondents during the research, many of these formed their groups whilst travelling. This is interesting as Dodds *et al.*'s (2010) research indicates that 70% of tourists on Phi Phi are single travellers. Perhaps the format of these responses is a factor in the tourist's perception of themselves as a lone traveller.



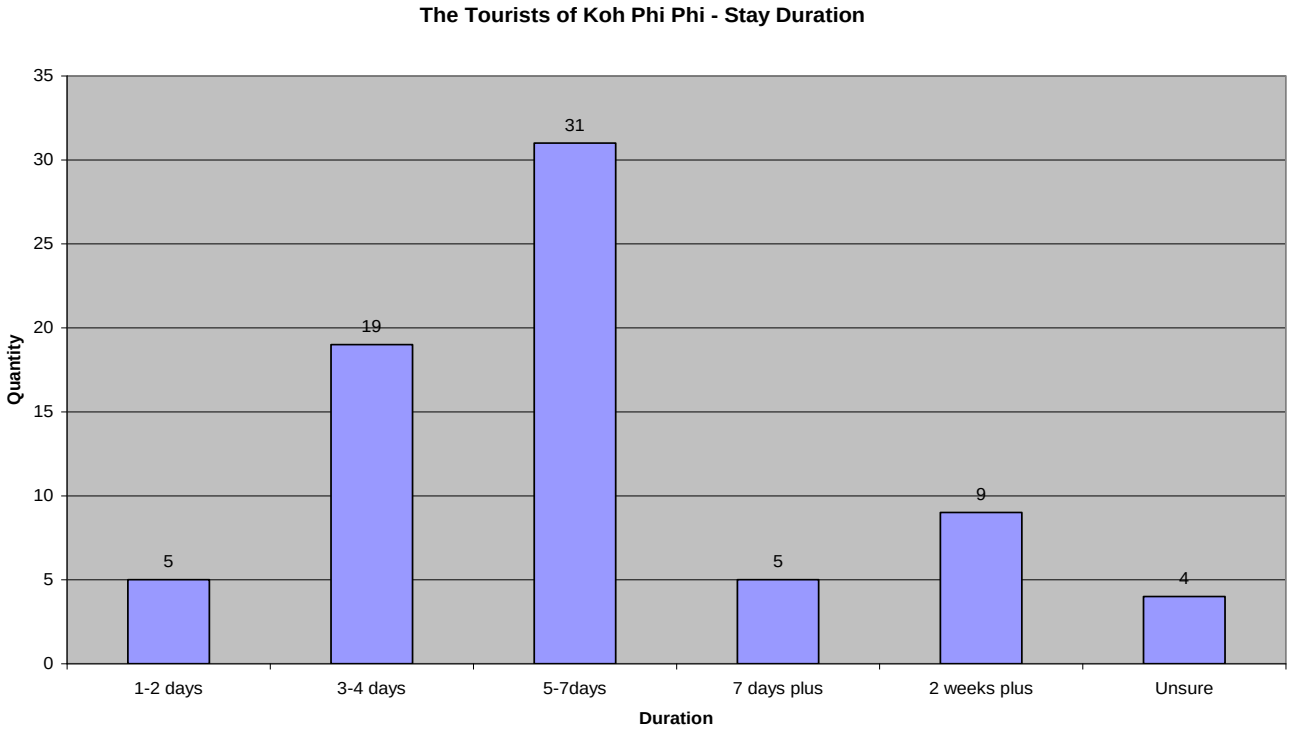
Graph 8: Frequency of visits to Phi Phi

The majority were first-time visitors (74%). If they had visited the island before, it was only once or twice.

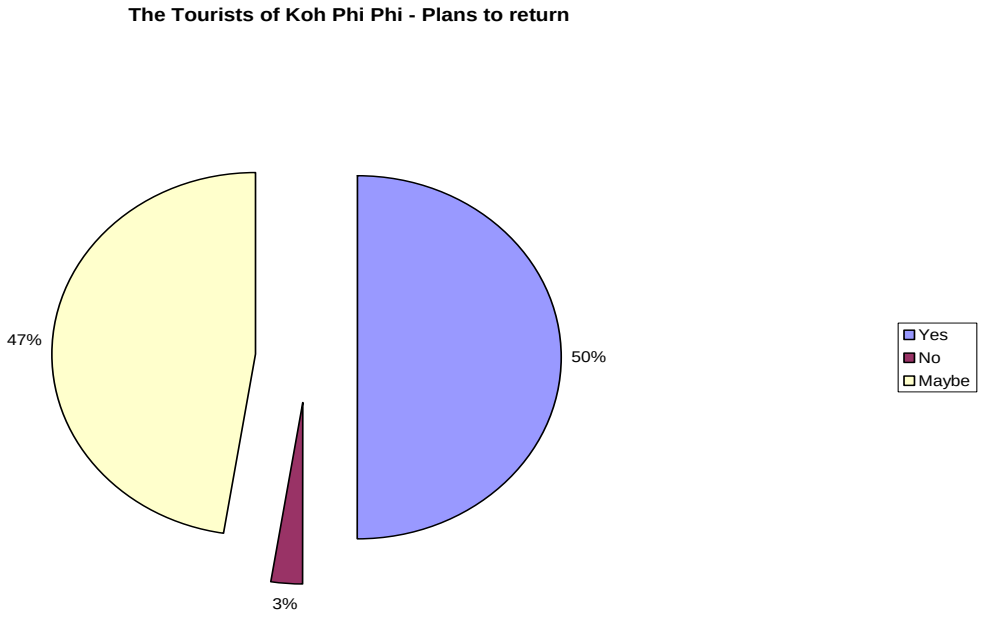


Graph 9: Quantity of repeat visits

As can be seen from the graph below, 31% of all respondents planned to stay on the island for a duration of 5-7 days. The majority see Phi Phi as a short-stay destination as part of a longer tour.

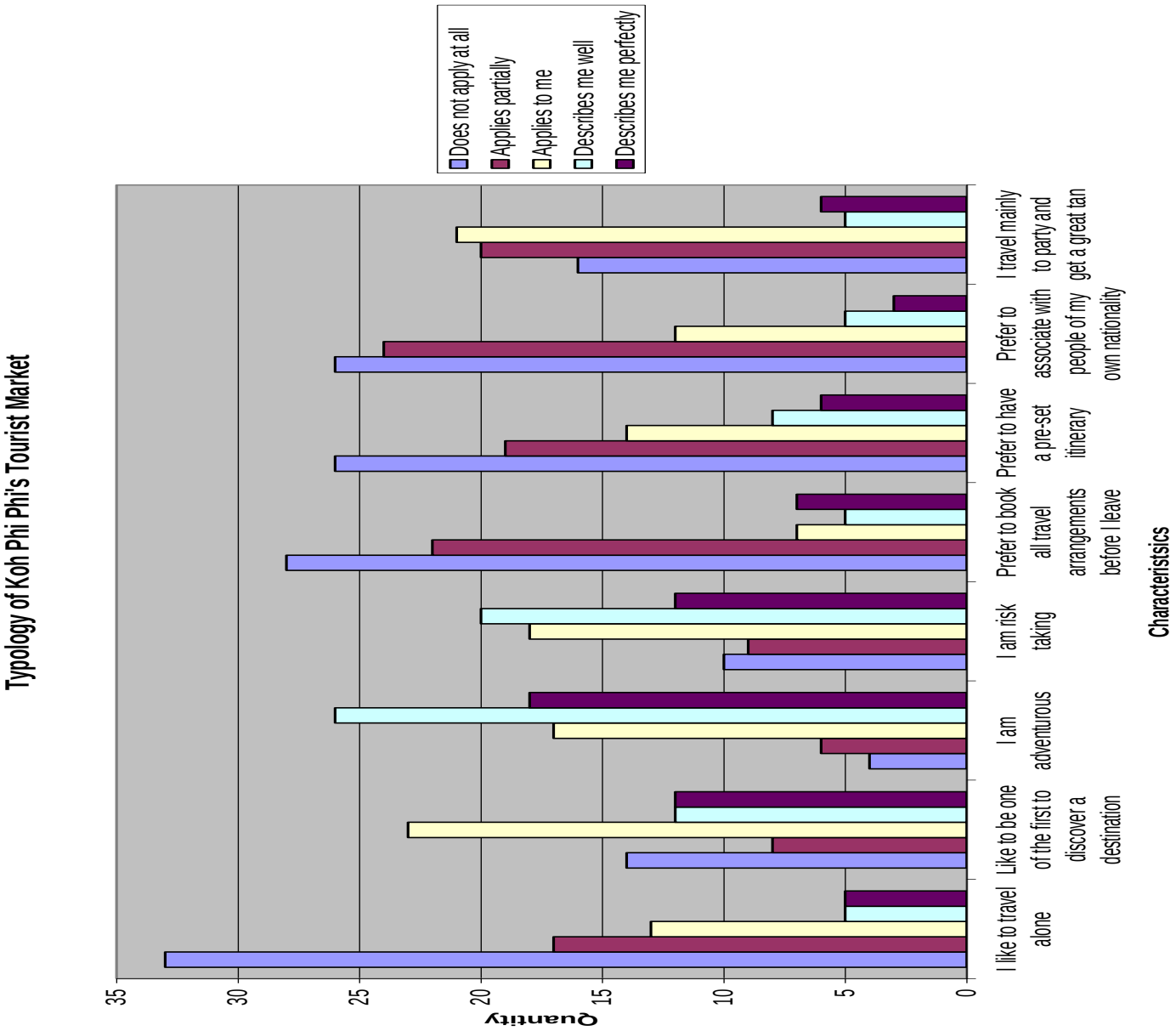


Graph 10: Stay duration



Graph 11: Plans to return

When questioned, half responded that they planned to return and half were unsure. This is certainly befitting with the fact that respondent descriptions of a perfect beach resort do not match their description of Phi Phi.



Graph 12: Typology of Phi Phi's tourist market

The graph above illustrates the responses gained from questions that sought to ascertain the typology of tourists on Phi Phi according to Plog's psychographic segmentation model. Respondents were presented with a series of statements about their travel preferences. Four statements (1-4 on the graph above) were statements commonly associated with Plog's 'Allocentric' tourist and four (5-8 on the graph above) were statements commonly associated with Plog's 'Psychocentric' tourist typology. Respondents were asked to rank each statement according to how far the statement applies to their own travel preferences. This is based on Plog's (1977) proposals that destination evolution is linked to typology. By assigning the typology and nature of tourist, one might better predict the expectation that they will have from the tourist product and the subsequent impacts that might ensue. Shaw and Williams (2002:178) support and state that: 'such perspectives provide a platform from which to explore the relationships between tourist consumption and the socio-cultural fabric of destinations.'

As can be seen, the respondents were on the whole more confident in stating the characteristics that they felt do not apply to them at all. Firstly, they do not like to travel alone (findings also demonstrate that the majority of tourists on Phi Phi are travelling in a group). Nevertheless, Plog (1977) argued that psychocentric tourists travelled in groups of a nationality familiar to themselves, and psychocentric destinations were characterised by groups of same-nationality tourists (Poon, 1993). This certainly appears to be the case on Phi Phi.

The next criterion was the desire to be the first to discover a destination. The majority of respondents felt that this statement applied to them. No doubt our own perception of ourselves may be that we are the adventurous, intrepid traveller, but in reality if they were to be amongst the first to visit Phi Phi, they would have had to be there in the 1950s, when the Chao Ley first settled from Koh Yao. Previous responses within this questionnaire indicated that the majority of respondents were there for the first time, and therefore it could not be argued that they had been amongst the first to discover the destination and were merely returning for a visit of reconnaissance; indeed, they have first visited the island when it is well advanced along the Tourism Area Life Cycle and is already subject to the detrimental impacts of tourism development. Interestingly, the next criterion, 'I am adventurous', was something the tourists felt described them well. Certainly when considering the previous discussion, one might observe that personal perception may not match reality. These tourists may be adventurous in the sense that they have travelled to a long-haul destination and booked components of the trip separately (as opposed to travelling as a tour group), but the destination has for a long time offered all the comforts of home, and is increasingly so, as is reflected in the Western menus of every restaurant, the provision of a swimming pool and air conditioning with most accommodation and the viewing of Western movies in every bar every day. There is even a Seven Eleven store, and it cannot be long before it acquires a McDonald's. Globalisation processes are eroding the basis for allocentric tourists, it can thus be argued.

The next statement, 'I am risk taking', was one with which many of the respondents agreed. This may indeed be the case, although little evidence was available. Indeed, the main activities observed by the researcher in respect of these

respondents were lying on a beach, eating in restaurants and drinking in bars. Evidently risk-taking is wholly subjective.

When considering the psychocentric statements, firstly in respect of booking all components of the trip before leaving home, respondents felt that this did not apply at all. Thailand as a destination, whilst featured as a package tour destination in many mass-market tour operators' programmes, is arguably more cost-effective and flexible if tailor-made. Phi Phi was rarely featured in tour operators' brochures prior to the tsunami. However, should the desire exist, Phi Phi can now be pre-booked as part of a Thailand package tour with most tour operators. Additionally, booking mechanisms for accommodation on the island have been found to be inefficient. Only the 'high-end' accommodation can be easily reserved in advance. One of the few informative websites that features guesthouse and bungalow accommodation (www.phiphi.com) does not offer an instant booking feature, and so pre-reservation is difficult. Nevertheless, upon arrival, although seemingly chaotic, effective systems ensure every tourist is accommodated through dozens of touts and tour agencies at the pier.

Tourists stated that a preference 'to associate with people of their own nationality' does not apply to them at all. Although stated, there was little evidence that nationalities mixed, as all respondents surveyed were in same-nationality groups. Furthermore, psychocentric characteristics such as 'travel to party and get a great tan' were descriptions that applied fully or partially to them, and observations and reflections from field study support this.

An interesting observation here is the perception we have of ourselves as tourists. Society considers it negative for us to like the familiar, the comfortable, the safe and travelling in packs, so when questioned about our travel patterns, do present a more exciting, adventurous version of ourselves? Or do we truly see ourselves as the intrepid traveller because we have travelled long-haul, arranged our travel plans without a package holiday and spoken to some locals? Certainly from observations and data gathered from the tourists on Phi Phi, there is very limited evidence of anything other than 'psychocentric-mid-centric' tourists and mass tourism (Poon, 1993). This observation is reinforced by Dodds *et al.* (2010). Although they did not use the same theoretical framework to analyse the behaviour and motivations of the tourists, they confirm the predominant motivation of sunbathing, beach-based tourism and relaxation. Research concerning the behaviour of backpackers in other Thai Island locations (see Cohen, 1982; Westerhausen, 2002) confirms an interest in recreational experiences mostly sought by mass tourists over cultural ones. In fact, in Cohen (1982) observes, in Phuket and Koh Samui, that beaches are perceived as 'marginal paradise' areas that can be enjoyed marginal to the life plans of the individual and to the native society.

The drives of these tourists will ultimately shape the nature of the island's tourism offer unless interventions are put in place. These desires appear to be the need for clean, white sand beaches, blue sea; quiet in the day, lively at night; friendly locals and good quality accommodation. In Poon's (1993) definition of 'mass tourists' there appear to be

some parallels: 'the desire for homogenous and predictable products, security in numbers, familiar food and surroundings.' The fear associated with this is that mass tourism is potentially an agent for profound economic and cultural change (ibid.). The study commenced by questioning whether the proposals of Weaver and Lawton (2002) were true, that a destination's progression along the natural Tourism Area Life Cycle could be altered or prevented. However, the evidence suggests that in this case and context, the tsunami did not have this effect. It may be that, pre-tsunami, the island had already become so heavily developed and reliant upon the tourism industry that the pervading philosophy post-tsunami was how to rebuild the tourism industry as quickly as possible in order that livelihoods should also be rebuilt. There simply wasn't time, in the eyes of the stakeholders, to take stock and reassess an alternative tourism model.

4.4.8 International Hospitality Industry

	IHI
FUTURE PLANS	
CONTEMPORARY APPEAL	
POWER RELATIONSHIPS	
BARRIERS	
PRESENT CRITICISM	
ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS	
LAWLESSNESS	
NEEDS	
DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHIES	
CULTURAL ISSUES	
COMMUNICATION	
ISOLATION	
COMMUNITY CHALLENGES	
PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAINABILITY	
INFLUENCE OF THE TSUNAMI	
ECONOMIC IMPACTS	
FUTURE DESIRES	
COMMUNITY	
PERFECT BEACH RESORT	
PAST REFLECTION	
PAST CRITICISM	
SOCIAL IMPACTS	
GOVERNMENT ROLES	
FEAR	
DEPENDENCY	
CONFLICT	

Table 18: Segregation of data: International hospitality industry

Respondents from the international hospitality industry keenly discussed future plans for the island's development. From this position they were able to illustrate the capability of what they termed 'high-end' (five star properties) to pursue sustainability (as has already been discussed in section 4.3 *Future Plans*), with specific illustrations of how sustainable practices would be embedded within the design of the new Intercontinental development on Laem Tong (Respondent 10 Architect of the Intercontinental development). These respondents were keen to differentiate between the Tonsai/Lo Dalaam (central 'apple core') area of the island in terms of appeal and sustainability and conjectured that there was limited potential for Tonsai to pursue sustainability, something that was afforded to the Laem Tong area, which is characterised by fewer landowners and is the only part of the island in which there is a presence of international hotel companies.

4.5 Perspectives on sustainability

The perspectives presented below initially represent views from all stakeholders relevant to Phi Phi's redevelopment and future development. As Spangenberger (2005, cited in Saarinen, 2006: 1124) suggests, the concept of sustainability is, 'ideologically and politically contested and needs to cover a broad range of interests which have no easily identifiable common denominator.' This will be a framing point for further discussion, as a context-bound common denominator will be introduced from the data. Additionally, shortfalls in sustainable development thinking often fail to make considerations of context and thus are dominated by Western ideology (Hunter, 1997; McKercher, 1993), something this research seeks to overcome. The discussion will seek to redress this and present conceptualisations of sustainability in a non-Western framework, elaborating the 'common interests' that exist in this case.

With respect to the conceptualisations that should be sought, interview respondent 1 argues, the concern should not be with what the 'original community' wants. The consideration is much broader than that:

> the first thing that you need to identify is how you define sustainability in the context of what you want to do, and what sort of sustainability – financial or community sustainability? What is sustainability? Forget about what it means from the point of view of the local community – the local community has gone! Well, there are some people squatting there, but it is not the local community. It's gone! They blew it! Because they sold their land! All they have are long tail boats to drive tourists around. To play the Devil's advocate, how can you come along and tell a long tail boatman that it is a good idea to go out and fish and make 600 baht per day when he can make 3000 a day running tourists around? You can't. You can't say you have to go fishing because you are a fisherman. What to do about that one? You can't dictate to them.

Overarching the discussion concerning perceptions of sustainability for Phi Phi, one cannot disregard opinions along the following lines:

> Sustainable Development isn't even a consideration on Phi Phi. The only thing that matters to the TAT, government officials and business operators on Phi Phi is money, money, money! I have never heard anybody in the south of Thailand ever mention concepts such as Sustainable Development. The concept is completely unknown. When I mention these words at a meeting, people look at me like I am crazy. Sustainable Development is something akin to losing money. (Electronic respondent 8, local tourism industry)

Certainly several of the emergent sub-themes present an indication that 'sustainable development is not a priority for developing countries'. As electronic respondent 6 (Thai-based academic) notes:

> Locals and stakeholders alike on Phi Phi are more interested in economic sustainability than they are in environmental viability. Tragically, most have yet to fully grasp the connectedness of these.

Some stakeholders do appear to grasp this, as demonstrated by Respondent 5 (Resident, non-Thai):

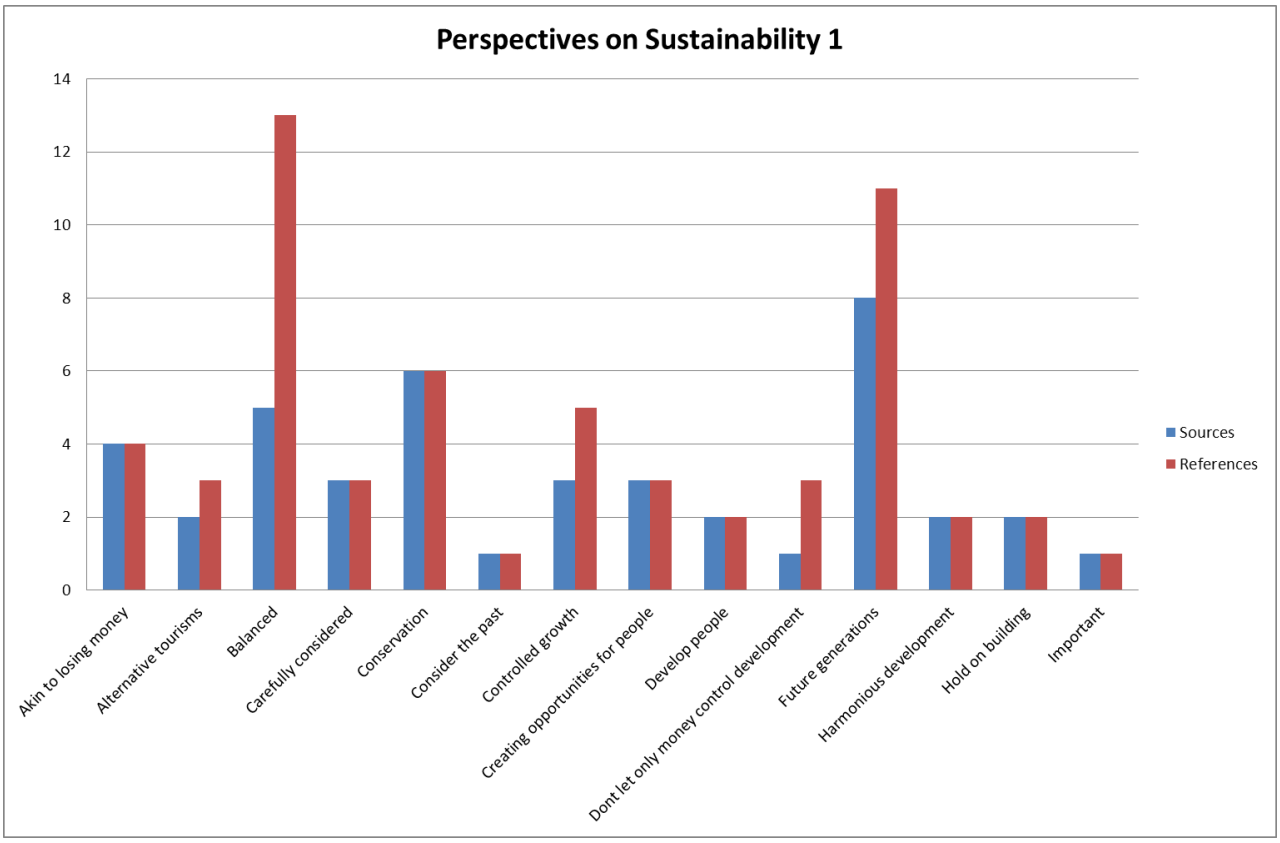
> I hope I have got this right, keeping things so that you can maintain the environment and so that people can stay here and maintain themselves. So that people can earn money, but not at the risk of damaging the environment, or polluting.

However, as has been demonstrated previously, there is little evidence that the development path being followed on Phi Phi post-tsunami is any different to that pursued pre-tsunami. One might reflect, then, that there is one 'common denominator' (Spangenberger, 2005) in the future desires for Phi Phi Island: economic sustainability.

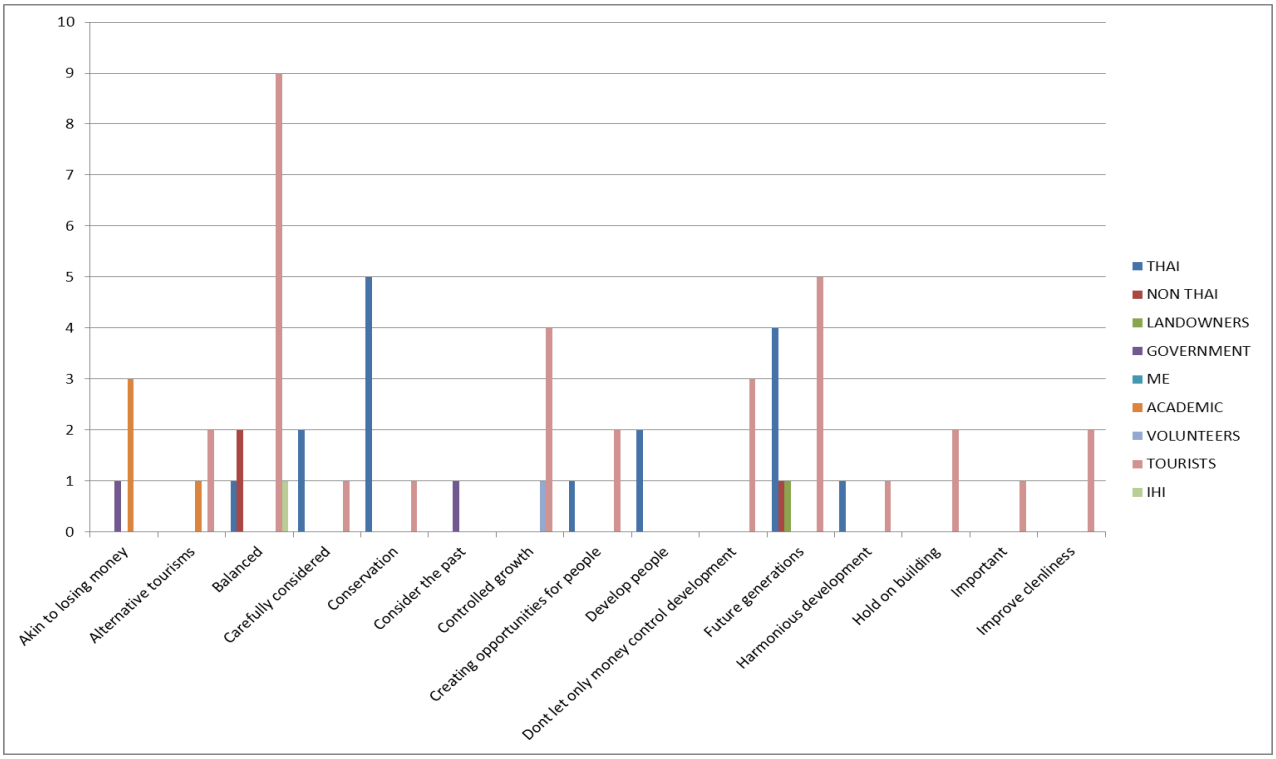
Whilst the overarching desire was for economic sustainability, some of the most important themes in conceptualising sustainability that emerged were 'to limit', for the 'long-term', 'to not destroy', 'retain natural quality' and to 'prevent overdevelopment', likened more however to Baker *et al's* (1997:11) 'techno-cratic' approach to sustainability when arguably what is required on Phi Phi is an 'eco-centric' approach which would involve changing the value systems and power structures of society. Graphs 13a and b, 14a and b and 15a and b on pages 220-223 illustrate the most dominant sub-themes originating from the data in respect of sustainability, initially in combined form (a) and then segregated (b). These were responses that people gave when asked what they thought Sustainable Development meant. When asked what it meant for Phi Phi, the responses differed slightly as illustrated in Table 29 (**Appendix 20**, pp. 382-383).

As can be seen from Table 29, whilst the theoretical meaning of sustainable tourism development encompasses ideas such as limiting carrying capacity, developing human resources so that the quality of life of a destination's inhabitants can be improved and maintaining civilisation and cleanliness, the meanings associated with sustainable tourism development on Phi Phi differed somewhat. Sustainable development in Phi Phi's context, to the stakeholders of Phi Phi, means keeping the island how it is (which has proved unsustainable). There is also a clear emphasis upon attracting more money, which in turn will bring tourists and to develop the tourism infrastructure further and attractions to support tourism. Another noticeable difference between the meaning of sustainability and sustainability in Phi Phi is the human element of development. In general terms, commentators see sustainability as something that contributes to human progress and improves the quality of life of host communities. Commentators in respect of Phi Phi only discuss the human element in respect of livelihoods. Respondents, it would appear, found it hard to verbalise certain elements of what sustainability would look like 'on the ground'. They talk of a better future, but not what that future would look like other than being more prosperous and having more productive businesses.

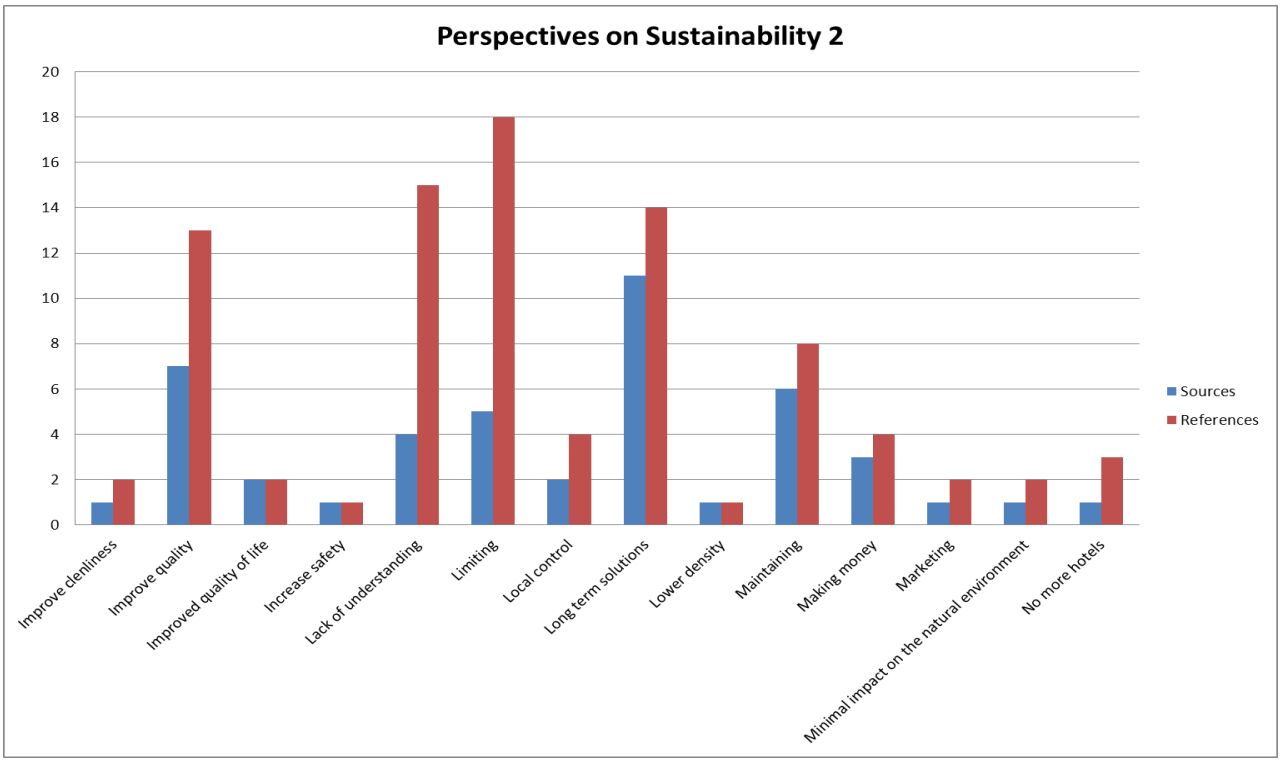
The observation to be gleaned from Table 29 is that concepts (in this case sustainability) take on very different meanings once they have been given a context and setting. What respondents imagine as sustainable for Phi Phi takes on a different meaning to theoretical definitions due to localised characteristics and environment. For example, with respect to conservation, sustainability is generically defined as 'keeping what is special and natural and beautiful', but what is 'special and natural and beautiful' can only be understood in context. For Phi Phi, that would involve keeping it as it is with the vegetation on the hills and construction restricted to areas already developed.



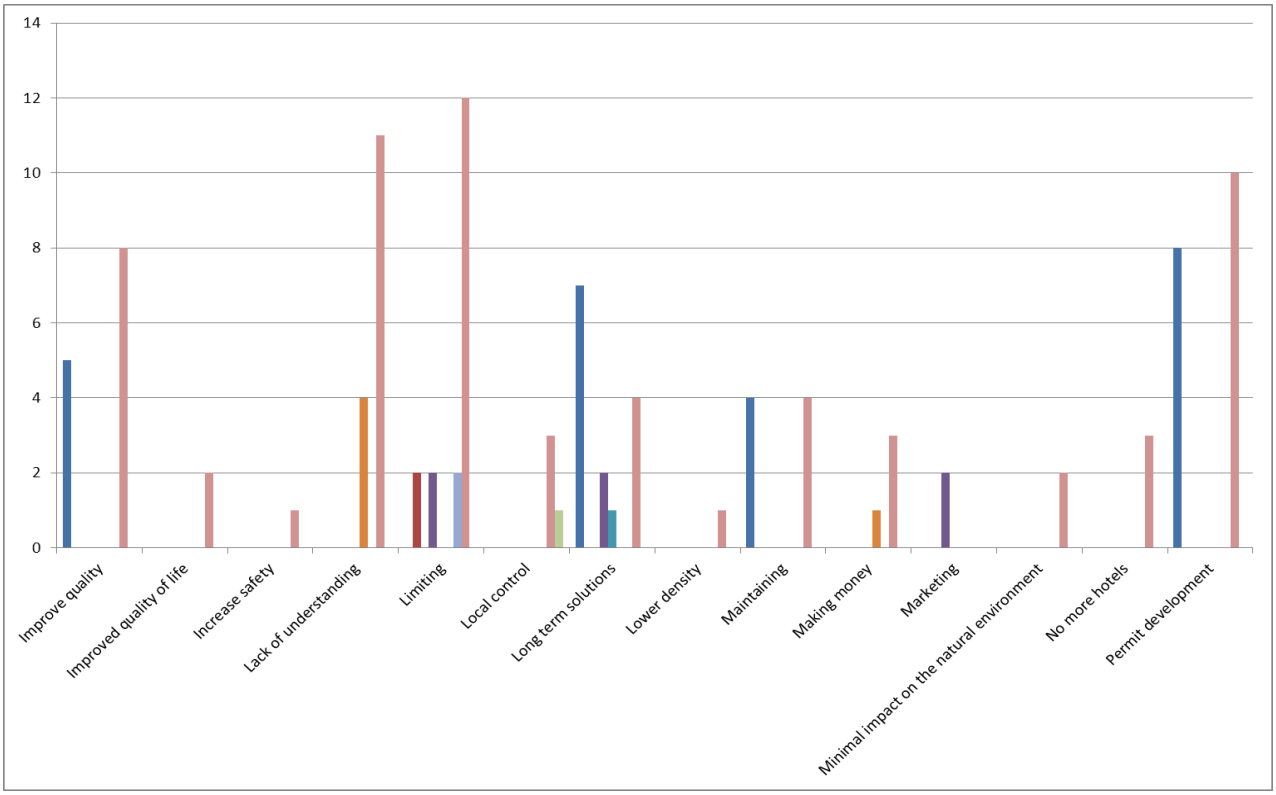
Graph 13a: Perspectives on sustainability 1



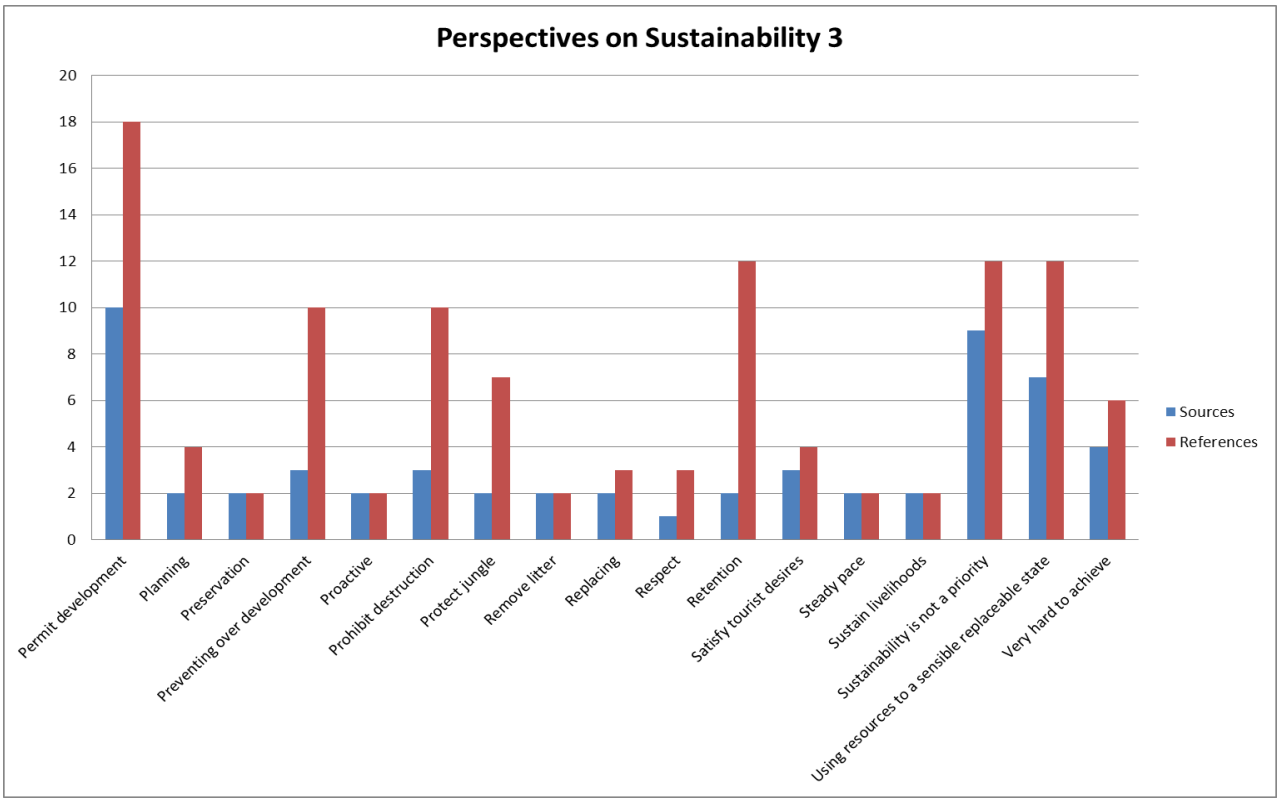
Graph 13b: Segregated perspectives on sustainability 1



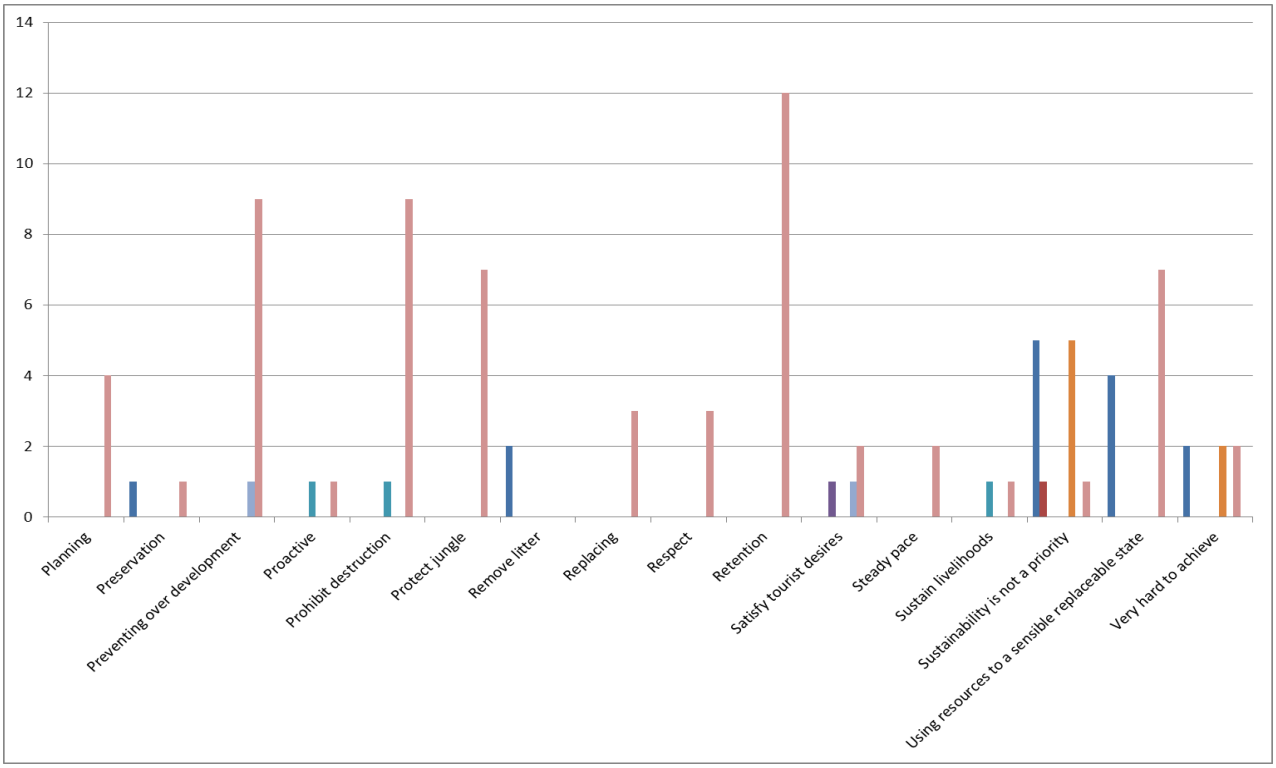
Graph 14a: Perspectives on sustainability 2



Graph 14b: Segregated perspectives on sustainability 2



Graph 15a: Perspectives on sustainability 3



Graph 15b: Segregated perspectives on sustainability 3

In order to illustrate how Phi Phi's stakeholders' conceptualisations of sustainability relate to theory and the ways in which these conceptualisations compare *against* a western ideological framework, a mapping matrix has been created. This matrix takes selected definitions of Sustainable Development and Sustainable Tourism development alike and maps the definition against the ten most significant elements of sustainability as proposed by respondents. An indication ('yes') is given on the matrix if a particular element matches the theoretical definition. It is hoped that this will provide a picture of the theoretical definitions most fitting for Sustainable Development of Phi Phi. If it is felt that a particular definition incorporates none of the elements provided by stakeholders, then all fields are blank. This matrix (Table 30) is in **Appendix 21** (pp. 384-388). The mapping matrix is not designed to *reinforce* western hegemonic discourse; the purpose is to present empirical evidence through this research of how local interpretations of sustainability compare and contrast *against* western discourse and thus reinforce the thesis that sustainability is *context-dependent*, rather than a true 'alternative' paradigm to development in a Western hegemony, which in this case is better explained through theories of dependency and neoliberalism.

Table 30 only considered the ten most dominant sub-themes. One can clearly see that, out of the definitions offered within Western discourse, it is very difficult to find a match between theory and the reality of how sustainability is viewed by Phi Phi's stakeholders. In order, therefore, to determine how precise elements of sustainable development were reflected in all sub-themes, the following table was produced. Table 19 identifies elements of sustainable development as derived from the Brundtland (1987) report according to Murphy (1995) and Krippendorf (1982), Lane

(1990) and Godfrey (1996) as cited in Swarbrooke (1999), in addition to other authors. Table 19 highlights whether the sub-themes are reflected by different respondent groups, and it then seeks to find where this element is reflected within the sub-themes. This will provide an insight into the elements of sustainability that are and are not present within stakeholder conceptualisations of Phi Phi.

Element of sustainability according to the Brundtland report	*Is this element present in the conceptualisations of sustainability according to Phi Phi's stakeholders?*	*By which stakeholder group(s)*	*Sub-theme*
Establishing ecological limits	*Partially – stakeholders recognise the need to 'limit' but do not discuss this in respect of ecological limits; they refer to limiting construction density*	*Tourists, non-Thai, government, volunteers*	*Limiting*
Establishing more equitable standards	*No*		
Redistribution of economic activity and reallocation of resources	*No*		
Population control	*Partially – stakeholders discuss the need to limit day-trippers but not all tourists to the island*	*Non-Thai, government*	*Limiting*
Conservation of basic resources	*Partially – respondents discuss conservation in the context of 'to conserve nature', not conserve water, electricity, food etc.*	*Thai, tourists*	*Conservation* *Retention*
More equitable access to resources	*No*		
Carrying capacity and sustainable yield	*Partially – carrying capacity discussed in relation to limiting numbers and preventing 'overdevelopment', but no thresholds have been established or are known*	*Non-Thai, tourists*	*Limiting*
Retention of resources	*Yes*	*Tourists, Thai*	*Retention* *Using resources to a sensible, replaceable state*
Economic viability	*No – issues of viability and diversification are not present*		
Minimise adverse impacts	*Yes*	*Tourists*	*Do not destroy* *Minimal impact upon natural environment* *Prohibit destruction*
Environmental audit	*No*		
Broad national policy framework	*No*		
Slow development	*Yes*	*Volunteers, tourists*	*Controlled growth* *Steady pace*
Controlled development	*Yes*	*Volunteers, tourists, Non-Thai, government, Landowners*	*Controlled growth* *Preventing overdevelopment* *Limiting* *Local control* *Hold on Building*

Appropriate scale	*Partially – respondents discussed the need to prevent overdevelopment but no meaning was attached to an appropriate scale for development of the island*	*Tourists, volunteers*	*Preventing overdevelopment* *Lower density*
Long term	*Yes*	*Tourists, Thai, government and me*	*Longer-term solutions*
Pressure and benefits diffused	*Yes*	*Tourists, international hotel industry*	*Balanced*
Plan, then develop	*Partially – the need for planning was identified but not as a prerequisite to development*	*Tourists, Thai*	*Planning* *Carefully considered*
Consultation	*No*		
Empowerment	*No*		

Table 19: Mapping of stakeholder conceptualisations against indicators of sustainability

As can be seen from the above matrix, few of the elements of sustainability as outlined within the Brundtland report, arguably the most prominent example of Western discourse surrounding sustainability, are elements conceived of by the inhabitants of Phi Phi, which includes Thai inhabitants, landowners and non-Thai inhabitants. Therefore, it becomes more important to identify the terms offered by respondents in identifying characteristics of sustainability from their perspective. Table 20 below handles the interpretations of sustainability according to each respondent group. One can see that, from the perspective of the Thai inhabitants of the island, sustainability involves permitting tourism development rather than 'limiting' it as identified by non-Thais, volunteers and tourists. Rather than consideration of future generations (something that is important to non-Thais and landowners), Thai respondents identify long-term solutions to the island's utilities problems, cost reduction and infrastructure improvements, which are far more personal considerations. This shares commonality with the thoughts of the government and also the personal reflections of the author. Conclusions reached through prolonged familiarity with the island (2002- 2012) highlight the importance of addressing current basic needs prior to consideration of future needs.

Table 20 below presents an overview of the terms that arise in different stakeholders' conceptualisations of sustainability.

Stake holder	*Thai*	*Non-Thai*	*Landowners*	*Government*	*Me*	*Academic*	*Volunteers*	*Tourists*	*IHI*
Key themes in respect of sustainability	*Permit development*	*Balanced*	*Future generations*	*Marketing*	*Long-term solutions*	*Not a priority*	*Limiting*	*Limiting*	*Balanced*
	Long-term Solutions	*Limiting*		*Limiting*	*Proactive*	*Lack of understanding*	*Controlled growth*	*Retention*	*Local Control*
	Not a priority	*Not a priority*		*Long-term solutions*	*Prohibit destruction*	*Akin to losing money*	*Prevent overdevelo pment*	*Lack of understanding*	
	Improve quality	*Future generations*		*Satisfy tourist desires*	*Sustain livelihoods*	*Very hard to achieve*	*Satisfy tourist desires*	*Permit development*	
	Conservation			*Akin to losing money*		*Alternative tourism*		*Prevent overdevelopme -nt*	

Table 20: How sustainability is conceptualised according to respondent grouping

As can be seen from the table above and the matrix in **Appendix 21** (Table 30, pp. 384-388), there are very few similarities between the definitions offered for sustainability by the international community and Phi Phi Island's stakeholders' conceptualisations. This would lead the researcher to develop their own definition of sustainability, as seen through the eyes of the destination's stakeholders:

Sustainable Development for the stakeholders of Phi Phi Island involves the continued long-term development of the tourism industry as a tool for economic development, in order to secure improved livelihoods for future generations. Development will be limited to avoid overdevelopment, retain the natural quality of the island and not destroy the resources that draw tourists to the island. Education is an essential element of this development to ensure that stakeholders have the knowledge to manage resources more effectively and participate equitably.

This, then, overcomes the concerns of Milne (in Hall and Lew, 1998), Robinson and Meaton (2005) and Redclift (1987), that most discussions of sustainability are the product of Western ideology and fail to consider 'local realities' and the conditions necessary for 'Sustainable Tourism' to take place (Mowforth and Munt, 1998).

The elements arising from definitions of sustainability within the literature that did not arise within the data, (and therefore elements that one can assume are not so significant to stakeholders of Phi Phi or not a feature of Phi Phi's development) are illustrated in Table 21. These factors can therefore be understood to be barriers that stand in the way of achieving Sustainable Development in its Western ideological form, or elements that are not of significance to Phi

Phi's stakeholders in their conceptualisations of sustainability. The implications of these findings will be discussed in the following chapter and emergent models from the data will be elaborated upon.

Element	***Literature source***
Equity	*Sustainable Development Commission, UK, UN 1992*
Present needs	*WCED (1987)*
Self-sufficiency	*WCED (1987)*
Community involvement	*Hardy et al. (2002)*
Avoiding short-term economic gain	*Agenda 21*
Satisfy basic needs	*Sustainable Development Commission, UK*
Enjoy a better quality of life	*Sustainable Development Commission, UK*
Integration	*Sustainable Development Commission, UK*
Innovative and productive economy	*Sustainable Development Commission, UK*
Just and equitable society	*Sustainable Development Commission, UK*
Consultation	*Liu (2003)*
Improve environmental practices	*Kamamba (2003)*
Protect cultural heritage	*Kamamba (2003)*
Equitable distribution of wealth	*Kamamba (2003)*
Avoid sectoral imbalances	*Harris (2000)*
Promoting good governance	*DEFRA (2005)*
Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of communities	*World Tourism Organisation*
Recognise the importance of the host community	*Swarbrooke (1999)*
Desire to maximise benefits and minimise negatives	*Swarbrooke (1999)*
Redistribution of economic activity and reallocation of resources	*Brundtland (1987) report according to Murphy (1995), Krippendorf (1982), Lane (1990), Godfrey (1996, as cited in Swarbrooke (1999)*

Table 21: Table to illustrate elements that are missing from Phi Phi Island's stakeholder perceptions of sustainability and elements that may be required to pursue sustainability more effectively

Chapter Five Discussion and Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

The research commenced by establishing the following aim:

To evaluate the political economy and interpretations of sustainability by tourism stakeholders in the post-disaster tourism redevelopment of Phi Phi Island, Thailand

In order to fulfil this aim, the following objectives would be achieved:

- to interpret the conceptualisation of sustainable development held by stakeholders in the reconstruction of Phi Phi;
- to evaluate the forces (internal and external) of political economy that are shaping tourism development;
- to comprehend how hegemonic relationships influence tourism development at a local level; and
- to analyse the influence of a natural disaster upon tourism development and planning.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to reflect upon these objectives; to elaborate key findings of the research in respect of the objectives, comprehending how these findings build upon existing theory and debates; and to evaluate the extent to which the objectives have been achieved. It is also intended to present the key findings of the research, and any new and adapted conceptual models in respect of these objectives, thus contributing to the originality of the research. The chapter will therefore be structured according to the objectives with an overview of the conclusions to commence.

5.2 General discussions

From the data, twenty-five dominant themes arose. These themes provided a detailed insight into the issues of significance to Phi Phi Island's stakeholders in respect of its future development. The reason that data was considered both generally and segregated according to respondent group is to elaborate how individual views differ from that of a consensus view.

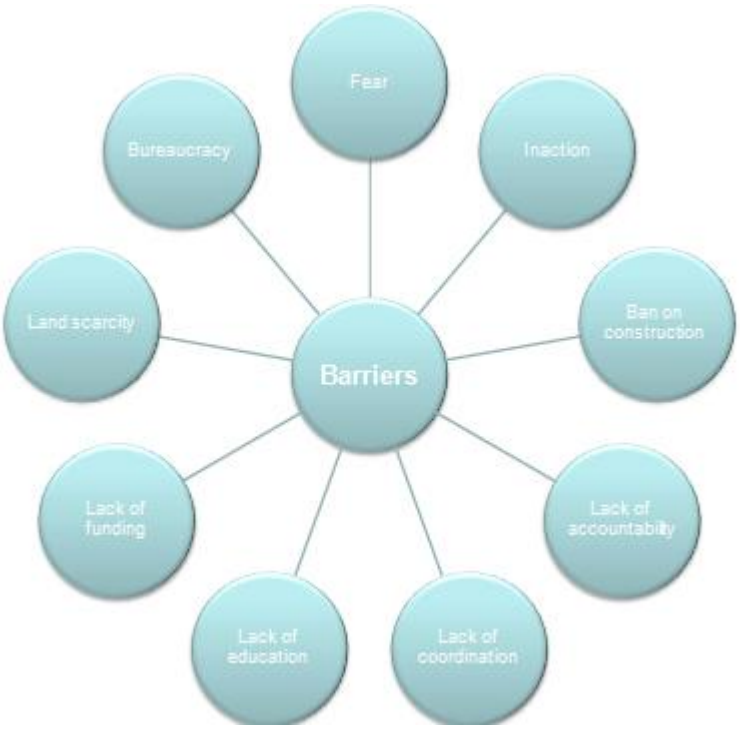
The issue of greatest significance to a wide range of stakeholders was the negative impacts of tourism on the island, thus demonstrating that stakeholders are aware of the impact that poorly planned, mass development has wrought. Particularly apparent was recognition of ineffective waste disposal systems and environmental degradation due to overcrowding and commercialisation. Most pressing were detrimental environmental impacts rather than socio-cultural and economic factors and there was very little discussion of negative economic factors, such as economic leakage. The stakeholders who most readily noted negative socio-cultural impacts were not inhabitants of Phi Phi, but researchers and academics. One may conclude from this that perhaps it takes a theoretical understanding of socio-cultural impact and a certain detachment from the community to recognise what is taking place.

Another interesting observation is that, despite recognition of the environmental impact the tourism industry is having, islanders still pursue it as their economic saviour. Findings suggest that this is due to dependency, lawlessness and the power relationships that exist on the island. This dependency is not only making the island and the livelihoods of those that live on it more vulnerable, but also placing a strain upon already inadequate utilities, which means both tourists and community live in 'slum-like circumstances'.

Stakeholders expressed a range of desires for the future of the island. The strongest desires were for the island to revert back to its 'original' state, juxtaposed against a contradictory desire for more tourists. There did not appear to be differentiation in this thinking between stakeholder groups. Favourable memories of Phi Phi of the past appear to dominate, which seems to prevent stakeholders perceiving the island how it actually is, so that they do not fully 'see' the damage that the present form of tourism is having. This was also illustrated during a personal visit with a friend to the island (documented in the reflexive journal, **Appendix 10**) who, when watching film footage back, failed to recognise certain aspects of the island, noting that when taking a detached view, the island takes a very different shape to when you are immersed within it. Perhaps one can argue that, when one is a tourist, or a member of the host community, you are immersed within the destination, in a state of natural relaxation (as a tourist) or through the gradual onset of detrimental impacts surrounding you (as a member of the host community). One does not have the same view of the destination as an outsider would, or if they were to be removed from the setting. In the following chapter this phenomenon is likened to a 'boiled frog' concept, applied previously in the context of business failure (Villiers, 1989; Richardson *et al*., 1994) but through this research is applied to the business of tourism in order to shed

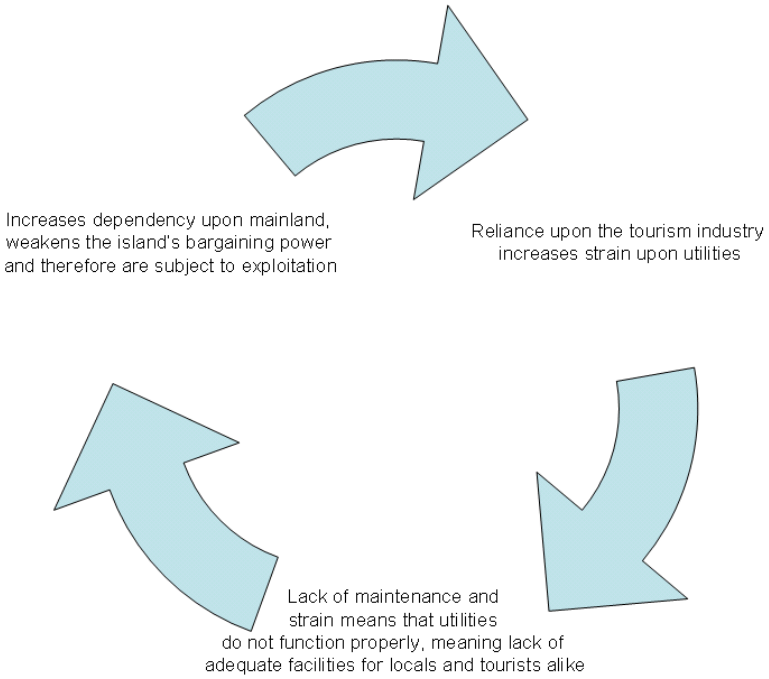
light on the exacerbation of crisis situations in terms of disaster and detrimental impacts upon the destination (see section 6.4).

Barriers were also discussed widely. It has undoubtedly been proven that at present and pre-tsunami, the form of tourism development on the island is unsustainable, and a range of barriers prohibit the pursuit of sustainable development. The barriers theme was closely linked with the majority of other parent themes in respect of those parent themes acting as barriers to Sustainable Development. This is illustrated below:



Model 1: The key barriers prohibiting the pursuit of sustainable tourism development on Phi Phi

This model illustrates the key influencers in Phi Phi's inability to pursue the sustainable development of tourism. There are further interrelationships between themes as illustrated below:



Model 2: Illustration of the vicious circle of tourism dependency and impact

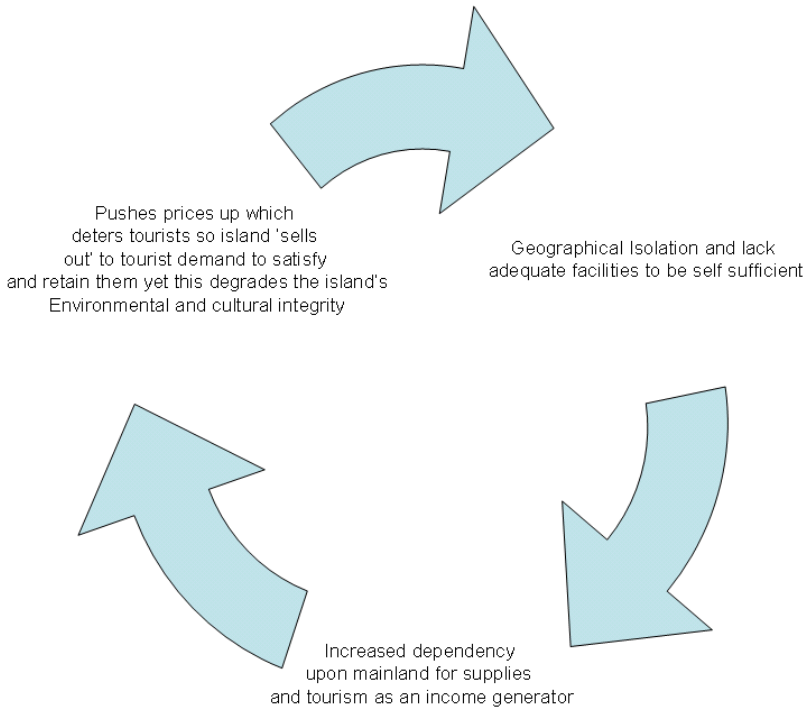
Firstly, this model illustrates how there are links between dependency, community challenges/needs and power relationships. As noted, the impacts present on Phi Phi through the data mirror those raised in Agenda 21's discussion of island tourism:

> on some islands tourism dominates the economy and may even be the sole source of income and employment. Islands are often environmentally vulnerable, facing problems of resource supply and management (such as drinking water and pollution control) and a concentration of tourism in a limited space. (http://www.unep.fr/shared/publications/pdf/3207-TourismAgenda.pdf)

This raises a number of important issues in respect of Phi Phi's development pattern, that a) a sole reliance upon the tourism industry creates vulnerability and dependency; and b) the nature of Phi Phi's present pattern of development is unsustainable as it is putting too much strain on the resources, infrastructure and society of the island.

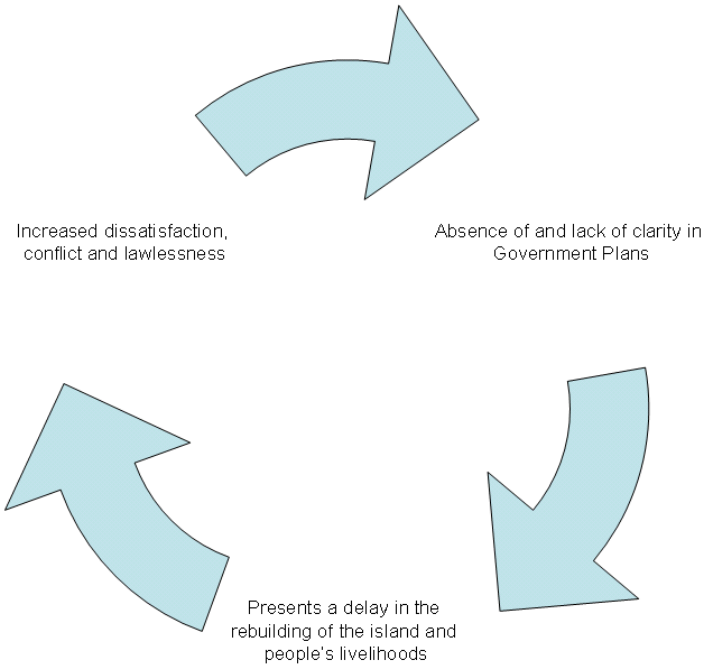
Islanders appear to be caught in various vicious circles; because of a dependency upon the tourism industry and desire to promote and regain tourist numbers post-tsunami, the island again has become 'too commercialised'; this has further placed a strain on the island's utilities and waste disposal systems to the extent that it has become degraded

and does not function effectively. Therefore, the island has to depend on the mainland to assist with waste disposal and utilities, which pushes the prices up and increases the power that the mainland has over Phi Phi; this expense is further exacerbated by the island's relative isolation.



Model 3: Illustration of the vicious circle of isolation and dependency

A further illustration of barriers to sustainability taking the form of a vicious circle is planning the island's future redevelopment. Delays and an absence of clarity within the plans have restricted progress and the rebuilding of people's livelihoods. This in turn has resulted in dissatisfaction amongst the island's inhabitants, conflict with the government and unlawful activity in terms of forging ahead with building despite bans being imposed.



Model 4: Illustration of the vicious circle of the absence of development plans

Cultural and societal factors have emerged as a substantial influence on development philosophy, and hence the sub themes under 'cultural issues' would lead the author to believe that certain factors related to Phi Phi's culture may in fact be in conflict with the ethos of the western ideological form of sustainable tourism. The findings show the Thai desire to work independently, a concern with the 'here and now', a tendency not to plan and a deep respect for power relationships within the structure of society. This is depicted in Model 5 below:



Model 5: Illustrations of how cultural characteristics influence the pursuit of Sustainable Development

Another issue which has been seen to influence the Thai relationship with their surroundings that did not emerge in the main data collection but through personal observations whilst on Phi Phi and in Phuket, supported by the informal comments of foreign and Thai colleagues and Fahn (2003) concerns the Thai relationship with the personal being, the home and space around the home. Unfortunately, however, as is elaborated within the 'needs' theme, there is a need for greater collaboration and ownership in order to pursue a more sustainable form of development. At present, everybody is looking out for their own personal needs and interests, they are collectively failing to acknowledge the importance of collective goods (Olsen, 1965), which is contrary to the ethos of sustainable development and represents a tragedy of the commons (Hardin, 1968). These findings represent an interesting comparative to the work of authors such as Hofstede (1991) and Trompenaars (1993) concerning the influence of cultural drivers upon behaviour. On account of reluctance amongst Thai respondents to convey deepest emotions, in value of 'smooth interaction' as Mulder (2000) puts it, the emphasis here is on what is seen by the researcher, or observed by others to be practiced, complemented with the views of Thai respondents. Comparative scoring has been undertaken of both Thai and UK culture as can be seen below in figure 19 (derived from http://geert-hofstede.com/dimensions.html). The findings of Hofstede's (1991) prepositions on Thai culture have been applied to the author's findings in Table 22

(below) in order to illustrate where similarities and differences occur and the subsequent influence upon development philosophy.

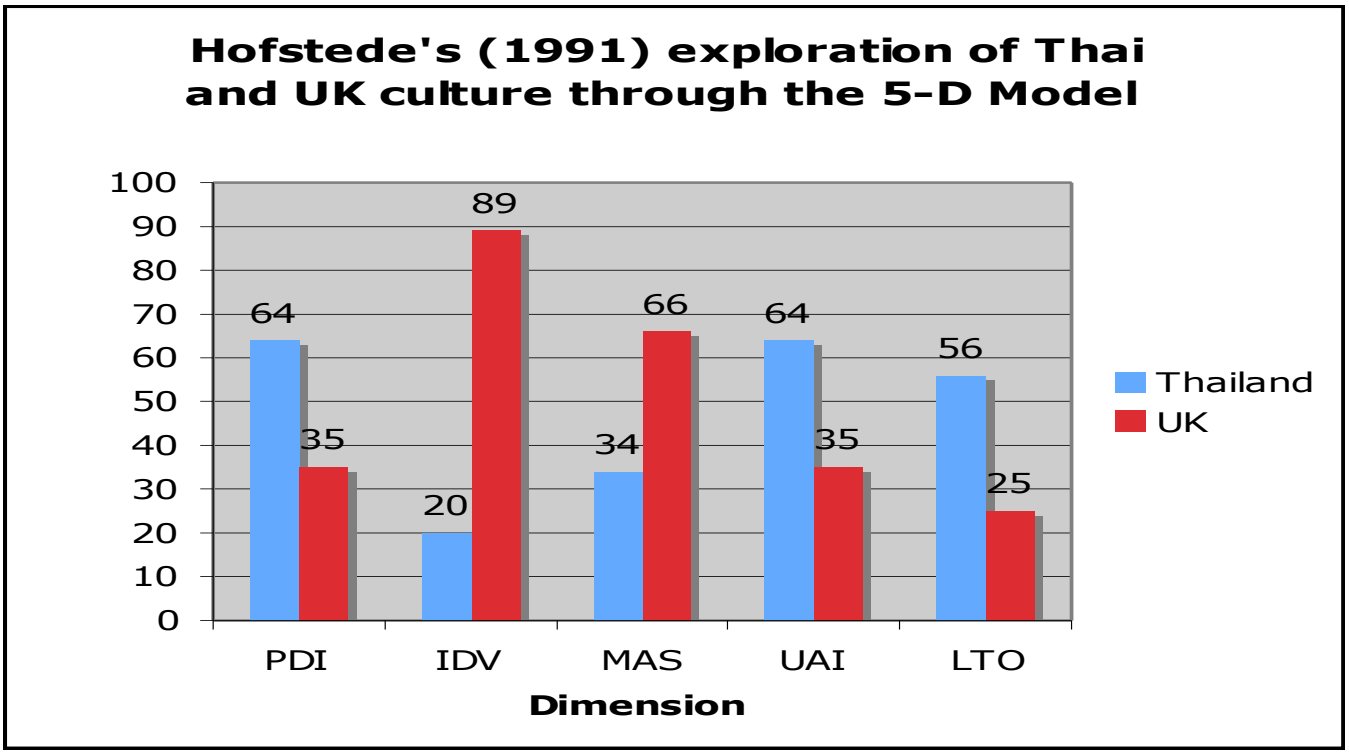


Figure 19: Hofstede's (1991) exploration of Thai and UK culture (obtained from http://geert-hofstede.com/dimensions.html, accessed 12.09.2012)

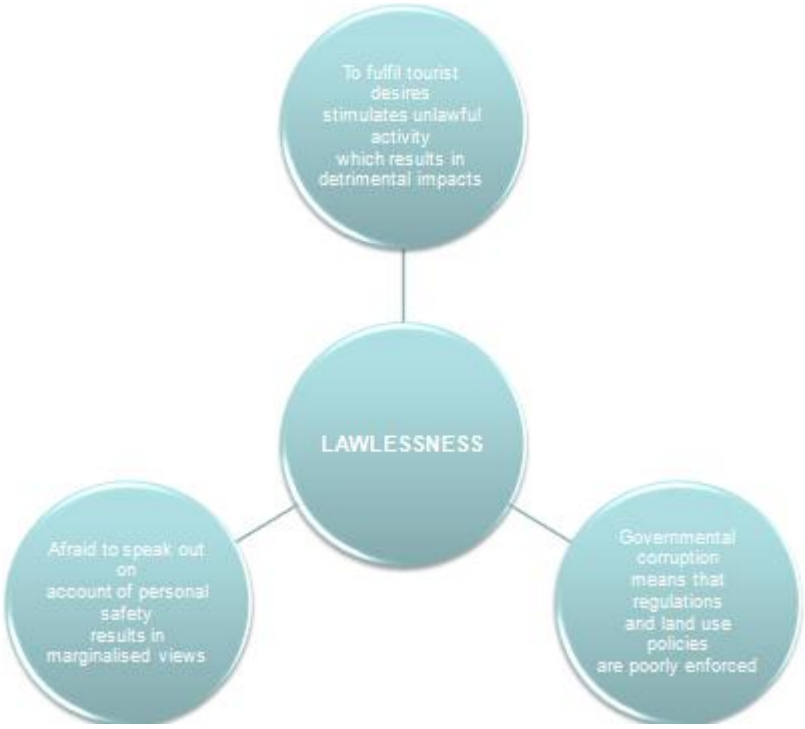
Dimension	*Expectation (from Hofstede, 1991)*	*Good for sustainability?*	*Similarity/ difference on Phi Phi*	*Good for sustainability?*	*Impact*
Power/ Distance (PDI)	*Inequalities are accepted* *Strict chain of command* *Protocol observed* *Each rank has privileges* *Loyalty, respect and deference shown for superiors in return for protection and guidance* *Information flow is hierachical and controlled*	*No*	*This element bears a close resemblence to Phi Phi, observed through the theme of cultural issues*	*No*	*Unequal access to resources, unequal participation in planning meetings. Consutation is non-participatory and favours local elites. Paternalistic relationships are indicative of dependency*
Individualism (IDV)	*Highly collectivist* *Close, long term commitment to groups* *Society fosters strong relationships*	*Yes*	*There are distinctions here between expectations and Phi Phi's*	*No*	*Lack of focus upon maintaining the quality and integrity of 'the commons'. Lack of co-operation.*

	Everybody takes responsibility *Non confrontational*		*society. Notably in the community and cultural isssues themes which present a fragmented and individualist community, close community bonds and friendships have been eroded*		*Poor communication. Pursuit of individual interests.*
Masculinity/ Femininity (MAS)	*Feminine society* *Values caring for others and quality of life over assertiveness and competitiveness* *Reinforces traditional male and female roles*	*Yes*	*Conflicts with the primary Thai values presented by other authors such as Mulder (2000). On Phi Phi, business is highly competitive, over-saturation of core products. Individuals seeking to 'milk' their land and businesses to the detriment of environmental and social viability*	*No*	*Central part of the island is characterised by overcrowding, an overburdened infrastructure causing malfunction, which reduces aesthetic appeal. Central part of the island is standardised, and loses its comparative appeal to other tropical island locations*
Uncertainty avoidance (UAI)	*Strong preference for avoiding uncertainty* *Strict rules, laws and policies are adopted and implemented to reduce uncertainty* *Does not readily accept change* *To control everything and avoid the unexpected*	*Yes*	*Reverted to the 'tried and tested' method of economic development: Tourism. Poor governance and implementation of policy. Regulations undermined through corruption*	*No*	*Lack of economic diversity. Dependency upon tourism heightens vulnerability. Continued encroachment onto national park land. Building regulations ignored and undermined*
Long Term Orientation (LTO)	*Working hard and having a sense of moderation are dominant* *Favour long term orientation* *Deadlines and timescales are fluid*	*Yes*	*Data within cultural issues theme and development philosophies suggests short term orientation, concern with the here and now, pursuit of the*	*No*	*Emphasis on the present without due regard for for future integrity of the destination and economic viability. Continued development and environmental degradation deters*

			short term economic gain		*tourists and diverts flows to alternative locations.*

Table 22: Cultural drivers and their influence upon development philosophy (Source: Hofstede, 1991; http://geert-hofstede.com/thailand.html; author's empirical data and anectdotal observations)

Another significant factor in Phi Phi's development was 'lawlessness'. This takes many forms but includes aspects of criminality such as breaking or disregarding rules and regulations, bribery and corruption. Some illustrations of 'Lawlessness' are given in Model 6. It can be seen that this theme is linked with environmental impacts, fear, communication, government roles and development philosophies.



Model 6: Illustration of how power relationships and lawlessness are interlinked

There is no lack of legislation in Thailand, but much of it is poorly implemented, which results in a very laissez-faire approach to development and the governance of development. The approach taken seems to be that, if the government attempts to intervene, bribes are paid to divert their attention away from unlawful practices, and hence corruption at a local level prevents lawful governance of development and the implementation of sustainability. This is just one illustration of, firstly, the power of the wealthy to offer bribes that will ease regulations, and the willingness of the government to accept bribes. In fact, the government's plans for the island stress the priority of identifying areas where past encroachment has occurred and reclaiming these for protection, hinting that in some way they will be attempting to rectify the lawlessness that took place before the tsunami. However, one must ask why this

encroachment was allowed to take place at all and why after the tsunami has passed, the land still has not been reclaimed.

In making recommendations for Phi Phi's future development, emphasis should surely be placed upon trying to overcome these barriers and fulfil the needs of the community, which undoubtedly at present are not being met. If once considers the definition of sustainable development as offered by the Brundtland report (1987) there is a limited chance that sustainability can be pursued as present needs are not being met. The most pressing needs that the community feel are not being fulfilled at present are illustrated by model 7.



Model 7: Illustration of Phi Phi's present unfulfilled needs

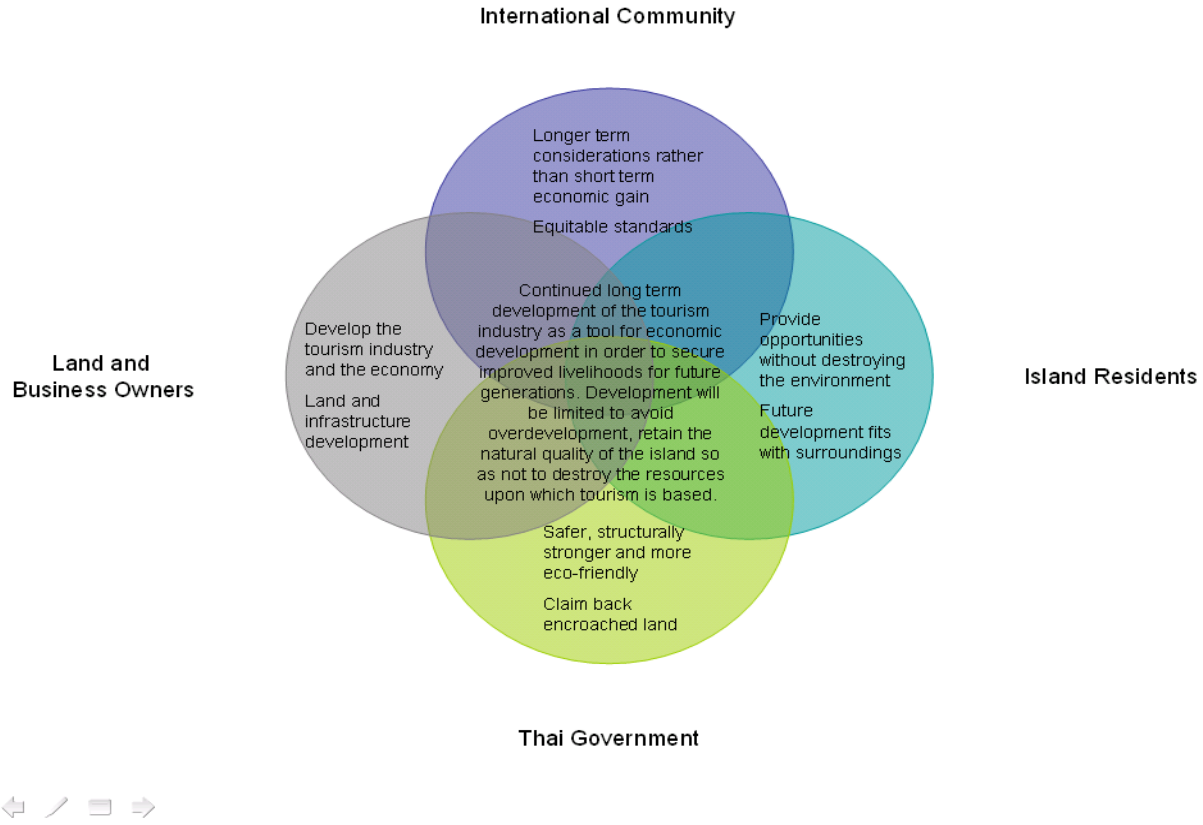
5.3 To interpret the conceptualisation of Sustainable Development held by stakeholders in the reconstruction of Phi Phi

The research was framed by debates presented by authors including Saarinen (2006), McKercher (1993) and Hunter (1997) that the concept of sustainability is ideologically shaped, originating within Western developed economies and that an impasse in sustainability thinking exists due to a lack of insight into what sustainability means in a destination-specific context. This was a gap filled by this research: it sought to conceptualise sustainability from the perspective of those that (arguably) matter most; the destination's stakeholders. A substantial finding of the research was the widespread opinion that sustainability is not a known or understood concept in the south of Thailand. Where there is a

partial understanding it is viewed as something akin to losing money. Certainly themes to support this emerged, such as the need for education in relation to sustainability and that 'sustainability is not a priority to developing countries'. The philosophy that underpins Phi Phi's development strategy is without doubt economically based, yet certain stakeholders fail to see the connection between environmental and cultural preservation and economic sustainability. The common denominator in the perspectives of sustainability presented by Phi Phi Island's stakeholders is economic development. However, as Kakazu (2008) asserts, as island tourism relies so heavily upon a limited range of fragile resources, the sustainable use of those resources becomes paramount to its survival.

There arose notable differences in the perspectives presented by different stakeholder groups. The Thai government viewed sustainability as a need to promote and build an image of the destination in order to secure the longevity of the tourism industry as a means to boost GDP for the region. Academics and researchers displayed the greatest similarity to Western ideology in their conceptualisations; this could be attributed to their engagement and interactions with the wider world and also their level of education and understanding of global issues. They recognised the importance of not letting money control development and of achieving economic sustainability through environmental preservation. Perhaps, though, one could argue that they are able to take this view because it is not their livelihood at stake: they are speaking from a detached platform that illustrates an imperialistic view of how others should develop their economies and manage their natural resources. The land and business owners were predominantly concerned with allowing tourism development, continual development of permanent structures and retaining local control. This is unsurprising as an important finding of the research is that landowners have a level of power, surpassing even that of government, which they will fight to retain. Their philosophy is very much shaped by the desire to make the most productive use of their land so that they can benefit fully from the tourism industry.

There was an evident crossover between the views of the land and business owners and the other inhabitants of the island. Whether this was the result of a hegemonic influence that the landowners have over the other inhabitants of the island was difficult to ascertain due to the lack of desire amongst the Thai inhabitants to speak freely on account of fear of what may happen to them, although this reluctance in itself is suggestive of the power the landowners have over other inhabitants on the island. They are afraid to question authority, something that also applies to their interactions with the Thai government, which in turn limits their bargaining power. The thoughts and ideas of the landowners have been diffused into the community on account of their standing and the Thai people's deep respect for hierarchy and social order (Theerapappisit, 2008) and actions are unchallenged by tenants on account of the cultural notion of losing face. However, the island's remaining inhabitants expressed interest in improvement, ensuring efficient and improved use of resources and the need for control and limits to be imposed. They were supportive of continued development of the tourism industry, no doubt on account of the lack of diversity within the economy and dependence upon the industry to sustain their own livelihoods. The interactions between these different perspectives are illustrated in Model 8 below:



Model 8: Conceptualisations of sustainable tourism development on Phi Phi

When the elements of this definition were mapped against the definitions provided for sustainability in a range of global literature (Table 30, pp. 384-388), it was hard to find one that presented a close match to the meanings of sustainability conceptualised on Phi Phi. This highlights the importance of taking a more 'local' view of sustainability in the development and redevelopment of tourist destinations. This is supported by observations made in Table 29 (pp. 382-383), which demonstrated that the meanings that stakeholders attribute to sustainability take on a different form when set in context.

There are many elements missing from Phi Phi's development philosophy if judged in light of Western ideological debates (see Table 21, p. 229). These include establishing more equitable standards, economic viability, consultation and empowerment. Therefore, if we judge Phi Phi's development against these criteria, it is no wonder it seems unsustainable to the outsider. Nevertheless, some of these missing elements (particularly consultation) were identified as 'needs' that the community have and therefore something that needs to be addressed within future development. It provides a basis also for recommendations made in the following chapter. Notably and significantly, it is the political

economy of Phi Phi's post-disaster reconstruction that has prohibited, and continues to prohibit, the attainment of sustainability practice.

5.4 To evaluate the forces (internal and external) of political economy that are shaping tourism development

In comprehending the political economy of Phi Phi's post-disaster redevelopment, the following table has been produced in order to map how elements of the predominant theories on development are realised on Phi Phi and the influence this has upon the form and nature of touristic development on the island. The content is derived through a synthesis of results from the empirical study in addition to academic debates.

Theory of development	*Characteristic*	*Evidence and influence in Thailand/ Phi Phi*
Modernisation	*Tourism is seen as a means to economic development*	*Tourism growth favoured over sustainable tourism development, characteristic of unsustainable tourism destinations and this is highly evident on Phi Phi as elaborated through the development philosophies and future desires themes* *Tourism policy favours the 'quantitative' expansion of the tourism industry* *Amazing Thailand Campaign currently in place by the TAT reaffirms this commitment, emphasising size and scope over sustainability*
	Involvement of the state in 'pump-priming' the tourism industry	*Thai government set aside 14% of $112 mn budget for relief and reconstruction for reviving the Andaman tourism industry post tsunami* *Financial assistance for the tourism industry post-tsunami is a priority, taxpayers' money allocated for promotional campaigns*
	Aspire to modern values of achievement, universalism and individualism	*Thai society values achievement through wealth, seniority and rank* *Challenges the typical Asian 'collectivist' society but evidence of 'individualism' has emerged from the data in respect of Phi Phi's community*
	Promotes Western capitalist values as a solution to poverty reduction	*Although Thailand was never colonised, the Thai development trajectory was constructed in reaction to Western discourses on development post-Asian Financial Crisis in 1997*
	Paternalism of Western 'help'	*Refused disaster relief aid but requested technical assistance* *Relief effort comprised of Thai military personnel, policemen, volunteers, Thai Royal Navy. Reliance upon international social capital* *Distribution of aid and supplies by Department of Disaster Prevention and Mitigation* *Identification process supported by volunteers and NGOs* *Ministry of Health contained infectious diseases* *Post-tsunami reconstruction largely co-ordinated through 'outside' volunteer and aid effort which shifted control away from islanders*
	Market conditions determine pace and form of tourism development	*Tourism vigorously pursued to the neglect of local needs and detriment to the environment and degradation of society*
Dependency	*Developing countries have external and internal political, institutional and economic structures that*	*Enveloped into a system over which they have little control* *Tourism planning is highly characteristic of a top-down, centralised approach and is the preserve of Bangkok-based officials.* *Policies are mainly for the benefit of a wealthy elite as elaborated*

	retain them in a dependent position to developed countries	*through the power relationships and dependency theme*
	Occurs through a capitalist system	*Highest financial gains are accrued by foreign operators and local elite interests* *Capitalist system exists in Thailand whereby large organisations which have been the dominant governing institutions, often exceeding governments in size and power*
	'Core' exploits 'periphery'	*Rules of the trading system are manipulated in favour of powerful Western-based corporations* *However, in Phi Phi rules of the trading system are manipulated in favour of local elites within the periphery on account of superior status, wealth and landownership, facilitated through their integration with global knowledge pools and governmental corruption at a local level as seen in the lawlessness, power relationships and cultural issues themes* *A large gap between the planners and the people*
	Benefits accrued by local elites and multinational corporations	*Within Thailand's economic transformation in the 1960s, a wealthy Bangkok-based elite emerged which then diffused to other commercial centres e.g. Phuket and Hat Yai* *Disintegration of indigenous economy and reorientation to serve exogenous markets in the form of tourism, heightens dependency upon tourism and subsequently increases the vulnerability of populations on Phi Phi as seen in the dependency and development philosophies themes*
	Ruling elites in the peripheries collaborate with the core, exploiting the poor and become more linked into a Western way of life	*Co-operation between Intercontinental and local landowners demonstrates some collaboration.* *However, other forms of collaboration exist between ruling elites and the 'core' which preserves their position of power (for example sending children overseas to be educated in the USA and UK; attending international tourism exhibitions to establish business links with the international community and further their business interests)* *This does not cause loss of local control to foreign operators; it means that local control was lost to 'outsiders' in the 1980s when indigenous inhabitants sold their land* *Since then landowners have 'induced' development in a similar manner to Samui, creating and coordinating the market, in contrast to Britton's (1982) experiences whereby foreign organisations achieved this in Fiji.* *The 'outsiders' on Phi Phi maintained their strong position on the island through status, landownership and force (as observed by Cohen, 1983 in Samui) but also through cooperation and affiliation with the external tourism system and control of the supply chain through vertical integration as elaborated in the power relationships, lawlessness and cultural issues themes.* *For example, major landowners accrue the greatest proportion of benefits from day-trippers through co-operative arrangements between day-trip operators and their resorts.* *Often the landowners own the ferries that day-trippers use to get to the island. Day-trippers are met at the pier and escorted to the landowner's restaurant for lunch. Within the schedule of the day trip, tourists have very little time left on the island until they return back to Phuket.*
	Ruling elites may use force	*Evidence that force is employed by local elites to preserve position of*

	to suppress local people and preserve position of power	*power and protect personal interests throughout Thailand and on Phi Phi (see lawlessness theme), although status too affords significant power (see cultural issues theme)*
Neoliberalism	*Advocacy of free markets – market liberalisation*	*Foreign business amendment bill of 1999 proposed calling for greater liberalisation of the tourism sector* *Advocacy of Free Trade Agreements by Thaksin* *General populace against neoliberalism post-Asian Crisis experience, focus currently upon 'sufficiency economy' which is inward looking that stresses self-reliance at the grassroots and the creation of stronger ties among domestic economic networks* *Privatisation benefits a set of local elites who were able to purchase prime beachfront land* *Current policy statements by prime minister Yingluk Shinawatra (2011) handle discussion of tourist volumes in the context of exploring new areas for touristic development, i.e a neoliberalisation of nature*
	Privatisation of state assets via open competition *Private sector-led development not focusing on the immediate needs of the people*	*Increased commercial focus of the Thai government since the 1960s has increased the power of large organisations, which have been the dominant governing institutions, often exceeding governments in size and power* *Poor disenfranchised from resources and lack income for essential services that are now privatised (e.g. utilities). Unequal access to resources as can be see in the needs and community challenges themes*
	Minimum state intervention – shrinking state bureaucracy and public expenditure	*Filming of The Beach on Phi Phi Le in 1998. Environmental restructuring of national park in exchange for 4 million baht; a 'permanent damage deposit' of 5 million baht; and the promise of increased tourism receipts of 300 million baht represents a neoliberalisation of nature* *Despite existence of legislation, governance is poor and legislation is undermined through corruption at a local level*
	Imposed as pre-conditions for continuation of loans from IMF and World Bank SAPs	*World Bank lending in 2011 = $1,000 mn* *World Bank currently involved in agriculture, energy and transport projects as a result of SAPs imposed post- Financial Crisis in 1998-1999* *$1mn loan from the World Bank to the Thai government for post-emergency response to the tsunami for vulnerable populations in the south* *Emphasis on market-oriented growth based upon comparative advantages as a tourist destination*
Alternative	*Increasing recognition that growth is exceeding environmental capacity*	*National Park status requires the island to be a protected natural environment* *National Tourism master plan acknowledges the social and environmental limitations of past tourism development.* *Ecotourism has become a popular catchword* *Structure of the Department of Tourism reaffirms a commitment to alternative tourisms through home stay, agro-, eco-, and long-stay tourism* *Current government (Shinawatra, 2012), whilst still emphasising volume, voices a move towards quality and 'value added'*
	Civil society must define goals, objectives and methods of development	*Thailand's system of public administration is a centralised top-down approach – the preserve of established technocrats in Bangkok, mainly for the benefit of a wealthy elite*

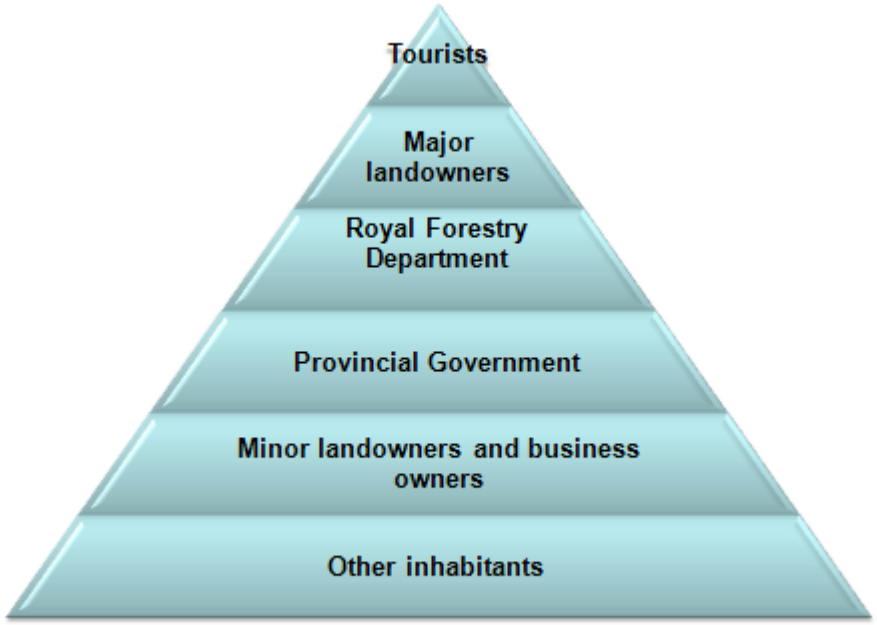
		Currently much governmental rhetoric concerned with decentralisation *TAOs still have limited autonomy and hesitance to implement policy for fear that political support is damaged*
	Methodologies of development decision-making are participatory and endogenous	*Phuket Action Plan hailed as the 'ideal opportunity to foster co-operation and co-ordination among all the affected countries' although recommendations have no legal status* *Government-funded ecotourism training centres in the north of Thailand to support environmental rehabilitation and protection projects*
	People work collectively to fulfil common goals	*Participation still favours local elites, notably landowners thus Landowner development hegemony is pursued*
	Fulfilling basic needs – food and shelter and social esteem and self-development	*Wastewater Collection System and treatment plant funded by the Danish Government* *On-going plans to rebuild public utilities via cable link to the mainland rather than generators, still basic needs are not met (see community challenges and needs themes)* *10th National Economic and Social Development Plan – country's blueprint for economic and social welfare and development promotes quality of life and security of environment and resources*

Table 23: The influence of political economy in shaping tourism development (Sources: Author's empirical research (Rostow, 1960; Harrison, 1992; Bianchi, 1999; Frank, 1967; Hall and Lew, 1998; Di March, 1972; Britton, 1982; Power, 2003; Maathai, 2009; Pleumarom, 2004; 2005; Klein, 2008; Willis, 2005; Weaver and Lawton, 2002; Potter *et al*., 2004; Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010; Gunn, 2002; Arghiros, 2001; McDowell and Choi, 2010; Konisranukul and Tuaycharoen, 2010; Roberts, 2005; Theerapappisit, 2008; Parnwell and Khamanarong, 1996)

Despite Klein's (2005; 2008) claims of 'disaster capitalism', there was minimal evidence found of this at an international or national level. Claims of an increased takeover of global powers and a dangerous level of power held by multinationals are not apparent in this localised case study. There is a trend in Thailand for high-end tourism; however, this is not exclusively pursued through selling out to international hotel chains, and in fact this is restricted by policies favouring national interest (Noy, 2011; Konisranukul and Tuaycharoen, 2010; Krutwaysho and Bramwell, 2010) and a focus upon what can be regarded an inward facing 'sufficiency economy' (Noy, 2011; Krongkaew, 2004). Where there are international hotel chains on Phi Phi (e.g. Intercontinental Hotels Group and Holiday Inn), development has taken place in association with Thai landowners, further strengthening their control over the future development of the island, through the establishment of international bonds and support structures, an example of local elites perpetuating their own interests under dependency theory. Furthermore, there is evidence of plans on Phi Phi to privatise utilities at a local level. There has been a loss of local control on Phi Phi, which occurred in the early 1990s when the traditional inhabitants sold their land to wealthy business people from the mainland. There is limited evidence of the 'radical social and economic engineering' that Klein (2005; 2008) speaks of.

Far more fitting for the case of Phi Phi would be the considerations of Pleumarom (1999), and Bradshaw (2002), who note the inequalities that exist within society and the influence that these have over developmental outcomes. Inequalities are certainly apparent on Phi Phi. Those who own land on the island, and specifically the four major

landowners have the greatest influence over development. One may argue that there may have been a desire to 'capitalise' on the disaster, as the government has been accused of trying to do. Bradshaw's (2002) observations would be most apt for the situation on Phi Phi, that, 'reconstruction processes are not newly constructed in the light of the disaster but are the result of existing power struggles and structures'. Scheyvens (2002) adds strength to this argument, highlighting due to the complex interplay of class, values and power that exists at a destination level, it ultimately may result in a lack of equitable participation and consultation in planning for tourism. This would certainly appear to be the case on Phi Phi, whereby, on account of economic power and landownership, the key players in shaping the future of Phi Phi's development are the landowners. The ladder of influence that exists on Phi Phi is illustrated below. It can be seen that the desires being realised in the island's development are those of the groups towards the apex of the pyramid.



Model 9: Illustration of the structure of influence in Phi Phi's development

Tourism on Phi Phi is a significant shaping force of development, second only to economic development (although tourism is seen as the source of economic development). Nevertheless it can be concluded from the data that in pursuit of economic development, the islanders would pursue the most effective and accessible source available. Desires post-Tsunami are for the island to regain the 'pre-tsunami cash cow approach', and therefore, emphasis is placed upon satisfying the desires of tourists and the tourism industry, to the detriment of islanders' happiness. The nature of the contemporary tourist on Phi Phi was identified. The key predominant characteristics of the tourist market on Phi Phi are profiled below:

Characteristic	Profile
Male/Female	56 % male, 44% female
Age	21-30
Nationality	English, Swedish, Dutch, Australian
Travel Party	Group
Travel Frequency	74% First Time Visit
Number of prior visits	1-2 times
Stay Duration	5-7 days
Plans to Return	50% Yes
Psychographic Typology	Midcentric

Table 24: Profile of Phi Phi's Tourist Market

It was observed particularly from the tourist questionnaires (additionally supplemented with the views of the islanders) that the tourists on Phi Phi displayed characteristics of Plog's 'Midcentric' typology, which also aligns with Cohen's (1983) earlier work on backpacker culture on the islands of Samui and Phuket. Cohen observed a form of 'mass youth tourists', displaying similar characteristics to those on Phi Phi: they are less adventurous and more demanding than their predecessors. One can see that, based upon this diagnosis, there are clear parallels with the type of impact on Phi Phi. Despite tourists self-identifying as 'adventurous', from observations and data gathered from the tourists on Phi Phi Island, there is very limited evidence of anything other than 'psychocentric-midcentric' tourists and mass tourism, which represents a high-volume, standardised experience, albeit not rigidly packaged. The drives of these tourists will ultimately shape and continue to shape the nature of the island's tourism offer unless interventions are put in place, and unless islanders are educated to comprehend differences in the tourist market and to recognise that it is possible to be more discerning in who they target.

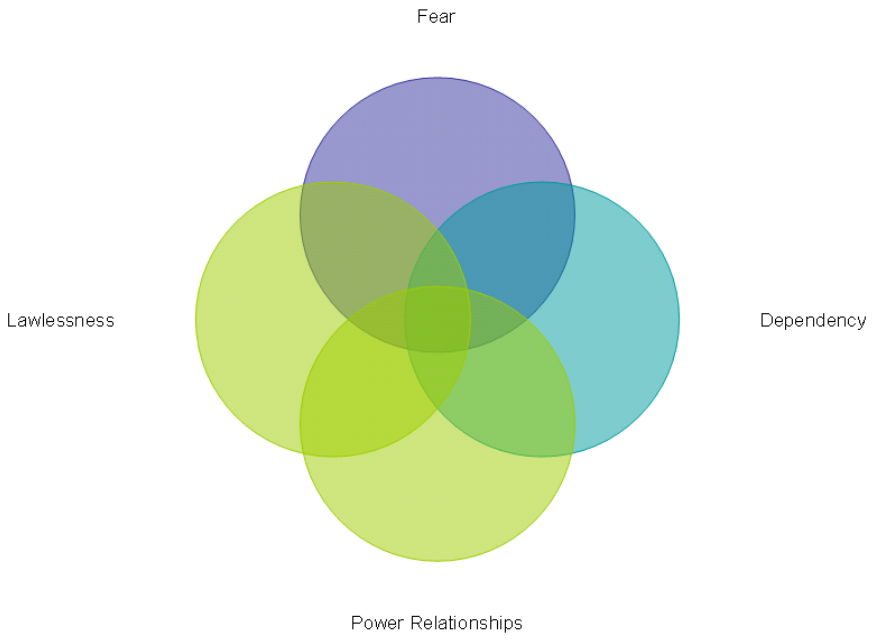
The desires of such tourists appear to be the need for clean, white sand beaches, blue sea, quiet in the day, lively at night, friendly locals and good quality accommodation. In Poon's (1993) definition of 'mass tourists' there are clear parallels: 'the desire for homogenous and predictable products, security in numbers, familiar food and surroundings.' The fear associated with this is that mass tourism is potentially an agent for profound economic and cultural change (Poon, 1993). The study commenced by questioning whether the proposals of Weaver and Lawton (2002) were true, that a destination's progression along the natural Tourism Area Life Cycle could be altered or prevented, however the evidence would suggest that in this case and context the tsunami did not have this effect. This may be because, pre-tsunami, the island had already become heavily developed and reliant upon the tourism industry and the prevailing philosophy post-tsunami was how to rebuild the tourism industry as quickly as possible in order that livelihoods should also be rebuilt. There simply wasn't time, in the eyes of the stakeholders, to reassess an alternative tourism model. The interests of these stakeholders are considered below.

5.5 How hegemonic relationships influence tourism development at a local level

The landowners' level of influence over the development of Phi Phi has undoubtedly arisen as one of the strongest themes within the research. Commentators explain how traditional landowners were tempted to sell and how land was acquired by wealthy business people from Phuket, Krabi and Bangkok. Nowadays there are few traditional inhabitants left, and if they do remain, they do not own land. Many will say that they are local but when one traces their background, they are usually businessmen from Phuket or Krabi. Many respondents appear fearful of the links between landowners and the government, as they are familiar with other cases such as Koh Chang and Koh Samet when rich business people have bought up land under the guise of 'Sustainable Development' and later developed the site as a high-end resort. It regularly emerges later on that the landowner was in some way related to a member of the government. Power would appear to lie with four major landowners on the island, whose power surpasses that of the government and on whom all other inhabitants are dependent in some way, mainly because these landowners hold 80% of the land in the central 'apple core' area and the majority of shops and businesses are on rented land.

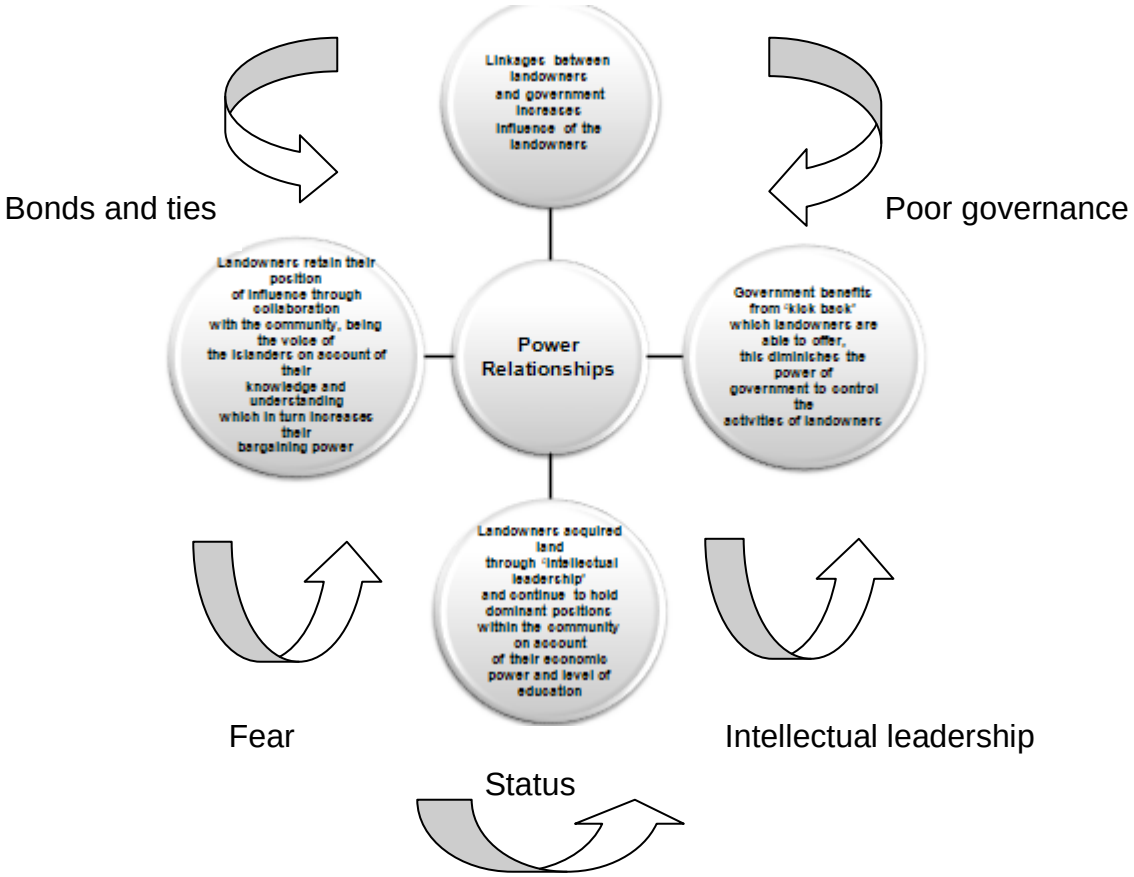
There would further appear to be evidence of hegemonic relationships within Phi Phi's redevelopment. Brohman (1996) claims that, 'there is a well-known tendency of local elites to appropriate the organs of participation for their own benefit', and one can see that these structures exist on Phi Phi. Phi Phi is essentially governed by a small group of ruling elite and, as Calgaro (2005) argues, it is the agenda of these people that shape development within a destination. It may initially appear that the government's position is weak in relation to these landowners, as Respondent 15 would like one to believe, and certainly illegal building would suggest that is the case. However, as has emerged from the research, there are identifiable links between the landowners on the island and provincial government, so one can see that (albeit indirectly) government does have an influence. Furthermore one may state that, due to the links between government and landowners, it would not be in the government's best interests to push too hard for development plans that call for a ban on construction. Perhaps this is why the Island Development plan has never been implemented.

The four themes of 'Power Relationships', 'Fear', 'Lawlessness' and 'Dependency' are shown in Model 10 below.



Model 10: Hegemonic model of interlinked themes

It has emerged that landowners acquire their power through economic strength, which enables them to purchase land. The ownership of land and material wealth ensures that they attain a higher level within the structure of society on Phi Phi, as other islanders are dependent upon them. Few landowners are native to Phi Phi and have attained a certain level of education either internationally or nationally, which places them intellectually in a stronger position to engage in debate and to leverage their views in regional and national fora. Their position within society enables them to diffuse their views within the community, resulting in intellectual and moral leadership, heightened by sending their offspring overseas to be educated within a Western system who then are actively linked into global networks and as such can draw upon global knowledge pools (Zeldin, 1995; Hannam, 2002). Thus, planning meetings are non-participatory on account of 'intellectual leadership' of the landowners and the Thai cultural notions of 'face' and 'status'. Endemic corruption at a local level in Thailand, coupled with economic strength, further increases the power of the landowners, as they are able to pay their way to pursue their desires for the future of the island and overcome barriers that may stand in their way. They retain their strength through fear. The landowners are likened to Mafia-style strong families who characterised the island of Samui in the 1980s (Cohen, 1983). There is evidence of collaboration between landowners and the international tourism industry to further strengthen their ties and bargaining power. Model 11 provides a conceptual illustration of the basis on which landowners achieve and maintain their level of influence within Phi Phi's development.



Model 11: Illustration of the factors governing the landowners' level of influence over Phi Phi's development

This thesis has observed a range of hegemonic relationships in the touristic redevelopment of Koh Phi Phi post-Tsunami, all of which support the 'status quo' of power relations, as Heyman (1999) puts it, and bears influence upon the developmental outcomes of the island. These relationships are identified and explained in Table 25 below.

	Whose hegemony?	*What is the influence?*
Sustainable development	*Western governments, international lending agencies, NGOs, the academe*	*Does not suit location-specific adaptations, lack of regard for traditional practices and significance of indigenous knowledge* *Sustainability is not 'commonsense' in a non-Western setting* *Not comprehended in the same manner on Phi Phi and not a priority over survival and greed* *Professional academic bodies that control tourism knowledge allow free sustainability debates, establishing a correlation between knowledge and power*
Neoliberal policies	*Western Governments, Big business*	*Part of the commonsense way we interpret and understand the world* *Neoliberalisation of nature driven by 'green market' economics, capitalising on countries'*

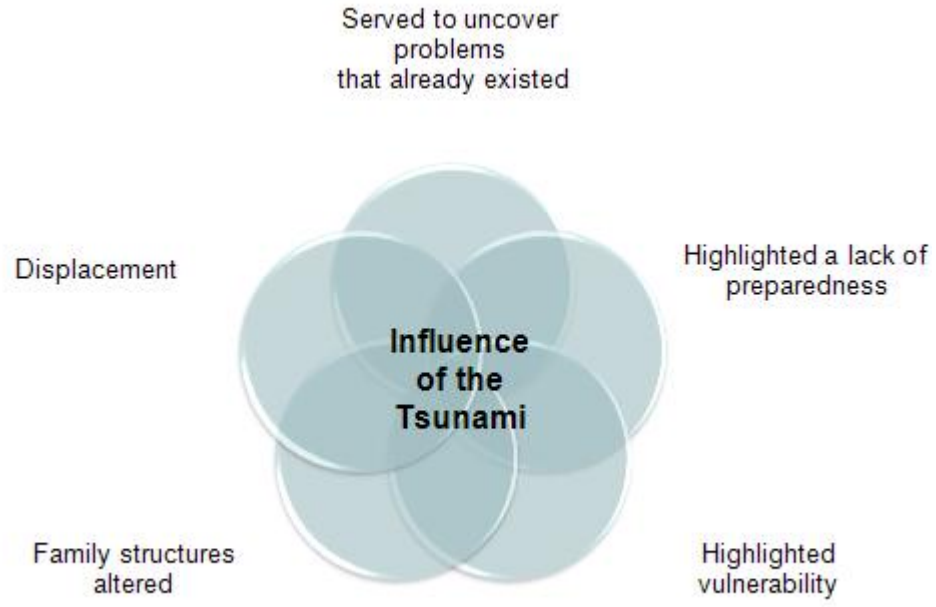
		natural assets *Push for privatisation and capitalist expansion of the tourism industry, encouraging outside investment* *Market liberalisation which results in a loss of local control*
Alternative Tourisms (Ecotourism)	*Western governments, Supra-national agencies, environmental organisations, Thai government, the academe*	*Receives powerful support from a complex range of stakeholders and non-human phenomena are increasingly subject to market-based systems of management and development* *Extension into new areas, opening up to the global market*
Quantitative expansion of the tourism industry	*Thai Ministry of Tourism and Sports* *Tourism Authority of Thailand* *Thai society*	*Favouring volume over quality.* *Lack of consideration for the detrimental effects of tourism, 'lip service' paid to issues of sustainability*
High-end /Elite Tourism	*Thai Ministry of Tourism and Sports* *Tourism Authority of Thailand*	*Alienation of small-scale, locally-owned industry* *Pursuit of high-end high-spending tourists* *Focus upon cosmetic upgrading* *Favouring elite investors and big business* *Focus upon 'enclave tourism' and staged authenticity*
Globalisation	*The 'West'*	*Focused upon Western monoculture. Indigenous cultures and location-specific adaptations will be erased* *Social and economic structures of developing countries infused with Western systems*
Use of Western aid to re-create political and economic spaces of Third World countries	*IMF/World Bank* *Leaders of the 'allied nations'*	*Permitted to operate and enforce policies on a global scale, imposing its own view as the norm* *Dominant measure of development is material and economic wealth* *Marginalises democratic, gender, political and environmental issues that determine quality of life* *A form of neo-colonialism, offering expansion of the capitalist model into new markets*
Thai cultural hegemony	*Thai society*	*Wealth, power, seniority, rank and being the boss are all primary Thai values* *Smooth interaction and avoidance of overt conflict is of paramount importance.* *Inequalities are accepted; a strict chain of command and protocol are observed*
Land rights	*Governmental officials* *Big business*	*Claims are manipulated by wealthy developers to obtain prestigious beachfront land* *Through this, local communities are displaced from beachfront land and land is obtained for touristic developments* *In Khao Lak many report being tricked into handing over their property to visitors claiming to hold their land titles or represent the government*
Sufficiency Economy	*The Thai King Bhumibol Adulyadej*	*The nation's predominant theory on sustainable development* *Emphasis on a balanced way of life* *Permits modernisation without resisting globalisation*

		Maintain stability by persisting on self-reliance *Creating a self supporting economy* *Minimise waste and greed*

Table 25: The hegemonic influences over Phi Phi's development (Source: Author's empirical research; Harvey, 2007; Duffy, 2008; Castree, 2007; Fairhead, Leach and Scoones, 2012; Brickshawana, 2003; McLaren, 2003; Mowforth and Munt, 2009; Pieterse, 2010; De Chavez, 1999; Maida, 2007; Hannam, 2002; Elliot, 1983, Hofstede, 1991)

5.6 Analysing the influence of a natural disaster upon tourism development and planning

The influence of the tsunami upon planning of the island is illustrated below in Model 12



Model 12: Illustration of the influence of the tsunami upon tourism planning

In the literature surrounding the political economy of post-disaster reconstruction it became evident that there were two clear schools of thought concerning Koh Phi Phi's reconstruction: firstly, that the tsunami had created a 'clean slate' and hence opportunity should be taken to pursue a more sustainable future; and secondly that global neoliberal policies have incited a trend towards disaster capitalism, in which disaster capitalists would use desperation and fear created by catastrophe to engage in radical re-engineering of affected areas. Neither school of thought has been wholly correct in respect of Phi Phi. These outcomes are strongly influenced by the political economy of the island and as

such make the experiences on Phi Phi a contribution to the existing knowledge on post-disaster tourism redevelopment.

Although this research has demonstrated a desire by the Thai government to capitalise on the disaster in terms of reclaiming encroached land and changing the face of the island to pursue a lower-density, high-end model, the tsunami did not, as Klein (2008), Bradshaw (2002), Saltman (2007), Harvey (2007) and Ayub and Cruikshank (1979) predicted reflect a growing trend in disaster capitalism. It is worth exploring why that did not occur. The table below elaborates the evidence of 'disaster capitalism' in tourism destinations post-tsunami, the manner in which these experiences were or were not present on Phi Phi and a subsequent explanation of why this occurred. It can be seen that the tsunami did present the opportunity for disaster capitalism but the political economy surrounding Thai tourism development and development on Phi Phi did not permit this to happen.

Characteristic of disaster capitalism	*Presence post-tsunami*	*Presence and influence on Phi Phi*
Shock event	*Earthquake off west coast of Sumatra measuring over 9 on the Richter scale* *Sea receded to 100 metres from the Andaman coast for about five minutes; three staggered waves hit the Andaman Coast, up to 10m in height; one hour inundation* *5395 Killed* *2817 missing* *58,550 affected* *120,000+ lost livelihoods in tourism*	*3m (10ft) wave hit from Tonsai Bay* *5.5m (18ft) wave hit from Ao Lo Dalaam* *Devastated low-lying land* *70% of buildings destroyed* *850 bodies (approx.) recovered* *1500 missing* *The tsunami had a profound effect on the central area of Phi Phi Don Island, destroying 70% of the infrastructure and presenting what was considered by some to be a blank canvas* *The disaster was characteristic of a low intensity, low threat, low control event with limited response options, shock event*
Slate wiped clean	*Mass evacuation plan in Sri Lanka, displaced fishing communities 1km inland* *Rules imposed on fishing communities in Sri Lanka and Khao Lak in Thailand forbade rebuilding for 'safety' reasons* *Communities in Ban Namken, Ban Laem-pon, and Tubtawan forcibly removed from coastal homes*	*70% of infrastructure in the 'apple core' destroyed* *Islanders evacuated for a month following the Tsunami, accommodated in disparate locations across the Krabi province and in refugee camps* *Rubble cleared* *30m setback imposed* *New inland homes provided* *Resistance, delays and inaction resulted in islanders 'forging ahead' with rebuilding the island despite ban on construction* *As explained in Table 27, a clean slate can never exist in development terms unless 'terra nullius' as the landscapes of development that preceded the tsunami cannot and will not be erased.* *The tsunami has shown the challenges that face this community in 'high colour'* *Strong political-economic structures at a local level on Phi Phi Don resisted government plans* *Strong support from the international backpacker and volunteer community strengthened resistance*
Increased takeover	*Ambiguity in foreign ownership*	*Multinational hotel chain Intercontinental develops as the*

of global powers	*laws in Thailand* *Foreigners cannot own land in Thailand, but can own buildings separate from the land* *Thailand restricts and prohibits economical areas and business categories for foreigners primarily in the Foreign Business Act (A.D.1999).* *Sector specific legislation on foreign ownership of 49% stake* *Many 'loopholes'*	*management company of the Holiday Inn through co-operation with local landowner* *High levels of control are maintained by dominant landowners through status, predominantly 'outsiders' (Thais who are not native of the area – Cohen, 1983)* *Islanders are rushing to rebuild homes to avoid any claim on the land by wealthy families* *Anti-liberalisation stance and emphasis on 'sufficiency economy' places power back in the nation of Thailand* *Strong socio-political structures created by major landowners prevented takeover*
Increase in multinationals	*Set back or 'buffer' zone policy of 100m imposed in Sri Lanka represents a state-sponsored dislocation of coastal populations* *10m setback policy for hotels* *The Thai government has liquidated public land holdings in tsunami-affected areas. In Nai Lai the local government has sold 240 acres of public land to developers, and 1,800 acres has been bought from villagers. Rather than favouring Multinationals this favours big business in Thailand.*	*Presence of multinationals arises from co-operation between landowners and foreign operators and shows dependency theory. At present Intercontinental have two developments on the island using this means but these are in the Laem Tong area, not Tonsai* *Pursuit of high-end tourism across Thailand. On Phi Phi this is realised in the northern and eastern beaches although it does not involve solely multinational corporations.* *Phi Phi Island Village and Zeavola are considered 'high-end' however there is no involvement of international capital, moreso favouring national 'big business'*
Extreme capitalist takeover	*Tourist resorts in Sri Lanka and Khao Lak exempted from the buffer zone ruling as works classified as 'repair'; used as a means to acquire land*	*Phi Phi differs from Khao Lak in that the central part of the island (80% of which) is owned by a small collection of landowners who form a strong resistance against capitalist takeover in the same sense as other tsunami affected locations such as Sri Lanka, however these landowners can be seen as the capitalists themselves. Ownership has not shifted therefore following the tsunami, capitalist takeover occurred on Phi Phi in the 1980s*
Reconstruction loans with crippling conditions for the privatisation of industry	*The Thai government refused 'disaster relief' only accepting 'technical assistance' in light of a resistance to be bound to neoliberal measures imposed by the World Bank post-Asian Financial Crisis*	*Focus on 'sufficiency economy' pioneered by the King, focuses upon fostering national interests* *General populace against neoliberalism post-Asian Crisis experience* *Resultant inward facing development programmes favour national interest over external assistance* *Funds for the reconstruction of the island generated predominantly through private capital (landowners) and volunteer fundraising retained local ownership*
Highlights existing power relationships and the inequalities that exist within society	*Unveiled complexity of land rights problems in Thailand*	*Presented delays in reclaiming land by original owners and identifying who held the title deeds* *Landowners asserted power by reclaiming land from tenants for new developments as new terms of lease were established resulting in erosion of trust and strong community bonds*
Used by power brokers to profiteer	*Land seized, ownership rights to coastal land claimed by development companies with*	*This took place on Phi Phi long before the tsunami. Wealthy investors made connections with indigenous landowners in the 1980s, who would be willing to make land claims on the*

	close governmental links	*investor's behalf. Title deeds claimed under the pretence that the land was being used for farming*

Table 26: A summary of why Phi Phi avoided 'disaster capitalism' (Sources: Author's empirical research; Klein, 2008; Bradshaw, 2002; Saltman, 2007; Kaewkuntee, 2006; Rigg *et al.*, 2005; Scott, 1985; Rice, 2005; Department for Disaster Prevention and Mitigation, Ministry of Interior, Thailand, 2004)

The opportunity was presented to consider an alternative form of tourism (as it appears the government wanted), but this was not taken. The tsunami did not change the island's appeal, but rather continued poor environmental practices and poor building regulations, which continue to decrease the beauty of Phi Phi. This may be on account of concerns that the secondary impacts of the tsunami would be almost as destructive as the tsunami itself i.e. loss of earnings and livelihoods from the tourism industry. It is no wonder, therefore, that the islanders chose to rebuild their lives the only way they know how, and tourism is the key shaping influence post-tsunami. As academic commentators have observed, an event on this scale has the potential to radically transform structures and processes, representing a break in the trajectories of existence (Rigg *et al.*, 2005), This thesis suggests that a 'clean slate' never existed in development terms and the reasons behind this are derived from both primary and secondary data and are elaborated in Table 27 below.

Reasons why 'clean slate' opportunity could not be taken	***Evidence***
Prevailing development philosophy on the island pre-tsunami is economic	*Theme [Development philosophies]; Theme [Future Desires]; Theme [Past reflection]*
Lack of economic diversity, nurturing of tourism monoculture	*Pleumarom, 2004; Theme [Development philosophies]; Dodds, 2011; Ko, 2005;*
Preference for the 'tried and tested' model of tourism development	*UNDP; Theme [Future Desires]; Theme [Development philosophies]*
Complacency born of competitive success	*Theme [Development philosophies]; Nwankwo and Richardson, 1994; Argenti, 1976*
Failure to see the interconnectedness of environmental viability and economic sustainability	*Theme [Conceptualisations of sustainability]; Theme [Development philosophies]*
Island still does not have a robust system of basic infrastructure	*Theme [Needs]; Theme [Community Challenges]; Brix, 2007; Ghobarah et al., 2006; Dodds et al., 2010*
Fear, confusion and improper communication surrounding future plans for the island were met with suspicion and resistance	*Theme [Communication]; Theme [Future Plans]; Theme [Fear]; Theme [Conflict]; Rice, 2005; Altman, 2005*
Inaction and delays in the release of plans, caused islanders to forge ahead illegally with rebuilding as there was an immediate need to secure livelihoods	*Rice, 2005; Theme [Barriers]; Theme [Future Plans]; Theme [Economic impacts of tourism]; Theme [Conflict]; Theme [Lawlessness]*
Strong political-economic structures maintained by major Landowners who also have ties with local government deter on-going government involvement	*Theme [Power Relationships]; Theme [Lawlessness]; Theme [Conflict]*
The Tsunami not only creates new challenges but uncovered existing ones	*Theme [Influence of the Tsunami]; Theme [Community Challenges]; Theme [Conflict]; Theme [Lawlessness]*
The psychological effect of tourism development cannot be erased	*Theme [Economic impacts of tourism]; Theme [Social impacts of tourism]; Theme [Influence of the Tsunami]*

Table 27: Justification of the absence of a 'clean slate' on Phi Phi (Sources: Pleumarom, 2004; UNDP, 2005; Dodds, 2011; Ko, 2005; Nwankwo and Richardson, 1994; Argenti, 1976; Rice, 2005; Altman, 2005; Brix, 2007; Ghobarah *et al.*, 2006; Dodds *et al.*, 2010 and Researcher's own empirical evidence)

Phi Phi is a complex place, characterised by conflict and contradiction, and the tsunami has served to unveil and exacerbate greater conflict and lawlessness. This can be observed nowhere better than in the government's planning for the island. It is interesting to note the gradual change in the Government's thinking towards reconstruction on Phi Phi. What commenced with a statement that 'no rebuilding would be allowed ever' (Phuket Gazette, 24.1.2006),

building has now been permitted to the same density as before (supposedly safer and more structurally sound). All of the construction that existed before on the island can be rebuilt in a concrete, more high-rise form, and since implementation of policy is weak, landowners have enormous power.

There is an assumption that Phi Phi will always be a success in terms of tourism and therefore inhabitants treat it as a cash cow. Respondents claimed that the general attitude is to grab as much money as they can from the island. The warning signs noted by Pleumarom (2004) and Thongpra (2005) that the desire to rebuild and accommodate tourism again would far supersede any consideration for sustainability have been borne out. The importance of marketing to boost tourism seems to be a philosophy that is common to Thai government representatives and within discussions of sustainability originating in Thailand, but it does not engage in discussions of sustainability within literature of Western origins.

The tsunami has uncovered problems that already existed, and also brought them to the forefront due to the attention now being paid to the island. The main issue is land conflict. The tsunami revealed the extent of gradual encroachment onto National Park Land and the severe lack of adequate facilities for a community to survive and prosper. This study has applied Ritchie's (2004) strategic disaster management framework to the case of Phi Phi and the relevant literature, to identify the shortcomings of the disaster response and use this in line with the research objectives to comprehend how such a disaster has influenced tourism development and planning on the island. In essence, what can be seen here is a mirror opposite to the manner in which a disaster should be strategically handled according to the literature (Ritchie, 2004; Adger *et al.*, 2005; Miller *et al.*, 2006; Olsen, 2000; Coppola, 2007; Faulkner, 2001; Baldini *et al.*, 2012. amongst others).

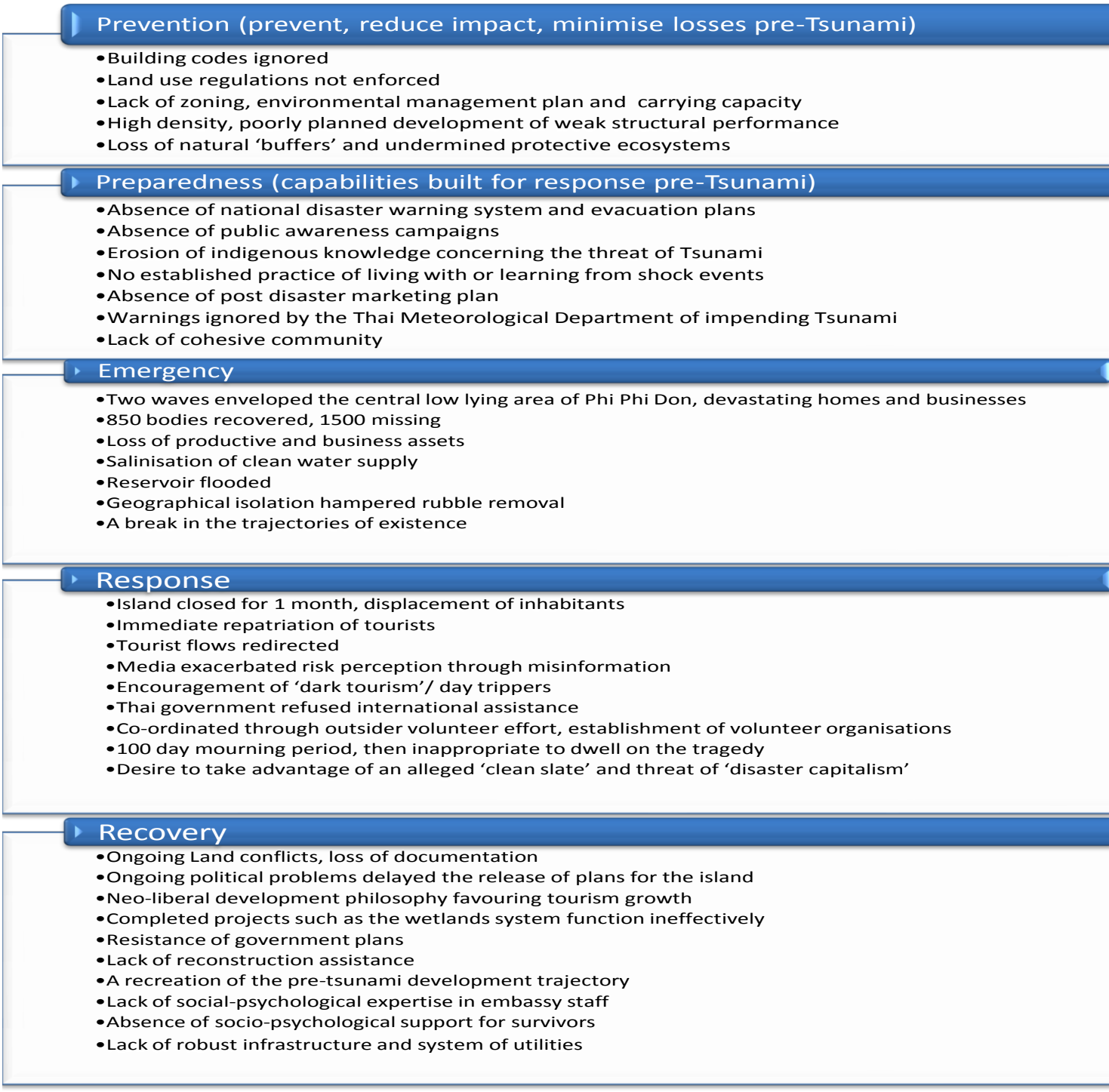


Figure 20: Framework of shortcomings in the strategic management of the tsunami on Phi Phi (Author's own comprised through data collection)

It can be seen that vulnerability played a significant role in the immediate and long-term effects of the crisis, and through a more comprehensive analysis of Phi Phi's vulnerability, as Calgaro and Lloyd (2008) advised was required

in order to refine their framework developed from empirical study in Khao Lak, other socio-political factors influencing the tourist development on the island may also be uncovered. The factors contributing to Phi Phi's disaster vulnerability are thus presented in the author's own context bound and refined adaptation of Calgaro and Lloyd's (2008) work.

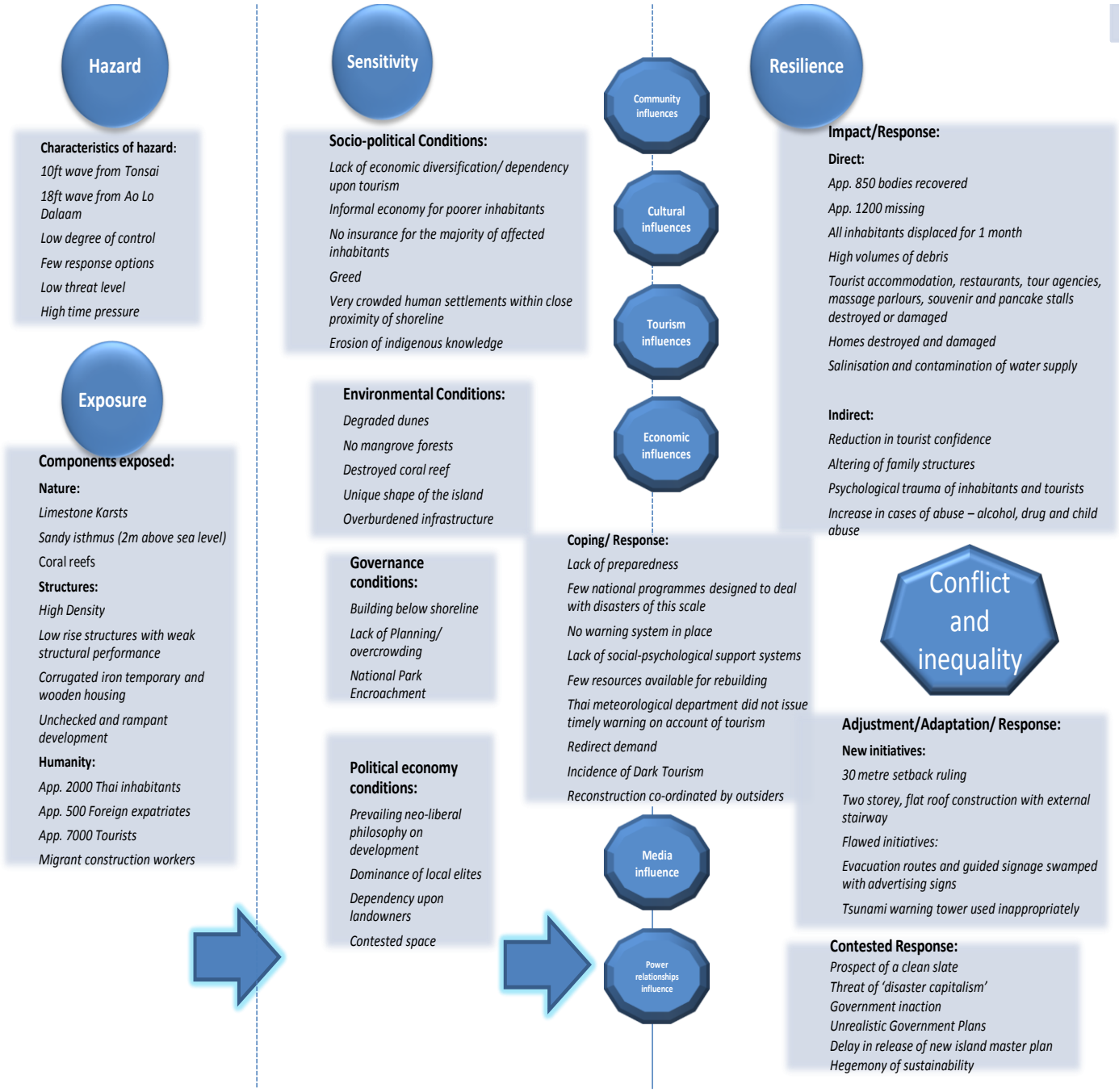
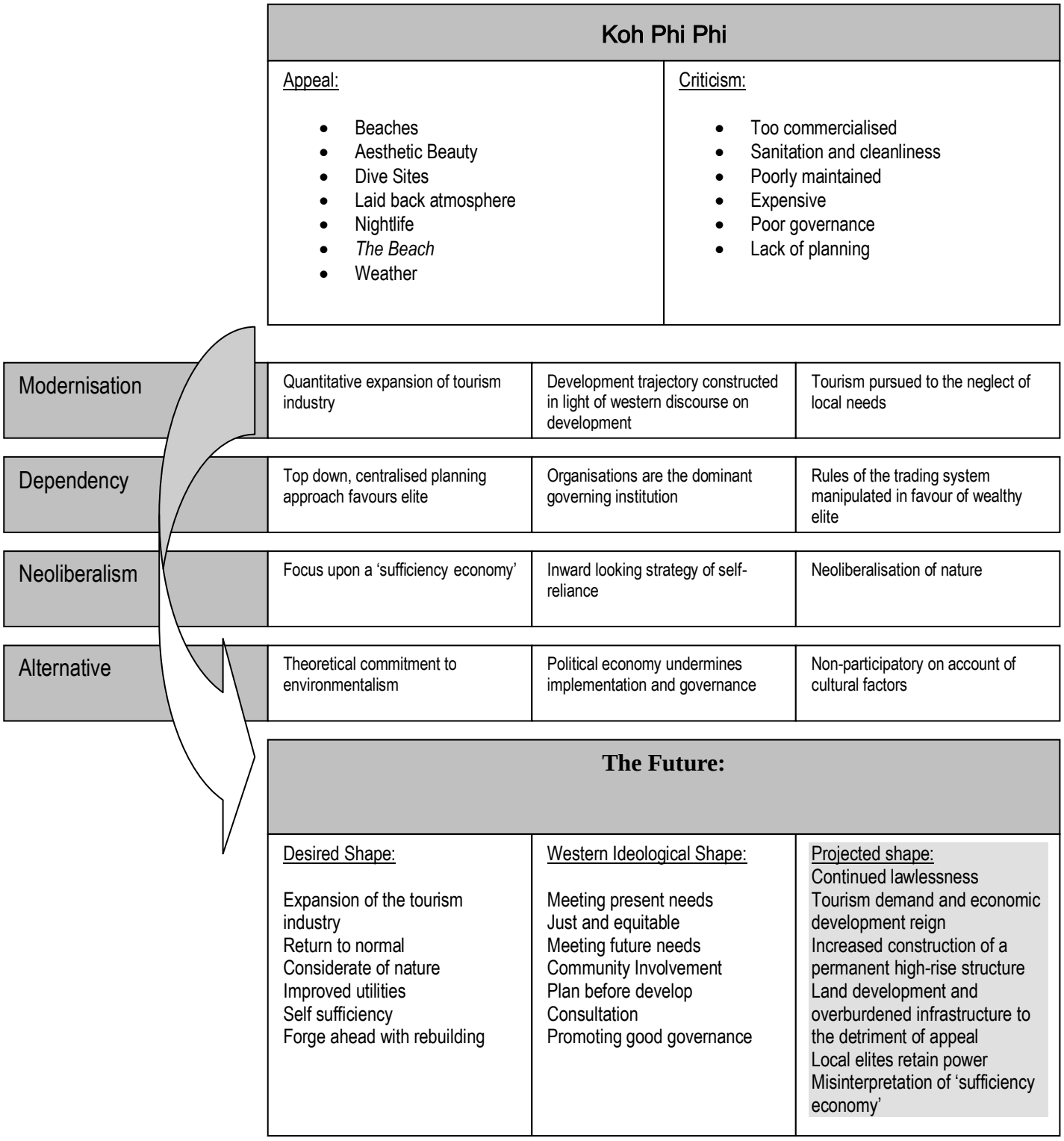


Figure 21: A framework of factors influencing Koh Phi Phi's vulnerability to disasters (Author's own comprised through data collection)

5.7 Chapter Summary

The findings have been synthesised and presented within a conceptual model below, designed to illustrate the key factors of political economy shaping the development of Phi Phi and how these factors influence the desired shape, the ideological shape and the likely shape of future development of the island.

Given the power of the landowners over the island's future development and the dependency upon the tourism industry, it is clear to see that unless interventions are made, the result will be a form of tourism contrary to the interests of those parties. It is projected that there will be continued lawlessness in the form of encroachment and backhanders, facilitated through petty corruption at a local level, an increased desire to accommodate the desires of mass tourists and increased infrastructure development of a permanent concrete structure. Local needs will not be met unless their dependency upon either the landowners or national private enterprise can be broken, and there will be continued disregard for cultural integrity, resulting in erosion of traditional practices and norms. The community will become increasingly fragmented and lose any sense of togetherness as there is increased standardisation and saturation in the island's tourism offer. Tourism will fail to be sustainable as defined in the Western ideology but will fulfil the desires of the landowners and business owners on the island.



Model: 13: A diagrammatic representation of the key influencing factors of Phi Phi's desired, ideological and projected future shape

Chapter Six Originality and Contributions of the Research

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the contribution of this research to existing published work. It will show how this research has filled gaps and enhanced the debates in the field of political economy and sustainable tourism development, and the political economy of post-disaster redevelopment, in addition to the work surrounding post-disaster reconstruction of tourism destinations. The chapter will commence by considering some of the academic debates that led to this research being carried out and how this research relates to these debates. The chapter will then move on to highlight the contributions made.

6.2 Discussions of sustainable development

Unlike the work of Dodds (2010) and Dodds et al (2011), it was not the desire to assess the practice and attainment of sustainability on Phi Phi; the desire in this research was to elaborate interpretations and conceptualisations of sustainability. The work has not only identified key components of sustainability as seen collectively by Phi Phi's stakeholders but in segregated form. An examination of development philosophy has taken place in order to establish how specific factors of political economy and relationships of a hegemonic nature bear influence over the Thai, and specifically Phi Phi's development trajectory. Despite governmental rhetoric for the pursuit of sustainability, influenced by a strong 'sufficiency economy' hegemony led by King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the observations of dependency theorists provide a better fit for the experiences on Phi Phi and as such present significant challenges for the pursuit of sustainability. The thesis posits that both an effective response to the disaster and pursuit of sustainability in the post disaster touristic redevelopment is undermined by the political economy of the destination.

There is a multitude of debates within the academic literature that allude to a lack of destination- and context-specific applications of the sustainability debate. These include, for example, Redclift (1987), who suggests that, sustainability's relative 'vagueness' offers potential for interpretation and implementation far more suitable to the local setting. Liu (2003) argues that the perspectives of destination stakeholders and communities are very often overlooked, neglected or conveniently assumed to be unimportant by some authors. This study has shown just how important local perspectives are in conceptualising sustainability, as it became apparent that there are significant differences between the meanings locals attribute to sustainability and those the international community attribute, as elaborated within the mapping matrices in Appendices 20 and 21 (pp. 382-388).

The research has conducted critical analysis of the ideological sustainability debates as a form of development hegemony and has questioned whether it is just for an ideological viewpoint to be imposed when it is the destination's

stakeholders who know the destination best and have a vested interest in its future. The research has highlighted that the model of tourism development in place on Phi Phi has been unsustainable for a number of years. Therefore, changes are needed to ensure that negative impacts and carrying capacity can be managed effectively; that utilities are improved to improve quality of life and secure livelihoods; and that the definition of sustainable tourism development is appropriate to the stakeholders.

Within the literature, the importance of achieving some level of parity between economic, environmental and social considerations within sustainability is stressed. However, there is little guidance as to the relative emphasis and 'what sustainable tourism might actually look like on the ground' (Swarbrooke, 1999: 14). This research has presented an illustration of what sustainable tourism 'might actually look like on the ground' as conceptualised through the eyes of the destination's stakeholders (see Tables 20 and 29, on p. 227 and p. 382 respectively). For Phi Phi, sustainable tourism development would mean the following:

- to continue to market the island in order to create awareness and increase tourist volumes;
- to limit development to areas of the island that are already built on and to not destroy any more of the jungle on the hillsides;
- to make the island's infrastructure more robust;
- to increase self-sufficiency to reduce dependency upon the mainland; and
- to educate island residents and tourists alike about the impacts of tourism and how to conserve the natural quality of the island

Mowforth and Munt (1998) note that a lack of attention has been paid to the conditions necessary for sustainable development to be achieved. This research has contributed by identifying the barriers that stand in the way of sustainable tourism development being achieved. However, it is argued the barriers will not be overcome whilst the existing political economy of Phi Phi remains. It would require imposed intervention in order to do this on account of endemic corruption at a local level that prevents lawful practices and effective governance. This research has highlighted how a range of barriers prevents attainment of sustainability on Phi Phi (see Model 1, p.232). As Liu (2003:474) observes, 'many writers fail to recognise that the host population is often not empowered to take control of the development process'. Indeed this research provides evidence that a lack of empowerment, collaboration and communication with the host community acts as a barrier to the attainment of sustainable tourism development. More recently, Dodds (2011) has identified several barriers to sustainability on Phi Phi, but these are limited to such issues as a perceived lack of education on sustainability issues, a lack of planning and lack of stakeholder involvement. In comparison, this study has uncovered a far greater range of barriers that are entwined with the political economy in relation to the development of tourism on Phi Phi.

6.3 Forces shaping development

As Robinson and Meaton (2005:77) have argued, 'there is an increasingly voiced need for the fuller incorporation of local realities into future development paradigms.' This research has provided an extensive investigation into firstly, the forces shaping development in a non-Western setting, and secondly the philosophies that underpin development in a non-Western setting. The findings have provided evidence that the philosophy that predominates development in this setting is economic (some would say greed). It is not one of 'radical social and economic engineering', but rather a desire to regain the level of economic activity that the islanders had been accustomed to pre-tsunami.

Mosedale (2011) maintains that the influence of political economy has received very little attention in tourism research and therefore this work has sought to remedy that. The research has also demonstrated how different forces (political economy and hegemony) interact in order to determine the likely future of the island (see Model 13, p. 262 and Tables 22, 23 and 24). The current development on Phi Phi has been shaped by economic interest and tourism as a tool for economic development. The island has essentially 'sold out' to tourism so that it exists as a moneymaking machine for the province of Krabi. Development on the island has taken the form of a mass tourism destination that caters for the desires of a quite specific tourist profile (see Table 24, p. 248). In addition to tourism, there is also the influence of the landowners. Their interest is economic and of infrastructure development and therefore it is likely that the future of Phi Phi's development will continue to be shaped by these factors to the detriment of the environment and the host community.

This research has uncovered the power relationships that exist in an island setting and how these relationships interact to determine development outcomes. The research has also identified the origins of these power bases: economic, land ownership, status, unlawful activity, poor governance, fear and government links (see Model 11, p.251). A ladder of influence is identified (Model 9, p. 247) that demonstrates that the influence of the tourism industry and the major landowners supersedes that of the Thai government and the islanders who are not engaged in land ownership or businesses for the tourism industry. An illustration has been given of how these bases of influence are leveraged and how this impacts upon the pursuit of sustainability, which answers Hall and Lew's (1998) concern that there has not been much applied research into how stakeholders influence sustainability at different levels of resolution.

In response to Taylor and Stanley's (1992) concerns that there is a need to create a clearer conception of how different scales of analysis and various stakeholders articulate with each other, this research has presented a practical demonstration of the extent to which, and the means through which, stakeholders have been able to express their views and desires concerning the future development of the island. The research has unveiled the extent of the conflict that exists in stakeholders' views. On the one hand, the international community prescribes that the island take stock after the disaster and reassess their model of development, and on the other, the Thai government call for construction

of a lower density; the landowners express their desire to continue construction and development of the tourism industry; and the remaining inhabitants' desire for improved infrastructure and livelihoods is marginalised.

6.4 Tourist and host interaction with the destination

This research has presented perspectives gathered from tourists of their 'perfect beach resort' and contributes to discussions on the notion of 'paradise'. Tourists describe their perfect beach resort as one with peace and quiet, scenery, clear blue sea, cleanliness and not overcrowded with tourists. Phi Phi matches the tourists' desires in respect of scenery, but it does not match any of the other criteria.

In fact, their descriptions of a perfect beach resort with palm trees, hammocks, beach huts and white sand beaches with crystal-clear water suitably described Phi Phi twenty years ago and the image captured by Alex Garland in *The Beach* (1997) and the subsequent film that caused so much controversy. One of the greatest contradictions of Phi Phi is that it was selected as the location for the filming of stereotypical paradise location and yet paradise had to be cosmetically enhanced, which wrought environmental destruction on Maya Bay (Fahn, 1998; The Nation, 1998; Shelby-Biggs, 2000) and contravened the 1992 Environmental Protection Act and the 1961 National Park Act (The Nation, 11.11.1998).

Favourable memories of Phi Phi appear to dominate and seem to prevent stakeholders seeing the island how it actually is. They do not fully 'see' the damage that the present form of tourism on the island is having. This was also illustrated during a personal visit with a friend to the island (documented in the reflexive journal) who, when watching film footage back failed to recognise certain aspects of the island, noting that when taking a detached view, the island takes a very different shape to when you are immersed in it.

In respect of inhabitants, this phenomenon is also evidenced. Commentators on Phi Phi liken this to what is called 'boiled frog' syndrome. This is a phenomenon not newly applied in business but in the business of tourism it is, nevertheless clear parallels can be drawn. In relation to Phi Phi, this 'strategic gap' can be viewed in several ways. Firstly, a lack of action in implementing measures to manage tourism impacts, control the nature and volume of tourism development and developing sustainable tourism practices creates a crisis of tourism 'killing the golden goose' (Respondent 26), degrading the environment upon which the tourist product is based. Secondly, a lack of proactive action by the Thai government in terms of disaster preparation and complacency about the probability of such an event, a resistance to act for fear of harming the tourism industry exacerbated the strategic gap created by a rapidly-changing environmental situation. A further strategic gap developed on account of delays by the Thai government in agreeing and delivering redevelopment plans in the recovery phase. This represents a further 'crisis' due to the time elapsed between the Prodromal (pre-impact) phase (Ritchie, 2004) of 26th December 2004, and Resolution (normal or improved state resumed), which, arguably, as of December 2011 has still not been reached due

to rebuilding work taking place in many areas of the island including shoreline developments near the pier in Tonsai and shop houses adjacent to the Wastewater Treatment Plant and wetlands. This notion of 'strategic gap' is embedded in the authors' model of Vulnerability (see Figure 21, p. 260) as a factor that has heightened the vulnerability of Phi Phi.

Many of the concepts discussed by Villiers (1989), Johnson (1988) and Richardson, Nwankwo and Richardson (1994) shed light on the failures of Phi Phi if considered as a business, which the Thai inhabitants and landowners consider it to be. In particular, causes of failure on account of 'boiled frog' syndrome are identified, several of which the author considers pertinent to Phi Phi, as explained below:

- complacency born of competitive success (as seen in the development philosophies theme);
- cultural rigidity (as seen in the community and cultural issues themes);
- a hierarchy orientation (as seen in the cultural issues theme);
- the push for organisational growth rather than productive growth (as seen in the development philosophies, present and past criticism themes); and
- low motivation amongst employees (community members, as seen in the communication and community themes)

Argenti (1976) asserts that another factor is the nature of leadership. It is the landowners who hold the greatest power and influence over Phi Phi's development, and if one reflects on the opinions of Respondents 5, 20, 26, 14 and 15, this would be an apt description:

> An overambitious, super-salesman type who is so set on hyper-successful performance that he ceases to believe in the existence of failure. These people are noticeable for their outstanding personalities. They are leaders of men, loquacious, restless and charismatic (Argenti, 1976: 123)

Such leaders are characterised as follows (adapted from Richardson *et al*., 1994:12):

- they stand at the centre of the political arena (key players in planning meetings, as media liaison post-tsunami);
- people in charge of organisations "milk" them to the point of bankruptcy and demise (density of commercial construction on land, resorts, shop houses as illustrated in the development philosophies theme).

Whilst the age of this previous academic research on the concept of the boiled frog is noted, a subsequent search for more recent studies or application to the study of tourism development yields results applied only in the context of generic management. The closest application is Faulkner's (2000) observation that the impacts of a threatening situation (disaster) are often only realised following a triggering event, implying that a gradual onset of adverse changes affords less recognition of a crisis situation than that of a triggering event, such as a tsunami. More recently

still, Johnson's (2009) work applies the boiled frog concept to encourage hospitality students to develop self-awareness in their attitudes to change, whilst Hardiman and Burgin (2010) in their research on 'canyoning' in the Blue Mountains National Park in Australia likens the lack of care for ecological damage to the boiled frog phenomenon. This research, however, demonstrates the relevance and applicability of Richardson, Nwankwo and Richardson's (1994) ideas, in order to comprehend how disaster vulnerability can be heightened and how a gradual onset of detrimental changes without remedial action being taken represents a crisis situation.

6.5 Cultural influences upon sustainability

From anectdotal evidenced gathered from respondents and personal observations of the researcher and her colleagues, reinforced through academic works on Thai culture, a correlation may be observed between cultural drivers and development philosophy. This may subsequently influence attitudes towards sustainability and the propensity to pursue sustainability in the form prescribed by Western think-tanks. Model 5 (p.236) illustrates how Thai people have a desire to work independently, a concern with the here and now, a tendency not to plan and a deep respect for social hierachy. Some of these characteristics may conflict with conceptualisations of sustainability in its Western ideological form. That is why this research sought to conceptualise sustainability from the perspectives of the stakeholders, in a non-Western framework, and compare these interpretations against Western discourse to ascertain where differences occur.

Through personal reflections in the research journal it became apparent early on that some of the problems associated with achieving Sustainable Development may be culturally linked. From personal observations and anecdotal evidence from Thai friends and colleagues, there is an utmost respect for authority, even when authority may not make the most suitable decisions. Thai people also tend to not speak out. They are often quiet by nature, but challenging decisions is seen as wrong, causing a loss of face to others and therefore is an undesirable state. This assumption was confirmed through accounts of Thai (and south-east Asian) culture offered within autobiographical texts (Mam, 2008; Sharron and Sudha, 2006; Theerapappisit, 2008) and studies on Thai Society (Mulder, 2000; Brown, 2000; Truong, 1990; Bishop and Robinson, 1997). In Mam's (2008) account she explains that status originates from various sources, including ethnic origin and skin colour. She notes that 'the paler you are, the closer to 'moon colour', the more highly you are prized. A plump woman with white skin is the supreme object of beauty and desire. This may result in a situation where the views of lower status groups are marginalised, particularly migrant workers from minority ethnic groups as observed through the empirical work of Delcore (2007) in Doi Phukha National Park, exacerbating dependent relationships and restricting access to resources.

Other events, such as the teachers' 'paying homage ceremony' in line with the Buddhist belief of merit-making, served to provide an emic insight into the hierarchical structure of Thai society, as teachers are afforded a high status

within Thai culture (Hallinger *et al*., 2000). The teacher is seen as representative of moral goodness, who makes considerable sacrifices for students, creating a moral debt that must be repaid (Deveney, 2005). Deveney's research, carried out whilst working in an international school in Thailand, served to identify how aspects of Thai culture influenced behavior in the classroom and provided a useful insight into the importance of 'goodness' and 'face'. Being good is considered a safeguard against a loss of face (Deveney, 2005). If everyone behaves accordingly (Mulder, 2000) society will be free from trouble. Perhaps this, then, provides an explanation for the disinclination to speak out against authority on Phi Phi. Through the author's own research journey and knowledge of Thai culture within an educational setting, the research has contributed to existing work (Deveney, 2005; Dimmock, 2000; Hallinger *et al.*, 2000) to emphasise the importance of culturally-responsive teaching through cultural awareness. Not only is this awareness vital for integration of a foreign teacher or lecturer into a Thai educational setting, it is vital to foster effective relationships with students to promote an effective learning environment. The research has thus mapped the characteristics of Thai culture as presented within the academic literature against findings in relation to the culture of islanders on Phi Phi and offered an explanation of how these characteristics may have influenced development philosophy (See section 5.2 and Table 22, pp. 237-239).

6.6 The influence of natural disasters upon tourism planning and development

Milne (in Hall and Lew, 1998) criticises existing literature on tourism and development in the sense that it is weakened by a fascination with theoretical models that predict linear paths of destination evolution. He urges an approach that considers the impact of human agency and stakeholder relationships in the generation of sustainable development. Importantly for this research, he argues that sustainability takes on different forms at different levels and that community and stakeholder interactions are vital in shaping this analysis. The research addressed these concerns in two ways: firstly, it provides evidence of what sustainability means to different factions of the community and illustrates how different stakeholder groups interact to leverage their own interests with regard to the island's redevelopment; and secondly, the research maps and monitors Phi Phi's touristic development for a significant period of time (2002-2011).

Numerous authors have highlighted a relative lack of academic attention directly addressing the influence of political economy upon achieving sustainability in post disaster reconstruction (Klein, 2008; Hystad and Keller, 2008; Olsen, 2000; Bommer, 1985; Beirman, 2003; Faulkner, 2001; Glaesser, 2003; Ritchie, 2004). This work therefore extends existing academic debates and studies in a number of areas. Firstly, in the existing academic debates concerning the political economy of post disaster reconstruction there is an observed trend towards, 'disaster capitalism', as Klein (2005:3) puts it, 'smash and grab capitalism' as Harvey (2007:32) observes, and in Saltman's (2007a:57) terms, 'attempts to accumulate by dispossession'. However, in Phi Phi's case this did not occur, presenting an experience that is contrary to the growing trend. This work outlines the reasons why Phi Phi avoided the type of capitalism

experienced by disaster affected tourism destinations elsewhere. Additionally, despite claims of a 'clean slate' being offered by the tsunami in developmental terms (Pleumarom, 2004; UNDP, 2005; Dodds, 2011; Ko, 2005; Nwankwo and Richardson, 1994; Argenti, 1976; Rice, 2005; Altman, 2005; Brix, 2007; Ghobarah et al., 2006; Dodds et al., 2010), this research provides evidence and explanation of why a 'clean slate' did not and would never exist on Phi Phi, a finding which may be related to many other tourism destinations in a post disaster context.

Furthermore, in response to Blaikie *et al's* (2004) concerns that the factors of vulnerability are often reconstructed following a disaster and as such may create the conditions for a future disaster, this work has extended discussions of disaster vulnerability in tourism locations through an adapted application of Turner *et al's* (2003) Vulnerability Framework. This similarly meets Calgaro and Lloyd's (2008) recommendation that further longitudinal research is required in other tsunami-affected locations. This research refines that of Calgaro and Lloyd (2008) in order to identify a detailed framework of vulnerability factors intertwined with factors of political economy, presenting a post disaster situation, which remains highly vulnerable and non-conducive to sustainability. In response to Hystyad and Keller's (2008) recognition that there are a lack of longer-term studies, which not only elaborate how disaster has shifted the nature of the destination and tourism product, but also identify successful strategic processes and actions in disaster response. This research has mapped the form of touristic development on Phi Phi from an initial visit to the islands in 2002 to the present day. Through the experiences post-disaster on Phi Phi, the strategic response has been analysed through an adapted Strategic Disaster Management Framework (Ritchie, 2004) to identify the shortcomings of the disaster response and use this in line with the research objectives to comprehend how such a disaster has influenced tourism development and planning on the island. In essence, what can be seen here is a mirror opposite to the manner in which a disaster should be strategically handled according to the literature (Ritchie, 2004; Adger *et al.*, 2005; Miller *et al.*, 2006; Olsen, 2000; Coppola, 2007; Faulkner, 2001; Baldini *et al.*, 2012. amongst others). The researcher draws on the notion of 'strategic drift' (Johnson, 1998) and 'Boiled frog syndrome' (Richardson, Nwankwo and Richardson, 1994) which have been previously applied within strategic management but to a very limited extent within tourism studies in order to explain how host attitudes to tourism may increase vulnerability. Both of these theoretical contributions can be used assist in the identification of destination vulnerability and to highlight limitations in disaster response and recovery.

This has enabled the researcher to note that the island's development followed a linear path of destination development and provides a perfect illustration of how shock events, stakeholder relationships and human agency can impact upon this predicted model of destination evolution. The tsunami illustrates limitations in these models in that it acts as an intervention in the linear path of development. Destinations following this intervention can take many paths. Phi Phi had an opportunity to reassess the development model, but sought to regain the level of development they had pre-tsunami as quickly as possible. One may note that while the infrastructure was removed, the philosophy predetermining that level of development certainly wasn't. Klein's (2008) observations on disaster capitalism, which took root in the notion of shock therapy, designed to erase and remake the human mind and likened to Friedman's

search for a 'laissez-faire laboratory' under which he could employ his capitalist 'shock treatment' (ibid 2008: 49), can be applied differently in this case. Certainly a shock did occur on Phi Phi, which presented the opportunity for disaster capitalism, which would be enabled through neoliberal policies, but the ideology and 'memory' of the island had not been wiped clean and therefore could not be remade. The power of the landowners and their development hegemony did not permit this and was more powerful an influence than the hegemony of Western sustainability discourse.

The tsunami has exposed pre-existing problems on Phi Phi, such as the extent of encroachment onto National Park Land and the lack of adequate utilities. Without the tsunami, the challenges faced by this community would undoubtedly not have received such attention and interest. Through context bound adaptations of Ritchie's (2004) Strategic Disaster Management model and Turner *et al.*'s (2003) Vulnerability Framework, the sources of vulnerability on Phi Phi have been analysed and limitations in the disaster response highlighted (both of which have their roots in the political economy of the island). The thesis posits that under the existing political economic climate, pursuit of an alternative development paradigm will not be possible and the island will remain highly vulnerable in line with Blaikie *et al's* (1994) observations that the factors of vulnerability are often reconstructed following a disaster and as such may create frame conditions for a repeat disaster. The research has re-presented adapted versions of both Ritchie's (2004) and Turner *et al.*'s (2003) work in light of Phi Phi's experiences and hence progresses the debates on post-disaster tourism redevelopment, demonstrating the conditions of vulnerability on Phi Phi which may create a repeat disaster.

6.7 Contributory aspects of research design

This thesis illustrates the influence that the researcher has upon the design and conduct of research and makes provision for the bias-inducing effects of such interpretive study. It is recognised that as the research is interpretive by design, not only is reality interpreted by those who have participated in the research and formed the data, but also by the individual collecting the data and writing the piece. It is therefore impossible to deny the emotive nature and subjectivity of the research and the researcher's own affinity with the destination. This may be apparent within the analysis and interpretation of results. The researcher has tempered this bias through the reflexive journal and through segregating results according to respondent group, one of which was the author's own reflection.

The research has also demonstrated the use of online research methods as a tool for data collection. Online research has been employed widely in order, firstly, to overcome geographical boundaries, and secondly, to reach respondents who may either be inaccessible or unwilling to respond through other means due to the sensitivity of the topic. This research provides a practical illustration of how the benefits of online research are realised. Online methods were used in three main ways for the benefit of primary data collection: firstly, blogs and discussion fora were used to generate

honest, current debates concerning the island; secondly, the design and implementation of a tailored website for the research where questionnaires and information sources were posted; and thirdly, the use of blogs and discussion fora to promote visits to the tailored website.

An important element of the research was incorporating as wide a perspective as possible from all parts of the community, to overcome the concerns of authors such as Liu (2003) and Robinson and Meaton (2005). This meant facing three challenges in this case: overcoming a language barrier; overcoming illiteracy; and finally the hesitance to express views freely. These issues were addressed by presenting a questionnaire in Thai script that was then left with respondents for several days in order to allow sufficient time for completion in Thai.

6.8 Conceptual models

The research has enabled the following conceptual models to be formed. These models are original to this research, and developed from data gathered for this research. However, they may be applied by subsequent authors working on the political economy of post-disaster tourism redevelopment in order to comprehend how the experiences on Phi Phi relate to other cases, through an illustration of the forces at play and barriers surrounding the sustainable redevelopment of tourism destinations post-disaster.

Model Title:	Number and Location within work	Purpose and application:
The key barriers prohibiting the pursuit of sustainable tourism development on Phi Phi	Model 1, p.232	An illustration of the barriers that prohibit sustainable tourism redevelopment
Illustration of the vicious circle of tourism dependency and impact	Model 2, p. 233	An illustration of how dependency on tourism in an island setting can cause excessive strain and detriment to the destination's utilities and further increase dependency upon the mainland
Illustration of the vicious circle of isolation and dependency	Model 3, p. 234	An illustration of how relative isolation of an island destination increased dependency upon the mainland and impacts upon tourist satisfaction
Illustration of the vicious circle of the absence of development plans	Model 4, p. 235	An illustration of how lack of guidance, governance and planning of destinations in redevelopment post-disaster can cause a delay to the rebuilding of livelihoods and increased incidence of unlawful activity

Illustrations of how cultural characteristics influence the pursuit of sustainable development	Model 5, p. 236	An illustration of the Thai cultural characteristics that may work contrary to the ideology of sustainable development and prohibit its attainment
Illustration of how power relationships and lawlessness are interlinked	Model 6, p. 239	An illustration of unlawful activity on Phi Phi island and how that is exacerbated by tourism development, government corruption and fear
Illustration of Phi Phi's present unfulfilled needs	Model 7, p. 240	An illustration of the present needs of Phi Phi's inhabitants that are unfulfilled and are more pressing than a desire to pursue sustainability
Conceptualisations of sustainable tourism development on Phi Phi island	Model 8, p. 242	An illustration of how stakeholders conceptualise sustainability, how these conceptualisations overlap to create a destination- and context-specific definition of sustainable tourism development
Illustration of the structure of influence in Phi Phi's development	Model 9, p. 247	An illustration of the level of power and influence held by stakeholders in Phi Phi's redevelopment
Hegemonic model of interlinked themes	Model 10, p. 250	An illustration of the links between power relationships, dependency, lawlessness and fear
Illustration of the factors governing the landowners' level of influence over Phi Phi's development	Model 11, p. 251	An illustration of how the landowners attain and retain their influence over redevelopment outcomes on the island
Illustration of the influence of the tsunami upon planning	Model 12, p. 253	An illustration of the key influences that the tsunami has had upon tourism planning and development
A diagrammatic representation of the key influencing factors of Phi Phi's desired, ideological and projected future shape	Model 13, p. 262	A model to illustrate how a range of factors within Phi Phi's development and range of interests have shaped the present day tourism on the island and how these forces interact to shape the intended and likely future outcomes for the island's development

Framework of shortcomings in the strategic management of the Asian Tsunami in respect of Koh Phi Phi	Figure 20, p. 259	An adapted version of Ritchie's (2004) Strategic Disaster Management Framework in light of the experiences on Phi Phi. Illustrates limitations in the strategic response to the disaster.
A framework of factors influencing Koh Phi Phi's vulnerability to disasters	Figure 21, p. 260	Refined and adapted version of Turner *et al's* (2003) Disaster Vulnerability Framework which elaborates factors of vulnerability and how this is shaped by factors of political economy

Table 28: Summary of conceptual models

6.9 Summary

In summary, it has been demonstrated that this research contributes to existing academic debates in a number of areas, including: conceptualisations of sustainability in a non-Western framework; shaping forces of redevelopment in a tourist destination; the political economy of post-disaster tourism redevelopment; and the influence of a natural disaster upon tourism development and planning. The research has filled gaps in the literature identified by scholars such as Liu (2003), Swarbrooke (1999), Mowforth and Munt (1998) and Robinson and Meaton (2005), through its illustration of the interests and desires of destination stakeholders (as opposed to the international community) in respect of tourism development and planning. New conceptual models have been developed as a result to aid a fuller understanding of this field and build on existing theory. Some of these models include illustrations of the barriers for achieving sustainability, links between governance, livelihoods and lawlessness, and the shaping forces of developmental outcomes. The work offers practical and theoretical insight to academics within the fields of tourism studies, development studies, disaster management, sustainability; and to supra-national organisations, NGOs and government for policy formation in respect of tourism and sustainability and post-disaster reconstruction.

Chapter Seven Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

In light of the key findings and conclusions reached, the purpose of this chapter is threefold. Firstly, to make recommendations for the current and on-going touristic development of Phi Phi Island and destinations with a similar context and setting. Secondly, to extend research surrounding the political economy of post-disaster reconstruction, sustainable tourism development and the on-going development of Phi Phi. And thirdly, to improve the research design. It must be acknowledged at this juncture that, on account of the existing political economy on the island, the ability to overcome barriers to sustainability and pursue recommendations for the present and future development within an 'alternative' development paradigm is limited. It is likely that a form of tourism will emerge as identified within Model 13 (p. 262) unless external intervention takes place.

7.2 Recommendations for Phi Phi's present development

It has been clearly established that the needs of present generations on Phi Phi are yet to be met. Some of these are basic needs for survival. It is essential that these needs be accommodated prior to planning the future shape of the island. Even though the island's redevelopment is, at the point of writing, well advanced, it is no less essential that these needs be addressed. The most pressing needs identified by respondents are co-operation, education, making a living and improved utilities as discussed in section 5.2.

With respect to co-operation, the research has explained that a traditional sense of community is not present on Phi Phi due to a high proportion of outsiders who have, rather than in Waldren's (1996) observations on the island of Mallorca, retained a sense of identity and togetherness, become fragmented, viewing the island predominantly as a place to do business. Control of the island's resources is maintained through 'status' rather than a sense of 'togetherness'. This, coupled with land scarcity, creates an environment whereby each landowner and business owner looks out for their own interests. Sadly, the situation on Phi Phi represents a Tragedy of the Commons (Hardin, 1968). However, whilst actors do have an incentive to avoid over-exploitation of common pool resources to ensure the longevity of the tourism industry and their own livelihoods, they do not appear to recognise this, and again the researcher has presented evidence that this may be culturally linked. Currently Phi Phi lacks what Beritelli (2011) recommends as a condition for sustainable tourism development i.e. co-operative behaviour. The lack of co-operation has resulted in a saturation of certain products and services, such as accommodation in the form of guesthouses, diving and snorkelling services, massage parlours etc. This chimes with Olsen's (1965) observations that collective

action is challenged when there is a failure to recognise the importance of collective goods. This divide has no doubt been exacerbated by the non-participatory community meetings. It is felt that greater investment by the Thai government in creating a self-sufficient island (through the supply of adequate resources and the empowerment to self-govern as a community) will re-stimulate a sense of ownership, pride and community and thus a greater sense of co-operation. However, the island was essentially self-governed prior to the tsunami and the detrimental impact that poorly-planned, unsustainable development made at this time has already been described. In addition, the island's engagement with a new form of tourist may warrant greater external assistance and adherence to international standards rather than Phi Phi's own methods of governance.

What can and should be improved, with the assistance of Thai government rather than external governments, is the provision and maintenance of the island's utilities. There has been very limited evidence of the Thai government's assistance in the redevelopment of the island. The clean-up effort and rebuilding of livelihoods immediately post-tsunami was largely co-ordinated and implemented by volunteer organisations, originating from expatriates who either lived on the island or their relatives. Islanders should have a comparable level of access to utilities of similar standard and cost to those on the mainland. Despite claims of financial assistance by the government, there is no evidence that this assistance was directed to the areas where it was most needed. The Thai government appears to be out of sync with the needs of the community and consultation is non-participatory. It needs to be ensured that any future involvement that the Thai government has in the planning or shaping of plans for the island involves proper consultation, so as to ensure that local realities are understood fully, not just from the perspective of the most influential.

Another identifiable need that should be addressed is education. There is one primary school on the island. For youngsters wishing to further their education, it is necessary to go to Krabi, Phuket or further afield. This has two notable impacts: firstly, the youth may be tempted to stay away from the island to engage in further study or work; and secondly their knowledge is not shared and essentially 'leaked' out of Phi Phi's economy. The result of this is that the people left behind on the island to form the community are generally poorly educated. The exception to this however, are the offspring of high-status islanders (landowners), who are sent abroad to be educated to postgraduate level and return to support their family business with new skills, ideas and knowledge. This knowledge is also the basis of strengthening their personal status and that of their family, and affords them power accordingly as they are integrated firmly into a global knowledge system. It has already been demonstrated that in order to engage effectively in an understanding of the impacts of tourism and the meaning of sustainability, one needs a certain level of detachment and theoretical knowledge, and these members of community have been educated in the setting from which such ideology originated, strengthening their position still further. This finding concurs with Cole's (in Smith and Robinson, 2006) observations that active participation may be restricted on account of a lack of self-belief, necessary skills and knowledge. These personal assets have also been shown to provide the individual with a greater capacity to leverage their own views and ideas and greater confidence in expressing what they know to be true.

Perhaps another reason for the marginalised viewpoints on Phi Phi is a lack of confidence to debate with those that you know are more educated than yourself.

It is important to: retain the educated on the island; develop the skills and knowledge of adults on the island; capture essential knowledge that will enable residents to understand how to get the best out of their island and the tourism industry; and to more confidently and effectively present their views to the international community and the Thai government, as well as competing intellectually with the landowners. The thesis recommends the development of a community education centre on the island. This could be realised either through a secondary school or a community college that could be used by all. There is a need for cultural education, so that islanders do not assume tourists to be an homogenous whole, and also understand that tourists change over time. Evidence suggests that islanders differentiate to a certain extent on the basis of nationality, but not by motivation or any other means. Islanders could learn that they do not need to agree to everything or sell out to tourists. It is possible (as in the north of the island and eastern beaches) to target the type of tourists that they desire through effective pricing and promotion.

7.3 Recommendations for Phi Phi's future development

For Phi Phi, as identified in section 6.2, sustainable tourism development would mean the following:

- to continue to market the destination;
- to limit development to areas of the island that are already built on and to not destroy any more of the jungle on the hillsides;
- to make the island's infrastructure more robust;
- to increase self-sufficiency and reduce dependency upon the mainland; and
- to educate island residents and tourists alike about the impacts of tourism and how to conserve the natural quality of the island

The role and importance of education (as discussed above) could equip islanders with the expertise to achieve these goals. Educational provision could be tailored in order to provide skills in marketing, web design, customer service, environmental preservation, conservation and other essential skills to maintain the island's infrastructure, such as building, plastering, electrics and plumbing. Fostering these skills within the community will make it more self-sustaining, and will make the island safer, with higher quality maintained utilities and less dependence upon the mainland.

Furthermore, effective governance needs to be established that is not corrupt. A presence of the Royal Forestry Department and Department of Planning and Public Works on the island would be beneficial. However, this is an

idealistic solution, as is the proposal that both bodies be answerable to central government to reduce corruption. This is also contrary to the concept of the self-governed island.

Fahn recommended that, 'it is vital that an effective environmental management plan, complete with quotas for the daily number of visitors be set up now … A similar plan, acknowledging carrying capacities should have been established long ago for Phi Phi Don'. The tsunami has not caused any major reassessment of the development philosophy. The island has now introduced a token 20 baht to be paid by each visitor arriving on Phi Phi Don, but this does not appear to be the result of any scientific calculation of the financial value of each visitor's environmental and social detriment to the island, nor does this new ruling impose any limits on volume of visitor traffic. The only apparent impact is (yet again) income generation: volume over quality is still favoured

It would be far more appropriate for a calculation of carrying capacity to be established and strict limits imposed on the number of visitors. Additionally, a fee of much more than 20 baht should be paid by all visitors. The revenue could be used to improve and maintain the island's infrastructure, and this money should be auditable. Decisions on how the money should be spent should not be solely made by landowners and business owners. The *Pu ya Ban* and his assistant should take a more active and forceful role in the co-ordination of community meetings, although it is recognised that on account of the Landowners' status, which exceeds that of the Headman on account of material wealth and land possession, a loss of face would occur if the *Pu ya Ban* were to challenge Landowners.

It was established in the previous chapter that in order to pursue more sustainable tourism development on Phi Phi, there are barriers to be overcome and needs to be met. The most substantial barrier prohibiting sustainable development on Phi Phi lies within the power relationships on the island. An unequal level of influence is invested in the landowners that creates difficulties in governance and creates fear amongst the remaining residents who are dependent on landowners for their livelihoods. As long as the main landowners still retain a majority share of the land and corruption is still present, landowners will retain a disproportionate influence over the island's development and the views of other inhabitants will be marginalised resulting in a form of tourism that only suits the 'ruling elite'. Ideally, this influence should be diminished through government intervention at a higher level (above the Ao Nang Tambon and Krabi Provincial) that call for major landowners to sell off a proportion of their land to the Thai government. The government should then either: a) retain the land and ensure that it is kept natural (if undeveloped however this is unlikely); or b) make the land available for resale at a reduced rate to inhabitants of Phi Phi that have identifiable links to the original inhabitants of the island only. This would return power to the original community of the island. Land should not be retained by government officials for tourism development purposes as happened in Khao Lak, Koh Chang and Koh Samet.

Attention needs to be paid to how the island is represented to the outside world. In a tourism context, people are seen as part of the product, particularly in situations where there is no separation between tourists and the community.

When tourists view the destination as a playground or 'pleasure periphery' as Turner and Ash (1975) put it, as they appear to on Phi Phi, significant social effects can occur, as discussed previously. This affects the youth of the island substantially. It would be near impossible to rebuild the island, but this research builds a case for effective zoning and a change in the way the island is presented to tourists: to highlight that it is also a place where people live and that their privacy should be respected.

7.4 Recommendations for the sustainable redevelopment of disaster-affected tourism destinations and further research

The following recommendations are made to researchers considering embarking on research within this field and to practitioners or agents responsible for policy formation/implementation and the rebuilding and sustainable development of tourism destinations post-disaster.

- The agents responsible for the redevelopment of tourism destinations following a disaster need to have a full comprehension of the power structures and political economy prevalent in that destination, particularly in destinations that have a strong hierarchical society, as the overt and covert values of high-status individuals will strongly influence development.
- Tourism planners need to understand that, no matter how sophisticated and effective the plans produced for the destination appear to be, political economic factors will determine the shape of the future development and this may undermine sustainability, unless strong governance measures are implemented without fear of corruption.
- The research recommends the paramount importance of local perspectives in conceptualising sustainability. The apparent differences between the meanings locals attribute to sustainability and those of the international community make it essential to see sustainability through the eyes of the destination's stakeholders, and specifically the local inhabitants, prior to the production of plans and implementation of a sustainable tourism strategy.
- The research recommends that barriers to sustainability be fully understood by development stakeholders. It is essential to establish if present needs are being met within a community before consideration of future generations is made. If barriers to sustainability are understood, efforts to diminish them can be made.
- It is essential to ascertain if present community needs are being met and make provision for these needs in terms of a robust infrastructure and adequate utilities at a fair cost prior to consideration of future needs.
- It is recommended that in managing the impacts of tourism development within destination planning, the philosophies surrounding development within the destination are understood. This will aid prediction of the development pattern and subsequent impacts so that suitable interventions can be made.

- It is recommended that extended research be carried out concerning how impacts of tourism are conceptualised. As was argued in Chapter Five the gradual onset of detrimental impacts surrounding members of the host community is not the same as the view an outsider might have.
- There is also the potential for extended research to be carried out into how characteristics of a society's culture enable or prohibit the pursuit of sustainable tourism effectively. There is potential to apply concepts developed within this research to alternative locations and cultures to assess how cultural beliefs and values shape tourism development.
- There is potential to carry out research to ascertain whether the definition attributed to the sustainable development of tourism in Phi Phi is transferable to other destinations in a similar context.
- There is potential to investigate whether the claims of Klein (2008) in respect of 'disaster capitalism' were evident in any of the destinations affected by the tsunami. Evidence would suggest this occurred in Sri Lanka. However, longitudinal research is required to ascertain the eventual shape of the tourism development of affected coastal areas and the manner in which this has affected destination sustainability and coastal communities. There is potential for further research surrounding the political economy of post-disaster tourism redevelopment to ascertain if other affected destinations avoided 'disaster capitalism' using similar means to Phi Phi.
- Due to the sensitivity of the topic, coupled with fear to express opinions freely on account of the power relationships that exist on the island, the author feels that insight into the full extent of the conflict, lawlessness and power relationships that exist on Phi Phi was not achieved in this thesis. The researcher feels that further data would have only served to add credence to the findings and strengthen themes, but a greater range of examples and anecdotes would have been available. This research has uncovered the most prevalent issues; however, it is felt that more research could be carried out, using techniques to inspire trust surrounding sensitive issues. It would also be interesting to observe any differences in the content and volume of detail divulged if the researcher were Thai.
- In respect of disaster response, it is recommended that the WTO develop guidelines on how to deal with disasters in densely populated tourist areas. There is a need to build capacity to deal with emotional trauma. Embassy staff, responsible for liaising with and repatriating tourists post-shock event, are rarely trained as counsellors and therefore are arguably not the best people to fulfil such a role. Rather than rushing to repatriate tourists as quickly as possible post-shock event it is better for their psychological wellbeing to remain *in situ* and work through the post-trauma stage while rehabilitation is carried out. Tourists and non-tourists should remain together following such an event, in order to share their emotional recovery and answer the many questions they have.
- There is potential to apply the author's adapted Strategic Disaster Management and Vulnerability Frameworks to other post-disaster tourism contexts to comprehend the effectiveness of the disaster response and recovery, and to establish the root causes of vulnerability.

7.5 Recommendations for further work and research on Phi Phi

There is potential for extended research on Phi Phi in the following areas:

- To monitor touristic development of the island in order to ascertain whether or not the projections made by the researcher were realised, in order to confirm longitudinal prepositions.
- To map development against government plans in order to ascertain the eventual level of influence the Thai government has had over Phi Phi's development.
- To monitor functionality and maintenance of the wastewater treatment plant.
- To monitor plans and progress of plans towards the routing of underwater electricity cables from the mainland.
- To determine the origins and application of the 20 baht tourist fee on arrival.
- To determine if and how this fee will be used to improve the island's infrastructure.
- To assess whether a higher arrival fee would have a notable impact upon visitor numbers.
- To map any change in tourist typology on the island over time to determine any correlation with destination development models, comprehending the extent of influence the tourist market has over the island's development.
- To conduct comparable research in other areas of the island. This research was centred on the central part of the island but the more luxurious hotel development is on the north-eastern beaches. Therefore, there is potential to assess sustainability practice and attainment in this area.

7.6 Recommendations for improving this research design

In retrospect, there were a number of ways in which the reliability and validity of the research could be enhanced:

- To have served as a volunteer on the island or worked within the dive industry in order to have a heightened emic perspective. Personal circumstances did not permit this.
- Investment in the marketing of the tailored website www.freewebs.com/fayetaylor to guarantee a greater volume of traffic and response rate to questionnaires.
- To overcome the lack of trust and language barrier through a longer period in the field.
- To learn Thai and reside on Phi Phi to enable greater sensitisation to the destination, awareness of redevelopment plans and acceptance by Thai and non-Thai respondents.
- To employ the services of a permanent 'gatekeeper' to ensure consistency and ability to communicate effectively in Thai and to increase the likelihood of access to key informants. This was not possible on account of financial constraints and due to the author having access to Thai colleagues, students and friends on the island.
- To adopt a more structured approach to the collection of visual data on the island to map change on specific points of the island at specific time intervals, so that the visual data could be more effectively linked to discussions arising from other primary data.
- Visual data may have been employed as a technique to elicit further and more detailed responses in order to undertake primary data collection with the young of the island, in order to prompt visual conceptualisations of the desired shape of the island in the future from their perspective.
- To adopt a more systematic approach to the penetration and use of web discussion fora. These were used effectively to gauge initial opinion on the developments of Phi Phi in the early stages of development, but these could have been used to monitor opinion throughout the research process.
- Important debates were lost on account of the HiPhiPhi discussion forum page being removed in 2006. These debates were only partially captured and were a very specific source of data from Phi Phi's residents and stakeholders. In retrospect these should have been fully captured as soon as they were identified.
- It may have benefited the research to attend planning meetings for the island, through which observation could be employed to identify key actors in the meetings, how their views were expressed, who were active participants in the meetings, and who was silent. These observations would have strengthened discussion of communication and power relationships.
- Participant observation could have been considered as a means to document roles within the community and practices towards sustainability. However, upon evaluation as the research sought to capture conceptualisations of sustainability, survey methods were regarded as more appropriate.
- Readers must be aware that the research was predominantly focused upon the central 'apple core' of the island of Phi Phi Don between the two bays of Ao Lo Dalaam and Ao Tonsai. Thus any criticisms expressed are related to

this area only. Insufficient data on the other beaches of Phi Phi Don has been gathered for the results to be applicable to the entire island. Extended research could be carried out in the Laem Tong area to build upon the author's initial indications that development in this area is taking a different shape to that of Tonsai.

- Additionally, the observations made in section 5.2, Table 22 concerning the fit between cultural values and propensity for sustainability are constrained to Phi Phi only. Further research is required to ascertain whether the author's observations are applicable to other tourist destinations in Thailand and whether those observations are characteristic of Thai culture generally.

Chapter Eight Epilogue

During revising this thesis, a return visit was made to Phi Phi in December 2011, for a number of reasons. Firstly, to add a sense of completeness to the study of a longitudinal nature; and secondly to add credence and further evidence, that the conclusions and recommendations are indeed accurate and realistic. The author has studied the topic for a period of seven years now; at times has been afforded emic insight, and at others has been an outsider. Hence, the author has inevitably become enmeshed in the topic and wanted to seek a fresh perspective from those who had heard about the island, but had never visited. The author wished to test the concept of how destination impact is perceived in line with her previous discussions of boiled frog syndrome, and judged that this could be best achieved with a group of people who had never visited the island before. The visit also served to supply further visual documentary evidence of change on the island.

The ferry taken with Andaman Wavemaster from Phuket's Rassada Pier was full to capacity: all interior seats were filled and no deck space was available as the deck was packed with groups of travellers of mixed ages sunbathing and drinking. These were travellers with technology: expensive cameras and laptops were clearly on display, the epitome of a post-modern flash packer (Paris, 2010 and 2012; Hannam, 2010; Cohen, 2010) or, as Paris (2010) terms them, 'the digital nomads', members of a new global elite that symbolise an on-going convergence in society of technology, mobility and daily life. The view down onto the rear deck showed that many passengers had to stand throughout the journey. Phi Phi is still appealing and a popular choice for tourists seeking a beach-based experience in the south of Thailand. Informal conversations on this visit indicated a perception of the island as a place to party and to tan, comparable with Koh Phan Ngan, renowned for monthly full moon parties. It seemed that the party started the moment these larger groups stepped on the boat.



Image 37: Packed ferries in 2011

The author's travel party had reserved accommodation in which she had stayed many times before during the field study. This accommodation was selected by the author as the accommodation in the viewpoint area of the central part of the island was generally more spaced out, more reasonably priced and less crowded than alternatives in Tonsai Village. This accommodation traditionally afforded a more peaceful hillside setting, of bungalows with good views over the wetlands surrounded by jungle. Upon arrival at the bungalows, the author and accompanying travel party were greatly disappointed at the state of disrepair the resort had fallen into and the presence of a large block of rooms that had been constructed by the owner, which impeded the once-pleasing views from the hillside bungalows. This served to illustrate the pressure in the central part of the island: increasing demand for bed space coupled with a lack of capacity and multiple landowners in a small area, all wishing to capitalise on their assets (there is no need to point out the short-sightedness of this approach). All travellers including the author vowed never to return to the island, as it is clear that sustainability has not been, and will not be, on the agenda of the majority of the landowners and business owners in the central part of the island. As Electronic Respondent 8 (The Ecotourism Operator) suggested, the island is being 'raped'.

The image below depicts how precious an asset land in the central area of Phi Phi is perceived as and how tightly packed the constructions are. Again, this is the same form of construction used prior to the tsunami, which heightened vulnerability, exacerbated the number of casualties and caused great destruction in human, infrastructure and economic terms (Ingram *et al.*, 2006; Khazai, 2006). Members of the travel party were overwhelmed by how claustrophobic the central part of the island felt. Buildings are crammed into a very small area and in fact now represent a further hazard in terms of fire evacuation. Waste was either overflowing from bins or strewn on the ground

beside footpaths and the smell from the waste was pungent. The author recalled a comment made by interview respondent 5, an island resident, many years earlier: 'Tourists have eyes and they have noses, they can smell the shit'.

This served as a vivid reminder that the present needs of the island are not being met, and the island is essentially in survival mode. A new deep-water pier has been constructed, but the benefit here is limited to facilitating greater volume of tourist traffic. The wastewater treatment and wetlands system has been constructed, but this benefits only key players in the central part of the island, who are attached to the system, and it functions improperly, as will be discussed below. A resolution surrounding other utilities is still yet to be reached.



Image 38: View from the Tropical Garden Bungalows

One of the main sustainability initiatives (Dodds, 2011; Brix *et al*., 2007 and 2011), the wastewater treatment and wetlands system in the centre of the island, was, in 2007 hailed to be a rehabilitation project which would 'secure sustainability by applying low-cost, robust, ease of operation and appropriate technologies' (Brix *et al*., 2007: 2). Sadly, the system was already limited in its potential benefit to islanders as it only served the main business and hotel area (Brix *et al*., 2007). However, not only are there limitations in its functioning, as observed by Brix *et al.* (2011), visually the area is unappealing. Many of the plants in the wetlands had died and there is an extremely strong and unpleasant smell in the area (it is known colloquially as the 'poo garden', as below) and a 'clogging' (Brix *et al*.,

2011) of the system results in constant flooding of the footpaths adjacent to the wetlands with grey water (see below). These footpaths serve as thoroughfares to accommodation, shops and restaurants situated in the viewpoint area. At the time of the visit, it was high (dry) season, and therefore the excess water could not be attributed to heavy rainfall. The travel party witnessed used sanitary and contraceptive products floating in the effluent, a certain deterrent for visitors who were not accommodated in this area, and an essential 'wade through' for those who were.



Image 39: Constructed Wetlands in 2011



Image 40: Overflow from the Wastewater Treatment Plant (2011)

The following images were taken on the same trip and illustrate developments undertaken in the central area of the island. Initially, adjacent to the Wastewater Treatment Plant and Wetlands, hillside bungalows have been destroyed and new imposing concrete shop houses have been constructed, although most were empty.



Image 41: New shop house developments (2011)

The image below shows the footpath leading from the centre of the island, adjacent to the wetlands and Ao Tonsai. Stagnant water, overflowing from the wetlands, can be seen to the bottom left of the image. The footpath is fringed in the same manner as per earlier images from 2006 with waste and building materials, and paving stones have erupted on account of uneven ground and regular flooding in the area.



Image 42: Footpath adjacent to Wetlands

The images below show the area termed the 'Gypsy Village'. Although houses funded by World Vision were built, their location is further upland, towards the viewpoint and past the reservoir, and thus many of the islanders reliant upon being within close proximity of the sea remained in this area. One can see that the construction material used is fragile, maintaining the vulnerability of these islanders post-tsunami (Ingram e*t al*., 2006).



Image 43: The Gypsy Village (2011)

Street drinking has become widely tolerated on the island and in fact encouraged by enterprising islanders, who have now set up nighttime, path-side stalls selling cheap 'buckets' of alcohol, something for which the island has become

renowned. There are few waste bins available, and nighttime revelers throw their waste onto the street. An early morning walk (7.30am) demonstrated the extent of the littering in the central area of Tonsai. There were still groups of intoxicated youths wandering the streets, as the islanders went about their daily lives: there is still no separation.



Image 44: Buckets for sale

The fringe of Ao Lo Dalaam Beach is now a concentrated area of 'Ibiza'-style (island's own promotion) beach bars, which play dance music until the early hours of the morning. One of the most popular, Slinky Bar, has drawn crowds away from the Tonsai Bay side of the island, which traditionally had a more relaxed evening atmosphere, and Hippies and Carpe Diem are popular for acoustic music and fire shows. Standardisation now characterises the central part of the island and it is clear that the island is reaching saturation point: there is limited innovation.

The final image below was taken on Maya Beach, Phi Phi Le, on New Year's Eve 2011. It reveals the real irony of Alex Garland's (1997) novel *The Beach*. Intended as a critique of backpacker culture, and designed to show how each person's quest for utopia may eventually cause the decay of a destination, this longitudinal research on Phi Phi has demonstrated Garland's (1997) message entirely. Selected in the late 1990s as a filming location for the film *The Beach* due to the Royal Forestry Department being willing to permit filming and environmental restructuring in this National Park, the subsequent fame of Phi Phi caused a boom in the already burgeoning tourism industry in a very limited space. The image below shows a very large group of tourists today mimicking the photograph taken by the character played by Leonardo Di Caprio and his fellow travelers, showing that the story is still very much alive in the minds of visitors to the islands. The immense pressure of this demand upon an infrastructure and space that is demonstrably fragile, and thus from the images of decay above, one can see that Garland's (1997) message has been realised.

Therein lies perhaps the greatest irony of The Beach*: the movie itself is about rampant tourism destroying the environment. Or perhaps there's no mistake about it: the studio proved its point before the movie even brought the message home to the people. (Shelby-Biggs, 2000:2)*



Image 45: *The Beach* revisited

Chapter Nine Appendices

Appendix 1: ***Further maps showing the location of the Phi Phi Islands and the layout of Phi Phi Don and Phi Phi Le Island***



Aerial Photograph of Phi Phi Don Island (taken from the Phi Phi Island Master plan, 2007)



Map of the central 'apple core' area of Phi Phi Don Island
(Author's own, obtained from Phi Phi Don Chukit Resort in July 2009)

Appendix 2: Extract from the Phuket Action Plan

Table 1. Priority Issues for Phuket: Long and Short Term

(Only priority indicators are listed in this table. A complete listing of issues and indicators is in Part 5)

Long Term Issue	Short –term Priority	Priority Indicator
Local satisfaction with tourism	Impact of tsunami on view of tourism	• Local Survey – key questions focus on both long and short term (see annex for model questionnaire) • Personal impact of tsunami on locals (life-loss, health or economic impacts??) • Level of concern re personal safety(these are key questions in the survey instrument recommended)
Access to key assets/damage	Measuring the immediate physical impact of tsunami, and rate of recovery. Beaches are principal tourist areas, impacts are highly visible.	• % beach infrastructure damaged • % shoreline now considered to be rehabilitated
Tourist satisfaction/ wellbeing Tourist security	Specific reaction to risk and tsunami of tourists	• Exit survey – specifically re feeling of safety in Phuket, (see annex for model questionnaire) • % of tourists and potential tourists who perceive Phuket as safe to visit • % tourists who have health problems in the destination
Competitiveness	Short term competitiveness (see also image)	• % tourists who believe Phuket is good value for money
Occupancy and Seasonality	Rate of recovery of tourism	• Hotel occupancy rates • Average price of room night • Forward book (number of bookings for next quarter/year)
Nature conservation and protection	Need to show recovery and sustainability of key assets	• % reefs in good condition • % mangroves in good condition • % coastal habitat intact
Sea water quality	Need to show that water is now back to normal and is safe for recreation	• Level of contamination (faecal coliforms, camphylobacter) • Tourist perception of seawater quality (use exit questionnaire)
Climate change and risk to tourist assets	Need to show that Phuket is Now a very safe destination	• Percentage of tourist infrastructure located in vulnerable zones • Degree to which tourist zones are covered by emergency plan/tsunami and storm warning system
Water supply	Need to show that safe water is available to tourists	• % or volume reduction and rate of recovery • Level of salinization of aquifers • Simple indicator that clean drinking water is 100% available (bottled water)
Buildings and aesthetics/ construction and enforcement	Need to show that rebuilding is nearing complete and that it is safe and sustainable	• Number (%) buildings in affected areas rebuilt (also number of buildings which are still damaged) • % of reconstructed buildings meeting/not meeting new standards (design, setback etc)
Use Intensity	Need to know level of exposure to natural hazards in order to to design and manage response and show due diligence	• Number of tourists in key coastal areas vulnerable to storm/tsunami • % of tourists who believe that key sites are too crowded (exit questionnaire) • % retail shops within vulnerable beach and seafront area

Tourism policy and planning	Need to show good management and leadership	• Existence and extent of a current tourism development policy and plan, overall and specific site-plans for rebuilding and rehabilitation • Level of coordination among different administrations (percentage of key institutions participating in rehabilitation planning and management process) • number of joint projects and meetings • % of locals who believe they have had adequate access to the planning/re-planning process
Image and marketing	Need to monitor perception by tourists of risk and recovery	• % tourists who believe that Phuket has recovered • % tourists who believe Phuket is a safe destination • % tourists who know that Phuket beaches have a Tsunami warning system • % potential tourists who would consider visiting Phuket in next year /5 years • % tourists who are afraid to visit Phuket (surveys in among both visiting tourists and consumers in source markets) • Response to image building campaigns and promotions (use follow-up survey of those targeted). • Market response data (% conversions on targeted marketing relative to earlier benchmarks if available)
Viability of SMEs	Need to monitor the performance and recovery rate of tourism-related small businesses. There has been a range of technical and financial assistance programmes provided and there is a need to monitor their delivery and effectiveness.	• Number (or %) of new or re-established SMEs (defined by sub sectors, e.g. accommodation, tour operators, restaurants, equipment rentals, guide services) • Existence of training needs assessment (yes/no) and rate of response • Types of technical and financial assistance programmes available, amount of funds provided • % SMEs taking advantage of programs • Number or % of loan applications approved, and number or % of SMEs paying back

Appendix 3: The impact of the tsunami upon Koh Phi Phi



Appendix 4: The research process

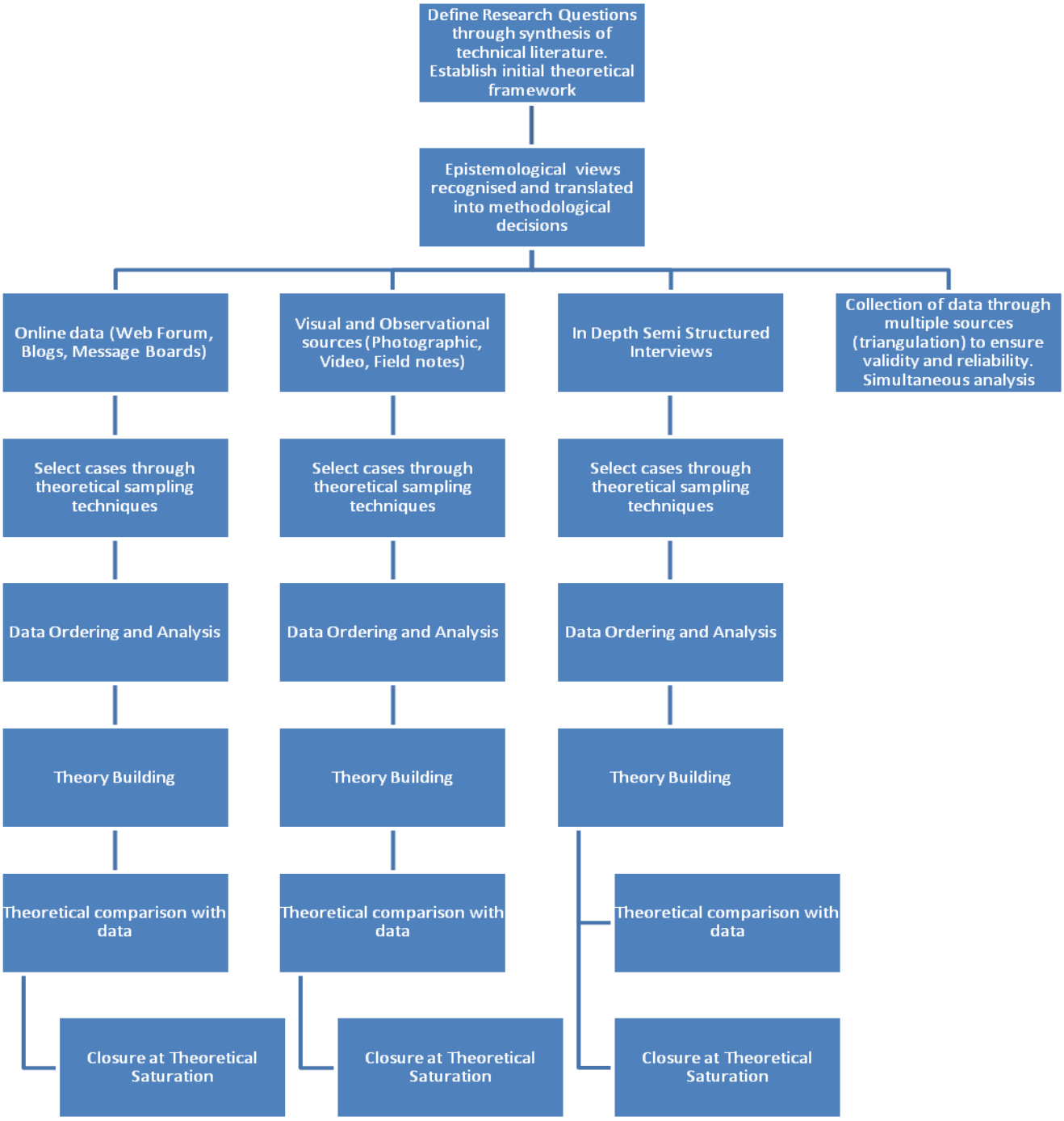


Figure 22: The research process (informed by Denscombe (2003), Glaser and Stauss (1967), Eisenhart (1987) and Creswell (2003))

Appendix 5: ***Website design and functionality***





Appendix 6: Interview questions

1. What is the nature of your familiarity with Koh Phi Phi? (Time Spent, When, Purpose)

2. What circumstances existed prior to the Tsunami of December 2004 that account for Koh Phi Phi's record on sustainable tourism development before that date?

3. It is claimed that the Asian Tsunami created a 'clean slate' situation in development (infrastructure) terms. If this is the case, how has the post-Tsunami situation altered stakeholders' perceptions of the desirability and possibility of sustainable tourism development?

4. How is the concept of sustainable development used by stakeholders in the discussion and planning surrounding the re-development in Koh Phi Phi Island?

5. Is there a consistent and explicit philosophy underlying plans for Koh Phi Phi's redevelopment?

6. What interests and views are expressed by local residents, local business, politicians and big business in relation to the future of Koh Phi Phi?

7. What political, economic, cultural factors have the most powerful influence on plans for tourism development on Koh Phi Phi Island post-Tsunami?

8. Are the forces of globalisation more influential than local interests in shaping the development of the island post-tsunami?

9. How far does the reconstruction of Koh Phi Phi Island provide practical insights of relevance to other natural disaster situations?

Appendix 7: Ethics statement

Rules:

B. ICCIESOMAR Code of Marketing and Social Research Practice

THE RIGHTS OF RESPONDENTS

8.3. Respondents' co-operation in a marketing research project is entirely voluntary at all stages. They must not be misled when being asked for co-operation.

8.4. Respondents' anonymity must be strictly preserved. If the respondent on request from the Researcher has given permission for data to be passed on in a form which allows that respondent to be identified personally:

(a) the Respondent must first have been told to whom the information would be supplied and the purpose for which it will be used, and also
(b) the Researcher must ensure that the information will not be used for any non-research purpose and that the recipient of the information has agreed to conform to the requirements of the Code.

8.5. The Researcher must take all reasonable precautions to ensure that Respondents are in no way directly harmed or adversely affected as a result of their participation in a marketing research project.

8.6. The Researcher must take special care when interviewing children and young people. The informed consent of the parent or responsible adult must first be obtained for interviews with children. .

8.7. Respondents must be told (normally at the beginning of the interview) if observation techniques or recording equipment are used, except where these are used in a public place. If a respondent so wishes, the record or relevant section of it must be destroyed or deleted. Respondents' anonymity must not be infringed by the use of such methods.

8.8. Respondents must be enabled to check without difficulty the identity and bona fides of the Researcher.

Appendix 8: List of questions to be used for Interview 10

Questions regarding Intercontinental's Phi Phi Development:

What will the operating name of the hotel be?

What is the exact location of development?

At what stage of planning is the new development?

When is it anticipated that the hotel will open for guests?

Is it an existing hotel being redeveloped or a new build?

What was the previous use of the site?

How was the site obtained?

If a new build, who is undertaking the construction?

When was planning permission granted for the development?

What building regulations must be adhered to in the new development?

Have these regulations changed post-tsunami?

Is the development close to any existing settlements?

Does the site offer a private or public beach?

What is the size of the site; will it be a private site?

What accommodation types will be on offer? Will they blend in with local building styles?

What range of facilities will be on offer at the resort?

What is available in terms of dining facilities?

What is the nature of the tourism product you plan to offer?

What type of client are you trying to attract?

Has there been local involvement in planning process, to what nature and extent?
(Has there been involvement and consultation in the planning process with local communities and/or local community or business organisations; academics/universities; local government authorities; supra-governmental authorities (e.g. the world bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank, USAID, the EU or governmental export credit guarantee linked schemes; national and/or international tourism organisations; Non governmental organisations (both before and after the Tsunami?)

Have social and environmental impact assessments been conducted?

Have public meetings and consultations in the locality been held to discuss/debate the nature of the proposed development?

How will the development be marketed?
Will the hotel be marketed through tour operators as part of an inclusive tour?

In terms of employment for the construction and then for the operation of the hotel, are employees sourced locally?

What are the projected impacts in terms of employment for local people and subsequently the multiplier effect?

How will supplies for the new development be sourced? For primarily building materials and then ongoing supplies (food, drink etc)?

To what extent will resources available for resort guests impact upon existing infrastructure? Or will the resort be self-sufficient?

What strategies do you have in place to enhance sustainability? In terms of minimising economic leakage, maximising positive economic benefit for the island and minimising environmental and social-cultural costs that may be incurred by such a development?

How many other hotels worldwide do Intercontinental own?

How are hotels differentiated to suit local styles and needs? – In particular Koh Phi Phi

Are you aware of the Thai Government's plans for the redevelopment of the Island, post-Tsunami? How does your development fit in with these plans?

In general terms, on Koh Phi Phi, who has the power to make decisions with regard to planning applications and new development?

Are there any potential further contacts that you suggest I make to find out more about the redevelopment of Koh Phi Phi?

Appendix 9: Thai script questionnaire with translation

To Residents of Koh Phi Phi, Thailand

Hello, I am a PhD (Doctor Degree) student from England carrying out research about future development of Koh Phi Phi Island.

I would really value your comments as a resident of the island. I am sorry; I do not speak any Thai but would be extremely grateful if you would allow me to record your answers and responses in Thai.

Would you be happy to answer the following questions?

1. How long have you lived on the Island?
2. What do you do on the Island?
3. What do you think the benefits of tourism are?
4. What are the disadvantages of tourism?
5. What would you like to see it happen in the future on Koh Phi Phi?
6. What could prevent this from happening?
7. What does the term "Sustainable Development" mean for to you and for the future of Koh Phi Phi?

Thank you very much for your time and important comments.
Ms. Faye Taylor,
The University of Bedfordshire,
Luton, UK.

To Residents of Koh Phi Phi

ถึงพลเมืองชาวเกาะพีพี ประเทศไทย

สวัสดีค่ะ

ฉันเป็นนักศึกษาปริญญาเอกจากประเทศอังกฤษ มาทำงานวิจัยเรื่อง การพัฒนาในอนาคตของเกาะพีพี

ฉันดีใจที่จะได้รับคำตอบอันมีค่ายิ่งจากท่านซึ่งเป็นพลเมืองผู้อยู่อาศัยบนเกาะพีพีแห่งนี้ ฉันขอโทษที่ฉันพูดภาษาไทยไม่ได้
แต่ก็รู้สึกขอบคุณเป็นอย่างยิ่งที่ท่านอนุญาตให้ฉันได้บันทึกคำตอบของคุณเป็นภาษาไทย

ท่านกรุณาตอบคำถามเหล่านี้ค่ะ

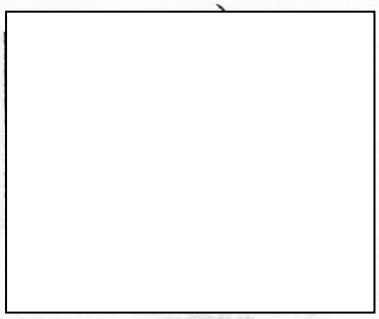
1. ท่านพักอยู่อาศัยในเกาะพีพีแห่งนี้เป็นเวลานานเท่าใดแล้ว
2. ท่านทำอาชีพอะไรบนเกาะนี้
3. ท่านคิดว่าการเข้ามาของนักท่องเที่ยวมากๆ มีประโยชน์ประการใดบ้าง ขอให้บอกมาเป็นข้อๆ
4. ท่านคิดว่าการเข้ามาของนักท่องเที่ยวมากๆ มีโทษประการใดบ้าง ขอให้บอกมาเป็นข้อๆ
5. ในอนาคต ท่านอยากเห็นสิ่งใดเกิดขึ้นบนเกาะพีพีแห่งนี้
6. ท่านคิดว่าสิ่งที่จะเกิดขึ้นนั้นมีอุปสรรคใดบ้าง
7. "การพัฒนาที่ยั่งยืน" ในความเห็นของท่าน คำนี้มีความหมายอย่างไร และมีความหมายต่ออนาคตของเกาะอย่างไร

ขอขอบคุณเป็นอย่างมากสำหรับเวลาและคำตอบอันมีค่ายิ่งของท่าน

เฟย์ เทย์เลอร์

มหาวิทยาลัยเทมส์ แวลเลย์

ลอนดอน อังกฤษ



Appendix 10: Reflexive Journal

Past experiences

Prior to commencing the research, I was already quite familiar with Thailand as a travel destination, the Thai people and extent of tourist development, through numerous extended and shorter visits between May 2002 and July 2005. However, at the time of the July 2005 visit, it was already my intention to conduct research surrounding the impacts of Tourism development in Thailand; therefore this visit served the purpose of identifying a suitable theme for research. Ideas had previously been formulated to conduct research into cultural change resulting from tourist interaction as a continuation of findings from undergraduate research. Nevertheless, this visit took place shortly after the December 2004 Asian Tsunami and upon arrival in the field, it became clear that there were more current and lesser researched areas of Tourism development in Thailand that could be the focus of PhD research.

It was confirmed through a review of existing Thai current affairs literature such as news articles, online magazine articles, web discussion forums and internet message boards that there was indeed much speculation surrounding the future of Koh Phi Phi and much contradiction of development plans for the island. It was clear, from this information that many stakeholders were dissatisfied with the nature and pace of development that the island had experienced prior to the Asian Tsunami and wished to take opportunity from this adversity to redevelop along more sustainable lines.

Defining the Research Questions and gaining entry (April 2006)

An initial research visit to the field took place between 7th and 18th April 2006 with the specific purpose of:

- Identifying key stakeholder groups
- Establishing contacts
- Interviewing selected stakeholders in order to establish emerging themes
- Gathering observational and visual data in the field
- To secure a teaching position at the [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]University, Phuket

The overriding purpose of this visit was to familiarise oneself with the dynamics of the destination, to assist in generating and defining the research questions. This was carried out through observation and production of field notes, the gathering of photographic visual data and through five interviews with development stakeholders. Three of these interviews had been pre-arranged prior to leaving the UK and the remaining two were the result of a 'snowball effect' whilst in the destination. It served also to confirm that the topic of research was feasible; that there was a real issue to be investigated and that access to respondents and the field could be gained.

During this visit, I also was made aware that a number of vacancies for lecturing positions were available within the Faculty of Service Industries at the [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] University in Phuket, being a one and a half hour ferry trip to Koh Phi Phi. I promptly applied for the position and was asked to attend an interview for a post. The application was successful and I was offered a position lecturing on the Bachelor in [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] Degree programme, commencing for the start of the 2006 academic year on 19th June 2006. This opportunity, I felt, provided me with a unique opportunity to gain access to the field and have a far greater awareness of and ability to gain access to key stakeholders of Koh Phi Phi's redevelopment. It would also ensure greater validity of the data gathered as I would be far more in touch with the subject of research in contrast to sporadic field visits, purely to conduct interviews that would have been the alternative, had this opportunity not arisen. As Hofstede (1991) asserts, if we want to know more about individuals, we should make judgments after getting to know them better and hence factual knowledge of Thai culture was gathered through not only emic accounts of Thai culture in autobiographical accounts but from living and working in Thailand, forming Thai friendships and getting to know Thai students. Although, therefore some of the accounts of Thai culture presented within this research originate from a

western perspective, they have also been considered against insight from Thai friends and colleagues, to ensure that they are not solely based upon western preconceptions, half truths (Hofstede, 1991) and cultural stereotypes (Deveney, 2005).

I therefore considered this opportunity extremely beneficial for my research and accepted the position, a move that would allow me extended access to the field and insights that only a resident of the destination area could be aware of. Consequently, as part of the employment package, the University arranged for the application for a work permit, allowing me to remain in the country for a period of one year and with an employment contract, initially until the end of the Thai financial year in September 2006, which would then be renewed for a further period of one year. It was anticipated by both parties that I would be employed for two academic years, which, I felt would provide me with ample time to have gained an in depth understanding of the dynamics of Koh Phi Phi and to have gathered the primary data required for the research.

Phi Phi (April 2006)

From initial discussions with expatriates living and working on Koh Phi Phi in informal settings such as restaurants and bars, I was urged to carefully consider who the people of Phi Phi actually are as this will determine the effectiveness and benefit of my research. I was told not to build upon the ideology of Sustainable Development because this is hard to implement in practise. Questions I was asked to consider were, who are the original inhabitants? Are there any left on the island? Who are their ancestors? Who are the key players on the island and what is their level of power, where does this originate from?

I was told that the majority of Thai inhabitants on the island are Muslim. They originated from Sea fisherman and Coconut farmers from Koh Yao (a neighbouring island), having moved to Phi Phi in the 1950s. From the advent of tourists in the 1980's a process of selling off of land occurred on Phi Phi whereby these original inhabitants sold off land to outside investors from Krabi, Phuket and Bangkok with no understanding of the long-term implications, only the short term financial gain. It was stated that the power over the island's future development now lies with the major landowners whose homes are in Phuket and Ao Nang (Krabi Province).

Upon arriving in Phi Phi, my first visit since July 2005, I noted that four, fairly empty boats (from different companies) all arrived from Phuket at the same time. The bay of Tonsai was littered with speedboats, trip boats and dive boats and the water oily and littered. Many of the shoreline properties had been rebuilt in a concrete structure, and rather than the quaint, ramshackle appearance that previously characterised the island, buildings were uniform in colour and style, taking on a far more up market feel. I observed more day-trippers, families and couples than previous visits. Backpackers were not so evident. There had been a clear typology shift since the last time I visited. Was this supply led or demand led I wondered?

In terms of reconstruction, as I walked around the island I noted that the 'gypsy village' in the centre of the apple core, previously comprised of corrugated iron huts was being rebuild in two story concrete structures. Where had the money come from to finance this I wondered? These people are very poor. Rebuilding was not only occurring in Tsunami damaged properties but also many new developments were taking place. I noted that destroyed structures along the main street were being rebuilt using temporary materials such as bamboo – the island seems to have less empty space than July 2005.

Redevelopment of the reservoir was taking place with money donated by Danish Government (according to signage). The original tank of stagnant water was being filled in to create attractive parks and gardens, a 25.8 million baht project or so the signage suggested. A Thai passer-by commented that they were angry that money was being spent on that and none on the locals. The project was said to not cost that much and that the leftover would be pocketed – by whom? So at present, whilst there is no wastewater treatment system in place, what is happening with the island's waste, is it being pumped into the ocean?

Phi Phi Princess Resort and Charlie Beach (two of the largest resorts on the island), which were both completely destroyed in the Tsunami, both now have informal restaurants – Phi Phi Pavilion has waterfall pool again and bases

for bungalows. Charlie Beach has some basic bamboo huts that are rented for 300 Baht per night. Phi Phi Cabana and Phi Phi Hotel (the only former concrete 3 story buildings on the island pre-Tsunami) both have work that needs doing, roofing etc but are operational.

Help International Phi Phi (Hi Phi Phi) the volunteer organisation instrumental in getting the island back on its feet was no longer present. No more Hi Phi Phi – no more Tsunami tours – little evidence of the Tsunami for those who had not known the area beforehand. No merchandise such as DVDs, photos etc were being sold to commemorate the Tsunami unlike in Phuket. Additionally, the Tsunami memorial garden was unkempt, overgrown and littered with rubbish.

In the wasteland between Tonsai and Ao Lo Dalaam bays I saw a sign asking for one minutes silence at 10.15 (on 26th December 2005) and another that suggested the locals are frustrated with the lack of action taken by the Government in reference to Development plans – who wrote this sign?

There was lots of evidence of rubbish and rubble left by the Tsunami – but only if you look closely and are aware of what happened there. Additionally there is lots of evidence of building materials e.g. pipes, diggers, concrete, blocks etc. All major supplies to island are shipped in by cargo from Phuket or Krabi and rubbish is taken off the island by cargo boat to Krabi in the evening every day. It is the islanders' responsibility to take the rubbish to the boat, which may account for the amount of litter/ rubbish burning on the island.

One of my respondents during that visit elaborated that the Government plans for clearing and rezoning are unrealistic and confusing. Billions was allegedly spent on the architect's drawings yet they cannot force people to move from land they own. I thought it was strange how the Government were taking so long to make decisions about building again yet the person considered to be the 'mafia' owner of Phi Phi Casita was granted permission to rebuild pretty much immediately and the resort was rebuilt within 3 months of the Tsunami

Maya Bay (April 2006)

I decided to take a trip to Maya Bay (where The Beach was filmed) to see whether there had been any further amendments or developments to one of the primary tourist attractions on the Phi Phi islands. At 08.45 there were 9 other boats there. The water was clear with some rubbish and residue on the shoreline. Walking onto the beach there was a significant amount of rubbish on the beach and in the sand dunes. There was someone who appeared to be picking up some of the rubbish. There were two bins on the beach – used to some extent but also piles of litter next to them.

A sign issued by the Thai Royal Forestry Department was present, stating that a 200 baht National Park Fee should be paid – however there was no one collecting or enforcing this rule. It is still not clear which parts of the Phi Phi islands are within National Park Boundaries. Some state only Phi Phi Le and others would suggest Phi Phi Don is also included and therefore any development means that encroachment has taken place.

On the return trip to Phi Phi Don, the boat circumnavigated the island, I wondered why many of the northern beaches had not been developed, in fact only a handful of these beaches have one hotel resort on them, whilst the apple core had become so densely developed. Perhaps the development on these beaches was of a more sensitive nature. It could be suggested that as many of these hotels are Multi National Chains, they possess the collateral to consider building styles more in tune with the natural surroundings. Construction is taking place on the northeastern beaches next to the Holiday Inn. It was suggested in the Thai media that Intercontinental have secured land on the island, could this be their new development? But then what about the embargo on building and additionally, where exactly do the National Park boundaries lie?

One of my most open respondents during this visit gave me some very important insights into the island. They commented that they were outraged by the way tourists behave in a Muslim community – drinking, fighting, topless sunbathing etc. They are annoyed that tourists moan about prices constantly without using logic to realise that the prices have to be high as the island attracts high overheads due to its spatial isolation; everything has to be brought in

from the mainland. They find that the tourists on the island today are so young, so uninterested in culture or in integrating. They do not care or understand what happened here and just want to lie by pool and go out at night.

The season prior to the Tsunami, they almost left because of how the tourists behaved but decided to stay now working in a resort in the viewpoint area, away from the central apple core and live up on the hillside because they became so integrated with the host community following the disaster and now live as one of them, thus feeling the same as they do. Other reasons why this respondent loves the island so much and remains is because they remember what it used to be – charm- spirit- rickety rackety buildings – unpaved streets. This respondent has been living there since 2001.

This respondent reinforced that the mountains on Phi Phi Don are National Park land and there should be no building on land that is 45 degrees plus. It is Thai Royal law that Moken – Chao lay people should retain their homes near the coast however they have been displaced by a larger resort, which is developing on the Cliffside.

With regard to Sex Tourism that is prevalent in many Thai beach resorts, they informed that the [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] was a go-go bar for one week. The locals protested then it was closed. There are currently talks that the [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] may become a go-go. Islanders are worried because the owner of this bar is a bigger player and they don't want to see Phi Phi turn into another Patong (in Phuket). The inhabitants of Phi Phi frown upon sex Tourism and when western men bring their partners here, unlike Samui or Phuket, it is not tolerated.

The move to Phuket (June 2006)

I arrived in Thailand on Thursday 15th June 2006. The Faculty in which I was employed contains several overseas staff with whom I became familiar. From the outset it appeared that most of these lecturers had significant experience of Thailand through living and working there over a number of years and, as a result of their experience were keen to share their opinions on life in Thailand with me. The Thai staff, on the other hand, although very pleasant, appeared keen to keep themselves to themselves, often being quite insular, and quite a contrast to my teaching experience in England. I listened to the opinions of the foreign staff at the University and absorbed their information readily, whilst maintaining an open mind about the realities of living in Thailand. Without exception, the opinions provided often appeared quite cynical, suggesting that they had commonly experienced moments at the University and outside where transparency was lacking, ulterior motives were evident and suggesting that the 'sweet smiles' of Thailand were often used to disguise other emotions or agendas.

{Information deleted for anonymity purposes]

Another emic moment experienced within Thai society, I experienced on 29th June 2006, when expecting a class to which none of the students arrived. After investigation, I was informed that classes had been cancelled for the morning due to a 'paying homage' ceremony that was being held in honour of teachers. I vaguely recalled reading an email concerning a 'teachers paying ceremony', and thinking it a slightly extravagant way of celebrating payday, dismissed the email. Nevertheless, the meaning now became clear, and was ushered into the auditorium by one of my students who promptly found a seat for me on the stage with many other lecturing staff. The ceremony then proceeded, from what I could make out through the kind assistance of one of my Thai colleagues seated next to me, to present gifts in the form of beautiful flower arrangements to their teachers, promise that they will behave and work hard and then approach each teacher to bow, whilst on their knees, and ask for blessing. A colleague informed me that this ceremony is line with the Buddhist belief of merit making. Whilst particularly interesting and insightful, I found the entire experience quite unnerving, coming from a society where there exists a reasonable amount of equality. This event served however to provide an insight into the hierarchical structure of Thai society, teachers are afforded a high status within Thai culture (Hallinger et al, 2000). The teacher is seen as a representative of moral goodness who makes considerable self-sacrifice for students creating a moral debt, which must be repaid (Deveney, 2005). Deveney's (2005) research carried out whilst working in an international school in Thailand served to identify how aspects of Thai culture influenced behavior in the classroom and, I felt provided a useful insight for me to understand behaviours in my classroom. Not only did it explain the 'paying ceremony', it explained the importance of 'goodness'

and 'face'. Being good is considered a safeguard against a loss of face (Deveney, 2005); if everyone behaves accordingly (Mulder, 2000) society will be free from trouble and lead a peaceful life. Perhaps this then provides an explanation of why on Phi Phi, there is a disinclination to speak out against authority, as will be later discussed.

An interesting and ongoing incident commenced following the 'paying homage ceremony' when one of the Thai lecturers, upon realising our confusion surrounding the ceremony sent a blanket email surrounding the importance of communication and sharing cultural information in order to create a harmonious international working environment and asked for reflections about how foreign and Thai staff could integrate more effectively. Personally, I felt that this initiative was a very good idea, due to the fact that I was keen to learn about Thai culture, not only to assist the background knowledge for my research but for personal interest. In addition, upon commencing my position within the University, I was surprised to experience the lack of communication, introduction or integration that I had previously experienced in UK institutions, therefore was keen to try and bridge that gap.

[Information deleted for anonymity purposes]

First visit to Koh Phi Phi whilst living in Phuket

Several weeks after moving to Phuket I made my first visit to Phi Phi, for the weekend of 1st to 2nd July 2006. Reasonably priced tickets were obtained from Andaman Wave Master (in association with Phi Phi Princess Cruiser) for 600 Baht per return ticket. Taking the 8.30am boat from Rassada Pier, I observed that whilst there were in the region of six other boats in the process of embarking passengers, the Phi Phi bound boat was particularly empty. There were many tour coaches at Rassada Pier, but the majority of passengers appeared to be taking the Krabi/ Ao Nang boat. The passengers on the Phi Phi boat were not of the youth/ backpacker market, as previously experienced on ferry trips to Phi Phi prior to the Tsunami but predominantly Chinese and Korean day-trippers, some families and Thai/Western couples. Four ticket types were available on that boat, one way, round trip, snorkeling lunch and package ticket. Only six passengers had one way or round trip tickets.

Announcements were made which publicised the itinerary and arrangements for the day. Five times an announcement was made to offer guests the opportunity to be transported to resorts in the Northern Cape; The Zeavola, PP Natural Resort, Erewan Palms and Holiday Inn, all being four star plus accommodation. Whilst a drop off was provided in Ton Sai Bay, no mention was made of the accommodation on offer in this area. It was noted that the main stop for the ferry service was not publicised to be Tonsai on this occasion, in fact the majority of passengers disembarked for transfer onto the smaller boat that would take passengers to the northern beaches.

It appeared that the purpose of the boat was also to transport goods such as coconuts, pineapple, soft canned drinks and eggs. Whilst understandable that for the operation of a tourist island, a certain level of imports would be required, it is noted that the island's original industry was of fishing and coconut farming, therefore hinting at a shift in industry and perhaps an over-reliance upon the Tourism industry resulting in greater economic leakage of the area due to the need for imports.

Upon arrival in Tonsai Bay, it was noted that the water was extremely oily, caused by diesel spillage with many floating plastic items such as bottles, oil containers and plastic bags. There were also many fumes and smoke in the pier/ bay area caused by moored boats that, although moored, still had their engine running. On the other side of the 'apple core', Ao Lo Dalaam bay the water, although quite murky was much cleaner, however there were less boats moored in this bay.

Observations whilst on the island

- Phi Phi Inn Tsunami memorial board is no longer there
- The cloth sign that identified the local's frustration with the Government inaction had been removed
- It appeared that there was far more rubble and rubbish around the island than even just after the Tsunami (July 2005 visit)

- There were piles of rubble and black bin liners of rubbish in many places around the island, piles of rotting garbage
- Evidence of building work in the area behind the Phi Phi Hotel, near the market place. A two story concrete structure is being built
- The bases of bungalows for the Phi Phi Princess resort that were being put in during the April 2006 visit had no further progress made. The plot had become overgrown.
- Much progress has been made to the reservoir area where landscaping and planting is now taking place. Plastic pipe work has been lain out above ground all over the island with the clear intention of directing water flow to the water treatment plant.
- Boats moored at the pier that were transporting concrete and timber
- Far more day trippers, families and Thai/Western couples than previous visits

Upon speaking to a Thai contact on the island, I was informed of the respondent's plans to construct a bungalow resort in the area close to Phi Phi Charlie Beach and Phi Phi Princess (two of the resorts that were wholly destroyed during the Tsunami). I asked the respondent whether the Government now permitted construction, had the building embargo now ceased? The contact responded that it had not, no further plans for the island had been received by the Government and therefore islanders were starting to forge ahead with the rebuild. [Information deleted for anonymity purposes].

Boiled Frogs?

A visit to Phi Phi was made on the weekend of 8-9th July, a Thai public Holiday (Buddhist Lent); therefore accommodation had risen in price from the previous trip and was limited in availability. A fan bungalow was found costing 500 baht per night (Andaman Legacy).

I spoke to a dive shop employee in the market place to ascertain the nature of the building work being undertaken in the market place. I was told that new shops and accommodation were being built, financed and owned by the owner of the Phi Phi Hotel, [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]. I also enquired about further building work on the island and was informed that owners of the Phi Phi Princess and Charlie Beach Resorts were in the process of rebuilding the destroyed Phi Phi Princess Resort in Ao Lo Dalaam bay, however upon observation, the bases of bungalows had been constructed but nothing else since the visit in April 2006. I was advised by this person to speak to [Information deleted for anonymity purposes], long term resident on the island to ascertain progress on this project. With regard to the building embargo imposed by the Thai Government, I was informed that this restriction had been withdrawn two weeks ago and that rebuilding could now occur.

An interesting reflection following this visit took place, when, upon watching a video that I had taken of the island, after leaving the island, the people with whom I was traveling (3 others) all expressed negative emotions of shock and non-recognition of the place they had just visited. One person responded that the video had put her off Phi Phi, and that 'this is not the place we have just come from.' The images portrayed in the video depicted a location that was ramshackle, poorly planned and extremely polluted, envisaging the real situation on Koh Phi Phi, however it was strange to hear that when on Phi Phi, none of the group noticed the extent of the damage (or perhaps blocked out this aspect). This raised the question, does the atmosphere on Koh Phi Phi enable visitors to block out negative aspects of planning, the truth of the situation, or is that part of the charm? This question was reflected upon by one of my guests, 'The feeling I get when I am on the island – I don't know what it is or where it comes from, but it is not on there (referring to the video)'. Interestingly, upon reviewing literature surrounding the island, similar sentiments are mirrored, which speak of charm, paradise and magic. This respondent, who had also accompanied me on the previous visit, reflected that the nature of the accommodation on the 2nd/3rd July visit was more in line with the special feeling associated with Phi Phi than the visit of 8th/9th July (Bamboo huts – Twin Palm on the first visit in contrast to a brick built bungalow with Air con and pool facilities – Andaman Legacy on the second visit).

Khao Lak (July 2006)

A visit to Khao Lak was made in order to experience reality in another Tsunami-affected area. In Khao Lak and the surrounding coastal region there was much evidence of Tsunami damage and rehabilitation projects, with temporary housing still inhabited, having been donated by aid organisations such as World Vision, Habitat for Humanity and Tsunami Victim Support. It was apparent that less progress had been made with the reconstruction effort than Koh Phi Phi, but there was a greater presence of international assistance. In addition, management of the psychological effects of the Tsunami were evident with much publicity of support organisations in operation in the area. To date, there is no evidence of these types of support services on Phi Phi and assistance in the rehabilitation of the island has originated from several, locally oriented volunteer organisations. Another observation made whilst in the area, was that there were many locations advertising crafts and produce of Tsunami victims, this has also been evidenced in Patong, Phuket but remains extremely low key in Phi Phi.

Working life in Phuket

I found the work, especially teaching at [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] challenging. [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]

I am starting to wonder if some of the problems associated with achieving Sustainable Development are not culture-linked. [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]. Thai people also tend to not speak out, they are quite quiet by nature anyway, but especially to challenge decisions is seen as wrong in Thai society. This was an assumption confirmed through accounts of Thai (and South East Asian) culture offered within autobiographical texts (Mam, 2008: OTHERS) and research texts on Thai Society (Mulder, 2000; Brown, 2000; Truong, 1990; Bishop and Robinson, 1997). In Mam's (2008) account of Asian Culture she explains that status originates from various sources, to include ethnic origins and skin colour, she notes, 'the paler you are, the closer to 'moon colour', the more highly you are prized. A plump woman with white skin is the supreme object of beauty and desire'. This affords great status within Asian society. This thereby may result in a situation whereby manipulation might be possible and also views of lower status groups are marginalised.

[Information deleted for anonymity purposes]

Bangkok: July 2006

I travelled to Bangkok to interview a key informant, an academic and investigative journalist. Even this person, quite accustomed to discussing [Information deleted for anonymity purposes], initially was extremely cautious of participating in an interview let alone speaking openly and honestly about such subjects. It is important to note that this has been the case with all informants so far, even those who have not been discussing Phi Phi directly, rather the wider context within which the case operates. Some respondents have been cautious due to concerns that I was affiliated with another researcher, with whom they did not want to communicate. Others, because they had challenged similar issues previously and found themselves subject to verbal and physical threat. My perception from the findings of my research and the review of literature was that the Asian Tsunami has not necessarily served to cause problems that would hinder a Sustainable Development initiative but there are serious issues that have been uncovered by the Asian Tsunami, such as land rights issues, conflict, corruption and displacement; all being contrary to the philosophy of Sustainable Development. Due to the fact that the aforementioned issues are intertwined with the dealings of [Information deleted for anonymity purposes], many people are loath to discuss or challenge such issues, due to the fear created by such powers.

This interview highlighted the following issues:

- Tourism by nature is not sustainable – and forms of Tourism that claim to be 'sustainable' are arguably not - therefore is Sustainable Tourism development achievable at all or just the latest buzzword?
- The filming of The Beach was a factor that catalysed that degradation of Koh Phi Phi
- The idea of developing a Tourism industry on Phi Phi in the first place created a situation whereby impacts would be greater than many other destinations. Tourists invaded the areas where the island inhabitants lived, there was and still is no separation. Beer bars and bikini shops are located next to the village mosque. Inhabitants of the island are in effect artifacts in a living museum created for tourists.
- The most serious and difficult issue in establishing what is desired for the future of the island by the 'locals' is to define who the 'locals' are, or if any exist at all. The original inhabitants of the island are most closely related to the Muslim fishermen and women that migrated from Koh Yao circa 1950. However now these people have sold up their land, been diluted by the progressive invasion of tourists and businesses from areas such as Ao Nang, Phuket and Krabi it is hard to determine who the stakeholders are. Who should I be asking for opinion? Whose opinion matters?

Fear

The interview that I conducted today only served to confirm one of the major challenges that my research would face. As soon as I read the list of research questions to this respondent the first reaction was that 'this is a sensitive subject', a notion mirrored in all previous interviews. It was clear from the respondent's initial reaction that due to the sensitive nature of the research they would be unwilling to fully disclose their opinions on this matter. [Information deleted for anonymity purposes].

[Information deleted for anonymity purposes] This respondent was quite adamant that the local community, due to cultural reasons would not express their true feelings. This therefore leads to a requirement for the researcher to obtain an understanding of the workings of not only Thai culture but also the Buddhist and Muslim religions, both dominant on the island, which may help to explain this barrier to obtaining information. It may be necessary therefore to use an informant, who is significantly integrated with the community in order to 'translate' the true feelings of the respondents and obtain their trust. It is felt that respondent 8 would be a very suitable person for this role, and is also willing to act as translator and a means of introduction to key stakeholders on the island.

An expert interview with a colleague in Phuket

One of my colleagues has been and still is heavily involved in numerous [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] projects in Phuket following the Tsunami. This colleague is therefore interested in my research, as had a similar interest as myself. Today, I had a lengthy and insightful conversation with this colleague regarding some of the difficulties I was facing with regard to gaining access to key respondents and obtaining truthful responses. I was urged to exercise extreme caution with my research, [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]

This colleague also empathised with my difficulty in obtaining trust from respondents. During some research that was being conducted amongst Tsunami affected communities, regarding post-disaster trauma, it was found that the majority of respondents greatest fear was that of 'corruption' ironically also a common theme of my emerging findings. It was found that a large proportion of residents that had lived in closest proximity to the shoreline were unwilling to participate in the research due to 'fear of the bullet'.

Frustration

[Information deleted for anonymity purposes]

[Information deleted for anonymity purposes]

I just needed something to re-focus my attentions to the fact that Koh Phi Phi's community was my focus and that I should not let my experiences elsewhere blur this focus. Nevertheless, my experiences on Phuket may provide some invaluable background understanding of the dynamics of Thai society, which may be of use later on. However, the much-needed motivation was obtained this weekend (26th-27th August 2006) when I traveled to Krabi in order to interview a key respondent, someone who I had been trying to contact for a long time, leaving this interview feeling revitalised. This informant clarified the extent of challenges that were faced by the community on Phi Phi, concluding, interestingly that in order to achieve Sustainable Development on Phi Phi, the local community should be left to sustain development, and realise mistakes themselves. It was affirmed that, only through the realisation and education to enable islanders to take care of the environment would the island develop a form of Tourism that will sustain livelihoods in the long term. Key issues included the lack of funding in order to reinstate livelihoods and the hierarchical structures within the Government, which result in lengthy waits for plans and decision-making. Above all, this respondent highlighted that before any focus should be given to Tourism redevelopment, the Government should ensure that the island was safe; efficient Tsunami evacuation and warning systems were lacking and there was no method of knowing exactly how many people were on the island at one time. By far the greatest concern was the vulnerability of over 100 orphans left by the Tsunami, who had now to be relocated, many having to cease schooling because their guardians needed the additional income and many who were now vulnerable to child abuse because their guardians were so focused upon rebuilding their livelihoods.

This renewed energy seems to have got my research moving again. Within the last few days, I have scheduled five more interviews, with particularly valuable informants. Persisting has finally paid dividends, and it has enabled me to build a series of in depth, high quality interviews with key stakeholders. Upon reflection, it could be considered that Swarbrooke's (1998) method of categorising stakeholders is only broadly appropriate for Phi Phi. The society on Koh Phi Phi is diverse and complex, still being difficult to define who exactly the people of Phi Phi are. It is known that the original inhabitants of the island were the Muslim and Chao Lay communities, however due to the influence of Tourism and big business and the Tsunami, the structure of not only the community but also family structures have been altered. The Community on Phi Phi now is represented by those existing members of the original inhabitants, Thai people who do not originate from Phi Phi but have built businesses on the island and also foreigners, who have made Phi Phi their home and place of work. I was told by interview respondent 9 that in reality, the community of Phi Phi would be those having housing registration on the island, however, again this is difficult to measure because many of the migrant workers who come to work on Phi Phi do not register there.

A changing attitude

Following today's interview I am starting to draw conclusions that are entirely different to my acknowledged pre-conceived ideas concerning the development on Phi Phi. [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]. However, I cannot help but acknowledge this increasing feeling that some of the impacts associated with development and disinclination to address sustainability principles as detailed within discourse of western origins are inextricably culture, resource and power base linked. The lack of empowerment of the community of Phi Phi combined with a lack of resources and importantly, absence of the desire to conserve the environment and culture upon which livelihoods are based makes any attempt at Sustainable Tourism development particularly challenging. Surely it could be argued that because the ideology of Sustainable Development has evolved largely in more economically developed countries, therefore the people who are resident in such countries will exist within an environment whereby Sustainable Development is preached, and the general level of acceptance and understanding (i.e. education) is higher. It is no wonder perhaps then, if a foreign idea is introduced into a society from which such a philosophy did not evolve, then difficulties will arise in implementing Sustainable Development within such contexts.

[Information deleted for anonymity purposes] This then leads me to believe that, the Multinational Corporations should not be held accountable for unsustainable practices. Indeed, it would appear that, if the company adopts a green philosophy, normally a requirement for the owner to be of a proactively 'sustainable' mindset, then this filters down into the rest of the organisation. Many Multinational hotel chains actively pursue sustainability and corporate

social responsibility within their corporate strategies. Furthermore, it may also raise the question of to what extent the Tourism industry should be blamed for degradation of a location and evidence is emerging that it may, at present be only the larger resort complexes that are proactively addressing sustainability; because they have the capability both financially and philosophically to do as such.

The changing face of the island

This weekend I travelled to Phi Phi and Krabi in order to conduct pre-scheduled interviews with the Provincial Government (in Krabi Town) and in order to generate more contacts on the island, as it appeared that the method of emailing, telephoning and sending letters to try and set up interviews was not particularly effective and required a more 'personal' approach.

I observed that the ferries departing from Rassada Port in Phuket were of a greater size and far busier than previous, despite the fact that high season was not yet here. In fact, the boat appeared overloaded (there would appear to be no implementation of carrying capacity aboard these boats which has previously resulted in the sinking of several tourist ferries along this route). The ferries are clearly not well maintained; I felt sick with the smell of diesel fumes and noticed that black smoke that followed behind us. Despite providing sun deck seating, at several occasions during the trip people were ushered downstairs for fear of the boat capsising.

I spoke to several people en route in order to ascertain reasons for visiting the island. The general sentiment appeared to be associated with the combination (or desire for) pristine beaches coupled with a lively nightlife. When questioned about their ideal holiday destination, responses highlighted a (rather contradictory, I felt) desire for pristine, secluded beaches with bars and nightclubs for late night entertainment.

Upon arriving on the island, I observed more icons of a western culture, increasingly more so than last visit to include nude paintings, people walking through the village wearing skimpy bikinis, again rather inappropriate for an island whose predominant culture is Muslim. I noted the mocking; by western youths lounging by the pool drinking beer, of the calls to prayer by the local village mosque and also that there was a significant increase in the amount of Western/ Thai couples from the sex industry, I had previously been informed that was frowned upon in Phi Phi appeared now to be enveloping this island. These forces all may contribute towards erosion of the indigenous culture of Muslim and Chao-Ley settlers on the island.

Whilst walking around the island, I noted the following:

- The bases that had been lain for the rebuild of the Phi Phi Princess Resort had now been ripped up
- There was a profusion of building materials in the central core (wasteland area) to include hardcore, gravel, cement bags and plastic piping
- A craft was moored in front of the hospital in Tonsai Bay from which building materials were being offloaded
- Building that had previously been rebuilt post-Tsunami along the main street were being ripped down
- Large areas of temporary housing for construction workers had been erected. This housing has been criticised in many of my interviews as being cramped and unsanitary

I started to talk to some of the faces I found familiar to enquire further about the changes I witnessed. Some of these brief discussions proved very fruitful and were included in my conducted interviews (Respondents 12-14). Key findings from these discussions were:

There are four major landowners on the island; [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]. There were tales of displacement and conflict between villagers and landowners. I witnessed one respondent's tale that one of these landowners had been a close friend for 17 years. The respondent's home and business was located on rented land of this landowner. With one week's notice and 20,000 baht (approx 240 pounds) compensation this respondent was forcibly removed from the family home. These buildings are now being knocked down with plans to use the land for a new 3000 baht per night luxury hotel. The respondent had had to take a loan of 1 million Baht from the Thailand

Island Foundation to try and rebuild a home and business. The respondent concluded that on this island business is clearly more important than friendship. I was advised that there is no longer a host community on the island; it is best just to speak to those who have been here the longest.

When I asked another respondent about their desires for the future of the island it became clear, because this correlated with previous responses, that Thais on the island appear to have no strong desires or opinions about the future except to recognise that although the behaviour of some tourists (especially some Israelis) is appalling but they must endure it because it sustains their livelihoods. This appears to be the case unless they have had their lives significantly disrupted, then there is strong emotion but still communicated through friends of the respondent (non-Thai) not the respondent themselves.

Although much progress appears to have been made with the reservoir area, I was informed that progress had been halted due to conflict that was taking place between two of the major landowners who were unwilling to let their land be disrupted for the laying of the pipes. The effectiveness of the waste water treatment plant was questioned by one respondent who had visited a similar facility in their home country and identified that a) this would be the holding place of the untreated waste – therefore would be extremely smelly b) only the major resorts (landowners) were linked up to the system – households had not been considered) there was no provision in place for dealing with the treated water.

One of my questions arising from a previous trip concerned the amount of rubbish and building materials that had seemingly been dumped behind the Phi Phi Casita next to the swamp. Apparently, this area would be used to build some of the long awaited World Vision houses for the displaced. A request had therefore been made by the Thai Government for all villagers to place their building waste next to the swamp. This material would be used to pack in and dry out the swamp area so that it could be built upon. However, many people had used this area as a dump for household waste and bottles instead of using the nightly Government refuse boat. I was informed about further existing conflict with regard to land on the island and the reasons for further delays in the construction of these houses. The swampland is owned by one of the major landowners. The community members who are eligible for these houses do not own land on the island and therefore have nowhere for the houses to be built. A decision is pending with regard to whether the person owning the swampland will allow the land to be used for this purpose. It is planned that the World Vision houses will be built in two areas; the swamp area and the majority on higher ground.

This informant also provided further information about actual and proposed initiatives for the island. The Ao Nang Tambon Administration had financed the laying of a central road (main street) through the center of the apple core area, a road which had been in an extreme state of disrepair since the Tsunami and had long since been flooded with effluence and stagnant water being excavated for the laying of pipes which lead to the waste water treatment area. The road had failed to be improved due to being the lowest point on the island and therefore an area prone to flooding, so any improvements could not be maintained as it was considered that these improvements were not carried out adequately in the first instance.

Other initiatives proposed by volunteers that were considered unrealistic included that of the development of an island farm and a co-operative venture. Whilst being potentially good ideas, they were criticised due to the fact that the community's nature could not allow commitment to such initiatives. In the first instance, why would community members wish to revert back to their traditional farming livelihoods when they had found a method that was far easier and lucrative to sustain income; Tourism. Secondly, it was commented that on the island people were very much concerned with their own affairs and success; issues of trust would also make a co-operative venture impossible. This respondent suggested that these proposals were made without being on the island long enough to know that the community does not work like that; they only have a narrow view. It is very much a self-governing island. Initiatives such as a recycling process have previously been piloted on the island yet were abandoned as community members were dumping bags of household waste next to the recycling bins without selecting items to be recycled. I observed upon arriving this time that there were many recycling tubes that had just been delivered to the pier. However upon leaving, these tubes had been placed in a public area for use and were overflowing with general garbage. Other community issues that should be addressed are the burning of rubbish. I was informed that previously, rubbish was disposed of through fires. However with an increase in non-natural waste, fires are increasingly an environmental hazard.

A real progression of building work was noted in two key areas:

- In the market place, [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] is building two story shop houses and a guesthouse
- In the main street areas, [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] is pulling down some of the brick built buildings with a view to build a high-class hotel. The Rasta Bar has also been pulled down and construction workers' accommodation has been erected

Existing buildings have been pulled down in order to clear land for the second development. I was informed that any new buildings must be constructed out of concrete and be 30 metre set back from the shoreline, be 2 stories high with a flat roof and evacuation stairs on the outside of the building to the roof. Respondent 14 suggested that in order to face a more prosperous future there are a number of very simple things that must be done. This is broadly associated with the improvement of basic infrastructure to include electricity, waster water system, clean water supply, hospital and roads.

I enquired as to the role and power of the Puya Ban (Headman) and was informed that this figure had diminishing credibility in the eyes of the community as he had failed to speak up on behalf of the islanders at public meetings. It was considered that this role would be abolished soon and the island would revert back to being self-governed.

[Information deleted for anonymity purposes]

An unnerving experience: Krabi, September 2006

A Thai colleague had called the office of the Krabi Governor in advance in order to organise an interview on my behalf with a member of the provincial government. Information about my research and research questions were requested in advance, which I gladly supplied. Perhaps incorrectly, I assumed that this would be a face-to-face meeting between a high level governmental representative and myself. [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]

Interviews with the representatives of the Krabi Provincial Government

This respondent, I considered was a key respondent that would be able to provide a higher-level Governmental perspective. Therefore I had a set of specific questions directly relating to the island's redevelopment plans because I was aware that such a figure would not have the necessary time to allow great depth and discussion. Instead I desired to gather purely factual information about the development plans and the opinions from a Governmental perspective. As has already been discussed in the reflexive journal, unexpectedly rather than being allowed a personal audience with this respondent, a rather large group were present, some of whom were specialists but some whom I am still unsure of their position, as they were never introduced. I felt quite uncomfortable throughout the whole process, owing to the fact that not only was I in the minority but also that the interview was directed and guided entirely by the agenda of the respondent, who employed similar techniques as Respondent 6 (another high level political figure) to ensure that they provided no direct answers and tactfully avoided questions they found challenging. I did not sense that I was being deceived by the respondent, in fact I was taken aback that some of the responses provided were so candid, quite unexpected from a person of this position.

Nevertheless, the respondent was extremely careful to provide quite a revealing and honest response but then disassociate themself with providing such a response. [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]

A summary of the responses provided during this interview are as follows:

- I was provided with a copy of the Island Plan (in Thai)
- I was provided with a copy of the recent presentation of the recovery policies of Tsunami affected areas in Krabi
- I was advised to read 'Big Business in Japanese Politics' by Chitoshi Yanaga which according to the respondent provides a very accurate description of the situation in Phi Phi in parallel form

- I was advised that the dynamics of the island are controlled by 3 or 4 [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]
- The culture on the island is very much 'now or never' and this informs business strategy and therefore development
- It was claimed that whilst people on the island are very quick to ask for help towards the building of infrastructure on the island, such as a new pier, installation of main land electricity and water supply, they are unwilling to give anything back. Whilst the island caters for in excess of 1 million tourists per year, generating incomes of in excess of 6000 Million Baht, many islanders do not pay tax to the Government.
- Despite requests for financial help, help in the form of island development plans are refused and opposed
- The respondent felt that the only desires of the islanders were financial and that this was the driving force for development
- It was felt that there was a strong desire for the island to be left alone to develop by itself without the assistance of the Government under the control of, who were described as [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]
- When questioned about the major landowners on the island, I was advised that there were four major players; [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]
- I was advised that several plans had been produced for the island but everything depends upon the centralisation of power. The first plan was that there would be no building at all allowed in the central apple core area of the island but now there has been so much conflict; desires at this level are associated with the island reverting to how it was before the Tsunami except tidier, safer and more beautiful. I was advised that responsibility had now been given to the Public Works and Planning Department for the redevelopment plans of the island and that I should seek information with regard to building regulations from them
- Emphasis was given to informing me how the many initiatives that were proposed for the island would cost. These initiatives include the School, the Hospital and the 158 World Vision Houses. The respondent made a point of telling me how much was being spent on the island. I knew however that the financing for most of these projects came from private donations e.g. the School' improvement was mostly financed by fundraising undertaken by Phi Phi Aid and Friends of Phi Phi. I also had been informed by a previous respondent that taxes were imposed on pretty much everything associated with business on the island, to include signage and that utilities costs were far greater than the mainland.
- When I enquired why some rebuilding had occurred prior to the allocated date, I was told that 'kickback' was the answer, [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] who created problems with maintaining lawful practices.
- They reiterated that there were three people controlling the island, whose power surpassed that of the Government and the other inhabitants were all dependencies of those people in many terms but mainly because everything that is built on the island, ultimately ownership reverts back to the landowners
- Another problem was highlighted with regard to the World Vision/ Supernimit Foundation Houses. There are 158 houses that will be allegedly be sponsored by World Vision. These houses will be allocated on the basis of claimants proving that they lost homes in the Tsunami. But before the Tsunami, if they didn't own land then rights ultimately revert back to the landowner. Therefore the landowners have the greatest level of power and influence over the future development of the island.
- I enquired as to the structure of the public administration system in Thailand, to try and ascertain where responsibility and power should lie. Ultimately policy decisions are made by the relevant Ministry of the Central Government. There are 18 Ministries. Government is then de-centralised in two layers; in Provinces (75 +1) Districts, Tambons and finally Villages and Provincial Local Administrations to Municipality level. The Ao Nang Tambon Administration is responsible for Phi Phi at a local level and works at the grassroots level.
- I was advised, when enquiring about consultation, that a community committee had been established to consist of a cross section of the island population (15 members), the Puya Ban of Moo 7 and Moo 8 and the four aforementioned landowners. I explicitly enquired as to whether other members of the community were included in consultation and this question was not directly answered.

The Department of Public Works and Planning

These respondents were representatives of the Public Works and Planning Department and Resources Department. They were slightly more direct with their answers and provided a deal of factual information regarding Phi Phi's redevelopment. The main findings are summarised below:

- Central Government had previously assigned responsibility for Phi Phi's plans to the Or Ba Tor of DASTA, however conflict occurred between the villagers and DASTA due to the villagers' concerns that the DASTA plan would result in their land being taken. Therefore villagers refused to cooperate with the DASTA plan. The situation was compared quite openly with criticism that was expressed of DASTA's impact on Koh Chang. It is alleged that there has been a misunderstanding about the authority of the Or Ba Tor. When I expressly enquired as to whether DASTA have the power to take land, again there was no direct response to this question.
- The situation that remains with regard to planning is that DASTA have drawn up the Masterplan and the operation of the plan has been assigned to the Department of Public Works and Planning
- The plan, I was informed consisted of the development of 11 safety roads, 1.4 km long and 5 metres in width, a 30-metre coastal setback zone, undersea routing of electricity and water supply from the mainland. The designs are due to be finished at the end of September and it is envisaged that construction will commence early October (2006)
- It is estimated that the project will cost 181 million Baht. The design has been sent to central Government to approve the funds and they are awaiting approval
- I was informed that the warning system was being set in place across the Krabi Province to have 32 systems across 5 districts. These will be complete in early October (2006) and will provide a 30 minute warning of impending danger
- A new pier is planned, costing 90 million Baht which is awaiting approval by the environmental authority
- The wastewater treatment plant which will cost 28 million Baht, was supported by the Danish Government
  I was informed that useable land on the island amounts to 275 Rai which is split between 34 landlords; predominantly [Information deleted for anonymity purposes]
- I was provided with a map of the proposed development on the island to show the set back zone, safety routes and allocation of land. A selection of the documents I was issued with can be seen in Appendix 20. A highlighted area (area 6) existed on the map; at present this is wasteland with some temporary food stalls, totally devastated by the Tsunami. I enquired why this area was highlighted and was informed that it had been planned that this area would be a memorial garden (why I wondered when there already was one near the swamp and the Viewpoint Resort) but would no longer be so because the landowner [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] had refused use. Does this correlate with previous plans for a tourist leisure park?
- I was informed that the Provincial Government had requested 10 Rai from the central Government to use for an administration office for the emergency response system and island utilities on the higher ground near the Super Nimit houses, and the response was awaited.
- I asked why the bungalow bases for the new Princess Resort had now been ripped up. I was informed that these were temporary. They certainly did not appear temporary and think that they were talking about the Bamboo 'Twin Palm' bungalows.

Return to Phi Phi: December 2007

As I arrived on the island this time I realised that so much has changed in the year that has passed since last visiting. If you didn't know the Tsunami had hit the island three years previously you would not realise. On the front stage, there is an awful lot of building, redecorating and cosmetic upgrading taking place all over the island. The reservoir, whilst the landscaped gardens are flourishing, smells of excrement and stagnant water – I wondered if it is being maintained? Or still functioning? At the backstage, things are as unkempt and in fact messier than ever – there is still lots of

rubbish being dumped, not recycled in the tubes provided, the sea especially in Tonsai is very dirty in appearance with oil slicks. Condoms, toilet roll etc were seen in the shallow water in Ao Lo Dalaam.

The tourist market appears to be ever changing. I was mindful however that this is high season so the island will be far more crowded. The island appears to be now part of the mainstream backpacker and package tourist trail. I reflected on the term 'posh-packer' that some of the locals used. Phi Phi seems to be a necessary inclusion of any tourist's package tour to the Andaman region or at least a day trip from Phuket. Many longer-term travellers are inviting friends from home to spend their 2-week annual holiday with them on Phi Phi. These backpackers are largely living a hedonistic lifestyle with little regard for the destination or culture. Additionally there are more and more middle aged couples and families evident, whose tastes are reflected in shops, restaurants and accommodation.

The whole place is full of groups of young men, coming here now not as backpackers but for their 2-week vacation – cheaper and more accessible. And with this has stemmed the necessary attraction to entertain such groups. Apart from the diving, one of the most heavily publicised attractions on the island is the nightlife, plenty of cheap alcohol – full moon, half moon, and no moon parties – Lady boy (Katoey) cabaret shows, fire dancing, skinny dipping and wet t-shirt competitions. The location of these parties is Hippies Bar – close to Mosque and village school.

In terms of reconstruction I noted that new building was occurring, the largest development being Charlie Plaza, a 4-story construction of shop houses and guest accommodation. This appears to contravene building regulations that state no development on the island should be in excess of 2 storeys. [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] shop houses and accommodation near the market area are now complete, to offer a range of new catering establishments and retail outlets. This same building style is being used in the rebuild of the row of shop houses and guest accommodation along the row where the October Guesthouse was.

All building on the land owned by [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] has been reconstructed in concrete form and painted bright green; this includes Carlitos bar and the Chao Koh Bungalows. In this same area of the island I was informed that the shop houses all along from Carlitos to Don Chukit were destroyed in a fire on 11th Feb 2007 at 10am. Business owners felt widespread despair. The front of these shop houses had been rebuilt in temporary structure at the time of my visit. The backs (housing) were being rebuilt in concrete structure. The new Mosque was fully complete, an impressive concrete structure – which hammers home – but not for some that this is predominantly a Muslim Island.

A general feeling of prosperity and commercial success surrounds this island. Eating in Madame Resto – I remembered in 2002 this was a corrugated iron kitchen that played popular films to entertain backpackers – now a thriving restaurant selling international cuisine. So much has changed in the space of 5 years. I flew back to Bangkok this time from Krabi airport. This airport has recently seen an upgrade of terminal and airfield facilities, being termed as the 'gateway to Phi Phi' on signage within the airport. In addition to the domestic routes from Bangkok it is now possible year round to fly in from Kuala Lumpur and Singapore and in high season direct from Scandinavia.

Subsequent visits (April 2008 and December 2011)

The April 2008 visit took place at Songkran, arguably Thailand's biggest annual festival and high tourist season. PP Princess, Chao Koh and Sea Angel ferries were all docked at Phuket's Rassada Pier, packed on the lower and upper desks with tourists, who appeared dominantly Scandinavian by descent. Most passengers appeared to fall within the 18-25 category and were already stripped off t o their swimwear, applying sun cream ready for the sunbathing opportunity the one and a half hour boat trip afforded them. All boats departed at the same time. Again, as previous trips I wondered why departures were not staggered so as to avoid all craft arriving at Phi Phi's Pier at the same time and so as to reduce the extent of diesel spillage and noise pollution at any one time.

Accommodation touts upon arrival at the Pier were keen to stress how busy the island was and to a lack of accommodation capacity. According to one agent, 100 people were left without accommodation the previous night.

Walking around the centre of the island, there was still evidence of intensive building work; in the market place is where [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] was constructing new shop houses for rent by local businesspeople. The construction of the new Phi Phi Charlie Plaza was also well progressed with the external shell of the three storey development in place. The wastewater treatment plant was almost complete and visually very appealing, although the smell was quite overbearing. It was notable that only the major landowners were inn the process of reconstruction and new construction.

A sunset trip was taken to Maya bay on Phi Phi Le, and whilst onboard I got chatting to the crew comprised of Thai male youths. The boat owner reaffirmed a desire of the islanders for more tourists to come to the island, he discussed the alleged ban on construction with me and argued that no body cares about the ban, people need to rebuild. He told me how he has lived and worked on Phi Phi for thirteen years, having originated from Surin Beach on Phuket, his family still lives in Surin and he goes back to visit them for a few days every month. In the same vein as other respondents he doesn't mind tourists despite their behaviour as tourists mean jobs for the islanders. Conversely, he did recall with affection, how the island used to be. Thirteen years ago in Ao Tonsai you could see Sailfish and Dolphins, now you are lucky to see any fish and the coral is dead. He expressed his dislike of Phi Phi as a party island in line with his Muslim beliefs and told me that he was glad that the island School was now situated further away from the bars.

Around the island there were meagre attempts to modify the behaviour of tourists and islanders, recycling tubes had been placed sporadically in Tonsai Village close to snack stalls and yet were overflowing with waste clearly not designated for that particular tube. Signs asking people not to litter were plastered with adverts for 'fire shows' and 'free buckets', in a similar manner to the Tsunami evacuation signs ironically.

A visit was made to the Northeastern beaches to include Laem Tong where several of the more luxurious hotels are located to include the Holiday Inn and Phi Phi Island Village. In this area, development is below the tree line (palm trees) and in colour and materials more in tune with the natural surroundings. Hotel staff were undertaking beach cleaning and maintenance of the gardens surrounding the resorts. The tourists sunbathing on the beaches in this area were more fully clothed, a greater sense of ownership and responsibility was more apparent in this part of the island.

Following this trip, a brief visit was made to the island in July 2009, at this time not for the purpose of data collection other than to monitor what had changed on the island in the time that had passed an to visit friends on the island. A further, follow up visit was made in December 2011 in order to validate some of the conclusions reached through the research and monitor change over time.

Appendix 11: Sample of electronic response generated via www.freewebs.com/fayetaylor

E7

Faye Taylor

From: form-processor@freewebs.com [form-processor@freewebs.com] **Sent:** ศ. 15/09/2549 06:57

To: Faye Taylor

Cc:

Subject: FreeWebs: FORM RESPONSE

Attachments:

---------- Form Response ----------

01 - 1.What circumstances existed prior to the Tsunami of December 2004 that account for Koh Phi Phi's record on sustainable tourism development (STD) before that date? = The last time I set foot on Phi-Phi was 1992 for a HHH run. It was so overdeveloped then that I said I would never come back and contribute to the problem. In 1998 I was shooting a Tarutao documentary and wanted to stop off at Phi-Phi just to shoot some bbenchmark video shots. When the boat got within one kilometer of the pier, I couldn't deal with it anymore and waved the boat off. It was horrible. That's the last time I've even looked at the island.

Speedboat tours are another problem, especially at Maya Bay, which I'm sure you are already oin top of. Don't forget the 2-cycle issue - none of the speedboat trips to Phi-Phi are two cycle - at least neighter yours truly or Phuket's 4-cycle repair shop know of any four cycle speedboats going to Phoi-Phi. Not only are they unenvironmental, they are dangerous.

02 - 2.It is claimed that the Asian Tsunami created a 'clean slate' situation in development (infrastructure) terms. If this is the case, how has the post-Tsunami situation altered stakeholders' perceptions of the desirability and possibility of STD? = One thing that everybody seems to have missed is that Phi-Phi was and still is a National Park. By Thai law, no permanent structures are allowed in a National Park - that means that many Tsunami vixtimswere residing in illegally built lodging. I don't knw why a good lawyer hasn't picked up on this.

After I commented on this at a TAT marketing seminar attended by a TAT Planning Director, they gerrymandered the park boundries to accommodate permanent structure - but this was after the Tsunami. Today, most of the lowlands are not National Park, but who actually owned tht ;land is now questionable. Should be some good land office stories here!

The end result is that I am told there are now four high rises on Phi-Phi - very Tsunami proof, so they can wait for the next Megathrust - should be around four more centuries. To build a high-rise on that island is criminal - four should be four life terms, run consecutively.

03 - 3.How is the concept of sustainable development used by stakeholders in the discussion and planning surrounding the re-development in Koh Phi Phi Island? = Sustainable development isn't even a considertion on Phi-Phi. The only thing that matters to the TAT, government officials or business operators on Phi-Phi is money, money, money.

I have never heard anybody in South Thailand EVER mention concepts such as Sustainable Development. The concept is completely unknown. When I mention these words at any meeting, people look at me like I am crazy. Sustainable development is something akin to "lose money".

04 - 4. Is there a consistent and explicit philosophy underlying plans for Koh Phi Phi's redevelopment? = Rape the island as much as possible. The Tsunami was an excuse to build high rises on Phi-Phi. I doubt that any credible land use planner anywhere would consider high-rises appropriate on tha formerly beautiful island.

05 - 5. What interests and views are expressed by local residents, local business, politicians and big business in relation to the future of Koh Phi Phi? = Grab as much money as we can - who care about

"environment".

As mentioned, there are no true "local residents" on Phi-Phi. By the time I arrived in Phuket in 1989, all the original residents of Phi-Phi were living in horrible slum circumstances that the TAT called the "Sea Gypsy Village" in Rawai. There wasn't a single Moken in that slum, but when I talked with residents in the early 90's they had all "sold" their land for a pittance and it was exhausted after the first TV or truck, forcing these destitute people into living in the slum until it was finally considered an eyesore by a governor in the mid-90's and torn down.

06 - 6. What political, economic, cultural factors have the most powerful influence on plans for tourism development on Koh Phi Phi Island post-Tsunami? = Corruption, corruption, corruption.

08 - 8. How far does the reconstruction of Koh Phi Phi Island provide practical insights of relevance to other natural disaster situations? = The only hope for Phi-Phi's reconstruction is that there won't be another Tsunami for a few centuries. The only responsible thing to do was to not allow any development of the island and return it to true national Park Status, i.e., no permanent structures allowed. Instead a tremendous opportunity was lost and Phi-Phi development is now even worse than it was before the Tsunami.

Quite frankly, for the benefit of Phi-Phi I hope some clever lawyer figures out the real reason for 2,800 fatalitieas was not poor but illegal "planning" allowed those folks to be on Phi-Phi when the Tsunami struck and theThai government is forced to pay class action compensation to their heirs.

That's probably the only way the Thai government or the TAT willevr come fact-to-face with their responsibilities and irresponsibilities, but I doubt that any planning or governmenment official has any moral obligaion to anything except lining their own pockets at the expense ofwhat was once considered one of the "Ten Most Beautiful Islands on the Planet."

---------- End of Form ----------

This is a form response generated on Freewebs.com
If you believe that this is an unsolicited email,
please visit http://members.freewebs.com/abuse.jsp and file a complaint.

Appendix 12: Extract of face to face interview transcript (written verbatim)

Interview 5 Inhabitant (non-Thai)

PP is a goldmine and they want to take it away from the control of Krabi province so that's another issue that so there's a lot of conflict going on and then you've got Krabi supposed to be the most corrupt province in Thailand if you go to the aura provinces you'll find that the schools are a lot better and the hospitals are a lot better in Krabi the hospital is appalling and the schools and not that great so there are questions about why that is the get these Danish people coming & they speak to the people in Krabi they speak the people in Bangkok that they don't bother speaking to anyone on the islands we've got a long a river going across the island you can see it going under the bridge and they cut it off as a group of volunteers we spent months cleaning the reservoir that reservoir is a bone of contention on the island about seven or eight years ago Germans came in and built the water treatment plant reservoirs holding tanks and I don't think it even ran through day before it got broken and then the locals didn't know how to run it people do these things and then they leave and then there is no continuation before it had to big reservoirs in front of it and I think when the rainwater is came it has collected their was never used as far as I can see it's a waste water treatment plants that there is no sewage system is no plan to put the sewage system in as far as I know so I don't I understand what a waste water is going to be treated unless it's just rainwater it's just pointless they had the chance ages ago to walk out a sewage treatment system workouts and electricity system for a car water after the tsunami that they're just busy working out how they can move the locals of the mountain so they can build a high-class resorts so as yet we have no sewage system on the island when I was working for the foundation I was trying to encourage the locals to put in septic tank resort to try and take care of their sewage themselves and if it's a great peak resort they have a holding tank which is it out to sea every five or so years I know the most responsible landowner was [information deleted for anonymity purposes] owner of the Charlie Beach resort the use to system where it was treated with bacteria and pants and that was designed by the Germans and that was very good [information deleted for anonymity purposes] who owns the big hotels owns [information deleted for anonymity purposes]I don't know what they're using I think they might be using o rings try to avoid they are big concrete rings they sink into the ground all the waste goes in into their and a filter out into the ground and if you had that you need to have at least 30 m between their and the wells because otherwise the well water gets contaminated so the water is in very good on the island. Most of the water that people drink on the island of resorts have their own bores we have one reservoir that is located quite high reached feeds the rest of the islands but where we've got these are rings and we've got the well then there's contamination if you look in the bay here then there's a lot of algae on the bottom and that's from too much nitrogen and that's from sewage going straight into the water so they're dealing with stupid issues and they're not worried about the important thing they're just thinking about how they can get rid of the local people and trying to get the island sustained and they find that by doing that they are not enabling the locals to come back it's quite a nasty situation and I think that it's one that is not going to get any better it's not going to be resolved is really drag their feet they have made us wait too long the locals have now come back they had built the house is and it has now been developed the way it was before I suppose it was economically sustainable but environmentally it was a mass the other things that they are doing now a few months ago there was the big argument about the national park wanting to charge 200 baht for every person coming into Maya bay because the locals were so outraged about it I think it has been put on hold for a year the boats that do the most damage that cause the most pollution are the fairies we get the stupid ferries that do the one-day tours pull in to Maya Bay and they have got 200 people on them and may turn up all the water which chokes the Coral and do the charge the ferry companies any money they don't pay anything because they are run by huge corporations in Bangkok a charge the little local Thai guy who was running his long tail 300 baht at a and his customers have to pay 200 part Chao Koh is an island group which is run by one of the Or Ba Tors of the island it is a big group they are actually islanders so they have got the island's interests in hand if you look at the boats from who kept you have got [information deleted for anonymity purposes] none of those are island companies we have got all of these speed boats here and they are all from Phuket and they don't care about the environment didn't live here they've got no interest here they don't care if their customers ruin everything they just come and go every day we have got no Harbour Department on the island it is supposedly a National Marine Park but there is no if I go onto the beach I refuse to give many to the national park I would if they controlled anything if they controlled the speed that you go in and out of the island if they controlled the dumping of sewage and made sure all the boats had marine engines and yes I would feel quite comfortable where does the money go I don't know where the money goes it has to be more control they say that I who lives and works on the island I have to pay 200 Baht every time I want to visit Maya bay while that's ridiculous thing that merely really pisses me off is that they don't charge the big boats they are ultimately the ones that are the environmental disasters and they are trying to charge the little guy with a long tail who has been here for 40 years the

only way I can see it working is that anyone who comes to P. P. has to buy a national park pass and it is valid for a year or whatever it is a past it has got your passport number on it and you show it and everyone comes to the island has to have one no matter whether you are a day tripper if you're in the water in the PP's zone and you have to have one and they have to do a financial report and there has to be proof that the money is collected and you can even habits so that the people that run the guesthouse is a register with the national park number as well we were talking about it yesterday because we went up to bamboo island and I remember years ago you used to pay 20 Baht it were asking me for 200 Baht and I said I'm not paying it a Rangers on bamboo island and there are also some sea gypsies that fish there if you see all the fishing pots and then there were some tents which they use to rent out for about 60 baht a night. Coral Island is beautiful and Maya Bay has got a really nice ranger station and they keep it very clean they used to be someone who used to take a long tail boat every day and clean the rubbish off the beach this is a big problem on the island of rubbish the government has put up a sign along the path on the left-hand side here just next to a big pile of rubbish the government but the sign up and it is asking people to stop dumping rubbish because I think they want to the landfill but they haven't done anything about it and now I'm picking up all the rubbish because the high tide comes along and what is all the rubbish appear and it picks up all the rubbish and takes it out to sea and I have to go along every day and pick up the rubbish because some idiots in the government then dumped because they have been told to dump the only other thing is that there is no recycling there is no water purification on the island so every bit of water that you drink has come on the ferry over here in plastic bottles and then you drink from its but how many people separate their waste I do I take my bottles to a woman who works on the island and she gets money for it but not many will do so you get all the bags of empty bottles and cans we right to organise a recycling on the island it so difficult to be honest the tourists messy you put recycling points out in and they throw all of their rubbish into its there are no rubbish bins on the island anyway so once someone puts their black plastic bag out everyone else puts their rubbish in it there are no council bins it is very difficult to get your rubbish collected around the island I lived up the mountain over their eye just leave my rubbish inside the resort so they take it away because I can't carry my rubbish down their pay a fee of the rubbish to be taken to the government boat here I pay one of the guys I mean the boats three but you need to figure out how to get the rubbish to it I pay one of the guys who works in the restaurants will my rubbish down the Thais are very uneducated when it comes to that sort of stuff of so again it's all to do with education I'm sure if there was an easy way to recycle them people would and if people came round to collect them people would separate their bottles I mean they're not that you stupid there are just so many things that are missing on the silent everyone is complaining about the prices here but we can't even the or the prices we charge now after the tsunami the fuel prices doubled people are bitching and moaning about the prices of long tails but those poor guys to me to run my long tail every day I have to pay about 500 baht that's the fuel and everything not including the wager have to paper the boat captain a need to charge what they charge and everyone thinks they're ripping them off the tourists have no idea what the situation is here we have had to pay five or six times more per electricity and they pay on the mainland so even filling the tanks cost more living here is expensive in Krabi if he live on the mainland and have a house in the kitchen and bathroom you would be paying maybe 2000 or 3000 baht a month but here ties a bit least that the plots of land that their house sits on for rent plus then they have to pay the electricity until the water at the are paying up to 6000 baht month when you are paying 10 or scheme cows in part a month here then all you get is a room that is its there is no living room there is no kitchen you're lucky if you get a bathroom in that's just the way it is on the island everything is just so much more there's not enough land there is not enough commendation and everything is more even just to run the place is more expensive it is difficult when you got places like Koh Tao and Koh Lanta because they are so much cheaper but they have mainland water they have mainland electricity obviously then you can pay cheap, cheap prices even to build anything here when we were building not only do you have to pay to the building materials but you have to pay for the transportation and if you're building something throw commercial interest and you have to pay the labourers and then this is the other problem you have got the big hotels and then they bring over a hundred to 200 workers to where do you think their accommodation is they don't put them up in the hotel they build shared is and then they make temporary sewerage systems like all the accommodation behind the reservoir go through their they are all made out of tin that is for [information deleted for anonymity purposes]who owns a lot of the land here just don't have a look at where they live look at the toilet facilities we have had so many people coming and a living terrible condition because of a power that [information deleted for anonymity purposes]. [Information deleted for anonymity purposes] does the island really need the huge ugly concrete buildings I came here five years ago it wasn't like that it was very much….. My best friend she has been here about 20 plus years and she shows me all of the photographs of what the island used to be light it was very unspoilt they had a few bamboo hurts where PP Princess and the PP Charlie Beach used to be that was like the big resort on the island her friend had a bar the bar on the island here was an old wooden fishing pier that was 20 years ago I got here five years ago and they hadn't pave the roads they were sandy roads the main street is kind of like what it used to be like all higgledy piggledy buildings that

don't really match each other but I kind of like that that's kind of like being in Thailand and the streets that of all been redeveloped they were just like little shacks there wasn't much really over the hill after Apache bar wouldn't go as the reservoir back them because there wasn't a power it was just a dirt track where all of the locals were living it was a lot smaller a lot less developed a lot more friendly I really liked it there are a lot more Thai people having one or two big developers is no good because it stops the people who've got the right to have the land using it personally I hate concrete and most of the Thais who have lived here feed years living little huts that are made from bamboo and natural fibres and then all of a sudden somebody said I'm going to rip down your shop and you're going to pay me such and such baht I will build your concrete one you pay me many and you can have it for 15 years. The whole area near the reggae bar reggae bar was due to be open on the 27th of December so the area had been redeveloped and some other shops were open really everybody had just started to move into their shops they spent their 2.5 million renovating the place the shop owners funded that themselves and they have a lease you pay a key money and then I think they have a lease of 50 years and then they eight and minimal rent per month the reason she only does the lease 15 years or so that she can be picked all down and charge the new set of tenants key money and then do it again these little bungalows in front of us are built out of concrete but only to last two or three years just so that she make money on them that land should not be built [information deleted for anonymity purposes] that area was obliterated by the tsunami you hear about this planning and bla bla bla…….

Appendix 13: Sample of completed tourist questionnaires

Questionnaire Faye-A10

Please help me with my PhD research concerning tourism development on Phi Phi Island by completing this simple questionnaire.

1. Are you? Male ☑ Female ☐ Other ☐
2. Age? 31
3. Nationality? CANADIAN
4. Your travel party... Alone ☐ Couple ☐ 1 Friend ☐ A group ☑ Family ☐
5. Is this your first visit to Koh Phi Phi? Yes ☑ No ☐
6. If yes, how many previous visits have you made to the island and when?
7. How long will you be spending on the island this time? 5 DAYS
8. Please detail your other destinations visited/ to be visited in this trip?
CAMBODIA, VIETNAM, HONG KONG,
9. Why did you come to Phi Phi (What is the attraction for you)?
TOURISTS, BEAUTIFUL WATER COLOUR.
10. What do you consider to be the best aspects of the island?
LIVING ACCOMODATION IE, HUTS ON THE HILL SIDE AND CHEAP
11. What are the worst?
DIRTY BEACHES, AND GARBAGE IN THE EYE OF TOURISTS AND MOTOR BOATS IN TOURISTS SWIMMING AREA.
12. Will you return? Yes ☐ No ☐ Maybe ☒
13. About your interests... Please indicate a ranking from 1 to 5 to indicate to what extent the following statements apply to you. 1 being 'does not apply at all' 5 being 'a perfect description of me

I like to travel alone	2
I prefer to book all of my travel arrangements before I leave home	4
I prefer to have a pre set itinerary for my trip	5
I like to be one of the fist people to discover a destination	1
I prefer to associate with people of my own nationality when I travel	2
I am adventurous	3
I am risk taking	5
I travel mainly to party and get a great tan	3

14. Please describe your perfect beach resort
GREEN WATER, NO BOATS (MOTOR) CLEAN BEACHES WHITE SANDS WITH HAMMOCKS HANGING FROM PALM TREES SURROUNDED BY MOUNTAINS
15. What does sustainable development mean to you?
BEING PROACTIVE BY CONSTANTLY TAKING THE ADVICE OF TOURISTS WANTS AND NEEDS TO BETTER ACCOMADATE TOURISTS
16. What would that mean for Phi Phi?
THIS COULD BE THE BEST BEACH WITH LITTLE THINGS TO BE ADJUSTED

Thank you very much for your help. Your comments are very much appreciated.

Questionnaire Faye A 10.

Please help me with my PhD research concerning tourism development on Phi Phi Island by completing this simple questionnaire.

1. Are you? Male ☒ Female ☐ Other ☐

2. Age? 29

3. Nationality? DUTCH

4. Your travel party... Alone ☐ Couple ☒ 1 Friend ☐ A group ☐ Family ☐

5. Is this your first visit to Koh Phi Phi? Yes ☒ No ☐

6. If yes, how many previous visits have you made to the island and when?

7. How long will you be spending on the island this time? 5 days

8. Please detail your other destinations visited/ to be visited in this trip?
BANGKOK, KANCHANABURI, AYUTHAYA, KOH TAO, KOH LANTA, KOH PHI PHI, RAILAY

9. Why did you come to Phi Phi (What is the attraction for you)?
NATURE / SCENERY & DIVING

10. What do you consider to be the best aspects of the island?
SCENERY & SUBMARINE WORLD

11. What are the worst?
TO MUCH TOURIST & tourist INDUSTRY, THERE'S NOT MUCH 'THAI' ABOUT THE PLACE (ISLAND)

12. Will you return? Yes ☐ No ☐ Maybe ☒

13. About your interests... Please indicate a ranking from 1 to 5 to indicate to what extent the following statements apply to you. 1 being 'does not apply at all' 5 being 'a perfect description of me

I like to travel alone	2
I prefer to book all of my travel arrangements before I leave home	1
I prefer to have a pre set itinerary for my trip	3
I like to be one of the fist people to discover a destination	4
I prefer to associate with people of my own nationality when I travel	1
I am adventurous	4
I am risk taking	2
I travel mainly to party and get a great tan	1

14. Please describe your perfect beach resort
NOT TO CROWDED, FRIENDLY STAFF, RELIABLE, RELAXING ATMOSPHERE

15. What does sustainable development mean to you?
DECENT, CONTROLLED, A PLACE FOR EVERY BUDGET, HAVE INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOP WITH THE RESORTS. DON'T LET ONLY MONEY CONTROL DEVELOPMENT. HAVE SOMEONE WITH COMMON SENSE & WITHOUT ANY INTEREST look AT IT. :)

16. What would that mean for Phi Phi?
HARD TO SAY, I DON'T KNOW THE ISLAND THAT WELL. MAYBE PUT A HOLD ON BUILDING & GET GARBAGE DISPOSAL IN ORDER, GET ROADS ok look for LONG TERM SOLUTIONS.

Thank you very much for your help. Your comments are very much appreciated.

Appendix 14: Sample of completed Thai questionnaires with translation

To Residents of Koh Phi Phi

ถึงพลเมืองชาวเกาะพีพี ประเทศไทย

สวัสดีค่ะ

ฉันเป็นนักศึกษาปริญญาเอกจากประเทศอังกฤษ มาทำงานวิจัยเรื่อง การพัฒนาในอนาคตของเกาะพีพี

ฉันดีใจที่จะได้รับคำตอบอันมีค่ายิ่งจากท่านซึ่งเป็นพลเมืองผู้อยู่อาศัยบนเกาะพีพีแห่งนี้ ฉันขอโทษที่ฉันพูดภาษาไทยไม่ได้
แต่ก็รู้สึกขอบคุณเป็นอย่างยิ่งที่ท่านอนุญาตให้ฉันได้บันทึกคำตอบของคุณเป็นภาษาไทย

ท่านกรุณาตอบคำถามเหล่านี้ค่ะ

1. ท่านพักอยู่อาศัยในเกาะพีพีแห่งนี้เป็นเวลานานเท่าใดแล้ว 8 เดือน

2. ท่านทำอาชีพอะไรบนเกาะนี้ Recciption.

3. ท่านคิดว่าการเข้ามาของนักท่องเที่ยวมากๆ มีประโยชน์ประการใดบ้าง
ขอให้บอกมาเป็นข้อๆ 1. ทำให้เศรษฐกิจในเมืองไทยดีขึ้น. 2. เผยแพร่วัฒนธรรมไทยต่างๆ ให้เป็นที่รู้จักของคนทั่วโลก 3. มีการแลกเปลี่ยนภาษาและวัฒนธรรมกับต่างชาติ

4. ท่านคิดว่าการเข้ามาของนักท่องเที่ยวมากๆ มีโทษประการใดบ้าง
ขอให้บอกมาเป็นข้อๆ 1. ก่อให้เกิดมลพิษทางอากาศ. 2. ทางด้านการทำลายวัฒนธรรมของต่างชาติมากเกินไปทำให้วัฒนธรรมไทยเสื่อมลง

5. ในอนาคต ท่านอยากเห็นสิ่งใดเกิดขึ้นบนเกาะพีพีแห่งนี้ การฟื้นฟู และพัฒนาให้ทัดเทียมกับน้ำทะเลให้สวยขึ้นมากกว่าเดิม น้ำใสเหมือนเดิมก่อนที่จะเกิดสึนามิ และมีความ-

6. ท่านคิดว่าสิ่งที่จะเกิดขึ้นนั้นมีอุปสรรคใดบ้าง ถ้าไม่มีอุปสรรคทุกคนให้ความร่วมมือร่วมใจ และช่วยกันอนุรักษ์และปกป้องทะเลของเราได้

7. "การพัฒนาที่ยั่งยืน" ในความเห็นของท่าน คำนี้มีความหมายอย่างไร และมีความหมายต่ออนาคตของเกาะอย่างไร เป็นการพัฒนาต่อไปเรื่อยๆ ถึงไม่มีวันสิ้นสุดหรือไม่สิ้นสุดการแก้ปัญหาหรือพัฒนาอีกต่อไปเรื่อยๆ ถ้าว่า "พัฒนา" นั้นถึงเป็นการร่วมมือร่วมใจกันอนุรักษ์หรือปกปักษ์ร่วมมือร่วมแรงกัน เพื่อทำสิ่งสิ่งหนึ่งให้ประสบความสำเร็จและเกิดสิ่งดีๆ ขึ้น. ทั้งยังเป็นประโยชน์ต่อสิ่งแวดล้อมในทุกๆ ด้าน

ขอขอบคุณเป็นอย่างมากสำหรับเวลาและคำตอบอันมีค่ายิ่งของท่าน

เฟย์ เทย์เลอร์

มหาวิทยาลัยเทมส์ แวลเลย์

ลอนดอน อังกฤษ



Translation

Questionnaire 1

1. 8 months
2. Reception
3. 1. Enhance Thai Economy
   2. Transmit Thai Identity and culture to worldwide.
   3. Exchange Thai culture and language.
   4. 1.Criminal
      2. Sometimes western cultures have brought into Thailand too much.
   5. Develop and bring forward the quality of undersea and seawater (clean like before Tsunami)
   6. If everyone really participant, we would be able to improve the sea and undersea.
   7. Infinity development is not just temporary. Development and protection needs everyone participation that will be efficiently achieved.

To Residents of Koh Phi Phi

ถึงพลเมืองชาวเกาะพีพี ประเทศไทย

October Four 25

สวัสดีค่ะ

ฉันเป็นนักศึกษาปริญญาเอกจากประเทศอังกฤษ มาทำงานวิจัยเรื่องการพัฒนาในอนาคตของเกาะพีพี

ฉันดีใจที่จะได้รับคำตอบอันมีค่ายิ่งจากท่านซึ่งเป็นพลเมืองผู้อยู่อาศัยบนเกาะพีพีแห่งนี้ ฉันขอโทษที่ฉันพูดภาษาไทยไม่ได้
แต่ก็รู้สึกขอบคุณเป็นอย่างยิ่งที่ท่านอนุญาตให้ฉันได้บันทึกคำตอบของคุณเป็นภาษาไทย

ท่านกรุณาตอบคำถามเหล่านี้ค่ะ

1. ท่านพักอยู่อาศัยในเกาะพีพีแห่งนี้เป็นเวลานานเท่าใดแล้ว - 4 ปี.
2. ท่านทำอาชีพอะไรบนเกาะนี้ - ขับเรือหางยาว
3. ท่านคิดว่าการเข้ามาของนักท่องเที่ยวมากๆ มีประโยชน์ประการใดบ้าง
   ขอให้บอกมาเป็นข้อๆ - ทำให้เศรษฐกิจในเกาะมีรายได้
4. ท่านคิดว่าการเข้ามาของนักท่องเที่ยวมากๆ มีโทษประการใดบ้าง
   ขอให้บอกมาเป็นข้อๆ - ทำให้ขยะมูลฝอยมากขึ้น และมีผลต่อการทำลายทรัพยากรธรรมชาติบนเกาะพีพี
5. ในอนาคต ท่านอยากเห็นสิ่งใดเกิดขึ้นบนเกาะพีพีแห่งนี้ - อยากให้นักท่องเที่ยวที่มารักษาความสะอาด รักษาธรรมชาติ และอยากให้ช่วยกันอนุรักษ์เกาะพีพี.
6. ท่านคิดว่าสิ่งที่จะเกิดขึ้นนั้นมีอุปสรรคใดบ้าง
7. "การพัฒนาที่ยั่งยืน" ในความเห็นของท่าน คำนี้มีความหมายอย่างไร
   และมีความหมายต่ออนาคตของเกาะอย่างไร การพัฒนาที่ยั่งยืนมีหลายอย่างที่เปลี่ยน การพัฒนาทางด้านสังคม หมายความว่าถึง: พัฒนาความคิดด้านการอนุรักษ์ธรรมชาติ และสิ่งแวดล้อมบนเกาะ: อยากคนที่ไม่รู้ว่าธรรมชาติของเกาะพีพี. จะหลงเหลือให้นักท่องเที่ยวได้ชม หรือคิดว่าที่ทำอยู่ทำดีแล้วหรือไม่?

ขอขอบคุณเป็นอย่างมากสำหรับเวลาและคำตอบอันมีค่ายิ่งของท่าน

เฟย์ เทย์เลอร์

มหาวิทยาลัยเทมส์ แวลเลย์

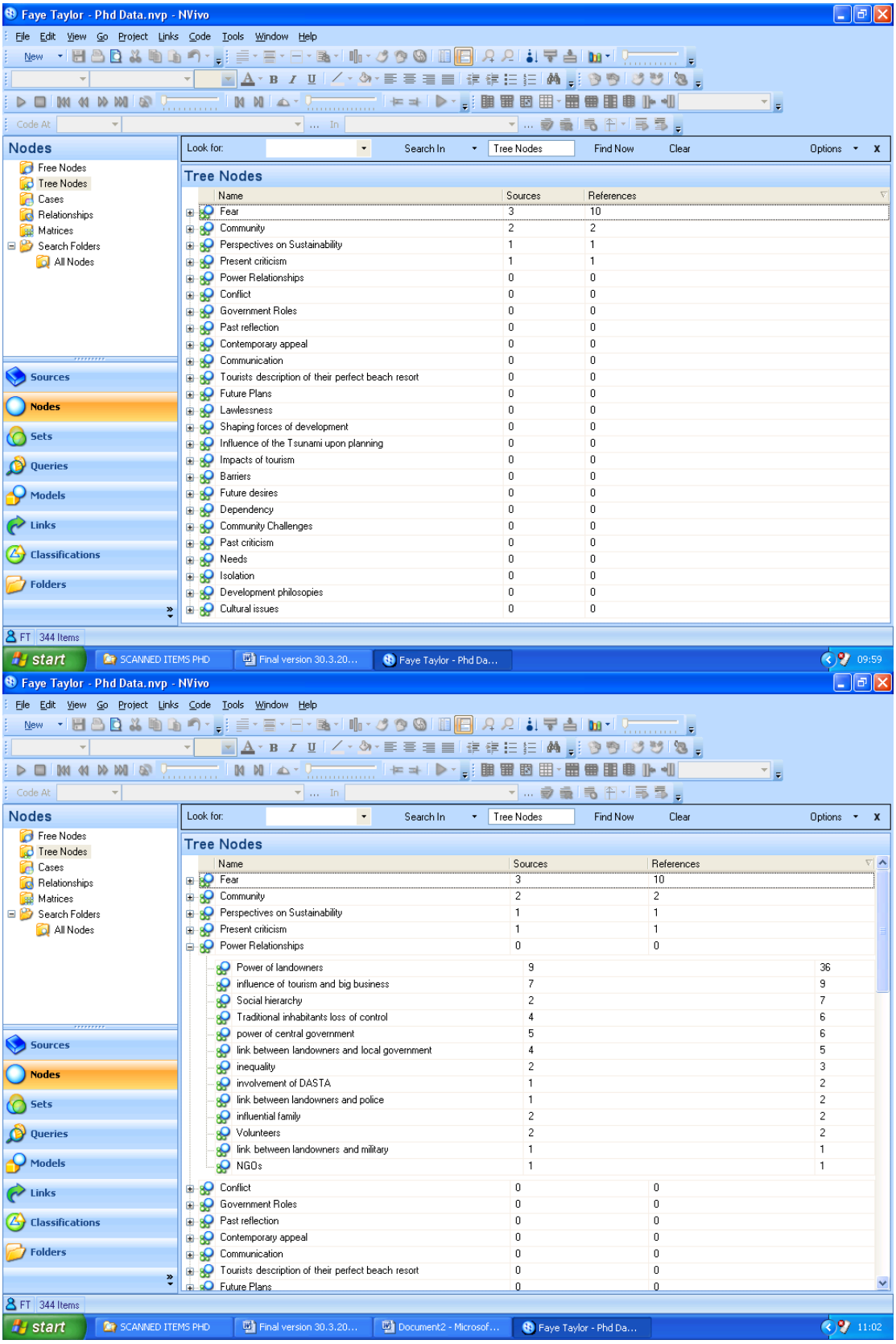
ลอนดอน อังกฤษ

Translation

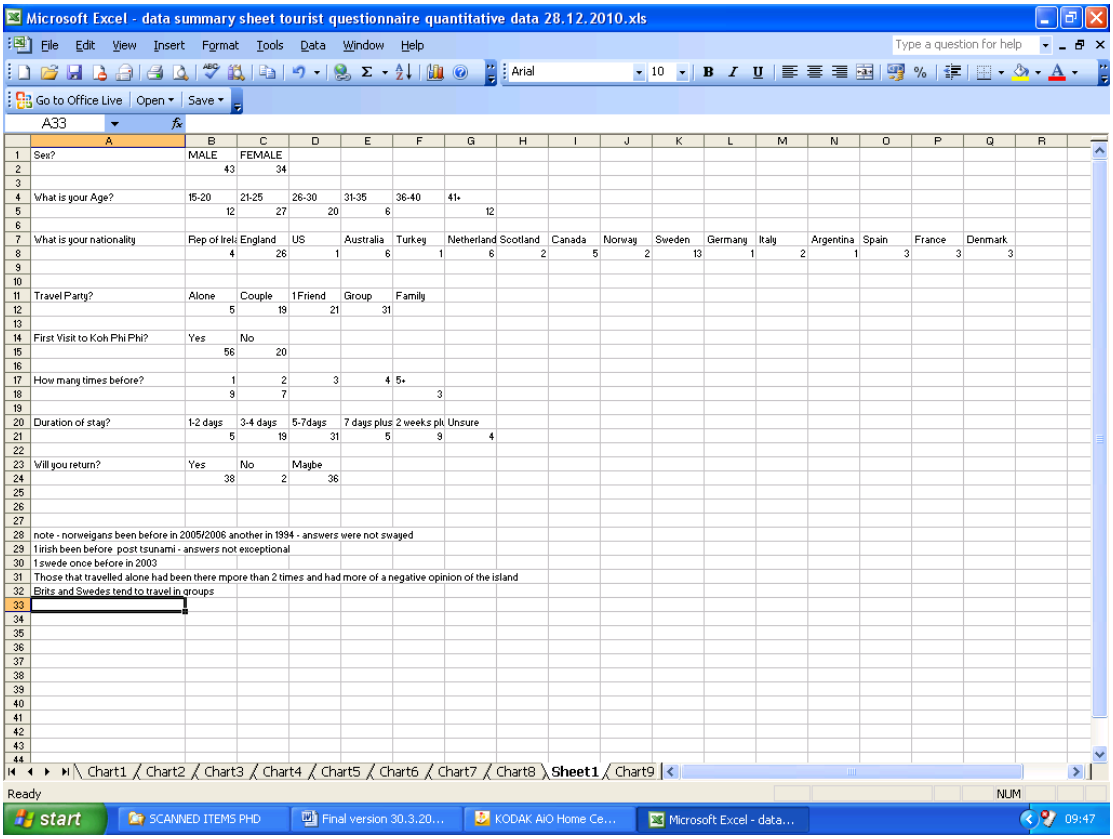
Questionnaire 25

1. 4 years
2. Tour officer
3. Local people earn more
4. Big investors may be interested to invest more and will affect natural resources more.
5. I wish tourists be more concerned about nature environment and keep clean. Be gentler to Koh Phi Phi.
6. (Blank)
   At the moment, infinity development is mainly to develop business and investment but natural resources and environment are also important. Whether we will have beautiful nature and undersea to attract tourists in the future or not, it depends on how we look after.

Appendix 15: NVivo project



Appendix 16: Data summary sheet: tourist questionnaires



Microsoft Excel - data summary sheet tourist questionnaire quantitative data 28.12.2010.xls

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
1	Sex?	MALE	FEMALE															
2		43	34															
3																		
4	What is your Age?	15-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41+											
5		12	27	20	6		12											
6																		
7	What is your nationality	Rep of Irel	England	US	Australia	Turkey	Netherland	Scotland	Canada	Norway	Sweden	Germany	Italy	Argentina	Spain	France	Denmark	
8		4	26	1	6	1	6	2	5	2	13	1	2	1	3	3	3	
9																		
10																		
11	Travel Party?	Alone	Couple	1 Friend	Group	Family												
12		5	19	21	31													
13																		
14	First Visit to Koh Phi Phi?	Yes	No															
15		56	20															
16																		
17	How many times before?	1	2	3	4	5+												
18		9	7			3												
19																		
20	Duration of stay?	1-2 days	3-4 days	5-7days	7 days plus	2 weeks plu	Unsure											
21		5	19	31	5	9	4											
22																		
23	Will you return?	Yes	No	Maybe														
24		38	2	36														
25																		
26																		
27																		
28	note - norweigans been before in 2005/2006 another in 1994 - answers were not swayed																	
29	1 irish been before post tsunami - answers not exceptional																	
30	1 swede once before in 2003																	
31	Those that travelled alone had been there mpore than 2 times and had more of a negative opinion of the island																	
32	Brits and Swedes tend to travel in groups																	
33																		
34																		
35																		
36																		
37																		
38																		
39																		
40																		
41																		
42																		
43																		
44																		

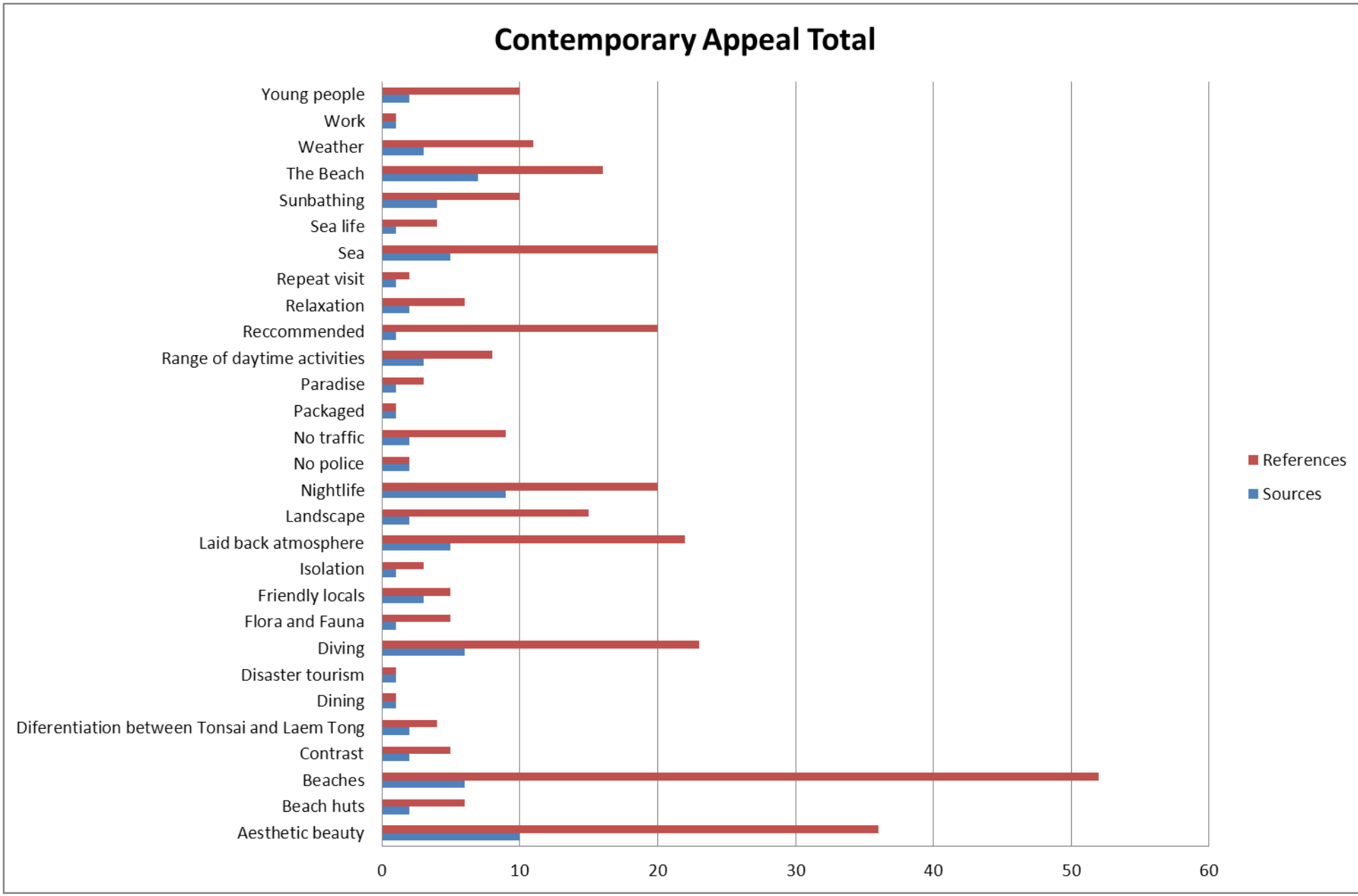
Chart1 | Chart2 | Chart3 | Chart4 | Chart5 | Chart6 | Chart7 | Chart8 | Sheet1 | Chart9

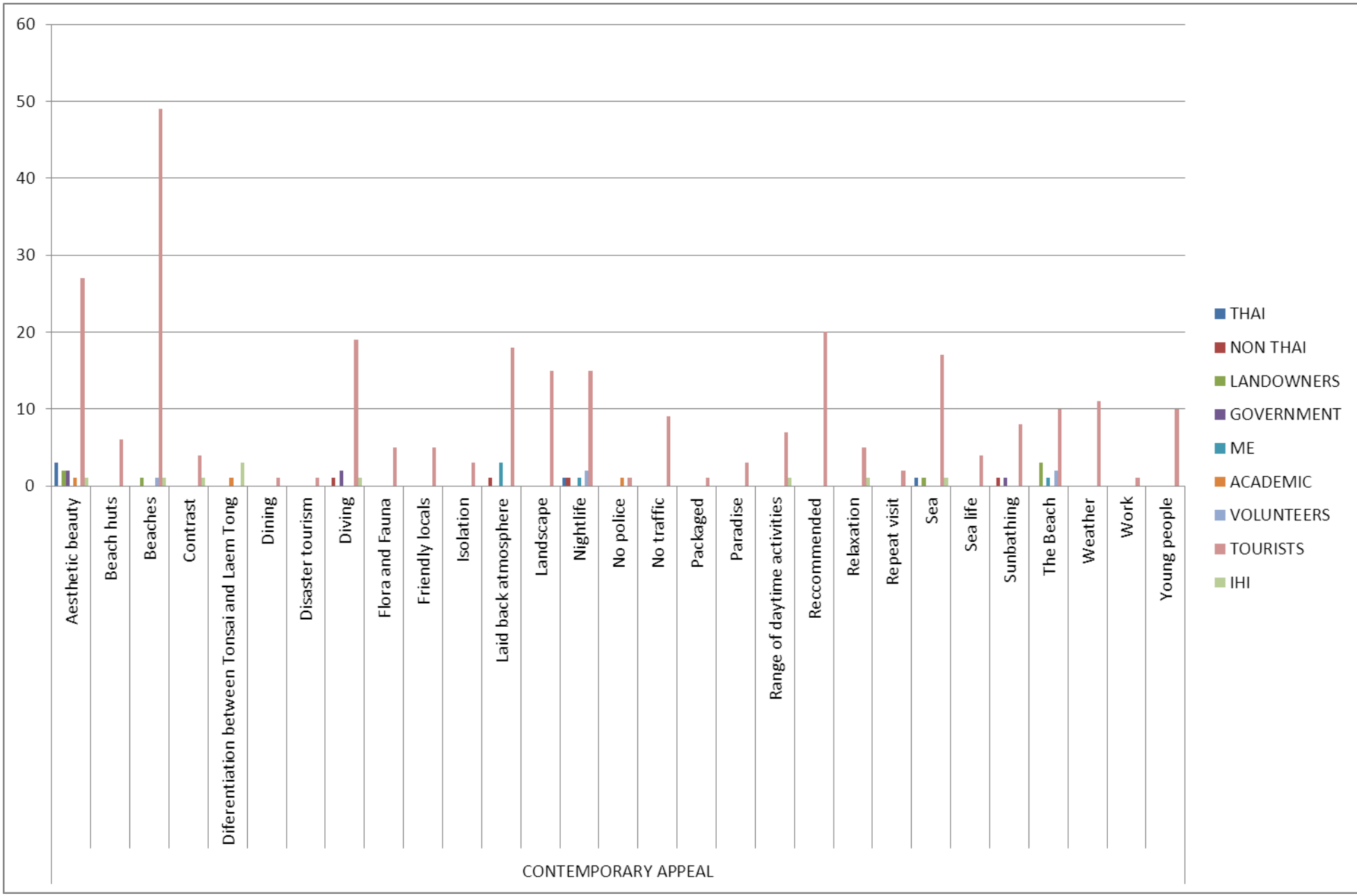
Ready NUM

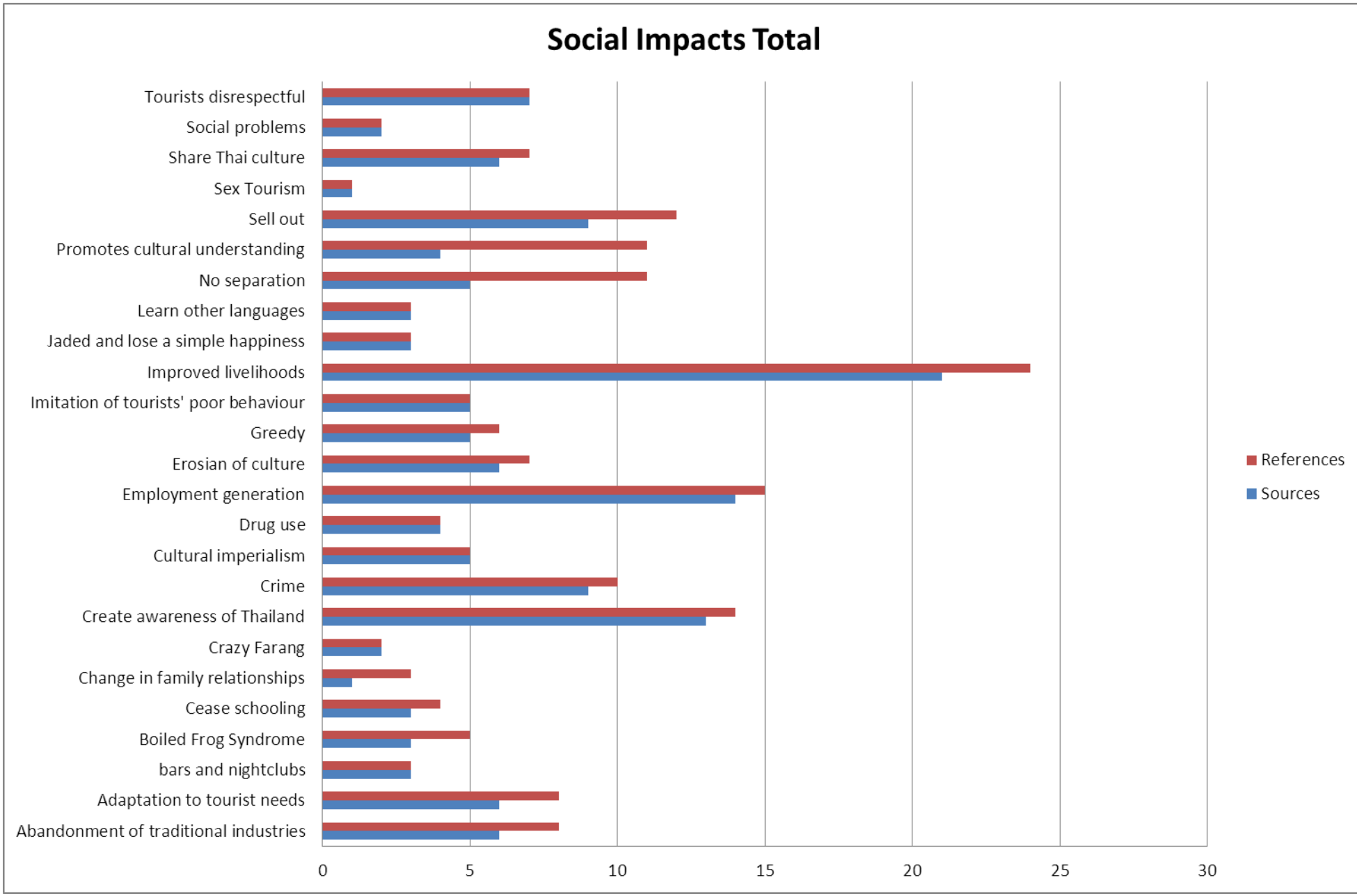
start | SCANNED ITEMS PHD | Final version 30.3.20... | KODAK AiO Home Ce... | Microsoft Excel - data... | 09:47

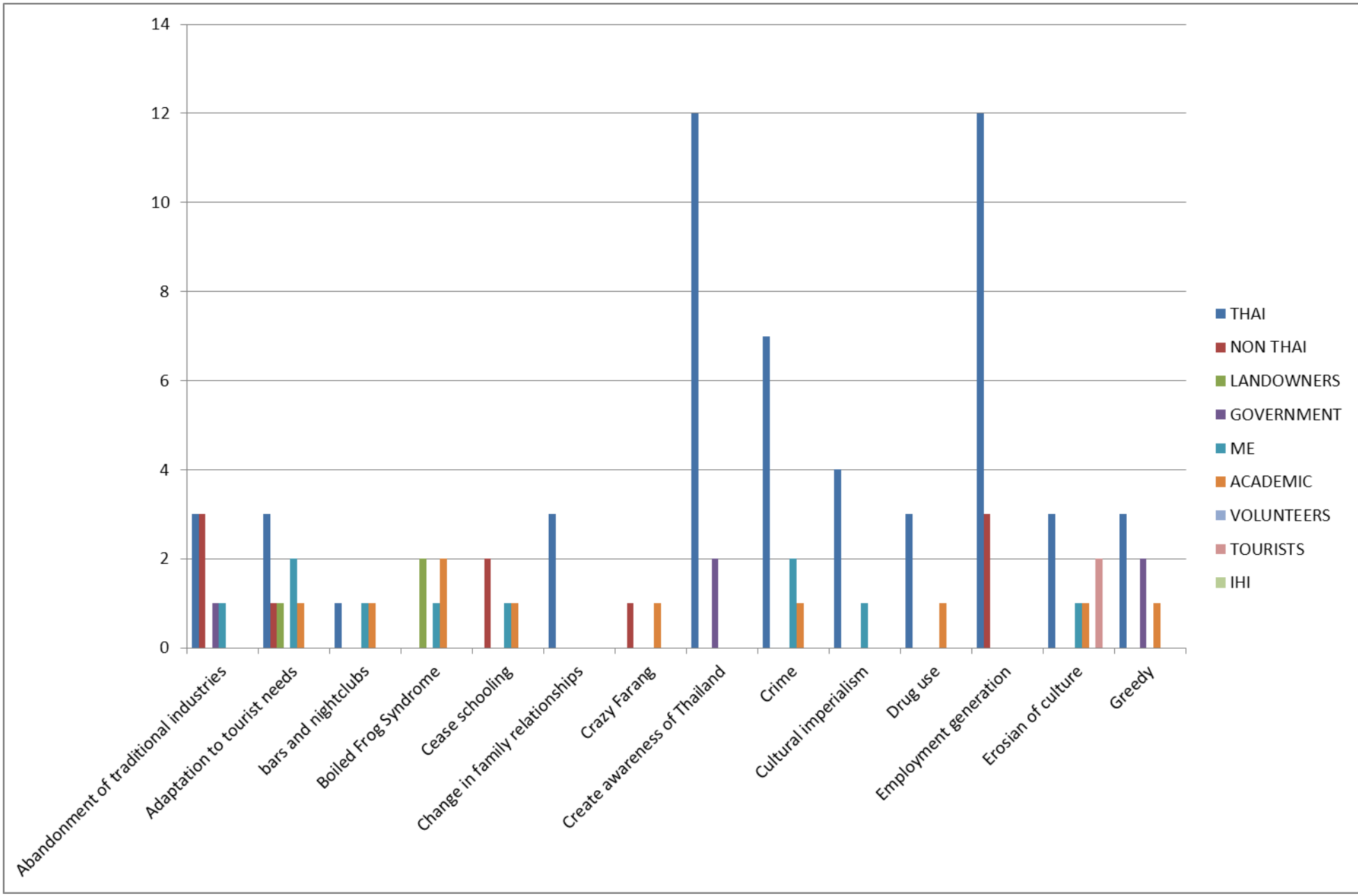
Appendix 17: Graphs to illustrate the composition of selected themes in the order that they appear (Combined then segregated)

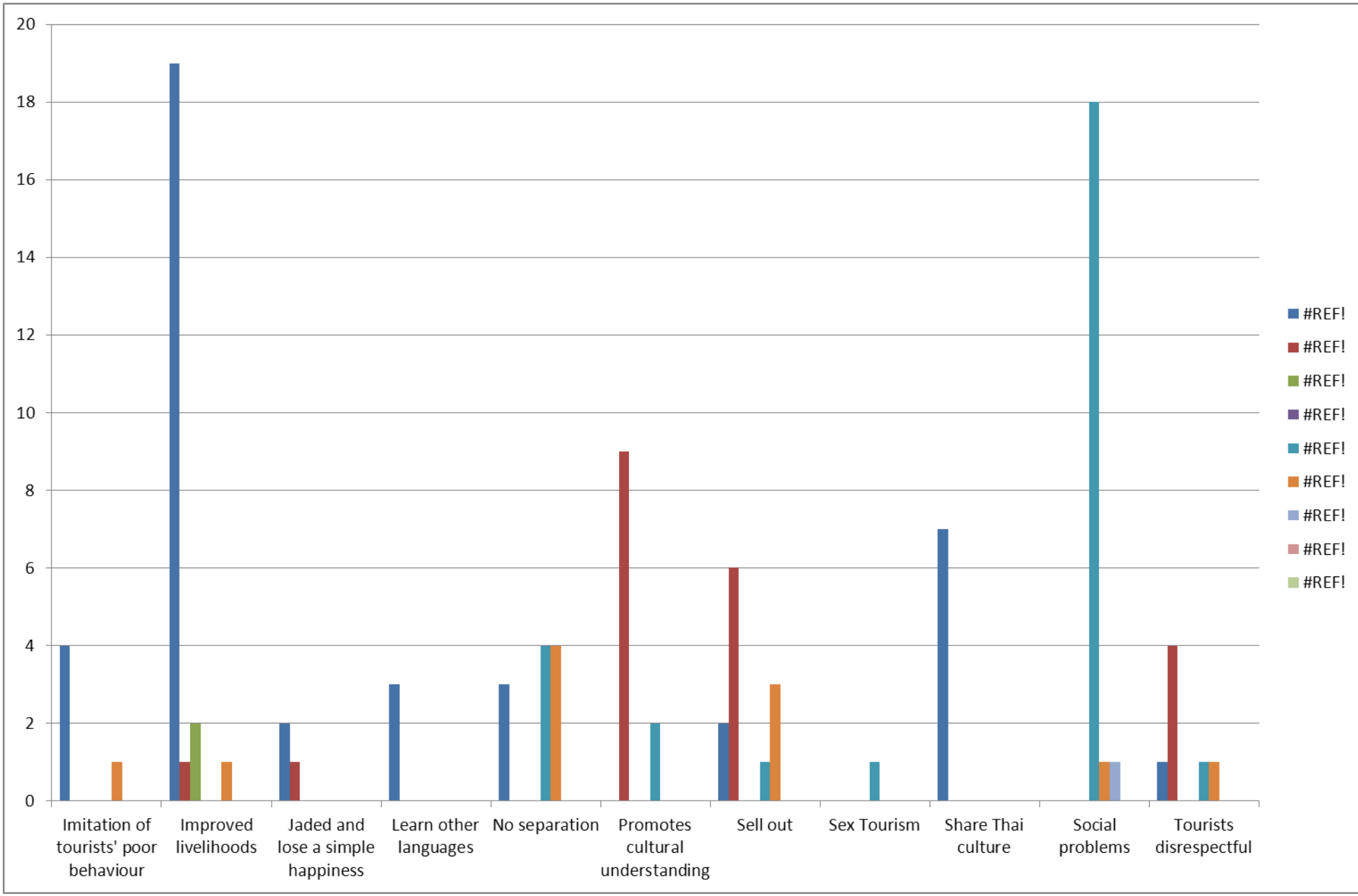
Contemporary Appeal (Combined then segregated)
Social Impacts (Combined then segregated)
Environmental Impacts (Combined then segregated)
Barriers (Combined then segregated)
Future Desires (Combined then segregated)
Influence of the Tsunami upon Planning (Combined then segregated)
Conflict (Combined then segregated)
Lawlessness (Combined then segregated)
Development Philosophies (Combined then segregated)
Needs (Combined then segregated)
Community (Combined then segregated)
Cultural Issues (Combined then segregated)
Community Challenges (Combined then segregated)
Economic Impacts (Combined then segregated)
Past Reflection (Combined then segregated)
Dependency (Combined then segregated)

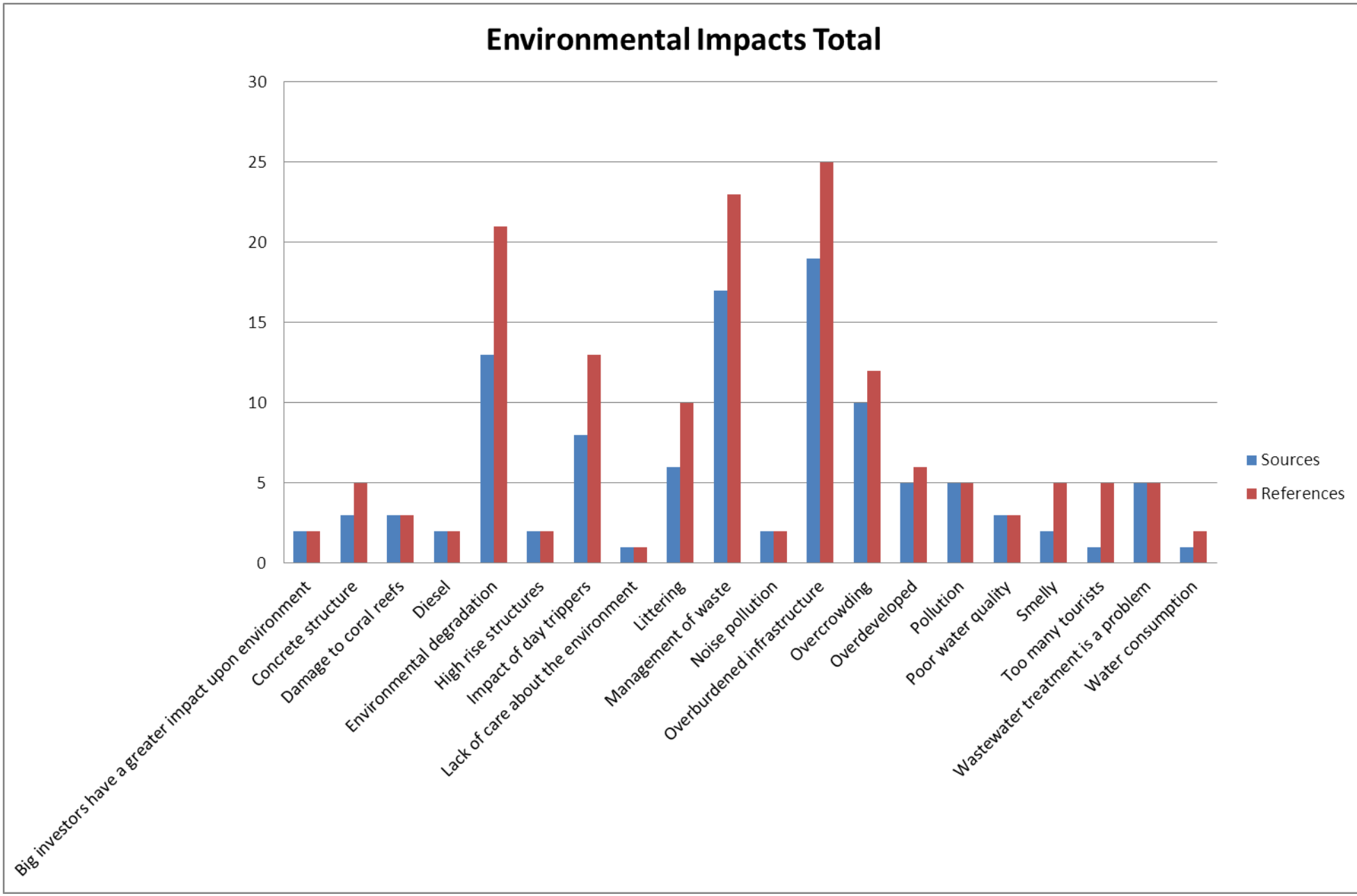

Contemporary Appeal Total
Young people
Work
Weather
The Beach
Sunbathing
Sea life
Sea
Repeat visit
Relaxation
Reccommended
Range of daytime activities
Paradise
Packaged
No traffic
No police
Nightlife
Landscape
Laid back atmosphere
Isolation
Friendly locals
Flora and Fauna
Diving
Disaster tourism
Dining
Diferentiation between Tonsai and Laem Tong
Contrast
Beaches
Beach huts
Aesthetic beauty
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
References
Sources

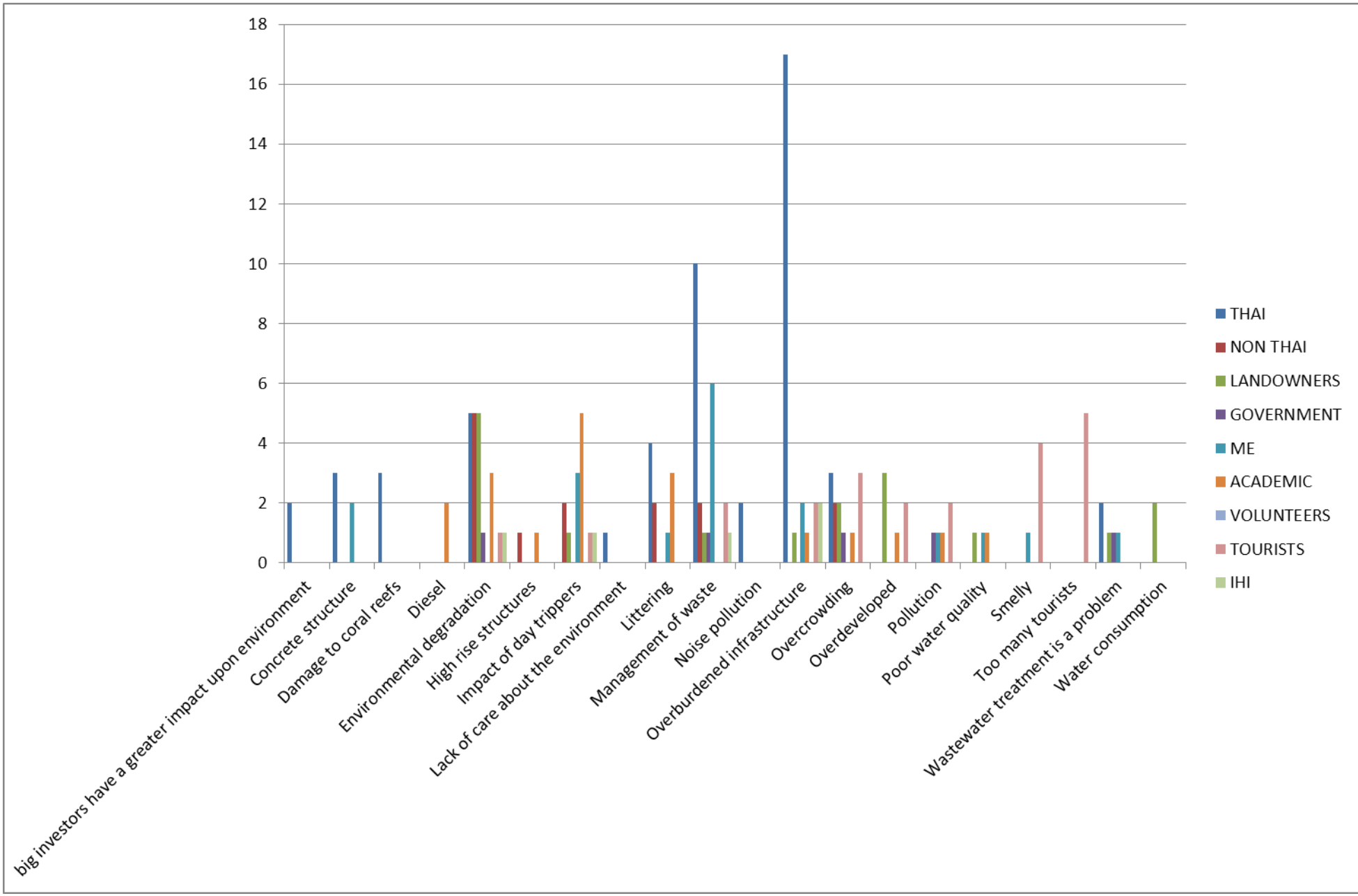

60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Aesthetic beauty
Beach huts
Beaches
Contrast
Diferentiation between Tonsai and Laem Tong
Dining
Disaster tourism
Diving
Flora and Fauna
Friendly locals
Isolation
Laid back atmosphere
Landscape
Nightlife
No police
No traffic
Packaged
Paradise
Range of daytime activities
Reccommended
Relaxation
Repeat visit
Sea
Sea life
Sunbathing
The Beach
Weather
Work
Young people
CONTEMPORARY APPEAL
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI

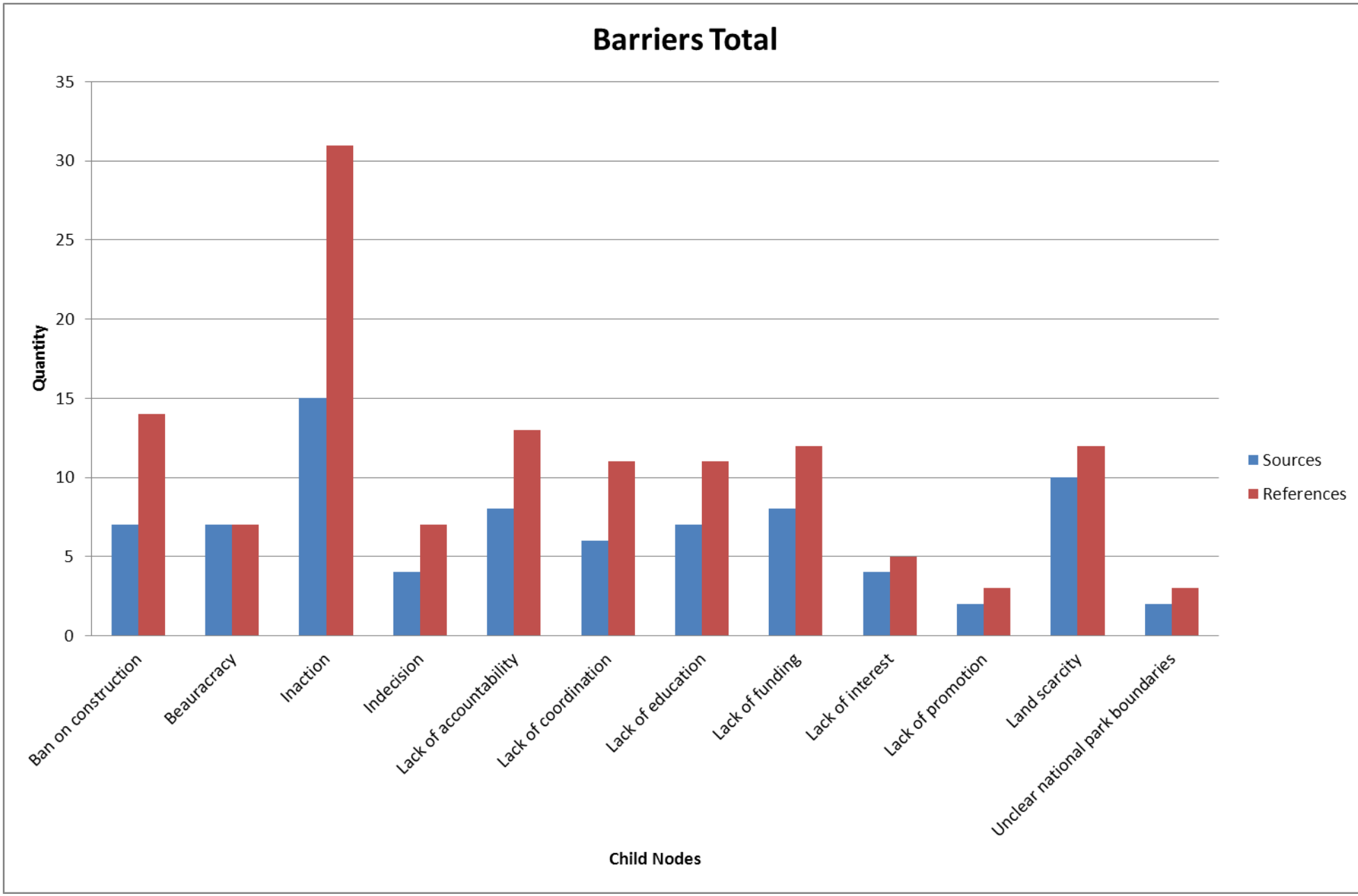

Social Impacts Total
Tourists disrespectful
Social problems
Share Thai culture
Sex Tourism
Sell out
Promotes cultural understanding
No separation
Learn other languages
Jaded and lose a simple happiness
Improved livelihoods
Imitation of tourists' poor behaviour
Greedy
Erosian of culture
Employment generation
Drug use
Cultural imperialism
Crime
Create awareness of Thailand
Crazy Farang
Change in family relationships
Cease schooling
Boiled Frog Syndrome
bars and nightclubs
Adaptation to tourist needs
Abandonment of traditional industries
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
References
Sources

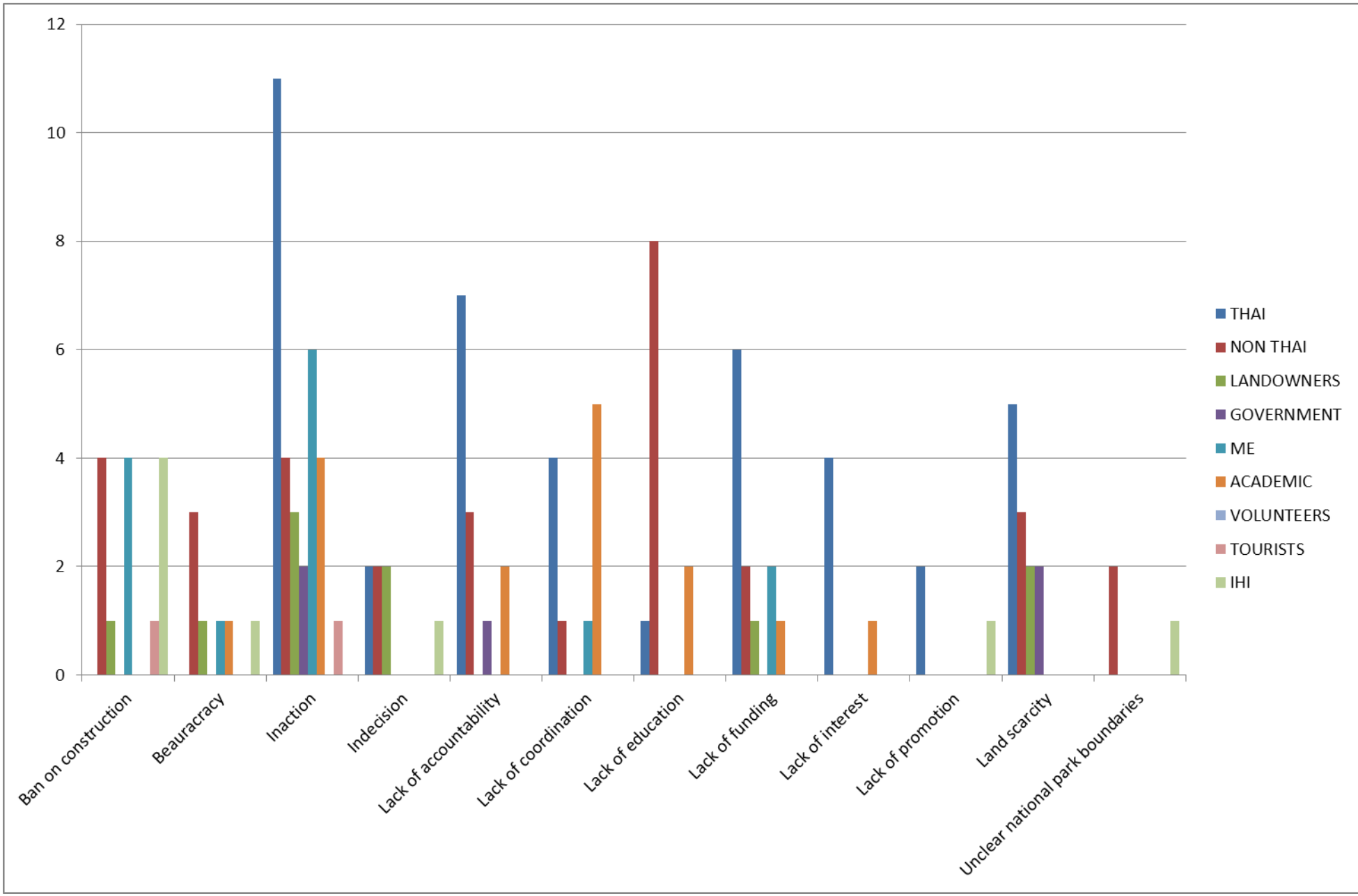

14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Abandonment of traditional industries
Adaptation to tourist needs
bars and nightclubs
Boiled Frog Syndrome
Cease schooling
Change in family relationships
Crazy Farang
Create awareness of Thailand
Crime
Cultural imperialism
Drug use
Employment generation
Erosian of culture
Greedy
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI

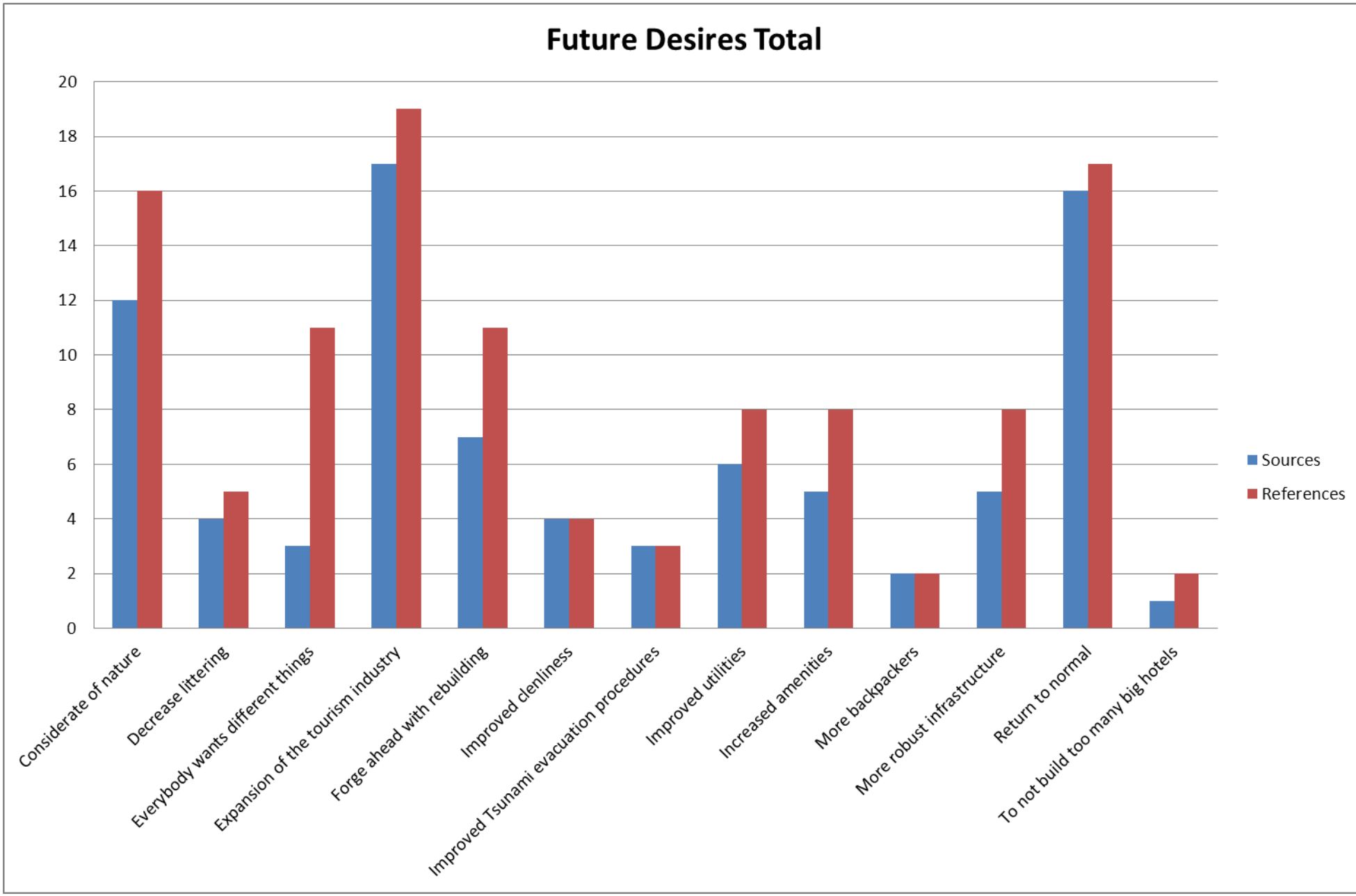

20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Imitation of tourists' poor behaviour
Improved livelihoods
Jaded and lose a simple happiness
Learn other languages
No separation
Promotes cultural understanding
Sell out
Sex Tourism
Share Thai culture
Social problems
Tourists disrespectful
#REF!
#REF!
#REF!
#REF!
#REF!
#REF!
#REF!
#REF!
#REF!

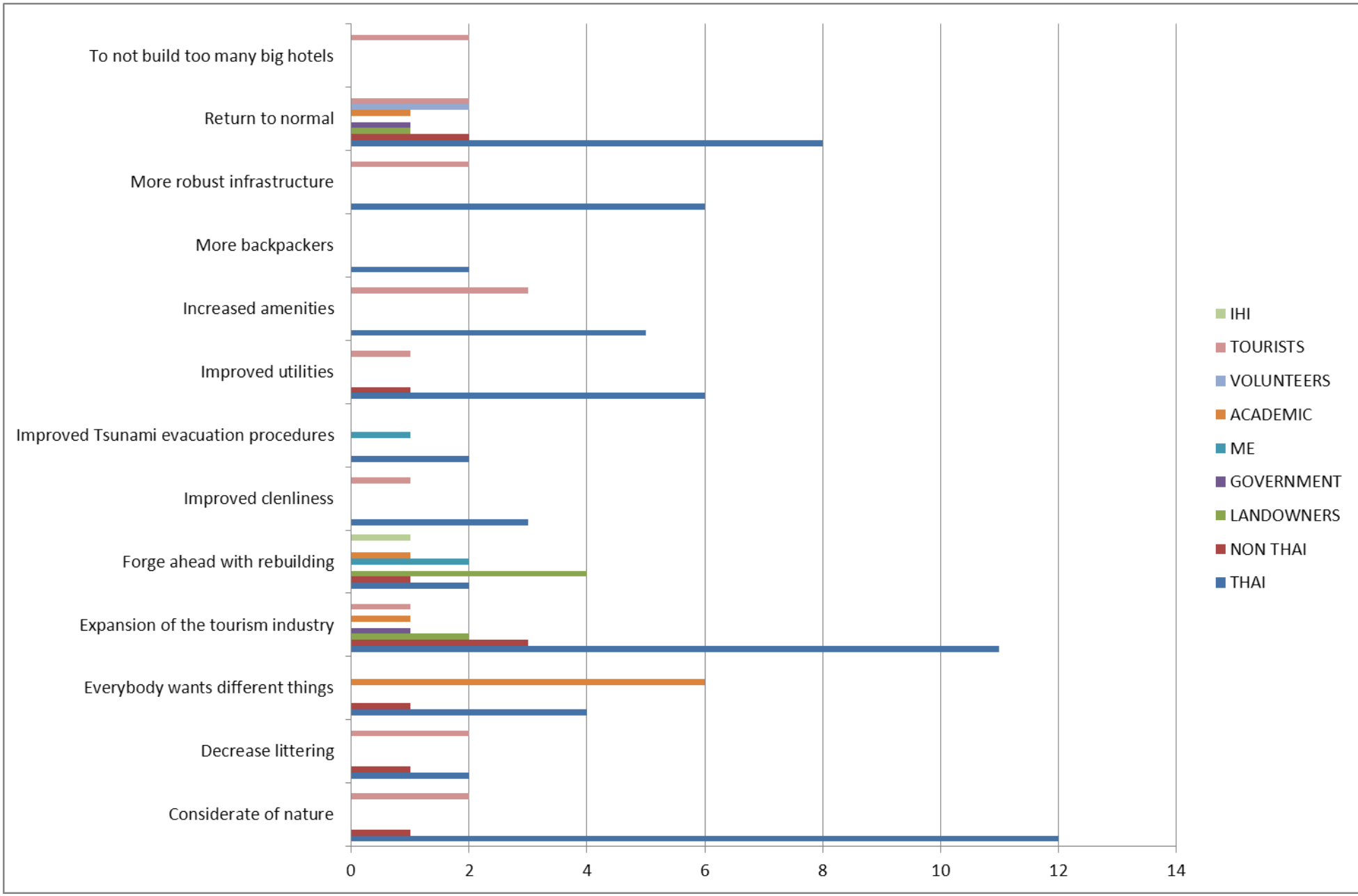

Environmental Impacts Total
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Big investors have a greater impact upon environment
Concrete structure
Damage to coral reefs
Diesel
Environmental degradation
High rise structures
Impact of day trippers
Lack of care about the environment
Littering
Management of waste
Noise pollution
Overburdened infrastructure
Overcrowding
Overdeveloped
Pollution
Poor water quality
Smelly
Too many tourists
Wastewater treatment is a problem
Water consumption
Sources
References

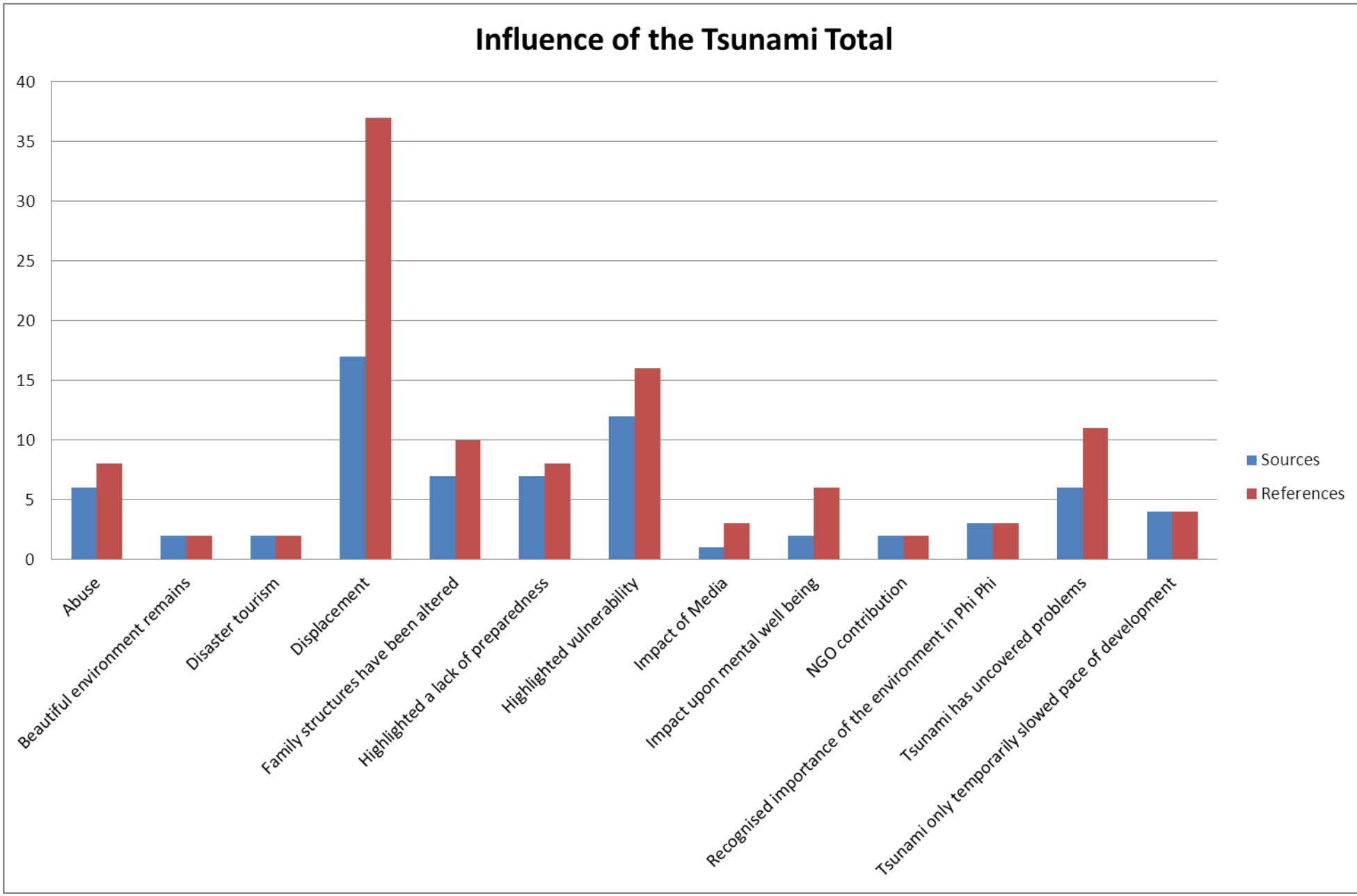

18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
big investors have a greater impact upon environment
Concrete structure
Damage to coral reefs
Diesel
Environmental degradation
High rise structures
Impact of day trippers
Lack of care about the environment
Littering
Management of waste
Noise pollution
Overburdened infrastructure
Overcrowding
Overdeveloped
Pollution
Poor water quality
Smelly
Too many tourists
Wastewater treatment is a problem
Water consumption
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI

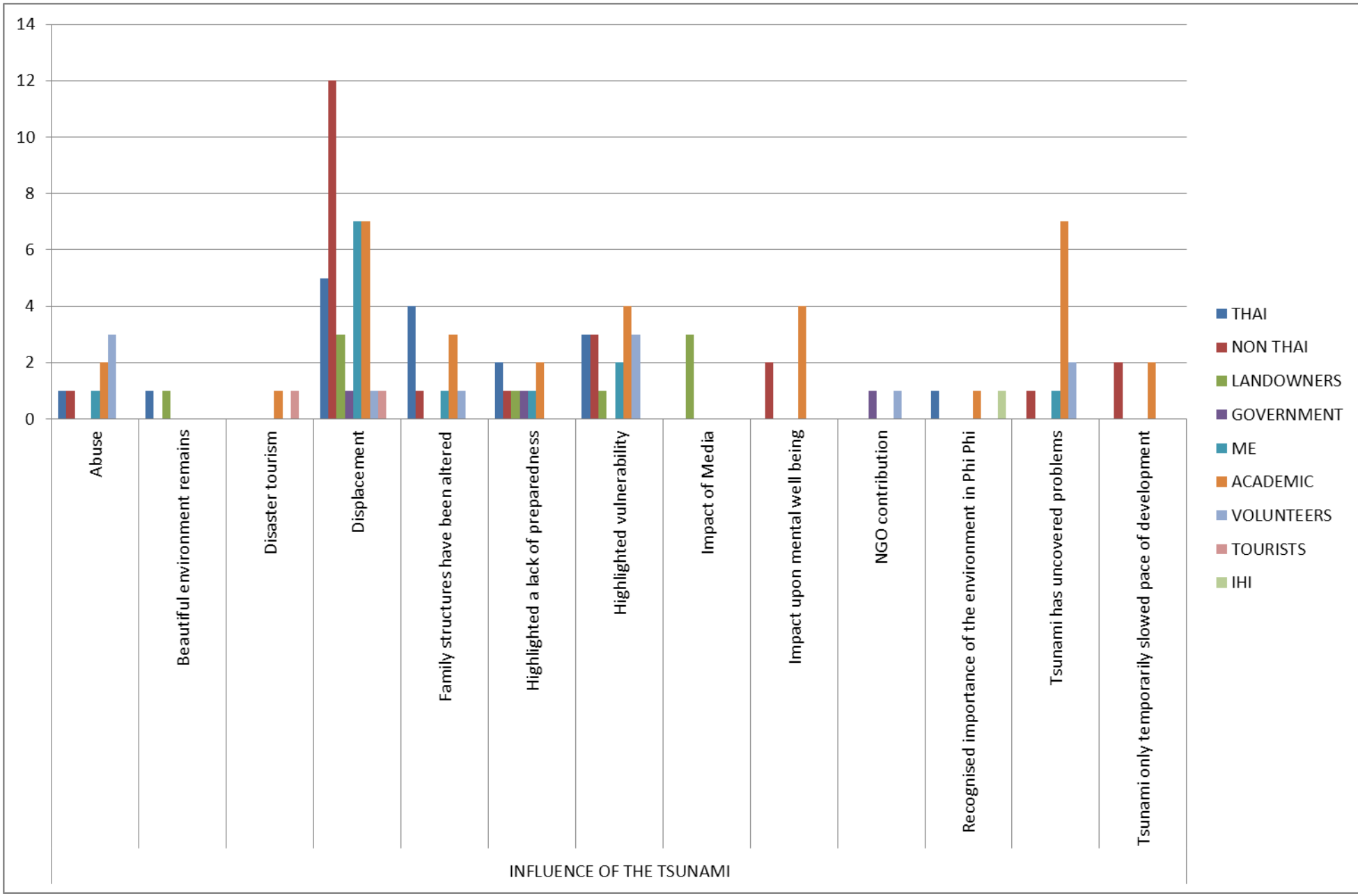

Barriers Total
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Quantity
Ban on construction
Beauracracy
Inaction
Indecision
Lack of accountability
Lack of coordination
Lack of education
Lack of funding
Lack of interest
Lack of promotion
Land scarcity
Unclear national park boundaries
Child Nodes
Sources
References

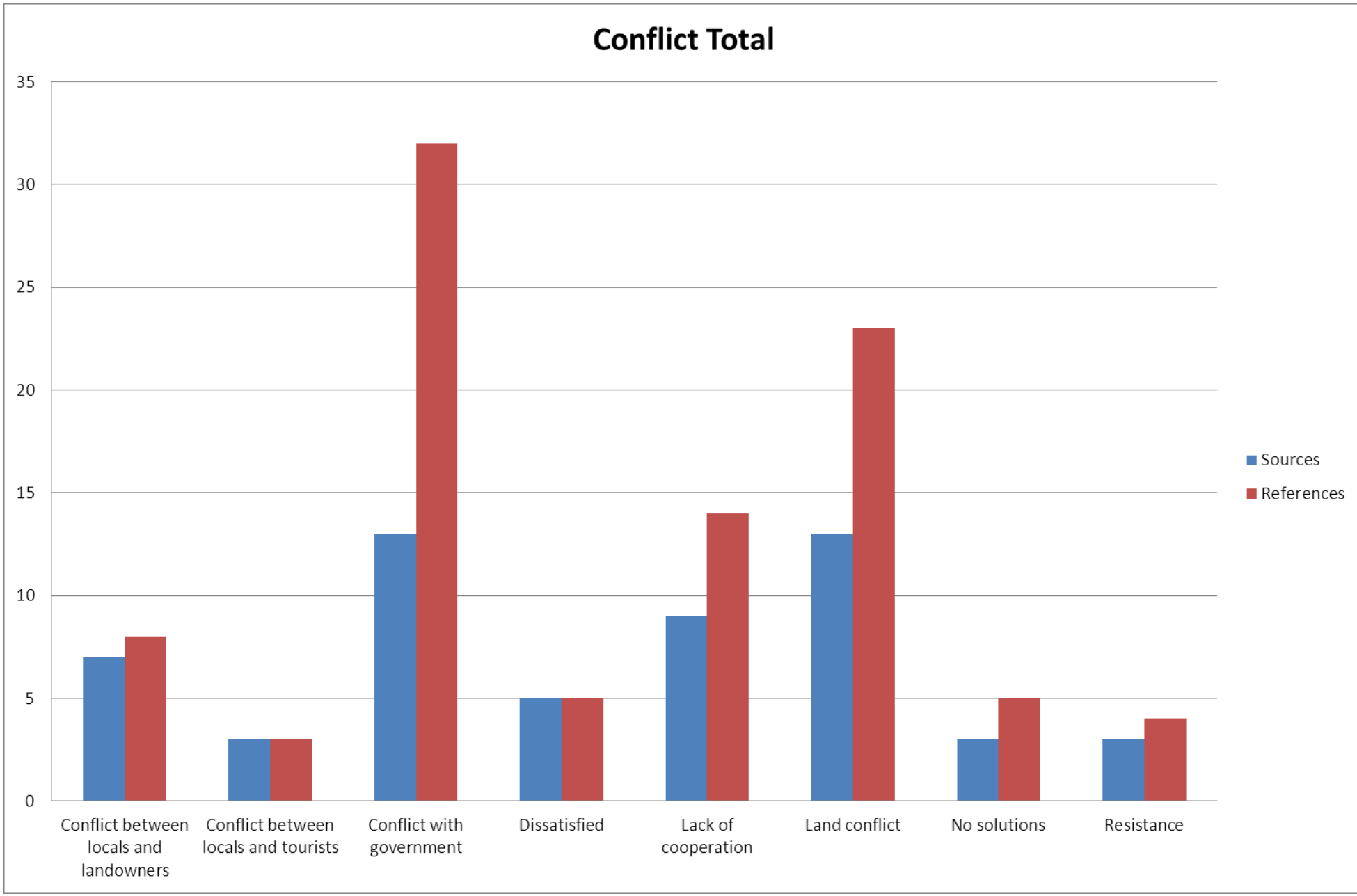

12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Ban on construction
Beauracracy
Inaction
Indecision
Lack of accountability
Lack of coordination
Lack of education
Lack of funding
Lack of interest
Lack of promotion
Land scarcity
Unclear national park boundaries
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI

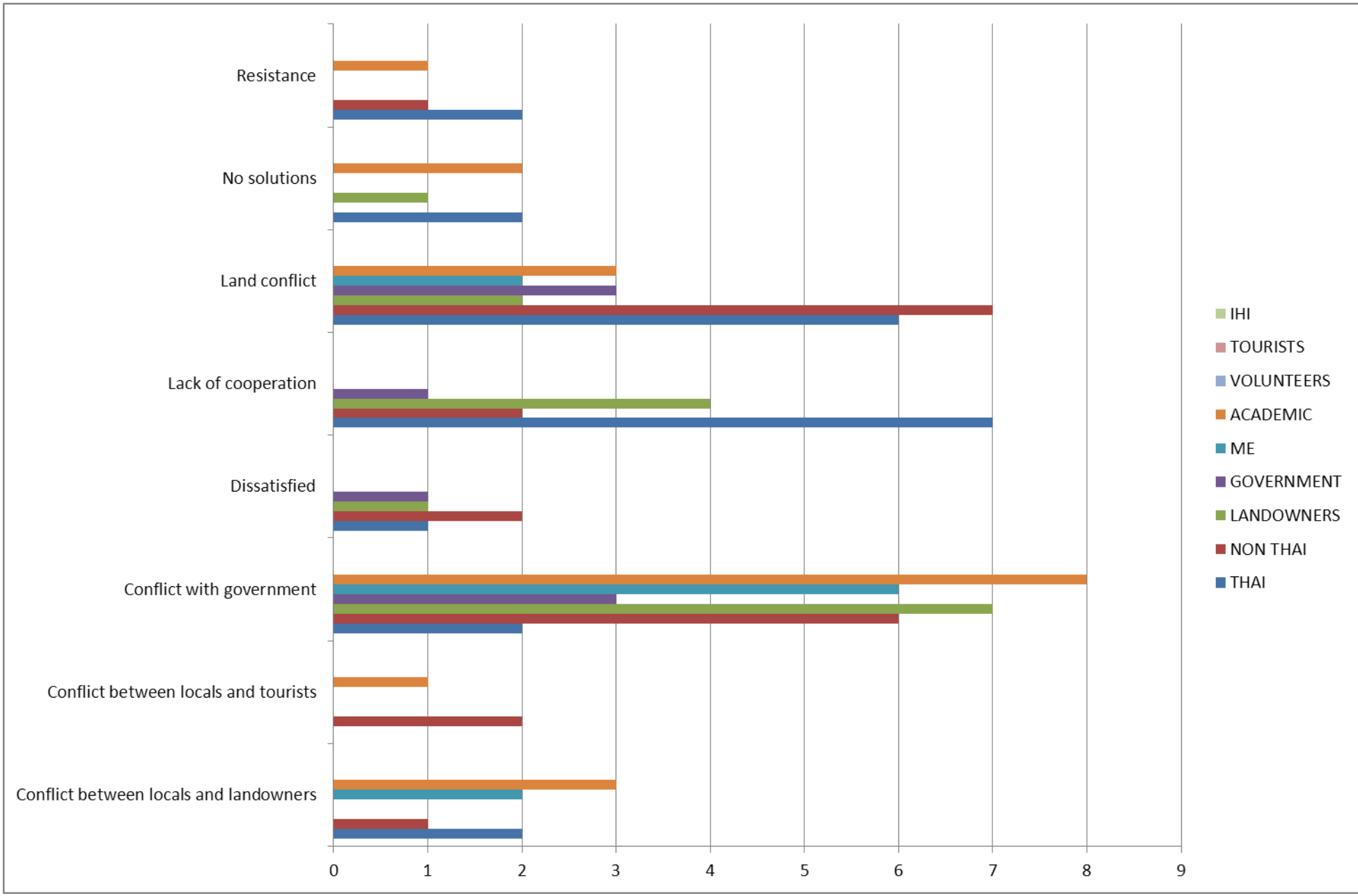

Future Desires Total
20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Considerate of nature
Decrease littering
Everybody wants different things
Expansion of the tourism industry
Forge ahead with rebuilding
Improved cleniness
Improved Tsunami evacuation procedures
Improved utilities
Increased amenities
More backpackers
More robust infrastructure
Return to normal
To not build too many big hotels
Sources
References

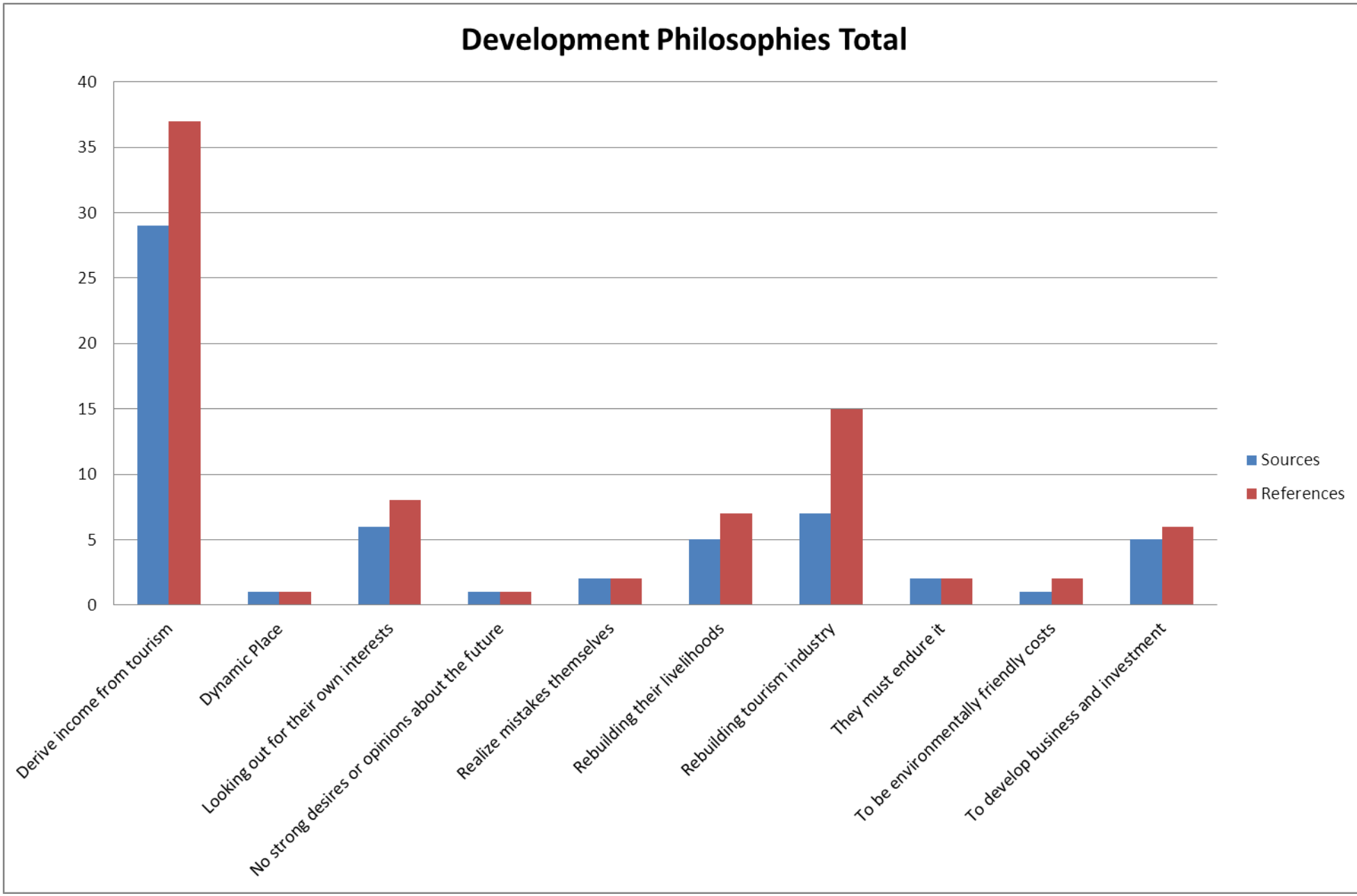

To not build too many big hotels
Return to normal
More robust infrastructure
More backpackers
Increased amenities
Improved utilities
Improved Tsunami evacuation procedures
Improved clenliness
Forge ahead with rebuilding
Expansion of the tourism industry
Everybody wants different things
Decrease littering
Considerate of nature
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
IHI
TOURISTS
VOLUNTEERS
ACADEMIC
ME
GOVERNMENT
LANDOWNERS
NON THAI
THAI

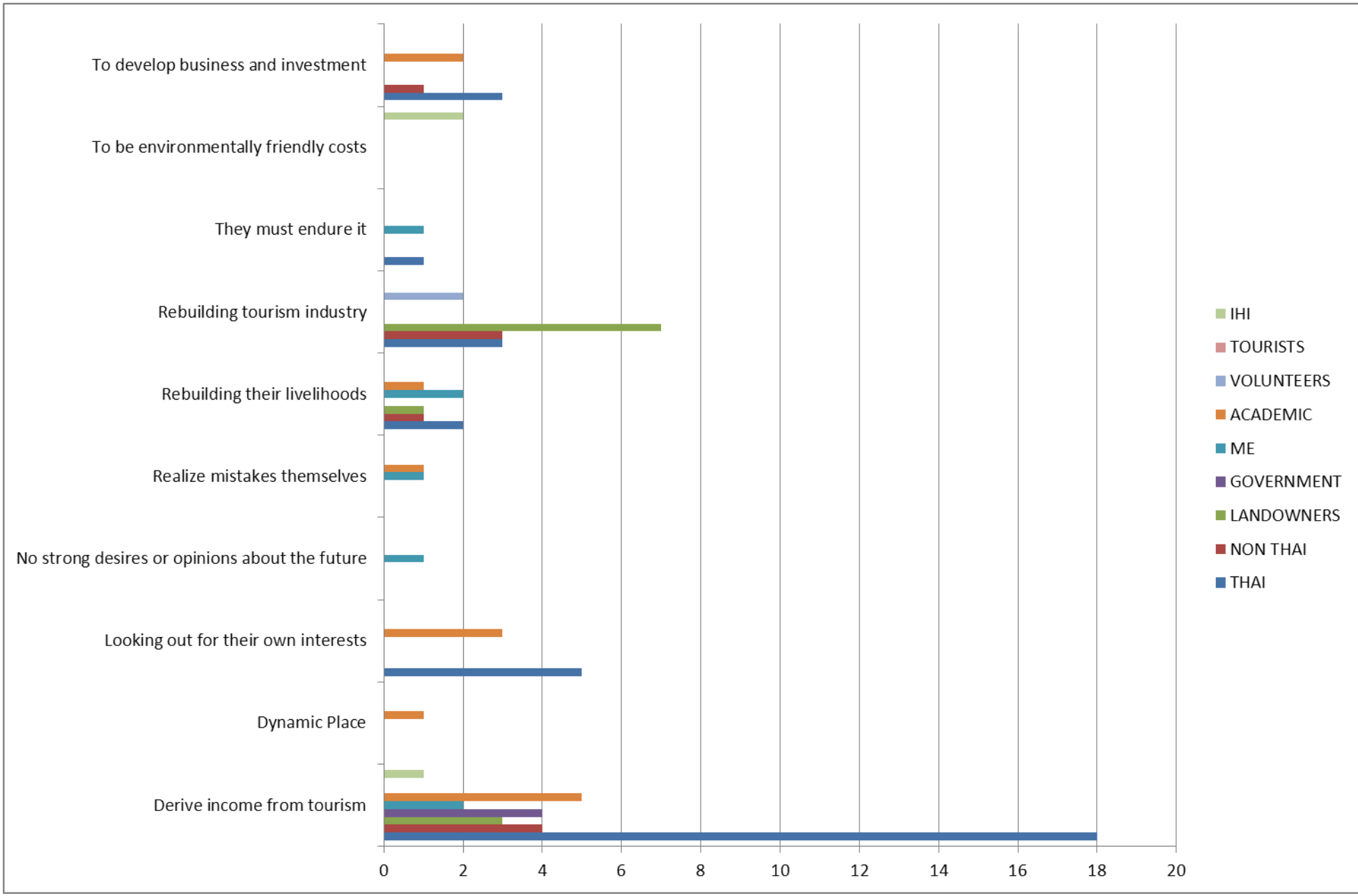

Influence of the Tsunami Total
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Abuse
Beautiful environment remains
Disaster tourism
Displacement
Family structures have been altered
Highlighted a lack of preparedness
Highlighted vulnerability
Impact of Media
Impact upon mental well being
NGO contribution
Recognised importance of the environment in Phi Phi
Tsunami has uncovered problems
Tsunami only temporarily slowed pace of development
Sources
References

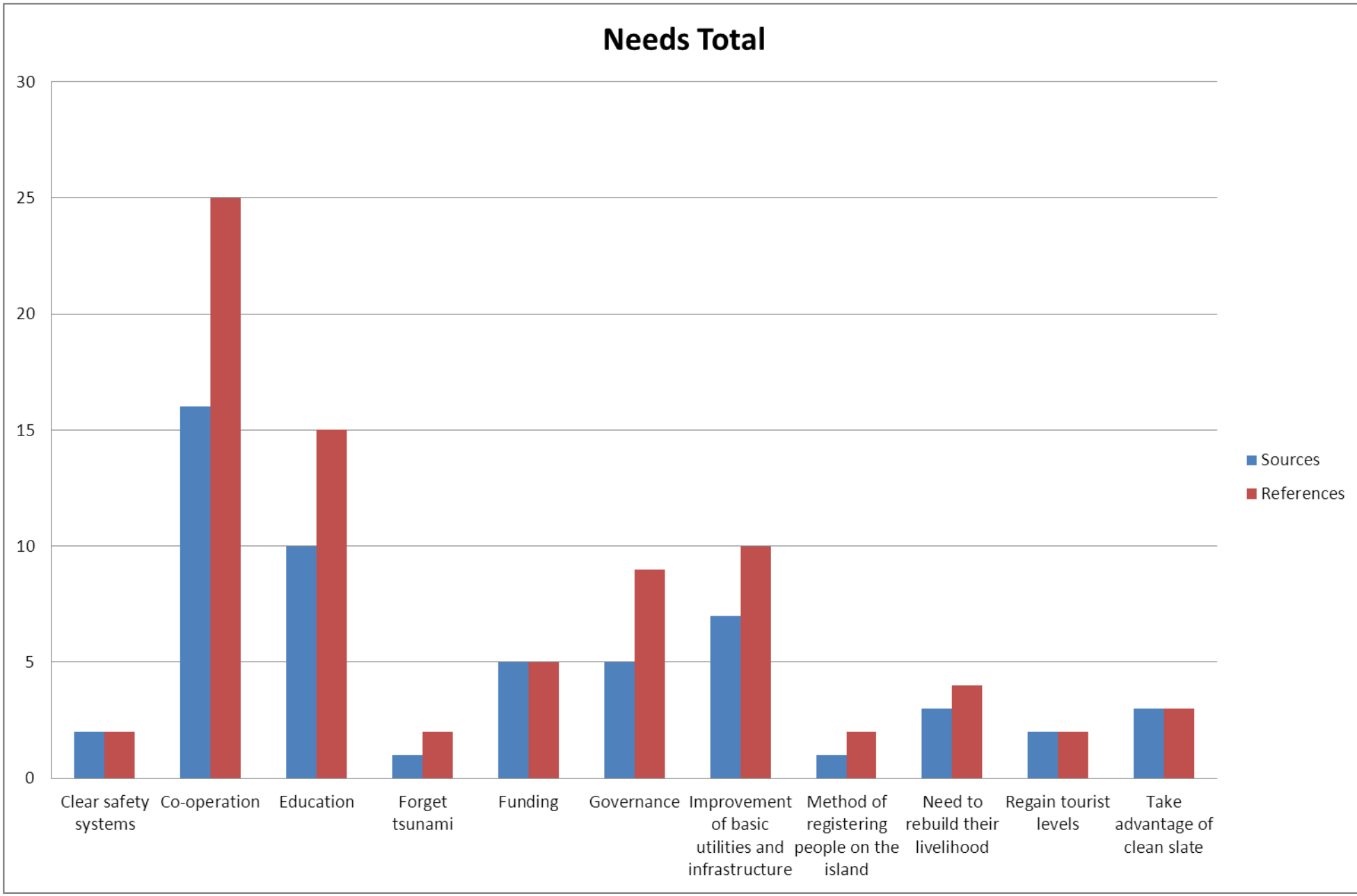

14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Abuse
Beautiful environment remains
Disaster tourism
Displacement
Family structures have been altered
Highlighted a lack of preparedness
Highlighted vulnerability
Impact of Media
Impact upon mental well being
NGO contribution
Recognised importance of the environment in Phi Phi
Tsunami has uncovered problems
Tsunami only temporarily slowed pace of development
INFLUENCE OF THE TSUNAMI
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI

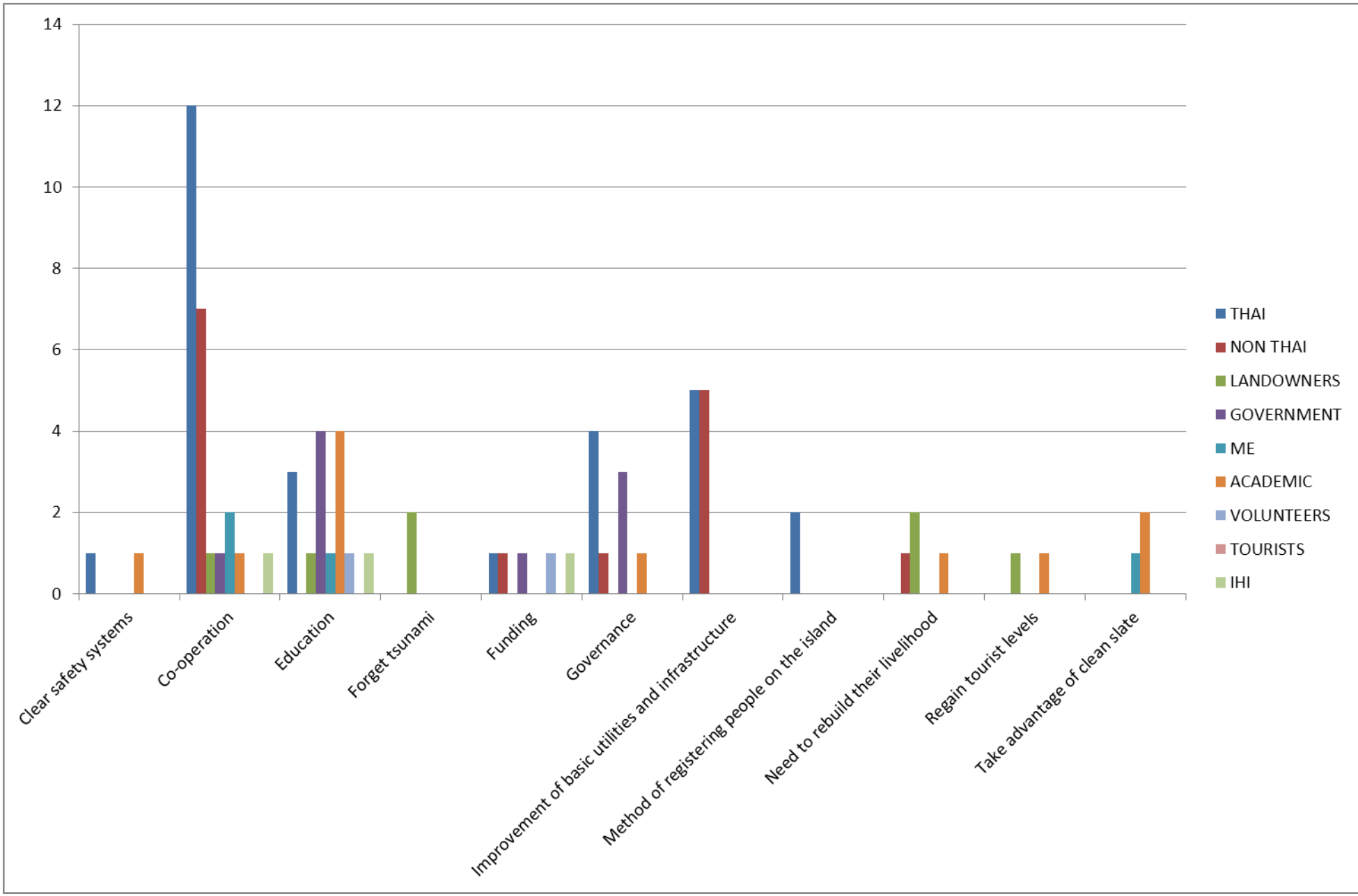

Conflict Total
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Conflict between locals and landowners
Conflict between locals and tourists
Conflict with government
Dissatisfied
Lack of cooperation
Land conflict
No solutions
Resistance
Sources
References

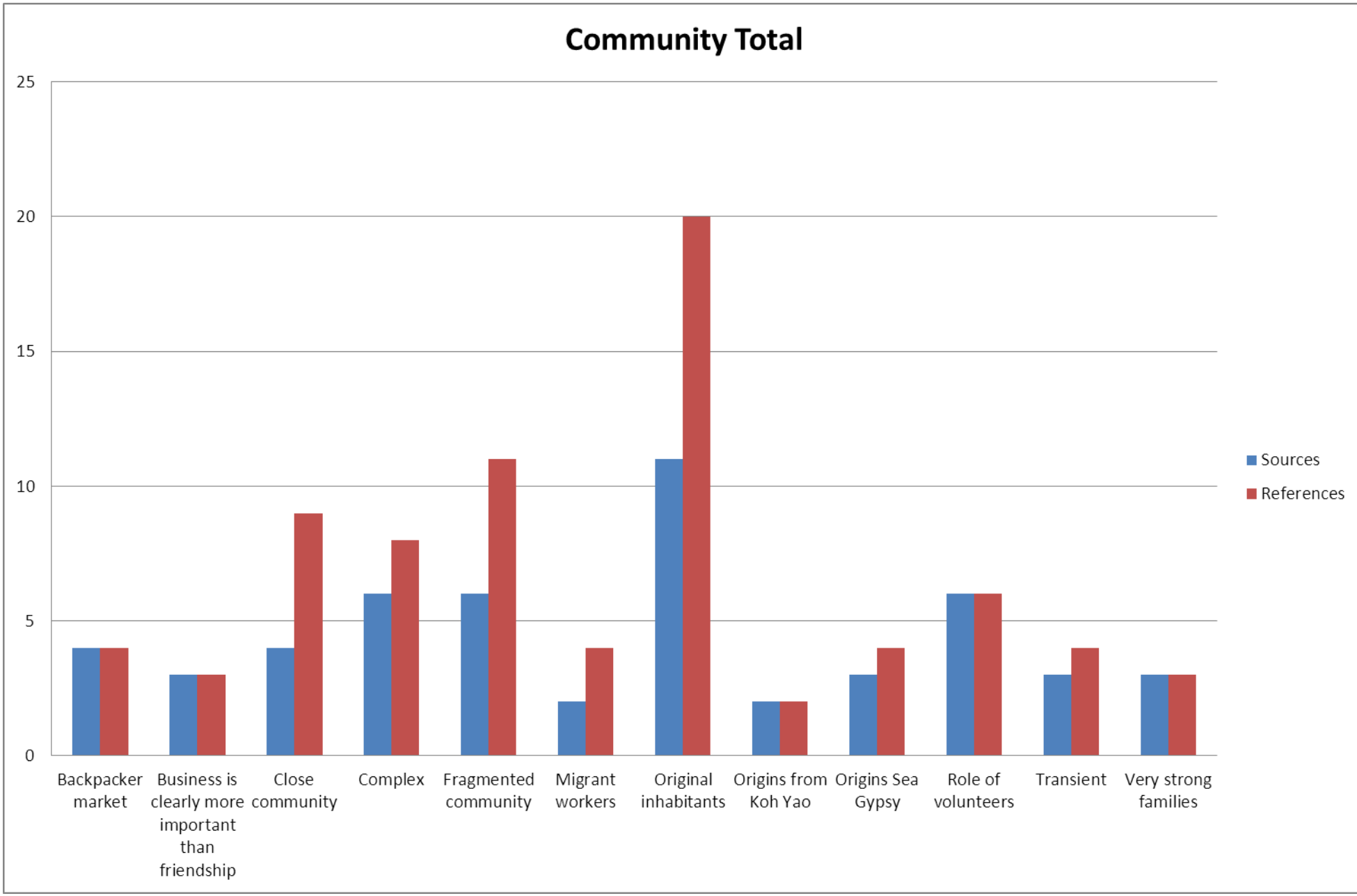

Resistance
No solutions
Land conflict
Lack of cooperation
Dissatisfied
Conflict with government
Conflict between locals and tourists
Conflict between locals and landowners
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
IHI
TOURISTS
VOLUNTEERS
ACADEMIC
ME
GOVERNMENT
LANDOWNERS
NON THAI
THAI

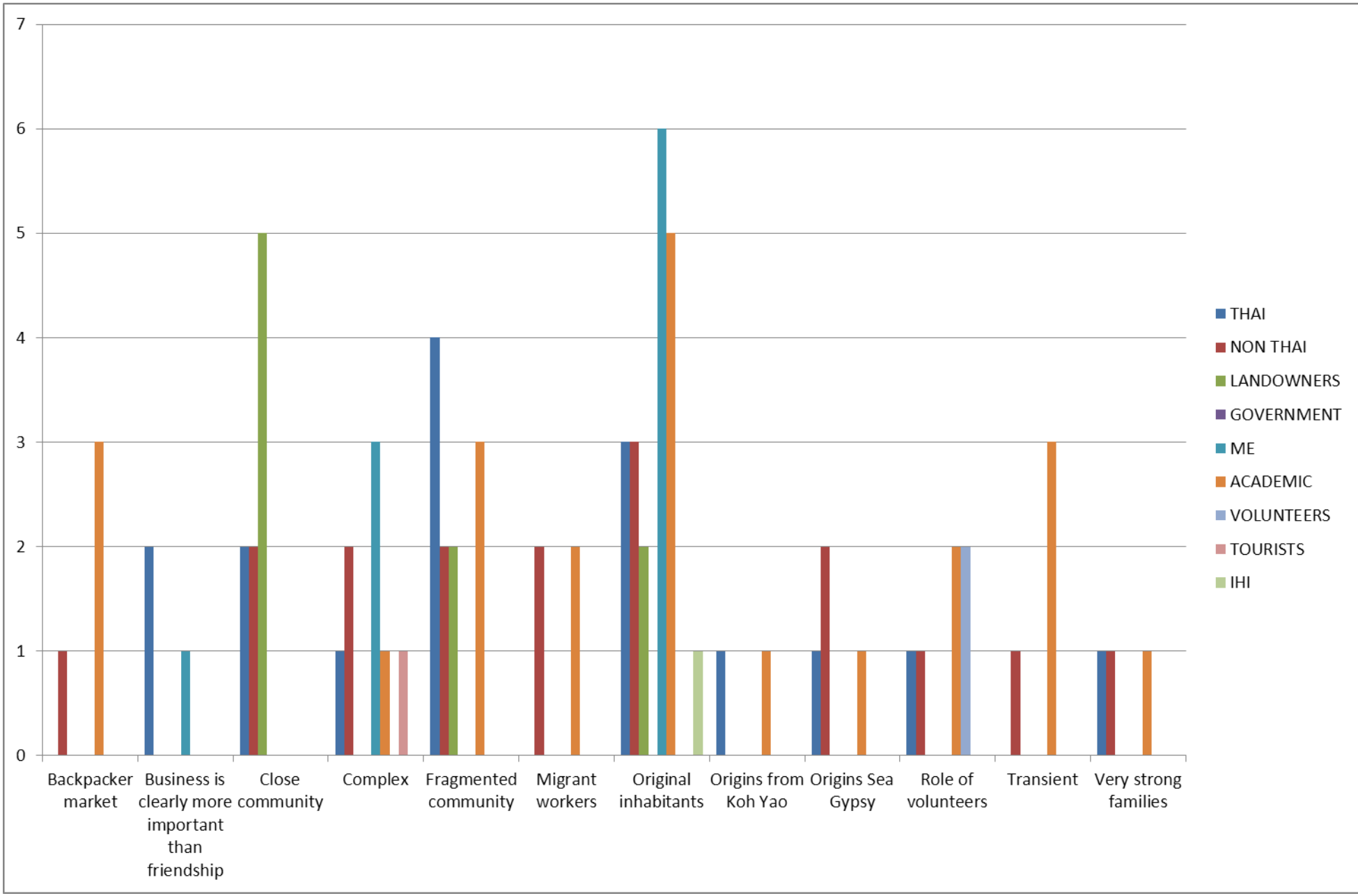

Development Philosophies Total
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Derive income from tourism
Dynamic Place
Looking out for their own interests
No strong desires or opinions about the future
Realize mistakes themselves
Rebuilding their livelihoods
Rebuilding tourism industry
They must endure it
To be environmentally friendly costs
To develop business and investment
Sources
References

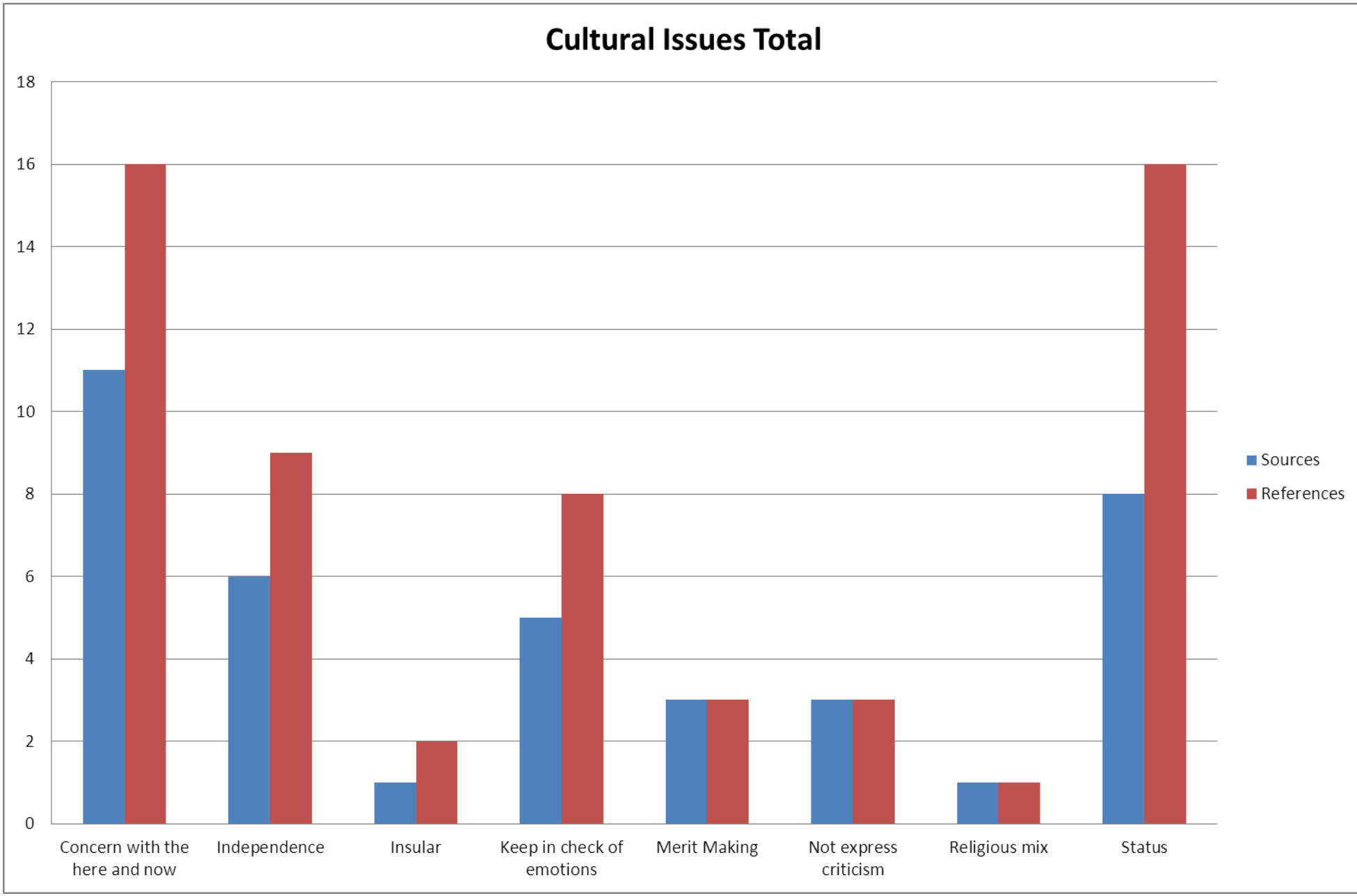

To develop business and investment
To be environmentally friendly costs
They must endure it
Rebuilding tourism industry
Rebuilding their livelihoods
Realize mistakes themselves
No strong desires or opinions about the future
Looking out for their own interests
Dynamic Place
Derive income from tourism
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
IHI
TOURISTS
VOLUNTEERS
ACADEMIC
ME
GOVERNMENT
LANDOWNERS
NON THAI
THAI

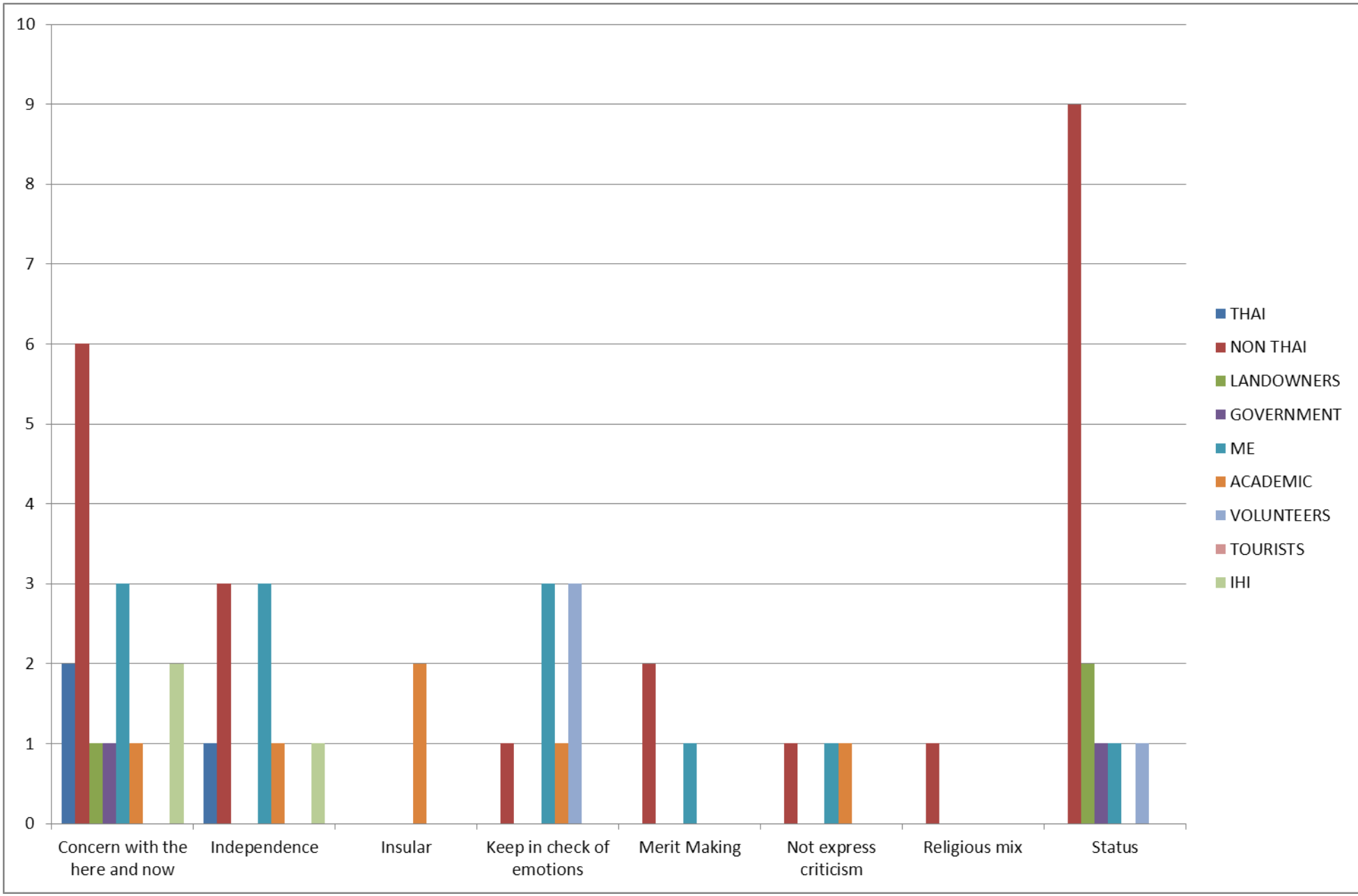

Needs Total
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Clear safety systems
Co-operation
Education
Forget tsunami
Funding
Governance
Improvement of basic utilities and infrastructure
Method of registering people on the island
Need to rebuild their livelihood
Regain tourist levels
Take advantage of clean slate
Sources
References

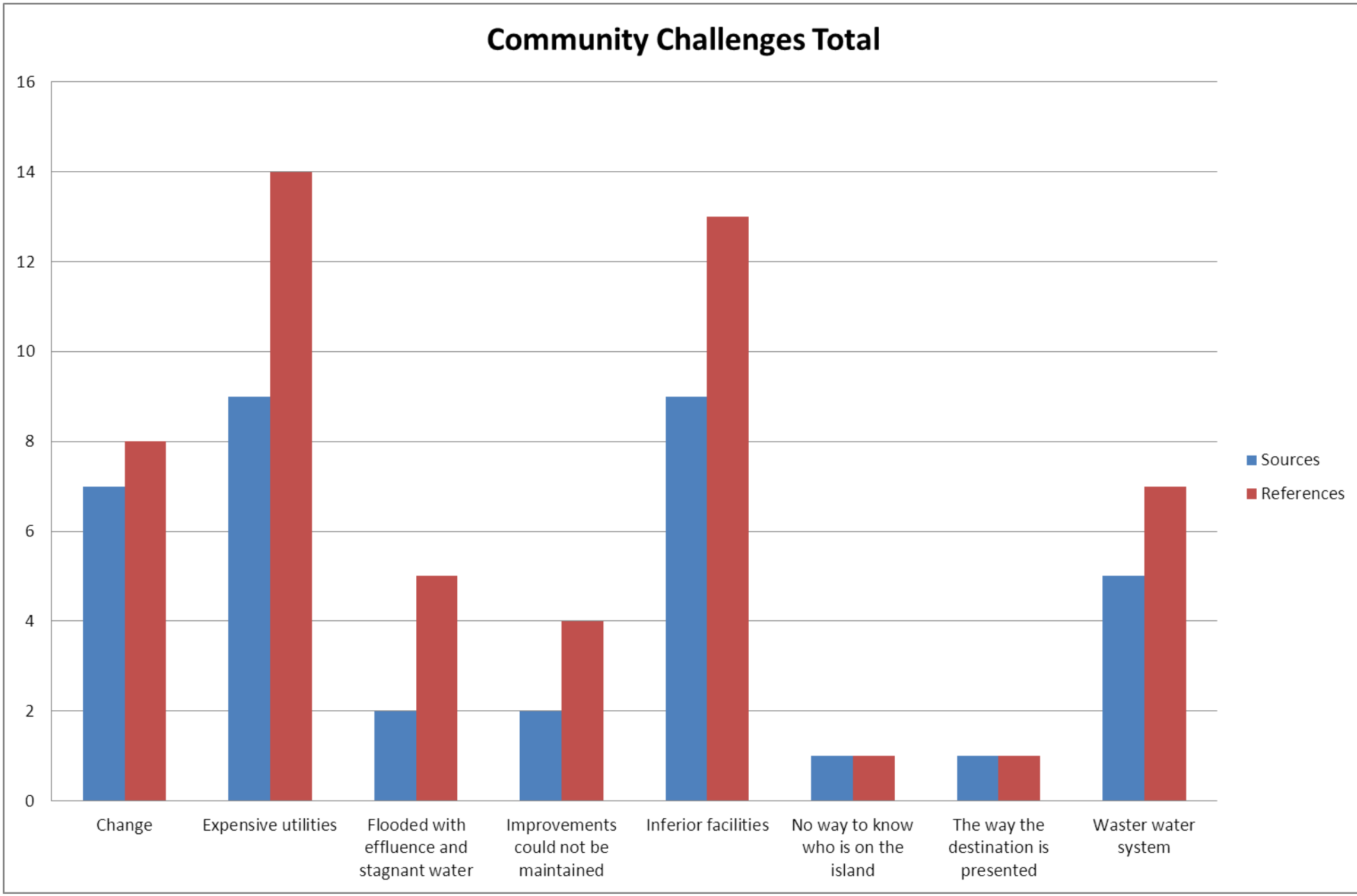

14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Clear safety systems
Co-operation
Education
Forget tsunami
Funding
Governance
Improvement of basic utilities and infrastructure
Method of registering people on the island
Need to rebuild their livelihood
Regain tourist levels
Take advantage of clean slate
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI

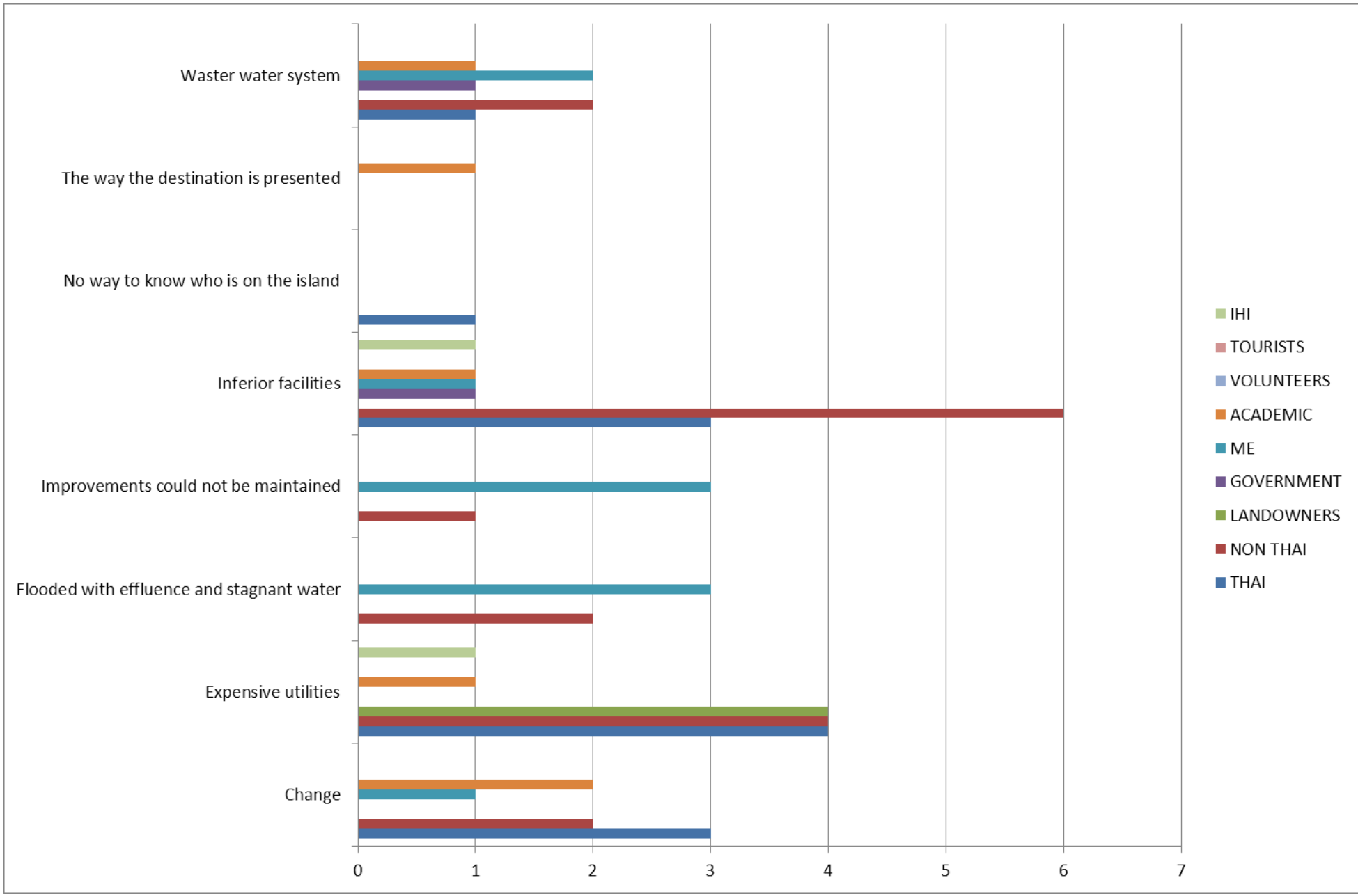

Community Total
25
20
15
10
5
0
Backpacker market
Business is clearly more important than friendship
Close community
Complex
Fragmented community
Migrant workers
Original inhabitants
Origins from Koh Yao
Origins Sea Gypsy
Role of volunteers
Transient
Very strong families
Sources
References

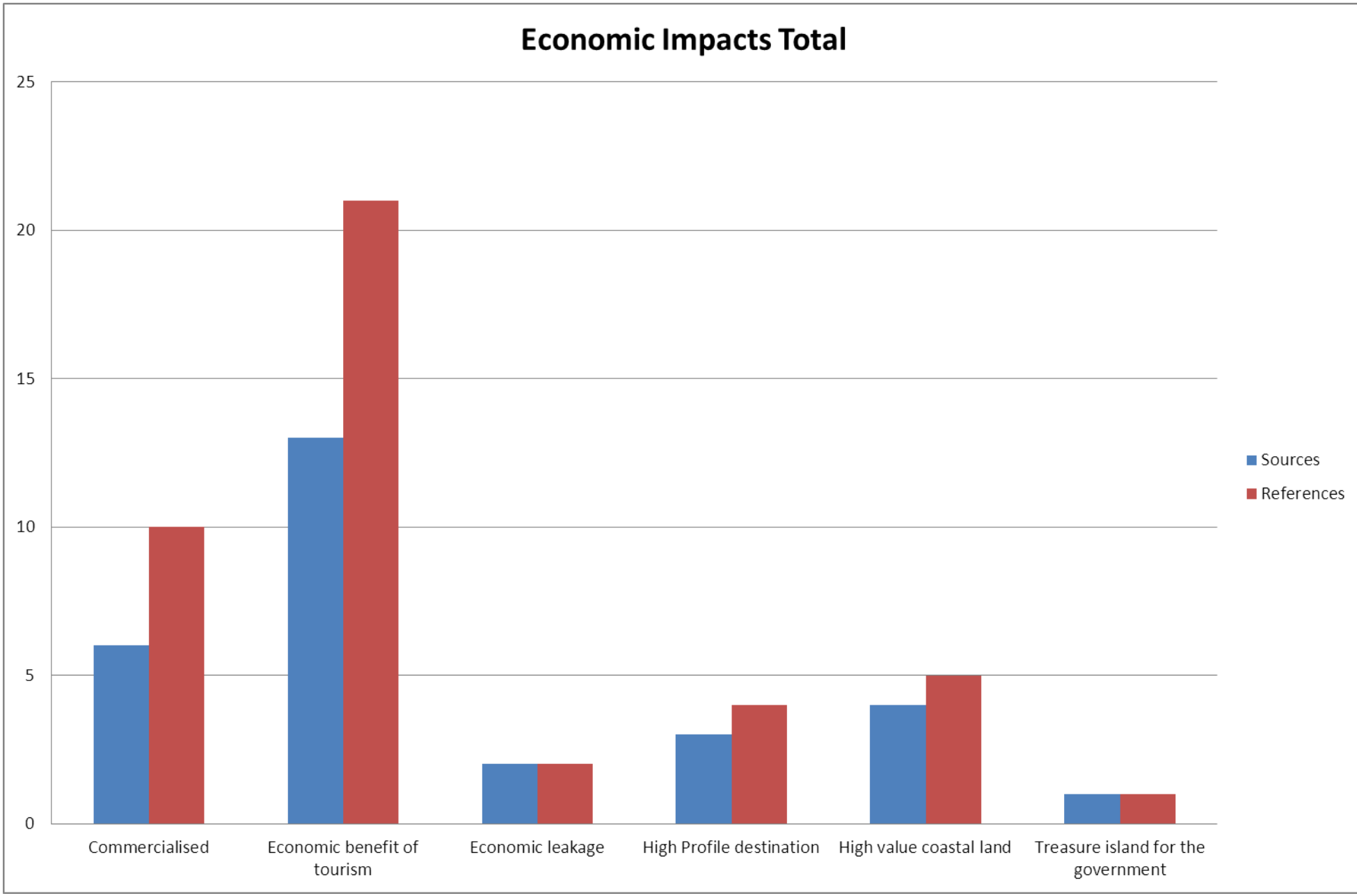

7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Backpacker market
Business is clearly more important than friendship
Close community
Complex
Fragmented community
Migrant workers
Original inhabitants
Origins from Koh Yao
Origins Sea Gypsy
Role of volunteers
Transient
Very strong families
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI

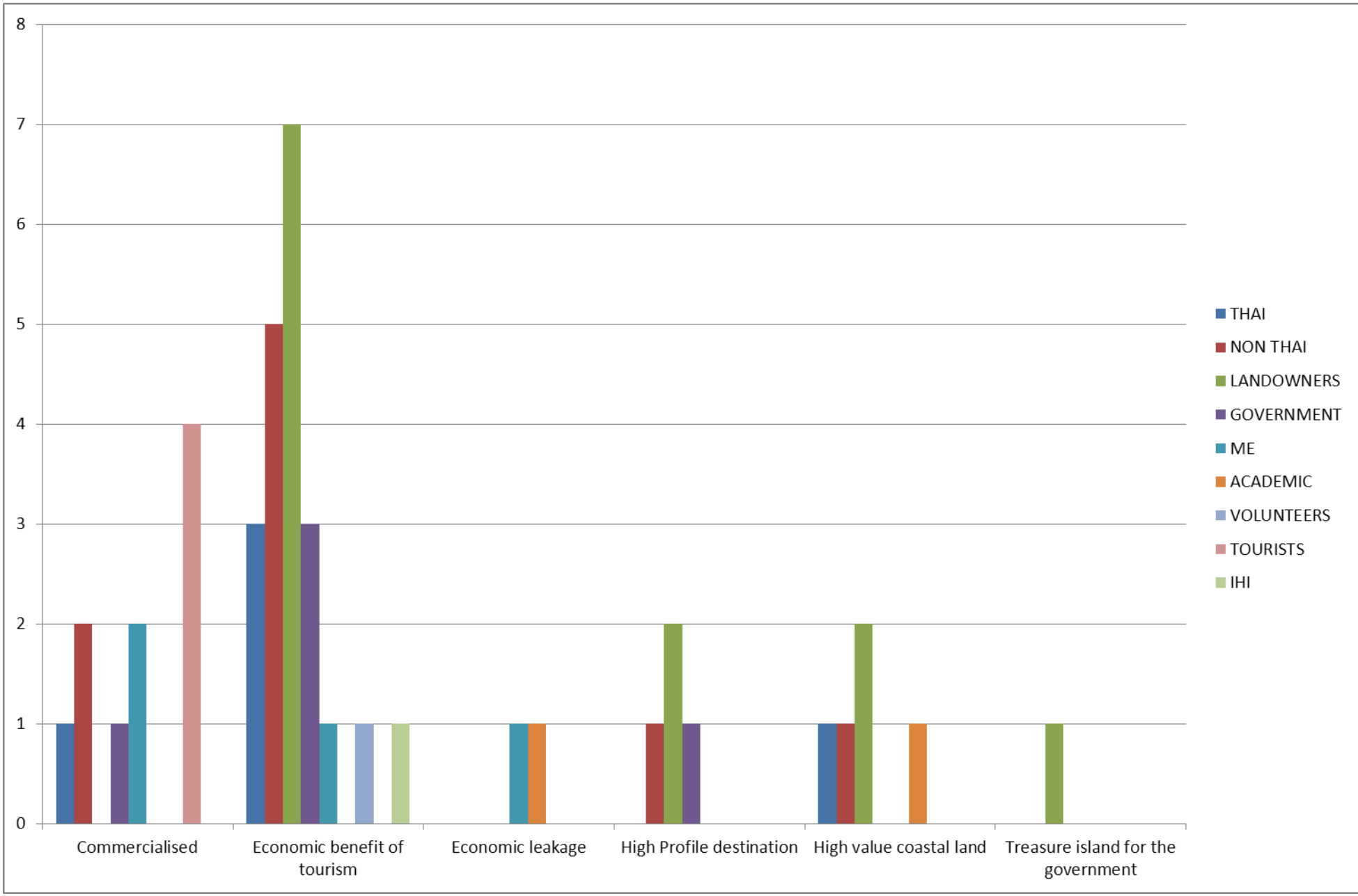

Cultural Issues Total
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Concern with the here and now
Independence
Insular
Keep in check of emotions
Merit Making
Not express criticism
Religious mix
Status
Sources
References

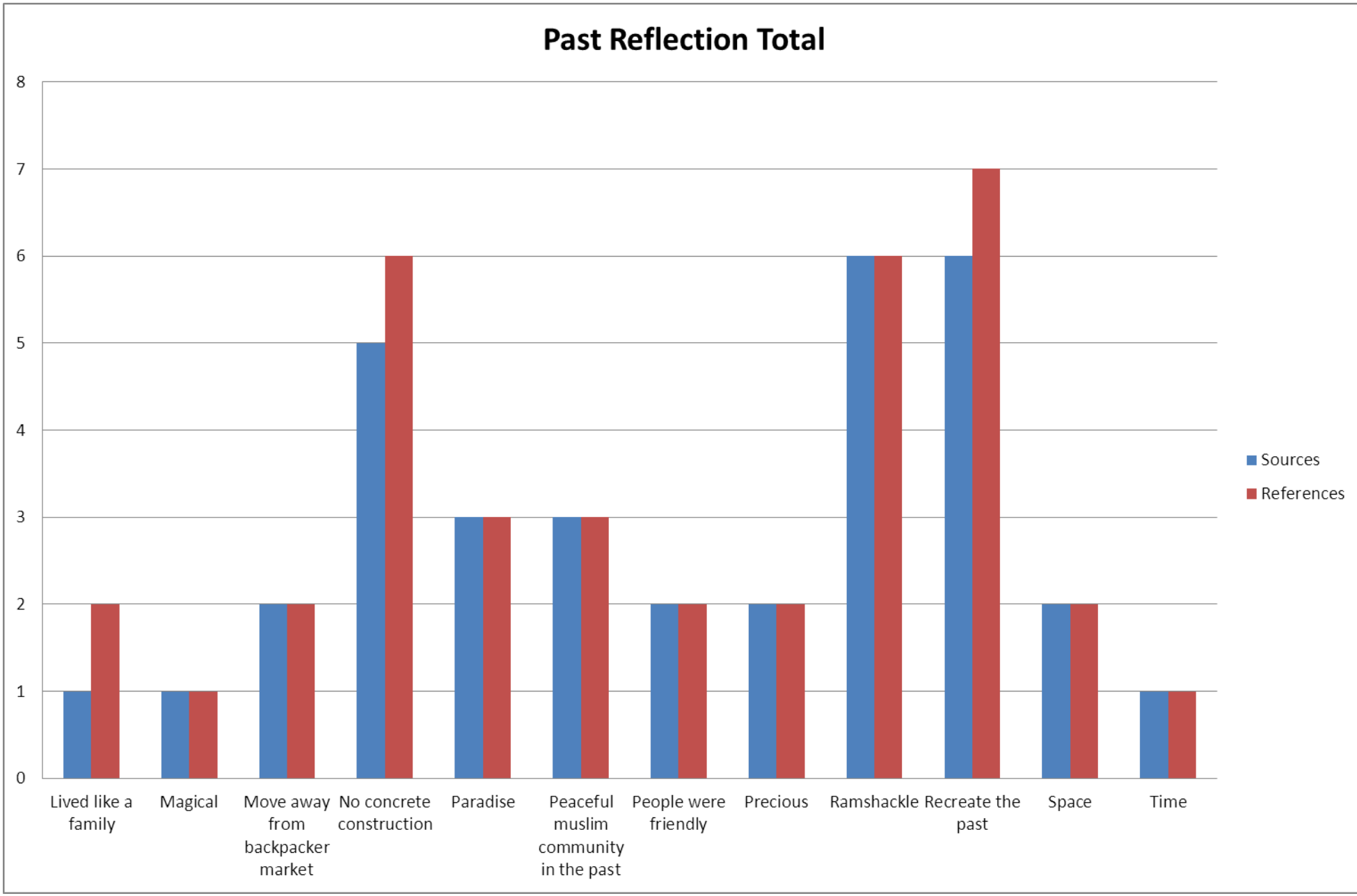

10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Concern with the here and now
Independence
Insular
Keep in check of emotions
Merit Making
Not express criticism
Religious mix
Status
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI

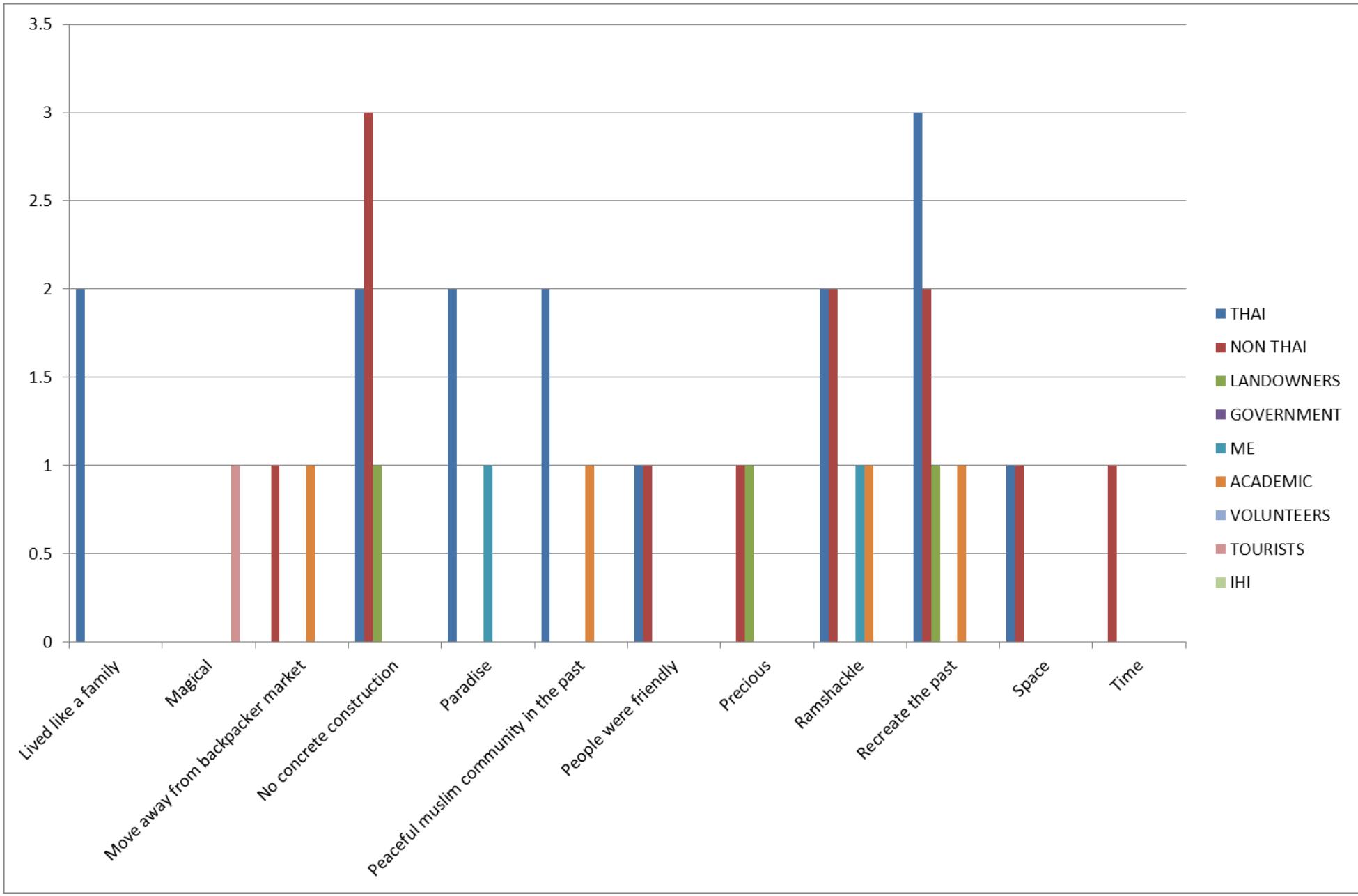

Community Challenges Total
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Change
Expensive utilities
Flooded with effluence and stagnant water
Improvements could not be maintained
Inferior facilities
No way to know who is on the island
The way the destination is presented
Waster water system
Sources
References

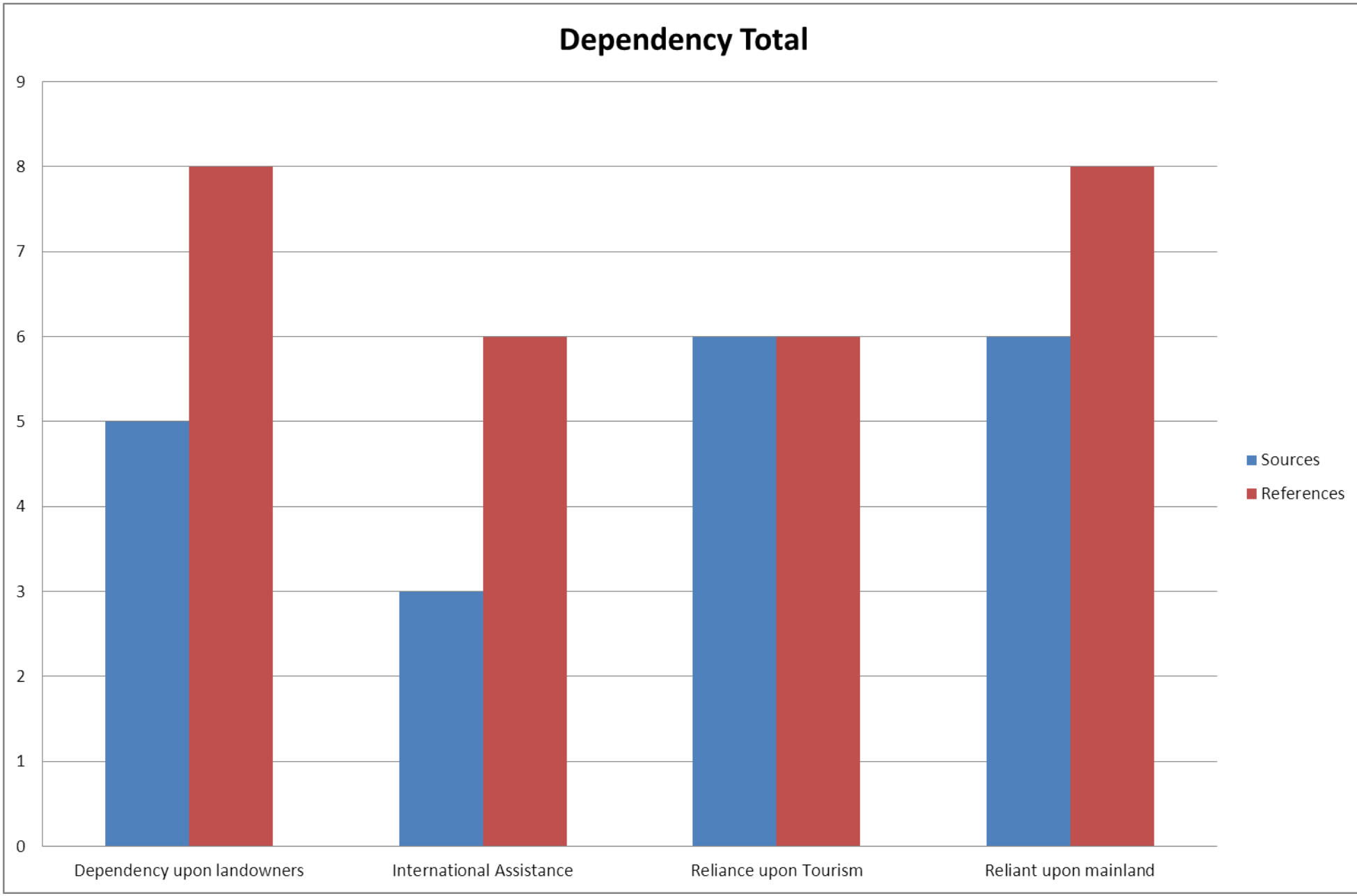

Waster water system
The way the destination is presented
No way to know who is on the island
Inferior facilities
Improvements could not be maintained
Flooded with effluence and stagnant water
Expensive utilities
Change
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
IHI
TOURISTS
VOLUNTEERS
ACADEMIC
ME
GOVERNMENT
LANDOWNERS
NON THAI
THAI

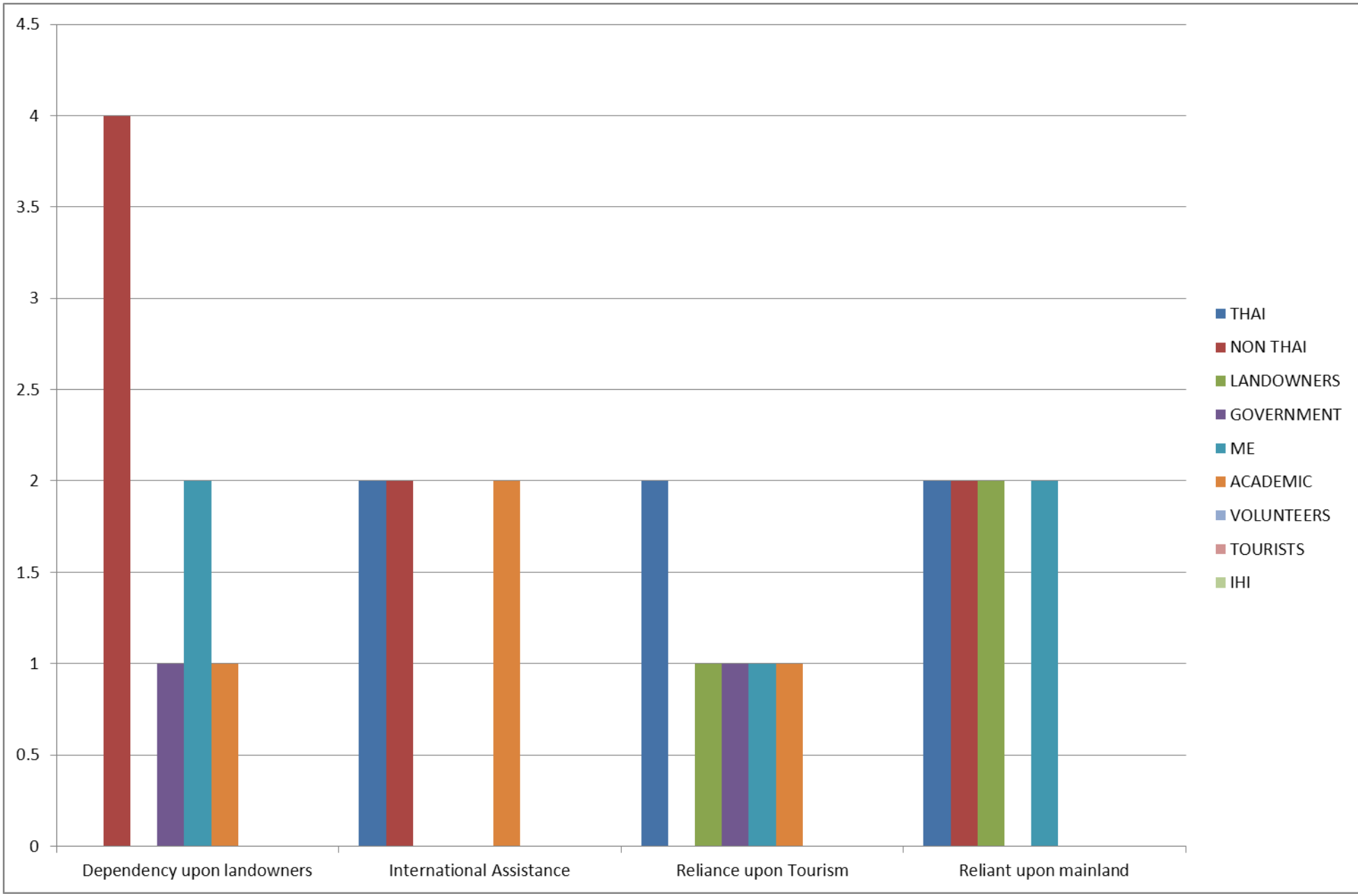

Economic Impacts Total
25
20
15
10
5
0
Commercialised
Economic benefit of tourism
Economic leakage
High Profile destination
High value coastal land
Treasure island for the government
Sources
References


8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Commercialised
Economic benefit of tourism
Economic leakage
High Profile destination
High value coastal land
Treasure island for the government
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI


Past Reflection Total
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Lived like a family
Magical
Move away from backpacker market
No concrete construction
Paradise
Peaceful muslim community in the past
People were friendly
Precious
Ramshackle
Recreate the past
Space
Time
Sources
References


3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
0.5
0
Lived like a family
Magical
Move away from backpacker market
No concrete construction
Paradise
Peaceful muslim community in the past
People were friendly
Precious
Ramshackle
Recreate the past
Space
Time
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI


Dependency Total
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Dependency upon landowners
International Assistance
Reliance upon Tourism
Reliant upon mainland
Sources
References


4.5
4
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
0.5
0
Dependency upon landowners
International Assistance
Reliance upon Tourism
Reliant upon mainland
THAI
NON THAI
LANDOWNERS
GOVERNMENT
ME
ACADEMIC
VOLUNTEERS
TOURISTS
IHI

Appendix 18 A selection of photographic images taken in the field between March 2006 and December 2011



Image 46: Tonsai Beach outside Hippies Bar



Image 47: The Island school



Image 48: Ferries stacked at the Pier in Tonsai Bay



Image 49: Tonsai Bay busy with trip boats



Image 50: Channel of waste-water flowing from the wastewater treatment plant to the sea

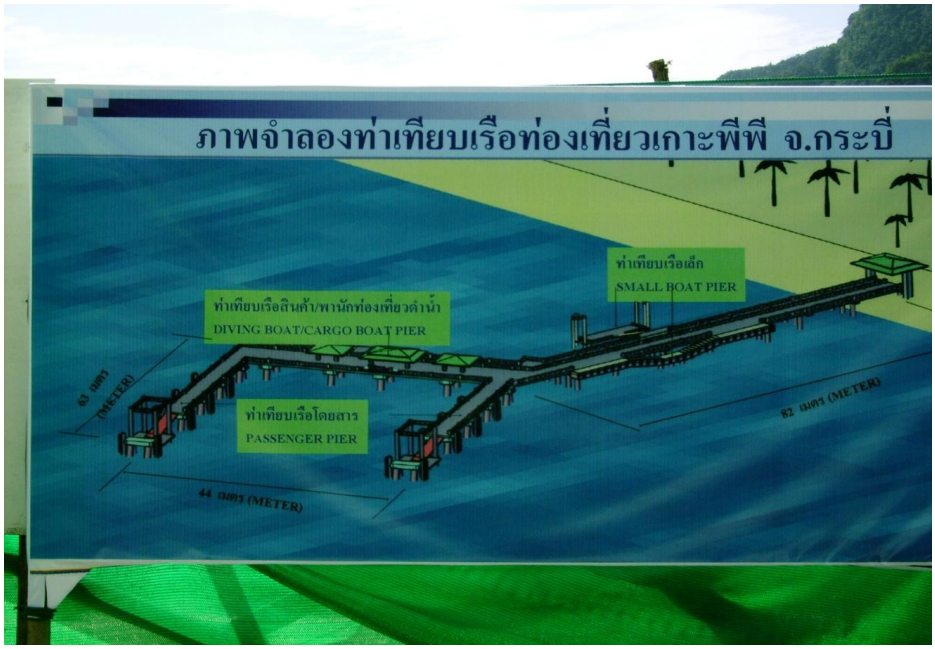


Image 51: Signage to inform of planned changes to the Pier in Tonsai Bay



Image 52: Construction of the new pier underway



Image 53: Completed deep water pier (December 2011)



Image 54: Planned 'Charlie Plaza' (16.1.2006)



Image 55: Site for the Department of Public Works and Planning Office



Image 56: Souvenir stalls (27.3.2006)



Image 57: Pancake stall



Image 58: One of the island's many tour agencies



Image 59: The many different accommodation options available to book upon arrival at the pier

Appendix 19 ***A selection of documents taken from the Phi Phi Island Master plan***

Illustration of the development that was present on Phi Phi pre-tsunami

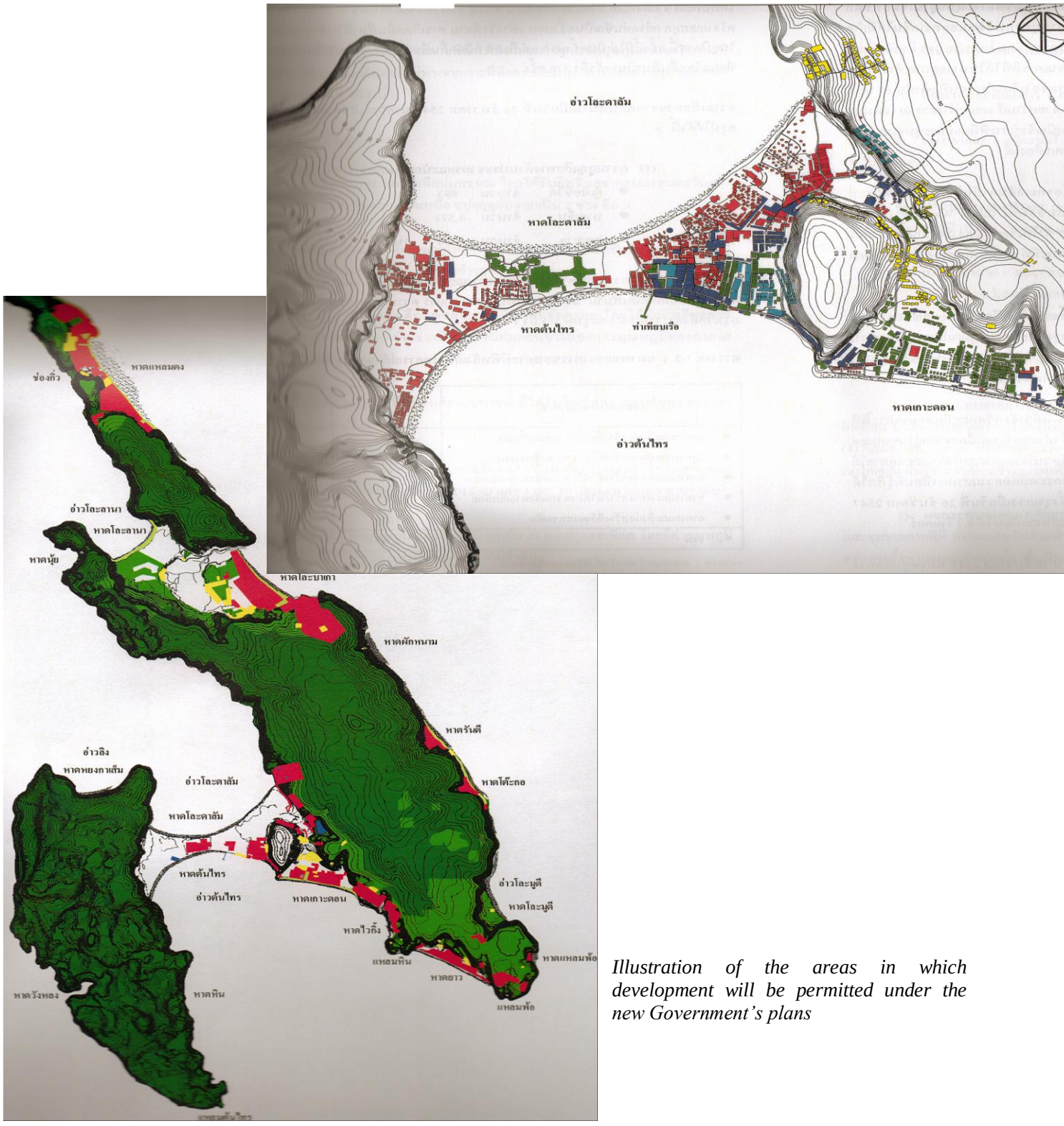
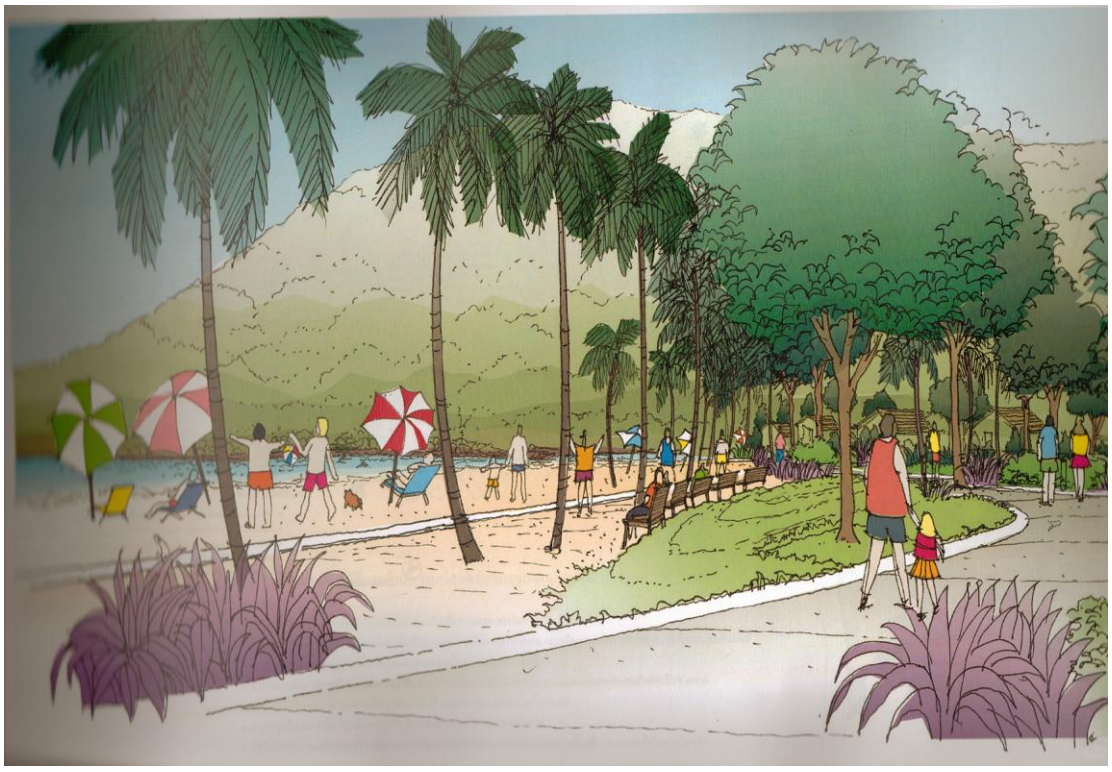


Illustration of the areas in which development will be permitted under the new Government's plans

Images of the planned landscaping of Phi Phi Don Island (Island Master plan, 2006)





Appendix 20: Table 29: Illustrations of how sustainability is defined by Phi Phi's stakeholders

Theme	What does Sustainable Development mean to you?	What does Sustainable Development mean for Koh Phi Phi
Limit		Not much development Limiting hotel rooms Limiting development on beaches A limited amount of people able to stay
Conservation	Preserving what is special and natural and beautiful	Hope we keep Phi Phi like it is Keep development to already developed areas and build on them Leave the vegetation on the hills Retains natural beauty Nature conservation in order to maintain natural environment to be with us as long as possible
Future		A better future for the island That future generations are able to enjoy PP as well later and maybe more Look for long term solutions
Restriction		To ensure the island can remain as pristine as possible. There should be restrictions in place to prevent the amount of new buildings to ensure the services of the island can cope with the demand. Restrictions should also be used to ensure that life is not put at risk should a Tsunami happen again Keep out as many tourists as possible
Improved quality of life	Will affect quality of local people's lives, local communities and country Up keeping the standard of civilisation, environment and cleanliness	Give the locals better housing and educate them how to improve the island Solar/ wind energy - decentralised sewage treatment, less plastic bags
Develop the Tourism industry and the economy	Being proactive by constantly taking the advice of tourists wants and needs to better accommodate tourists	More money and more tourists Better tourist attraction In Phi Phi they prefer to build and to make money more than investing in Sustainable Development Bring more tourists to Koh Phi Phi
Governance	A suitable programme that allows a place to develop its economy at a rate which means the site isn't overused and it is done over a long amount of time	Ensuring any future development fits with surroundings Keep its natural elements as well as growth in Tourism Protecting the undeveloped forest and secluded beaches Through development plans which ensure the islands attractions are maintained and carefully managed Protection laws for land and sea

Provide Opportunities whilst developing the Tourism industry	Should be improved in career development and local people income along side with construction works	
Provide opportunities without destroying the environment	Including develop human resources in order to help human and environment live together in harmony	Provide more money and chances to the people without destroying the environment At the moment, infinity development is mainly to develop business and investment but natural resources and environment are also important. Whether we will have beautiful nature and undersea to attract tourists in the future or not, it depends on how we look after.
Co-operation	Development and protection needs everyone participation that will be efficiently achieved	If everyone really participant, we would be able to improve the sea and undersea
Efficient use of resources	Effective and efficient development Development which takes place using resources to a sensible replaceable state	
Construct but not to the detriment of the environment	Developing the tourist industry in a way that will not compromise the area's main attractions so that people will continue to come here in the future Something that has minimal impact on the natural environment and does not require large external resources or maintenance	To not build too many big hotels, buildings must not destroy countryside Maybe a little more development but not too much as to keep it like a typical paradise island Developing the tourist industry in a way that will not compromise the area's main attractions so that people will continue to come here in the future If we build big hotels that would destroy Phi Phi in the future Not too many hostels and keep the sea not polluted and to clean places near the buildings Keep its natural elements as well as growth in Tourism Develop the main town centre but keep the traditional aspects Their first priority should really be the environment because the environment is really the basis of why people go there, beautiful island, beautiful scenery and so on. To stay economically sustainable they have to preserve the environment, the environment goes down, no people would come back but with a nice environment and then you have to see how the locals can benefit from it. That is a difficult task because um, they wouldn't really be able to develop themselves, especially environmental.

Table 29: Illustrations of how sustainability is defined by Phi Phi's stakeholders

Appendix 21: Table 30: Table to compare stakeholders' conceptualisations of sustainability with theoretical prepositions

Perspectives on sustainability arising from the literature	Element of Koh Phi Phi's perspective on sustainability (That arose from data gathered from all of Phi Phi's stakeholders – 10 strongest elements)									
	Limiting	Permit Development	Lack of Understanding	Long Term Solutions	Balanced	Improve Quality	Retention	Not a priority	Future Generations	Using Resources Sensibly
Convergence between economic development and environmentalism (Sustainable Development Commission, UK)					Yes (Tourists and Landowners)					
Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED 1987)				Yes (Tourists, Me, Thai, Government)					Yes (Tourists, Landowners, Thai, Non Thai)	
Three dimensions: the environment, people and economic systems (Swarbrooke, 1999)					Yes (Tourists, Landowners)					
	Limiting	Permit Development	Lack of Understanding	Long Term Solutions	Balanced	Improve Quality	Retention	Not a priority	Future Generations	Using Resources Sensibly
The right to development must be fulfilled so as to		Yes (Tourists, Thai)			Yes (Tourists and Landowners)				Yes (Tourists, Landowners, Thai, Non	

equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations (UN, 1992)									Thai)	
Making longer-term considerations in development planning rather than short term economic gain (Agenda 21)				Yes (Tourists, Me, Thai, Government)						
More focus should be given to community involvement (Hardy et al 2002)										
Enable all people throughout the world to satisfy their basic needs and enjoy a better quality of life without compromising the quality of life for future generations (Sustainable Development Commission, UK)						Yes (Thai, Tourists)	Yes (Tourists)		Yes (Tourists, Landowners, Thai, Non Thai)	
	Limiting	Permit Development	Lack of Understanding	Long Term Solutions	Balanced	Improve Quality	Retention	Not a priority	Future Generations	Using Resources Sensibly
Pursued in an integrated way through an innovative and										Yes (Tourists, Thai)

productive economy that delivers high levels of employment, a just society, done in ways that protects and enhances the physical and natural environment and uses energy and resources efficiently (Sustainable Development Commission, UK)										
Human progress (Redclift, 1987)										
Need for community involvement in consultation and planning (Liu 2003)										
	Limiting	Permit Development	Lack of Understanding	Long Term Solutions	Balanced	Improve Quality	Retention	Not a priority	Future Generations	Using Resources Sensibly
Seek to improve environmental practices, protect cultural heritage, ensure equitable distribution of wealth generated through Tourism (Kamamba 2003)										
Produce goods and				Yes						Yes

services on a continuing basis, avoid sectoral imbalances, avoid overexploitation of resources, (Harris, 2000)										
Living within environmental limits, ensuring a strong, healthy and just society, achieving a sustainable economy, promoting good governance (DEFRA 2005)	Yes									
Make optimal use of environmental resources, respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, ensure viable long term economic operations (WTO)				Yes						Yes
	Limiting	Permit Development	Lack of Understanding	Long Term Solutions	Balanced	Improve Quality	Retention	Not a priority	Future Generations	Using Resources Sensibly
An approach to Tourism which recognises the importance of the host community, the way staff are treated and the desire to maximise the economic benefits of Tourism, for the										

host community (Swarbrooke, 1999)										
Forms of Tourism which meet the needs of tourists, the Tourism industry, and host communities today without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Swarbrooke, 1999)									Yes	
Sustainable Tourism is Tourism which develops as quickly as possible, taking account of current accommodation capacity, the local population and the environment (Richards in Bramwell et al 1996)										

Table 30: Table to compare stakeholders' conceptualisations of sustainability with theoretical prepositions

Appendix 22 A selection of published work by the author which demonstrates the progression of this research



The Fifth Asia Pacific Forum for Graduate Student Research in Tourism
September 20-22, 2006
Siam City Hotel, Bangkok, Thailand

Session 3A
Sustainable Tourism 2

APF 165

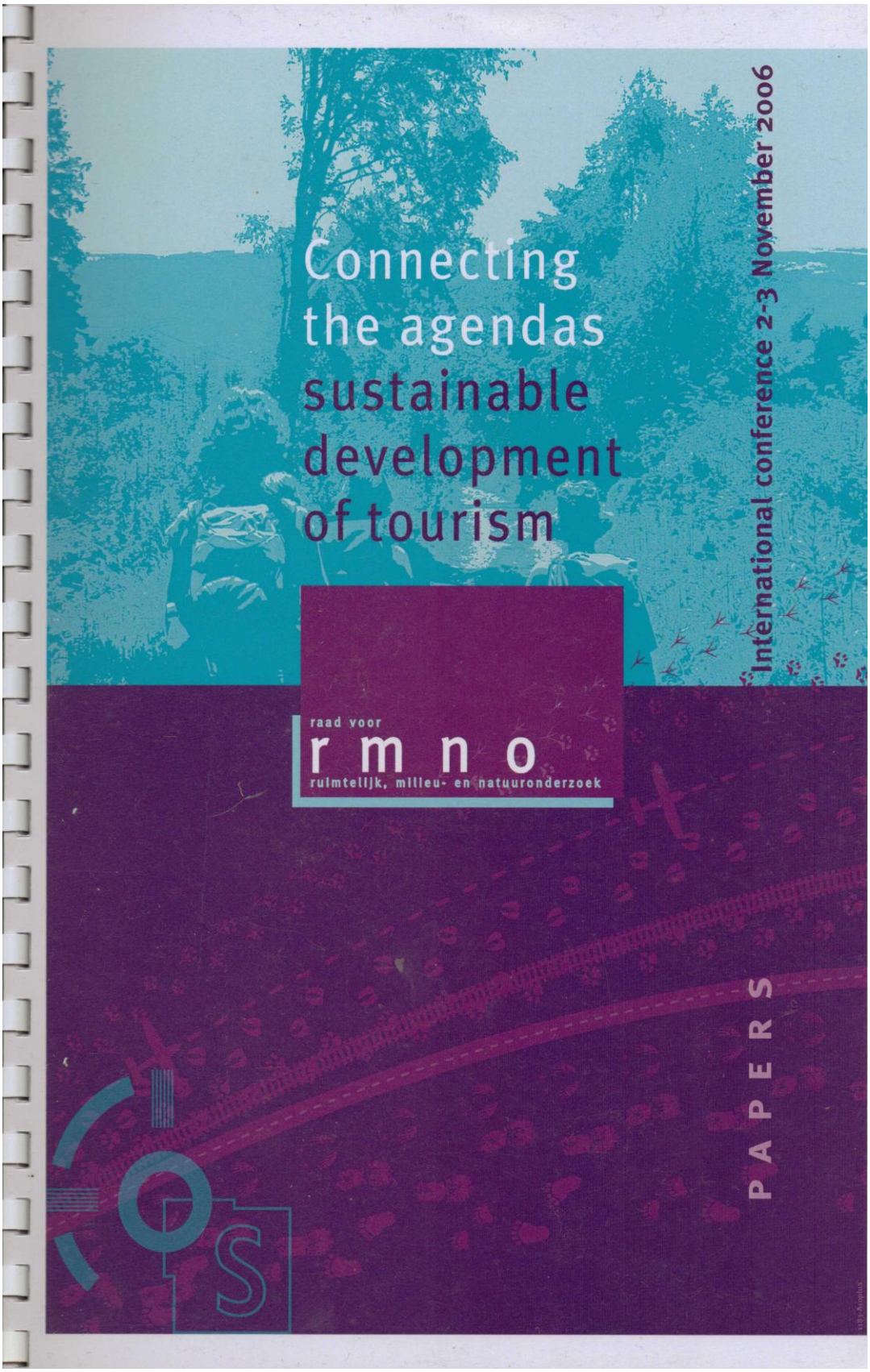
THE IDEOLOGY OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: A CRITICAL REVIEW

Faye Taylor
Faculty of Business and Law
De Montfort University, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

This paper provides a background to the origins of sustainable tourism development, highlighting key areas of rationale for adoption. The paper's main focus however will encourage the audience to question Western ideological discourse, suggesting that despite its benefits there appear many limitations associated with the adoption of sustainability principles to include the juxtaposition of definitions, implementation difficulties and the influence of political-economic power in shaping development. As identified by Tosun (2000) in his research surrounding sustainable development in developing countries, 'any operation of principles of sustainable development necessitates hard political and economic choices, and decisions based upon complex socio-economic and environmental trade-offs'. These trade-offs appear to a greater extent to be shaped by not only the political economy within which the destination operates but also under the pressures of global political-economic forces.

Key Words: Tourism, Sustainable Development, Stakeholders, Power, Globalisation, Eco-Tourism


Connecting
the agendas
sustainable
development
of tourism
International conference 2-3 November 2006
raad voor
r m n o
ruimtelijk, milieu- en natuuronderzoek
PAPERS

12 Faye Taylor

'Rising out of the waves. An analysis of the challenges faced by disaster affected locations in their quest for sustainable redevelopment'

A Report on Research in Progress

Faye Taylor[21]
Prince of Songkla University, Phuket, Thailand

The Asian Tsunami of December 2004 left a long lasting global footprint. There is no denying that this event touched hearts in all corners of the globe, the extent of consciousness spurred not only from intense media coverage but because many of the destinations affected were those we have personal familiarity with; tourism destinations (Rice 2005). There are many perceptions as to the cause of the disaster, although factually correct, physical reasons are those that we acknowledge. Incidentally, according to the Buddhist religion, thus practiced in the majority of affected areas, it is believed that the Tsunami reveals God's anger with man and that this disaster reflects a cleansing process associated with bad Karma attributed to past actions of man (BBC 5/12/05). Whilst acknowledging the extent of such a tragedy, it is perhaps realistic to suggest that if any good can be derived from the tsunami, it will be the widespread recognition of the impact of high-density, poorly planned and un-sustainable tourism infrastructure that occupied many of the destinations affected (UNDP, World Bank, FAO 10 January 2005). This sentiment is mirrored by an Associated Press article for CNN News in which it was commented, 'if there was a saving grace to the tragedy – it was the opportunity left by the devastation to build anew in areas that had been developed in environmentally and socially unjust ways' (4 December 2005). There is widespread opinion that the Tsunami has provided a 'clean slate' in developmental terms, it is clear that there are a wealth of options as regards the redevelopment in order to address more sustainable practices.

United Nations Environment Programme, in their recommendations for the rebuild contained within their report entitled 'After the Tsunami – Rapid environmental Assessment', suggest the erection of 'natural buffer zones' in the coastal areas, rebuilding in less exposed areas and shoreline tree planting to protect coastal infrastructure (New Frontiers Vol. 11, No.1) thus heeding the long term environmental lessons posed by the tsunami. It is recommended that this be enforced through strict building codes in coastal areas. Parallels can be drawn between these recommendations made to ensure that destruction reaped by future natural disasters is minimal and that of tourism development for which these guidelines would minimise criticism often experienced by the industry with regard to shoreline developments. Although it is clear that there has been a longstanding recognition of the need to develop more sustainable tourism practices in many tsunami affected destinations, it must be investigated as to why these practices have not been adopted still, when there are numerous commentators that now highlight the importance of encompassing sustainability principles into the reconstruction plans. Considering also, that the legacy provided by the Asian Tsunami was not just one of the destruction of infrastructure and lives but of the continued loss of earnings of those reliant upon the tourism industry on the island, it might be suitable therefore to include amongst the options for redevelopment an exploration of strategies to reduce the dependency upon tourism and diversify the economy (Pleumarom, A. 31 December 2004).

In the immediate stages post-tsunami, there are early warning signs that the desire to rebuild and again accommodate tourism, i.e. economic considerations may supersede any caution

[21] Faye Taylor is a Lecturer in Tourism and Hospitality Management at the Prince of Songkla University, Phuket, Thailand. She is currently researching for her PhD entitled, 'Political Economy and Sustainable Tourism Development: A Case Study in Post-Disaster Reconstruction', registered with De Montfort University, Leicester, England. The author can be contacted via email on ftaylor@dmu.ac.uk.

Conference Proceedings at the 3rd International Colloquium on Tourism and Leisure, Bangkok, Thailand, July 2009

Conceptualisations of sustainability: Issues of power and hegemony in Koh Phi Phi Island's post tsunami redevelopment: A discussion of research methodology in progress

Faye Taylor
Lecturer in Sustainable Tourism
PhD Research Student
The University of Bedfordshire
Luton
England
Telephone: +44 (0)1582 743195
Email: faye.taylor@beds.ac.uk

Professor Andrew Holden
Professor in Environment and Tourism
The University of Bedfordshire
Luton
England

ABSTRACT

This research explores issues and debates pertaining to the development process in Koh Phi Phi Island, Thailand specifically post tsunami. The theoretical framework is based in sustainable tourism development and political economy, with specific reference to the concerns raised by Naomi Klein (2005) and Anita Pleumarom (2005). This will ultimately involve an investigation into whether disaster affected areas inclusive of tsunami affected areas - appear to be set to be re-designed in the post-9/11 period by a range of governments, private companies, nongovernmental organizations and members of think tanks in ways that often do not consult with local communities. The research considers how Koh Phi Phi's island development plans have been adapted post tsunami to ensure the long-term economic, environmental and social sustainability of the destination. The research attempts to answer whether the types of political and developmental concerns, processes and structures described by Naomi Klein (2002) can be related to the localised case study experience taking place in Koh Phi Phi. A particular focus will be upon the political and social agenda of key stakeholders in the island's redevelopment, noting that speculation has taken place about government plans to alter the destination entirely to encourage new luxury, multinational business and tourismrelated markets (Rosenfeld, C. 9 January 2006; Phuket Gazette 6 January 2006; Altman, M. 2005; Sritama, S. 21 December 2005; Choo, B. 16 September 2005) even at the expense of certain previously existing small-mid sized businesses in the area, and certain sections of the local community. The methodological approaches to the enquiry will be discussed in this paper.

Keywords: Koh Phi Phi, Sustainable Tourism development, Mixed Methods, Qualitative, Online Research, Visual Methods

Bibliography

Abram, S., Waldren, J. D., Macleod, D. V. L (eds.), 1997. *Tourists and Tourism; Identifying with People and Places*. Oxford: Berg

Action Aid International, 2006. *Tsunami Response: A Human Rights Assessment* January

Algie, J., 2005. 'Andaman Resurgence', *TAT Governor*, 27 February

Allen, G., 2003. A Critique of Using Grounded Theory as a Research Method. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*. 2(1), pp. 1-10

Altman, M., 2005. Treading Water. *Thai Day,* 19 December

Alvesson, M. and Skoldberg, K., 2000. *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research*. London: Sage

Andaman Forum http://library.enaca.org/Tsunami/modules/news/, accessed 21.07.2005

Andereck, K. L., and Vogt, C. A., 2000. The relationship between residents' attitudes towards tourism and tourism development options. *Journal of Travel Research*, 39(1), pp. 27-36.

Anderson, J., 2003. Tourism to Earth's most threatened areas surges by over 100 per cent in last decade. *World Parks Congress*, 12 September, Durban, South Africa

Anon. 'Tourism in Thailand (Thaitour Case) www.american.edu/TED/thaitour.htm, accessed 27.07.2006

Anon., 2005. Tourism in Tsunami-hit Thailand struggles to recover. *Asian Economic News*, 7 March

Anon., 1998. *The Beach* is going to be a tragedy. *The Nation*, 3 November

Anon., 1998. Hollywood and its fantasy island. *Bangkok Post*, 25 October

Anon., 1998. Is our integrity so impoverished? *Bangkok Post*, 30 October

Anon., 1998. Ecologists to petition Chuan on Phi Phi filming. *The Nation*, 11 November

Anon., 1998. RFD chief insists Phi Phi is safe. *The Nation*, 14 November

Anon., 1998. More than a question of celluloid silliness. *The Nation*, 15 November

Anon., 2005. Don't forget us – Phi Phi. *Phuket Gazette*, 9 September

Anon., 2004. Things need not have been so bad. *The Bangkok Post*, 29 December

Anon., The trouble with trade. *ISEC/Ladakh Project Newsletter*, No. 12, 1.6

Anon., 2000. DiCaprio's Beach Closes, BBC News, Thursday 6th April

Anon., 2004. Thailand may have delayed Tsunami Warning to save Tourist trade. *The Scotsman*, 28 December

Anon., 2004. Tsunami Warning rejected to protect Tourism. *The Nation*, 28 December

Anon. *et al.*, 2005. Reservoir Dogs?? Hi Phi Phi Discussion Forum, 8 June

Anon., 2005. The Day of Tears. *Europe Intelligence Wire*, 18 January

Anon., 2002. Krabi in desperate bid to attract tourists. *Asia Africa Intelligence Wire*, 17 January

Anon., 2005. Tour boats switch to Maya beach. *Asia Africa Intelligence Wire*, 18 January

Anon., 2005. Land Wars in Post-Tsunami World. CNN News December 4

Anon., 2005. More than Islands. *Bangkok Post*, 24 March

Anon., 2005. Seabed sculptures to draw divers. *Phuket Gazette*, 29 August

Anon., 2005. Tsunami Update: Thailand's Lonely Planet – New book Update

Anon., 2006. Phi Phi Construction ban eased. *The Phuket Gazette*, 6 January

Anon., 2005. Paradise regained as *The Beach* bounces back. www.gg2.net/

Anon., 2006. Big Phi Phi Meeting makes small progress. *The Phuket Gazette*, 24 January

Anon., 2005. The Lost Paradise, Koh Chang Invasion. *I am Koh Chang*, 3 June

Anon., 2006. Suwat pushes for fast action on Phi Phi. *The Phuket Gazette*, 24 February

Anon., 2006. Four Teens Arrested in Phi Phi Murder. *The Phuket Gazette*, 12 September

Anon., 2006. Phi Phi Murder Mystery. *Phuket Post*, issue 37, 23 September-6 October

Anon., 2011. Profile: Thaksin Shinawatra BBC News, 24 June

Ap, J., Crompton, J. L., 1998. Developing and Testing a Tourism Impact Scale. *Journal of Travel Research*, 37(2), pp. 120-131

Argenti, J., 1976. *Corporate Collapse: The Causes and Symptoms*. London: McGraw-Hill

Arghiros, D., 2001. *Democracy, development and decentralization in provincial Thailand*. London: Routledge

Ateljevic,I.,Harris,C.,Wilson,E.andCollins,F., 2005. Getting 'entangled': reflexivity and the 'critical turn' in tourism studies. *Tourism RecreationResearch* 30(2), pp. 9–21.

Axelrod, R., and Hamilton, W. D., 1981. The evolution of cooperation. *Science*, 211(4489), pp. 1390-1396.

Ayub, M. A. and Cruikshank, E. D., 1977. The Political Economy of the Caribbean. *Finance and Development*, 14, p. 38

Baker, S., Kousis, M., Richardson, D., Young, S., 1997. *The Politics of Sustainable Development*. London: Routledge

Baldini, G., Oliveri, F., Braun, M., Seuschek, H., Hess, E., 2012. Securing disaster supply chains with cryptography-enhanced RFID. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, 2(1), pp. 51-70

Banks, M., 2002. Visual Research Methods. *Indian Folklore*, 1(4)

Banks, M., 2005. *Visual Methods in Social Research*. London: Sage

Barioulet, H. (nd.). Matrix for Evaluating Tourism Projects on the Basis of Sustainable Tourism Indicators. *Groupe Developpement* France

BBC Video (2005) 'The Tsunami: One year on' BBC Video 5 December, 21:00

Bergman, B., 2005. In aftermath of Tsunami, UC Berkley team visits Thailand to open dialogue on impacts of Tourism. *UC Berkley Web Feature*, 26 July

Berggren, R. E., Tyler, J., Curiel, M.D., Engl, J., 2006. After the Storm — Health Care Infrastructure in Post-Katrina New Orleans. *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 354, pp. 1549-1552

Beritelli, P., 2011. Cooperation among Prominent Actors in a Tourism Destination. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38(2), pp. 607-629

Berno, T., Bricker, K., 2001. Sustainable Tourism development: The Long Road from Theory to Practice. *International Journal of Economic Development*, 3(3)

Berry, D. M., 2004. Internet research: privacy, ethics and alienation: an open source approach. *Internet Research*, 14(4), pp.323-332

Beirman, D. A., 2006. 'Comparative assessment of three Southeast Asian tourism recovery campaigns: Singapore roars: post SARS 2003, Bali post the October 12, 2002 bombing, and WOW Philippines 2003'. In Y. Mansfeld and A. Pizam (eds.), *Tourism, security, and safety from theory to practice*. Burlington, MA: Elsevier-Butterworth-Heinemann, (pp. 251–270).

Bianchi, R. V., 1999. *A critical ethnography of tourism entrepreneurship and social change in a fishing community in Gran Canaria electronic resource*. University of North London.

Bianchi, R. V., 2003. Place and Power in Tourism development: Tracing the Complex Articulations of Community and Locality. *PASOS Revisita de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural*, 1(1), pp. 13-32

Bishop, R., Robinson, L. S., 1997. *Night Market: Sexual Cultures and the Thai Economic Miracle*. London; Routledge

Blaikie, P. *et al* 1994. *At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's vulnerability and Disasters.* Routledge, London and New York

Bloyer, J. M., Gustke, L. D., Leung, Y., 2004. Indicators for Sustainable Tourism development: Crossing the Divide from Definitions to Actions. *Sustainable Tourism*

Boggs, C., 1976. *Gramsci's Marxism.* London: Pluto Press.

Bommer, J., 1985. The Politics of Disaster – Nicaragua. *Disasters*, 9(4), pp.270-278

Bonn, I., Rundle-Thiele, S., 2007. Do or Die? Strategic decision making Following a Shock Event. *Tourism Management,* 28, pp. 615-620

Bonner, 1994. *Post-Methodology; New Directions for research Methodologies in the Social Sciences*. Dublin: Department of Sociology, Trinity College.

Botterill, D., 2003. An Autoethnographic Narrative on Tourism Research Epistemologies. *Loisir et Société* 26(1): pp. 97-110.

Boucher, G. W. (nd.). *The necessity of including the researcher in one's research*. Temple University, Philadelphia, USA

Bradshaw, S., 2002. Exploring the gender dimensions of reconstruction processes post-hurricane Mitch. *J. Int. Dev*., 14. pp.871–879

Brammer, H., 1990. Floods in Bangladesh: A geographical background to the 1987 and 1988 floods. *Geographical Journal*, 156(1), pp. 12–22

Breuer, F., Roth, W. M., 2003. Subjectivity and Reflexivity in the Social Sciences: Epistemic Windows and Methodical Consequences. Forum: *Qualitative Social Research*, 4(2)

Bramwell, B., Lane, B., 2000. *Tourism collaboration and partnerships: politics, practice and sustainability*. Channel View Publications.

Briassoulis, H., 2002. Sustainable Tourism and the Question of the Commons. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(4), pp. 1065-1085

Brohman, J., 1996. *Popular Development; Rethinking Theory and Practice of Development*. Oxford: Blackwells

Brown, L., 2000. *Sex Slaves: The Trafficking of Women in Asia*. London: Virago

Brickshawana, A., 2003. 'Tourism Policy of Thailand' seminar on "Location and Attractiveness Studies in Tourism: Supporting Tools for Tourism Policies", Phuket, Thailand, Tuesday 2nd December

Britton, S. G., 1982. The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 9(2) pp. 331-358

Britton, S. G., Clarke, W. C., 1987. *Ambiguous Alternative: Tourism in Small Developing Countries.* University of the South Pacific

Brix, H., Koottatep, T., Laugesen, C. H., 2007. Wastewater Treatment in Tsunami affected areas of Thailand by Constructed Wetlands. *Water Science and Technology*, 56(3). p. 69

Brix, H., Koottatep, T., Fryd, O., and Laugesen, C. H., 2011. The Flower and the Butterfly Constructed Wetland System at Koh Phi Phi – System Design and Lessons Learned during Implementation and Operation. *Ecological Engineering*, 37(5), pp. 729-735

Bruce-Pratt, M., 2005. Tourism in South Asia – Who Profits, Who Pays? *Workers World Newspaper* 13 January

Burnett, J. J., 1998. A strategic approach to managing crises. *Public Relations Review*, 24(4), pp. 475–488.

Burns, P, M., Holden, A, 1995. *Tourism: A New Perspective*. Harlow: Prentice Hall

Burton, R., 1995. *Travel geography*, 2nd edn. London: Pitman

Butler, 1993. *Tourism Research.* London: Routledge

Butts, S., 2005. Opiniones y ensayos: Community attitudes and failure to respond: A Hegemonic Model. *PASOS*, 3(1), pp. 199-202

Byrne, A., Fan, S., Ramsey, D., Shah, N., 2005. *Let's Go: Thailand*. New York: St. Martin's Press

Calgaro, E., 2005. Paradise in Tatters: An Analysis of the Vulnerability of the Tourism Community in Khao Lak, Thailand to the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. *The Stockholm*

Calgaro, E., Lloyd, K., 2008. Sun, Sea, Sand and Tsunami: Examining Disaster Vulnerability in the Tourism Community of Khao Lak, Thailand. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 29(3), pp. 288-306

Carbone, G., Yunis, E., 2005. Making Tourism More Sustainable: A Guide for Policy Makers. United Nations Environment Programme and the World Tourism Organisation Environmental Institute

Castrée, N., 2003. Commodifying what nature? *Progress in Human Geography* 27(2), pp. 273-92.

Castrée, N., 2007. Neoliberalising nature 1: The logics of de- and re-regulation. *Environment and Planning A* 40(1), pp. 131-152.

Chaisawat, M., 2006. Policy and Planning of Tourism Product Development in Thailand: A Proposed Model', *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 11(1), pp. 1-16.

Chandler, P., 2011. Review of *Capitalizing on Disaster: Taking and Breaking Public Schools. Workplace*, 18, pp. 36-38.

Chang, T. C., Milne, S., Fallon, D., Pohlmann, C., 1996. Urban Heritage Tourism: Exploring the Global-Local Nexus. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, pp. 284-305

Channel News Asia, (2005) 'Thailand unveils Tourism revival plan as post-Tsunami arrivals fall', www.channelnewsasia.com, accessed 21.07.2005

Charuvichaipong, C., Sajor, E., 2006. Promoting waste separation for recycling and local governance in Thailand. *Habitat International* 30, pp. 579-594

Chavez, R., 1999. Globalisation and Tourism: Deadly mix for indigenous peoples. *Third World Resurgence*, March, No. 103

Cheong, S-M., Miller, M., 2000. Power and tourism: a Foucauldian observation. *Annals of Tourism Research* 29(2), pp. 371–90.

Choo, B., 2005. Three New InterContinental Resorts signed for Thailand. InterContinental Hotels Group: News Releases, 16 September

Chudintra, S., 1993. 'Nature Tourism Profile: Thailand', in *Nature Tourism in Asia: Opportunities and Constraints for Conservation and Economic Development*, eds. J. Nenon and P. Durst. Washington: Forestry Support Program, Washington, DC, pp. 31–41.

Circle of Asia http://www.circleofasia.com/guide/index.asp?Id=101, accessed 24.05.2006

Clancy, M. J., 1999. Tourism and Development: Evidence from Mexico. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(1), pp. 1-20

Clark, D. A., 2002. Development ethics: a research agenda. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 29(11) pp. 830-848

Clement, H., 1961. 'The Future of Tourism in the Pacific and Far East', a report prepared by Checci and Company under a contract with the United States Department of Commerce and co-sponsored by the Pacific Area Travel Association, Department of Commerce, Washington DC

Cohen, E., 1973. Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter Tourism. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 14(1), pp. 89-103

Cohen, E., 1979. Rethinking the sociology of Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 6(1), pp. 18-35

Cohen, E., 1982. Marginal Paradises: Bungalow Tourism on the Islands of Southern Thailand. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 9(2), pp. 189-228

Cohen, E., 1983. Insiders and outsiders: The dynamics of development of bungalow tourism on the islands of southern Thailand. *Hum. Organ.* 27(2), pp. 227-51

Cohen, E., 1984. The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues and Findings. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 10 pp. 373-392

Cohen, E., 2003. Backpacking: Diversity and Change. *Tourism and Cultural Change*, 1(2)

Cohen, S., 2010. Re-conceptualising lifestyle travellers: contemporary 'drifters'. In K. Hannam and A. Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond Backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences.* Clevedon: Channel View Publications, pp. 64-84.

Cole, S., 2006. Information and Empowerment: The Keys to achieving Sustainable Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 14(6)

Cole, S., 2009. A Logistic Tourism Model: resort Cycles, Globalisation and Chaos. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36(4), pp. 689-714

Collier, J., 1967. *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method Holt*. New York: Reinhart and Winston

Comfort, L., 2005. Risk, security, and disaster management. *Ann. Rev. Polit. Sci*. 8, pp. 335–356.

Cooper et al, 1998. *Tourism Principles and Practice*. Harlow: Longman

Connor, J., 2005. www.diveguide.com/Tsunami.htm, accessed 21.07.2005

Conran, M., 2011 (in press). 'They Really Love Me!' Intimacy in Volunteer Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*

Coppola, D. P., 2007. *An Introduction to International Disaster Management.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann

Corbin, J., Strauss, A., 1990. Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons and Evaluative Criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, 13, pp. 3-21

Coulter, A., 2002. Tourism's Key Issue. *The Travel Trade Gazette* 26 August

Cowen, M. P., Shenton, R. W., 1996. *Doctrines of Development.* London: Routledge

Creswell, J. W., 2003. *Research Design; Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (2nd Edition). London: Sage

Cummings, J., 2005. 'Post-Tsunami visit to the Phi Phi Archipelago', Chiang Mai News, 26 February

Cummings, J., 2005. 'Andaman Coast Post-Tsunami Landscape: Island Recovery', TAT Governor Corner, 28 February

Cupchik, G., 2001. Constructivist Realism: An Ontology that encompasses Positivist and Constructivist approaches to the social sciences. Forum: *Qualitative Social Research*, 2(1), February

Da Silva, A., 2002. 'Thailand's TourismIndustry' Kapiolani Community College; Horizons www.bosp.kcc.hawaii.edu/Horizons, accessed 21.08.2006

Dann, G., 1999. Writing out the tourist in space and time. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(1), pp. 159–87.

De Chavez, R. (1999) 'Globalisation and Tourism: Deadly mix for indigenous peoples' Third World Network Resurgence No. 103, March

De Kadt, E., 1979. *Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspective on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries*. New York: Oxford University Press

Delcore, H. D., 2007. The Racial Distribution of Privilege in a Thai National Park. *Journal of South East Asian Studies*, 38(1), pp. 83-105

Denscombe, M., 2002. *Ground Rules for Good Research*. Maidenhead: Open University Press

Denscombe, M., 2003. *The Good Research Guide* (second edition). Maidenhead: Open University Press

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA)
http://www.defra.gov.uk/environment/sustainable/#principles, accessed 27.07. 2005

Department of National Parks, Wildlife and Plant Conservation (nd)
http://www.dnp.go.th/parkreserve/nature.asp?lg=2 accessed 30.04.2012

Deveney, B., 2005. An Investigation into aspects of Thai Culture and its impact upon Thai Students in an International School in Thailand. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 4(2), pp. 153-171

Dickenson, J., Gould, B., Clarke, C., Mather, S., Prothero, M., Siddle, D., Smith, C., Thomas-Hope, E., 1996. *Geography of the Third World* (2nd Edition). London: Routledge

Dieke, P.U.C., 2000. *The political economy of tourism development in Africa.* New York: Cognizant Communication Corp

Dimmock, C., 2000. *Designing the Learning Centred School: A Cross-Cultural Perspective.*
London: Falmer.

Dodds, R., Graci, S. R., and Holmes, M., 2010. Does the Tourist Care? A comparison of Tourists in Koh Phi Phi, Thailand and Gili Trawangan, Indonesia. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18(2), pp.207-222

Dodds, R., 2011. Koh Phi Phi: Moving Towards or away from Sustainability? *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 15(3), pp. 251-265

Douglas, D., 2003. Inductive theory generation: A grounded approach to business enquiry. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 2(1), pp. 47-54

Doxey, G. V., 1976. A causation theory of visitor-resident irritants: Methodology and research inferences. In The Impact of Tourism, Proc. 6th Ann. Conf. Travel Res. Assoc., San Diego, Calif., pp. 195-98

Dredge, D., 2010. Place change and Tourism development Conflict: Evaluating Public Interest. *Tourism Management*, 31, pp. 104-112

Dressel, G., Langreiter, N., 2003. When 'We Ourselves' Become our own field of Research. *Forum*: *Qualitative Social Research (Online Journal)*, 4(2), May

Duffy, R., 2000. Shadow players: ecotourism development, corruption and state politics in Belize. *Third World Quarterly*, 21(3), pp. 549-65.

Duffy, M. E., 1987. Methodological Triangulation: A Vehicle for Merging Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods. *Image: Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 19, pp.130-133.

Duffy, M. E., 2002. Methodological issues in web-based research. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 34(1), pp. 83-88.

Duffy, R., 2008. Neoliberalising Nature: Global Networks and Ecotourism development in Madagascar. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 16(3), pp. 327-344

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R., Lowe, A., 2002. *Management Research*. London: Sage

Edwards, E., 1992 (ed.) *Anthropology and photography 1860-1920.* New Haven: Yale University Press in association with The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.

Eisenhardt, K. M., 1989. Building theories from case study research. *Academy of Management Review,* 14, pp. 532-550

Ekachai, S., 1998. What it all boils down to is greed. *Bangkok Post* 12 November

Elliott, J.,1983. Politics, Power and Tourism in Thailand. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 10. pp. 377-393

Elliott, J. A., 1994. *An introduction to sustainable development* (2nd edition). London: Routledge

Enarson, E. and Morrow, B. 1998. Why gender, why women? In Enarson, E. and Morrow, B. (eds) *The Gendered Terrain of Disasters.* Praeger, Westport, Connecticut and London.

Escobar, A., 1994. Welcome To Cyberia: Notes on the Anthropology of Cyberculture. *Current Anthropology*, 35 (June), pp. 211-231.

Escobar, A., 1984. Discourse and power in development: Michel Foucault and the relevance of his work to the Third World. *Alternatives* 10(4), pp. 377–400.

Fahn, J., 1998. 'Last Chance to Save Krabi' *The Nation* 1 December

Fahn, J., 1998. 'Beauty and *The Beach' The Nation Anon*.

Fahn, J., 2003. *A Land on Fire: The Environmental Consequences of the Southeast Asian Boom*. Colorado: Westview Press

Fairhead, J., Leach, M., and Scoones, I., 2012. Green Grabbing: A New Appropriation of Nature. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39(2), pp. 237-261

Fallon, F., 2001. Conflict, Power and Tourism on Lombok. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 4(6).

Faulkner, B., 2001. Towards a framework for tourism disaster management. *Tourism Management*, 22(2), pp. 135–147.

Fink, S., 1986. *Crisis management: Planning for the inevitable*. New York: American Association of Management.

Finlay, L., 2005. An introduction to phenomenology. Retrieved 24.06.2009 from http://www.lindafinlay.co.uk/phenomenology.htm

Finlay, L., 2002. Negotiating the swamp: The Opportunity and Challenge of Relexivity in Research Practice. *Qualitative Research*, 2(2), pp. 209-230

Finn, M., Elliott-White, M., Walton, M., 2000. *Tourism and Leisure Research Methods; Data Collection, Analysis and Interpretation*. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd.

Fisher, D., 2004. The Demonstration Effect Revisited. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(2) pp. 428-446

Fisher, D. (nd.). *Tourism, Culture and Development: Whose Culture? Whose Development?* New Zealand Lincoln University

Flyer Magazine (2005) 'News from Krabi after the Tsunami', www.yourkrabi.com/flyer, accessed 13.07.2005

Font, X., and Harris, C., 2004. Rethinking Standards from Green to Sustainable. *Annals of Tourism Research* 31(4), pp. 986-1007

Foreign and Commonwealth Office (nd.) 'Sustainable Tourism' www.fco.gov.uk date, accessed 28.08.2006

Foley, P., 2005. www.diveguide.com/Tsunami.htm, accessed 21.07.2005

Frank, A.G., 1929-2005. (1967), *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America: historical studies of Chile and Brazil* (revised edition). New York: Monthly Review Press

Fuengprichavai, R., 1998. At the movies or at the beach, where were you? *The Nation* 17 November

Forsyth, T. (nd) 'What is Sustainable Tourism?' Fathom Sessions (1-4) The London School of Economics and Political Science; London, UK

Friends of the Earth, 1992. 'The Eleven Days that we tried to change the World', Letter to Members and Supporters, London, Friends of the Earth.

Garland, A., 1997. *The Beach.* London; Penguin Books Ltd

Geertz, C., 1983. *Local knowledge: Further essays in interpretive anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.

George, S., Sabelli, F., 1994. *Faith and credit: the World Bank's secular empire* (1st edn). Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press

Ghobarah, A., Saatcioglu, M., Nistor, I., 2006. The Impact of the 26 December 2004 Earthquake and Tsunami on structures and infrastructure. *Engineering Structures*, 28(2), pp. 312-326

Gibbs, D., 2003. Reconciling Economic Development and the Environment. *Local Environment*, 8(1), pp. 3-8

Giddens, A., 1997. *Sociology* (3rd ed). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Glaser, B. G., Strauss, A. L., 1967. *The discovery of grounded theory.* Chicago: Aldine.

Goldsmith, A., 1996. 'Seeds of exploitation: Free Trade Zones' in the *Global Economy. The Case against Global Economy* San Francisco; Sierra Club Books, p. 267

Goulding, C., 2005. Grounded Theory, ethnography and phenomenology: A comparative analysis of three qualitative strategies for marketing research. *European Journal of Marketing*, 39, pp. 294-308

Gray, P. H., 1970. *International Travel-International Trade*. Lexington, Massachusetts: Heath Lexington Books

Greenhough, B., Jazeel, T., Massey, D., 2005. The Indian Ocean Tsunami: Geographical Commentaries One Year On. *The Geographical Journal*, 171(4), pp. 369-386

Grossnickle, J., Raskin, O., 2000. *The Handbook of Online Marketing Research: Knowing Your Customer Using the Net.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Guion, L. A., 2002. *Triangulation; Establishing the Validity of Qualitative Studies.* University of Florida

Gunter, B., Nicholas, D., Huntingdon, P., and Williams, P., 2002. Online versus offline research: implications for evaluating digital media. *Aslib Proceedings*, 54(4), pp. 229-239

Gursoy, D., Jurowski, C., Uysal, M., 2002. Resident attitudes: a structural modeling approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(1), pp. 79-105.

Gursoy, D., 2004. Host Attitudes Toward Tourism: An Improved Structural Model. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(3), pp. 495-516

Gunn, C. A., 2002. *Tourism planning*. London: Routledge

Gunn, C.A. 1994. *Tourism planning: basics, concepts, cases* (3rd edn). Washington and London: Taylor & Francis

Hakken, D., 1999. *Cyborgs@Cyberspace?: An Ethnographer Looks to the Future.* New York: Routledge

Hall, D., 1994. *Tourism and Politics.* Wallingford: CABI

Hall, T. W., Elliott, J. E., 1999. Methodological controversies in economics and political economy. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 26(10/11), pp. 1249-1284

Hall, C. M., 2000. *Tourism planning; Policies, Processes and Relationships*. Harlow: Pearson Education

Hall, C. M., Lew, A. A., 1998. *Sustainable Tourism*. Harlow: Pearson

Hall, C. M., Lew, A. A., 2009. *Understanding and Managing Tourism Impacts: An Integrated Approach.* London: Routledge

Hall, C. M., Page, S., 2000. *Tourism in South and South-East Asia: Issues and Cases.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann

Hampton, M. P., 1998. Backpacker Tourism and Economic Development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25(3), pp. 639-660

Hallinger, P., Chantarapanya, P., Sriboonma, U., Kantamara, P., 2000. 'The challenge of educational reform in Thailand', in T. Townsend and Y.C. Young (eds.) *Educational Change and Development in the Asia Pacific Region: Challenges for the Future*, Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, p. 332.

Hann, C., Dunn, E. (eds.), 1996. *Civil Society: Challenging Western Models*. London: Routledge

Hannam, K., 2002. Tourism and Development: Globalisation and Power. *Progress in Development Studies*, 2 (3), pp. 227-234

Hannam, K., Diekmann, A., 2010. 'From backpacking to flashpacking: Developments in backpacker tourism research', in K. Hannam and A. Diekmann (eds.), *Beyond backpacker tourism: Mobilities and experiences.* Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp. 1–7

Hardiman, N., Burgin, S., 2010. Adventure recreation in Australia: a case study that investigated the profile of recreational canyoners, their impact attitudes, and response to potential management options. *Journal of Ecotourism*, 9(1)

Hardin, G., 1968. *The tragedy of the commons*. *Science*, 162(3859), pp. 1243-1248.

Hardy, A., Beeton, R. J. S., Pearson, L., 2002. Sustainable Tourism: An Overview of the concept and its position in relation to the conceptualisations of Tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 10(6).

Harper, Douglas A., 1987. *Working knowledge: skill and community in a small shop.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harris, J. M., 2000. 'Basic Principles of Sustainable Development'. Global Development and Environment Institute Working Paper Tufts University, Medford, USA, June

Harrison, L. C., Husbands, W., 1996. *Practicing Responsible Tourism, International Case Studies in Tourism planning, Policy and Development*. Toronto, Canada: Wiley & Sons

Harrison, D., 1941- 1992, *Tourism and the less developed countries.* London: Belhaven.

Harrison, D., 1996. *Sustainability and Tourism: Reflections from a muddy pool. Sustainable Tourism in Islands and small states.* London: Pinter

Harrison, G. & McKinnon, J., 1999. Cross-cultural research in management control systems design: A review of the current state. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 24, pp. 483–506.

Hart, A., 2005. 'Reconstructing Paradise' Lonely Planet – News and features from Tsunami Affected regions

Hart, A., 2005. 'Thailand's Coral Reefs' Lonely Planet – News and features from Tsunami Affected regions

Harvey, P., 2001. Buddhism: Mistranslations, misconceptions and neglected territory. *Contemporary Buddhism: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 2(1), pp. 19-37

Harvey, D., 2006. *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development.* London: Verso

Harvey, D., 2007. Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction. *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610(1), pp. 21-44

Headland, T., Pike, K., Harris, M., 1990. *Emics and etics: The insider/outsider debate*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hedman, E-L., 2005. 'The Politics of the Tsunami Response' Forced Migration Review accessed at http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/25268/1/FMRSI70.pdf, accessed 19.04.2012

Helmy, E., 2004. Towards Integration of Sustainability into Tourism planning in Developing Countries. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 7(6)

Help International Phi Phi, www.hiphiphi.com, accessed 24/07/2005

Henderson, J. C., 1999. Managing the Asian financial crisis: Tourist attractions in Singapore. *Journal of Travel Research*, 38, pp. 177–181.

Henderson, J. C., 2003. The Politics of Tourism in Myanmar. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 6(2)

Henderson, J. C., 2005. Responding to Natural Disasters: Managing a Hotel in the aftermath of the Indian Ocean Tsunami. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 6(1)

Henderson, J. C., (in press), 2007. 'Corporate social responsibility and Tourism: Hotel Companies in Phuket, Thailand, after the Indian Ocean Tsunami' *Hospitality Management*

Heron, J., 1996. *Co-operative Enquiry: Research into the Human Condition.* London: Sage

Heyman, J., 1999. *States and Illegal Practices*. Oxford: Berg

Hjorland, B., 2005. Empiricism, rationalism and positivism in library and information science. *Journal of Documentation*, 61(1), pp. 130-155

Hockings, P. (ed.), 1995. *Principles of visual anthropology* (2nd edition).The Hague: Mouton.

Hofstede, G., 1983. National Cultures in Four Dimensions: A Research-Based Theory of Cultural Differences among Nations. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 13 (1/2), pp. 46-74

Hofstede, G., 1991. *Cultures and Organizations: Intercultural Cooperation and its Importance for Survival*. London: HarperCollins.

Holden, A., 2005. *Tourism Studies and the Social Sciences*. Oxford: Routledge

Holden, A., 2008. *Environment and Sustainability*. Oxford: Routledge

Holden, A., IN PRESS. *Tourism, Poverty and Development in the Developing World*. Oxford: Routledge

Hollinshead, K., 1999. Surveillance of the worlds of tourism: Foucault and the eye-of-power. *Tourism Management*, 20, pp. 7-23.

Hottola, P., 2004. Culture Confusion: Intercultural Adaptation in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(2), pp. 447-466

House, J., 1997. Redefining sustainability: a structural approach to sustainable tourism, in Stabler, M. (ed) *Tourism and sustainability: Principles to practice*, Wallingford: CAB International, pp. 89-104

Howie, F., 2003. *Managing the Tourist Destination*. London: Continuum.

Huan, T., Beaman, J,. Shelby, L., 2004. No Escape Natural Disaster: Mitigating Impacts on Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research,* 31(2), pp. 255-273

Hunter, C., Green, H., 1995. *Tourism and the Environment: A Sustainable Relationship?* London and New York: Routledge

Hvenegaard, G. T., Dearden, P., 1998. Ecotourismvs Tourism in a Thai National Park. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25(3), pp. 700-720

Hystad, P. W., Keller, P. C., 2008. Towards a destination tourism disaster management framework: Long Term lessons from a forest fire disaster. *Tourism Management,* 29, pp. 151-162

Illum, S. F., Ivanov, S. H., Liang, Y., 2010. Using Virtual Communities in Tourism Research. *Tourism Management,* 31, pp. 335-340

Ing, K., 1998. 'Examining roles and policies of film board and RFD' *The Nation* 13 November

Ingram, S., 2000. 'Tourists flock to the Beach', BBC News, Friday 10 March

Ingram, J. C., Franco, G., Rumbaitis-Del Rio, C., Khazai, B., 2006. Post Disaster Recovery Dilemmas: Challenges in Balancing Short Term and Long Term Needs for Vulnerability Reduction' Environmental Science and Policy International Institute for Sustainable Development, http://www.iisd.org/, accessed 24.05.2006

IUCN (2005) 'Recovery from the Indian Ocean Tsunami – Guidance for Ecosystem Rehabilitation incorporating livelihoods concerns' The World Conservation Union Information Paper February

Jankowicz, A. D., 2000. *Business Research Projects* (third edition). Luton: Business Press

Jessop, B., 1999. 'Reflections on globalisation and its (il)logic(s)', in K. Olds, P. Dicken, P. F. Kelly, L. Kong, and H. W. Yeung (eds.), *Globalisatoon and the Asia-Pacific: Contested territories*. London: Routledge, pp. 19-38

Johnson, G., 1988. Rethinking Incrementalism. *Strategic Management Journal*, 9(1) pp. 73-91.

Johnson, C., 2003. 'Debunking the Paradise Myth' Georgia Straight 11-17 December, Vancouver, Canada

Johnson, G., Scholes, K., 2002. *Exploring Corporate Strategy* (sixth edition). Harlow: Prentice Hall

Johnson, K., 2009. Corporate sperm count and boiled frogs: Seeds of ideas to kindle innovation in students. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 21(2), pp.179-190

Johnson, P., Duberley, J., 2003. Reflexivity in Management Research. *Journal of Management Studies*, 40(5), pp. 1279-1303

Jones, G. R., George, J. M., Hill, C. W., 2000. *Contemporary Management*. London: Irwin McGraw-Hill

Jones, K., 2000. 'Thailand; Paradise Lost?', BBC News, Friday 11 August

Jones, S. G., 1995. 'Understanding Community in the Information Age' in *Cybersociety: Computer-mediated Communication and Community*, ed. Stephen G. Jones. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 10-35.

Jones, S, G (ed.), 1999. *Doing Internet Research: Critical Issues and Methods for Examining the Net.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Jigyasu, R., 2002. 'Sustainable Post Disaster Reconstruction Through Integrated Risk Management – The case of rural communities in South-Asia'

Jivananthaprawat, B., 2006. 'Tourism Plan ruled out for Phi Phi Island; Government decision to keep Dasta away welcomed' *The Bangkok Post* February 17

Justice for Maya Bay International Alliance (2000) www.uq.edu.au/~pggredde/beach/index.html, accessed 16.05.2005

Kadlec R.H., Knight R.L., Vymazal J., Brix H., Cooper P., Haberl R., 2000. *Constructed Wetlands for Pollution Control. Processes, performance, design and operation*. Scientific and Technical Report, International Water Association, London.

Kaewkuntee, D., 2006. Land Tenure, Land Conflicts and Post-Tsunami Relocation in Thailand. *Mekong Update and Dialogue*, 9(2), April-June

Kakazu, H., 2008. *Island Sustainability*. Canada: Trafford Publishing

Kamemba, D. M. K., 2003. 'The Challenges of Cultural Heritage/ Community Tourism' Second African Peace through Tourism Conference 7th-12th December, Golden Tulip Hotel, Dar Es Salaam

Kastenholz, E., 2004. Management of Demand as a Tool in Sustainable Tourist Destination Development. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 12(5)

Khazai, B., Franco, G., Ingram, J.C., Rumbaitis-del Rio, C., Dias, P., Dissanayake, R., Chandratilake, R., Kannu, J., 2006. Post-tsunami reconstruction in Sri Lanka and its potential impacts on future vulnerability. *Earthquake Spectra*, 22(S3), S829–S844.

Khor, M., 1996. *Global economy in the Third World: The Case against Global Economy.* San Francisco; Sierra Club Books, pp. 47-48

Khor, M., 2005. 'Global Trends: Lessons from the Tsunami, one year on'. Third World Network (Online) 27 December

Kingsbury, D., Remenyi, J., McKay, J., Hunt, J., 2004. *Key Issues in Development.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Klein, N., 2005. 'The Rise of Disaster Capitalism' *The Nation* 2 May

Klein, N., 2008. *The Shock Doctrine*. London; Penguin

Knowles, C., Sweetman, P., (eds.), 2005. *Picturing the Social Landscape: Visual Methods and the Sociological Imagination*. London: Routledge

Ko, T. G., 2005. Development of a Tourism Sustainability Assessment Procedure: A Conceptual Approach. *Tourism Management,* 26(3), pp. 431-445

Koh Phi Phi.com (http://www.ko-phiphi.com/maps/ accessed 24.03.2011)

Komilis, P., 1994. *Tourism and Sustainable Regional Development: Tourism, The State of the Art*, Chichester: John Wiley

Konisranukul, W., Tuaycharoen, N., 2010. 'Public Participation in Sustainable Island and Tourism planning' Faculty of Science and Technology, Thammasat University, Thailand

Kontogeorgopoulos, N., 1998. Tourism in Thailand: Patterns, Trends and Limitations. *Pacific Tourism Review*, 2, pp. 225-238

Kontogeorgopoulos, N., 1999. Sustainable Tourism or Sustainable Development? Financial Crisis, Eco Tourism and the 'Amazing Thailand' Campaign. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 2(4)

Kontogeorgopoulos, N., 2005. Community-based Eco Tourism in Phuket and Ao Phangnga, Thailand: Partial Victories and Bittersweet Remedies. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 13(1)

Koottatep T., Surinkul N., Polprasert C., Kamal A.S.M., Kone D., Montangero A., Heinss U., Strauss M., 2005. Treatment of septage in constructed wetlands in a tropical climate: lessons learnt from seven years of operation. *Wat. Sci. Tech.* 51, pp. 119-126.

Korten, D., 1996. *When Corporations Rule the World West.* Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press

Kousis, M., 2000. Tourism and The Environment: A Social Movements Perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(2), pp. 468-489

Kozinets, Robert V., 1998. 'On Netnography: Initial Reflections on Consumer Research Investigations of Cyber culture' in *Advances in Consumer Research*, volume 25, ed., Joseph Alba and Wesley Hutchinson, Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, pp. 366-371.

Kozinets, R. V., 1999. E-Tribalized Marketing? The Strategic Implications of Virtual Communities of Consumption. *European Management Journal*, 17(3), pp. 252-264.

Kozinets, R. V., 2001. *The Field Behind the Screen: Using NetnographyFor Marketing Research in Online Communities (March 2001)*

Krongkaew, M., 2000. 'The Political Economy of Growth in Developing East Asia: A Thematic Paper'. Third Global Development Network (GDN) Conference World Bank; Prague, 9-10 June

Krongkaew, M., 2004. The Development of Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS): Real Promise or False Hope? *Journal of Asian Economics*, 15, pp. 977-998

Krutwaysho, O., Bramwell, B., 2010. Tourism Policy Implementation and Society. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(3), pp. 670-691

Kurtz, D. V. Hegemony and Anthropology: Gramsci, Exegeses, Reinterpretations. *Critique of Anthropology*, 16(2), pp. 106-135

Lacher, R. G., Nepal, S. K., 2010. Dependency and Development in Northern Thailand. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(4), pp. 947-968

Ladkin, A.,1998. 'Sustainable Tourism: Eco Loving or Marketing Plot?' Conference Proceedings University of Westminster, London, 8 December

Lafferty, W., Meadowcroft, J., (eds.), 2000. *Implementing Sustainable Development: Strategies and Initiatives in High Consumption Societies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Laopaisarntaksin, S., 1998. 'Filming of the Beach cleared' *Bangkok Post* 6 November

Leheny, D., 1995. A Political Economy of Asian Sex Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22(2), pp. 367-384

Lee, Y. F., Harrald, J. R., 1999. Critical issue for business area impact analysis in business crisis management: Analytical capability. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, 8(3), pp. 184–189.

Leedy, P. D. 1997. *Practical Research, Planning and Design*, Macmillan Publishing Co., New York.

Liu, Z., 2003. Sustainable Tourism development: A Critique. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 11(6), pp. 459-475

Lonely Planet, 2004. *Thailand's Islands and Beaches* (4th Edition). Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications Ltd

Lonely Planet, 2005. Thailand's Islands and Beaches: Update Post-Tsunami researched 8-23 March 2005

Maathai, W. 2009. *The challenge for Africa: a new vision.* London*:* William Heinemann.

Macbeth, J., 2005. Towards an Ethics Platform for Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(4), pp. 962-984

Macleod, D. V. L., Carrier, J. G., 2010. *Tourism, Power and Culture; Anthropological Insights.* Bristol: Channel View Publications

Maida, C. A., 2007. *Sustainability and Communities of Place.* Oxford: Berghahn Books

Mam, S., 2008. *The Road of Lost Innocence*. London: Virago

Mann, M., 2000. *The Community Tourism Guide: Exciting Holidays for Responsible Travellers.* London*:* Earthscan Publications Ltd.

Martens, P., Rotmans, J., 2005. Transitions in a Globalising World. *Futures*, 37, pp. 1133-1144

Markandya, A., Francis, P. (nd.) 'Promoting Private Sector Participation in the Financing of Sustainable Development'

Mason, P., 2008. *Tourism: Impacts, planning and management*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann

Mather, R., 2005. 'Post-Tsunami coral reef assessment done in Thailand', WWF Newsroom, 18 February

Mathieson, A., Wall, G., 1982. *Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts. New York: Longman*

McAfee, K., 1999. Selling nature to save it? Biodiversity and the rise of green developmentalism. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 17(2), pp. 133-154.

McCargo, D., Pathmanand, U., 2005. *The Thaksinisation of Thailand*. Copenhagen: NIAS Press

McCosker, H., Barnard, A., Gerber, R., 2001. Undertaking Sensitive Research: Issues and Strategies for Meeting the Safety Needs of All Participants. *Forum*: *Qualitative Social Research*, 2(1), February

McDowell, S., Choi, Y., 2010. A comparative analysis of Thailand residents' perception of tourism impacts. *Journal of Quality Assurance In Hospitality and Tourism*, 11, pp. 36-55

McGeown, K., 2005. 'Rebuilding Thailand's Dream Island', BBC News, Friday 18 March

McKercher, B., 2003. 'Sustainable Tourism development; Guiding Principles for Planning and Management', Conference proceedings, National Seminar on Sustainable Tourism development, Bishkek, Kyrgystan, 5-9 November

McLaren, D., 2003. *Rethinking Tourism and EcoTravel* (2nd edition) Bloomfield, NJ: Kumarian Press

Meethan, K., 2001. *Tourism in Global Society; Place, Culture, Consumption.* Basingstoke: Palgrave

Merritt, A., 1998. Replicating Hofstede: A study of pilots in eighteen countries. In R.S. Jensen (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium on Aviation Psychology* (pp. 667-672). Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University.

Middleton, V. T. C., 1998. *Sustainable Tourism: A Marketing Perspective*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann

Miller, D., Slater, D., 2000. *The Internet: An Ethnographic Approach.* Oxford: Berg.

Mobile Assistance Centre for Affected Workers, 2005. 'Tsunami Impact on Workers in Thailand', Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 10 March

Miller, H.E., Engemann, K.J., Yager, R.R., 2006. Disaster planning and management. *Communications of the International Information Management Association*, 6(2), pp. 25-36.

Montlake, S., 2005. 'In Thailand – A 'Land Grab' *Christian Science Monitor* 8 April

Morgan O.W., Sribanditmongkol P., Perera C., Sulasmi Y., Van Alphen D., et al., 2006. Mass Fatality Management following the South Asian Tsunami Disaster: Case Studies in Thailand, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka. PLoS Med 3(6): e195. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.0030195

Morris, M. W., Leung, K., Ames, D., Lickel, B., 1999. Views from inside and outside: Integrating Emic and Etic Insights about Culture and Justice Judgment. *The Academy of Management Review,* 24(4), pp. 781-796

Mosedale, J., 2011. *Political Economy and Tourism: A Critical Perspective*. Taylor and Francis

Mowforth, M., Munt, I., 2003. *Tourism and Sustainability: Development and New Tourism in the Third World.* London: Routledge

Mowforth, M., Munt, I., 2009. *Tourism and sustainability : development, globalisation and new tourism in the Third World* (3rd edn). London and New York: Routledge.

Mulder, N., 1997. *Thai Images: The Culture of the Public World*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books

Mulder, N., 2000. *Inside Thai Society: Religion, Everyday Life, Change*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books

Nash, D., 1989 Tourism as a form of imperialism. In *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism*. 2nd Ed. V. Smith, ed. pp. 37-52. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Neto, F., 2003. 'A New Approach to Sustainable Tourism development: Moving Beyond Environmental Protection' DESA Discussion Paper Series March, No. 29

Nie, N. H., Erbring, L., 2000. *Internet and Society: A Preliminary Report.* Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Institute for the Quantitative Study of Society Press

Nie, N., Hillygus, S., Erbring, L., 2002., Internet use, interpersonal relations and sociability: Findings from a detailed time diary study' in B. Wellman (ed.), *The Internet in Everyday Life*, London: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 215-243

Noi, D., 2011. Thailand's sufficiency economy: Origins and comparisons with other systems of religious eceonomics. *Social Compass*, 58(4), pp. 593-610

Noifeld, H., 2006. 'Phi Phi Aid' BBC News 8 December

Noikorn, U., 1998,. 'Green protest at film slammed' *Bangkok Post* 12 November

Nunkoo, R., Gursoy, D., Juwaheer, T. D., 2010. Island Residents' identities and their support for Tourism: an integration of two theories. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18(5), pp. 675-693

O'Riordan, T., 1981. *Environmentalism* (2nd Edition). London: Pion Press

O'Riordan. T., Voisey, H., 1998. *Agenda 21: The transition to sustainability*. London: Earthscan

Olson, M., 1965. *The logic of collective action.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Olson, R. S., 2000. Toward a politics of disaster: Losses, Values, Agenda and Blame. *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters*, 18(2), pp. 265–287.

Omondi, R. K., 2003. 'Gender and the Political Economy of Sex Tourismin Kenya's Coastal Resorts' International Symposium on Feminist Perspective on Global Economic and Political Systems and Women's Struggle for Global Justice, Tromso, Norway, September 24-26

Oppermann, M., Chon, K., 1997. Convention participation decision-making process. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(1), pp. 178-191.

Oppermann, M., Chon, K. S., 1997. Tourism and developing countries. *London: International Thomson Business Press*

Pandit, N. R., 1996. The Creation of Theory: A recent application of the grounded theory method. *The Qualitative Report*, 2(4), December

Paris, C., 2010. *Understanding the virtualization of the backpacker culture and the emergence of the flashpacker: A mixed-method approach*. PhD Dissertation, Arizona State University.

Paris, C. M., 2012. Flashpackers: An Emerging Subculture? *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(2), pp. 1094-1115

Parnwell, M.J.P., Khamanarong, S., 1996. 'Rural Industrialisation in Thailand: Village Industries as a Potential Basis for Rural Development in the North-East', in *Uneven Development in Thailand*, ed. M.J.P. Parnwell. Avebury, Aldershot, pp. 161-85.

Parnwell, M.J.G., 1993. 'Environmental Issues and Tourism in Thailand', in *Tourism in South-East Asia*, eds. M. Hitchcock, V.T. King and M.J.G. Parnwell. London: Routledge, pp. 286-301.

Parsons, W., 1996. Crisis management. *Career Development International*, 1(5), pp. 26-28.

Pathmanand, U., 1998. The Thaksin Shinawatra Group: A study of the Relationship Between Money and Politics in Thailand. *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 13

Pearce, D., 1989. *Tourist Development.* New York: John Wiley.

Pearce, D., 2001. An Integrative Framework for Urban Tourism Research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(4), pp. 926-946.

Pearce, D., R. Butler, 2001. *Contemporary Issues in Tourism development*. London: Routledge

Pearce, J.A., Doh, J.P., 2005. The high impact of collaborative social initiatives. *Sloan Management Review* 46 (3), pp. 29-39.

Philip, J., Mercer, D., 1999. Commodification of Buddhism in Contemporary Burma. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(1), pp. 21-54

Phongpaichit, P., Baker, C., 2002. *Thailand: Economy and politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Phongpaichit, P., 2003. 'Corruption, Governance and Globalisation: Lessons from the new Thailand' The Corner house Briefing 29, December 2003

Phongpaichit, P., 2004. 'Thailand under Thaksin: Another Malaysia?' Asia Research Centre Working Paper, No. 109

Phillips, N., 2005. *Globalising International Political Economy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Piboolsravut, P., 2004. Sufficiency Economy. *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 21(1), pp. 127-134

Pinchin, C., 1990. *Issues in Philosophy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave

Pieterse, E., 2010. Cityness and African Urban Development. *Urban Forum*, 21(3), pp. 205-219

Pieterse, E., 2011. *Recasting urban sustainability in the South.* Development, *54(3), pp. 309-316.*

Pizam, A., 1978. Tourism's impacts: the social costs to the destination community as perceived by its residents. *Journal of Travel Research*, 16(4), pp. 8-12.

Pleumarom, A., 1994. 'Green and Clean? The Politics behind Tourismand Golf' Second International Conference on Resort and Golf Course Development Kamogawa, Japan, 24-27 March

Pleumarom, A., 1994. The Political Economy of Tourism. *The Ecologist*, 24(4), pp. 142-148

Pleumarom, A., 1997. 'A Sustainable World Through Prostitution' The Nation 9 November

Pleumarom, A., 1999. 'Cyberspace Campaigns Slam *The Beach* Protests' *The Nation* 24 November

Pleumarom, A., 1999. 'Tourism, Globalisation and Sustainable Development' Third World Resurgence, March, No. 103

Pleumarom, A., 1999. 'The Hidden Costs of 'New' Tourisms' Third World Network Briefing Paper, No. 1

Pleumarom, A., 1999. 'Foreign takeover of Thailand's Tourism industry' Third World Network No. 2

Pleumarom, A., 1999. 'Tourism, Globalisation and Sustainable Development' Third World Network March, No. 103

Pleumarom, A., 1999. 'Foreign takeover of Thailand's Tourism Industry' Third World Network Briefing paper, No. 2

Pleumarom, A., 2003. 'Tourism and Globalisation' Third World Network June

Pleumarom, A., 2004. 'Tourism and the Tsunami disaster with a focus upon Thailand.' Third World Network 31 December
Pleumarom, A., 2005. 'New criticisms over GATS talks at WTO' Third World Network 27 June

Pleumarom, A., 2005. 'The Asian Tsunami Disaster and its impacts on Tourism' Third World Network 5 January

Pleumarom, A., 2005. 'Rebuilding lives in Tsunami-affected communities' Third World Network 9 March

Pleumarom, A., 2005. 'Post-Tsunami Tourism– Who profits and who pays?' Third World Network 10 January

Plog, S., 2001. Why destinations rise and fall in popularity. *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, 32, pp. 14-24

Poon, A., 1993. *Tourism, Technology and Competitive Strategies*. Wallingford: CAB International

Potter, R. B., Binns, T., Elliott, J. A., Smith, D., 2004. *Geographies of Development* (2nd edn.) Harlow: Pearson

Power, M., 2003. *Rethinking Development Geographies.* Oxford: Routledge

Prideaux, B., Laws, E., Faulkner, B., 2003. Events in Indonesia: Exploring the limits to formal tourism trends forecasting methods in complex crisis situations. *Tourism Management*, 24, pp. 475487.

Priestly, G. K., Edwards, J. A., Coccossis, H., 1996. *Sustainable Tourism: European Experiences.* Oxon: CAB International

Punch, K., 2000. *Developing Effective Research Proposals*. London: Sage

Puthipucha, V., 1998. 'Phi Phi vandalism the latest vulgar sell-out' *The Nation* 4 November

Rattanasuwongchai, N., 1998. 'Rural Tourism - The Impact on Rural Communities in Thailand'
Food and Fertilizer Technology Centre; Department of Career Sciences, Kasestart University Bangkok, Thailand, 1st October

Redclift, M., 1987. *Sustainable Development: Exploring the contradictions.* London: Methuen

Redden, G., MacDonald, L., 2002. Still Surviving Desert Islands: The Beach, Imperialism and Cultural Value *Queen: A Journal of Rhetoric and Power*, 2.1

Redden, G., 1998. *The Beach*: A Tale of Two Freedoms. Department of English, University of Queensland

Redmond, M., 1998. *Wondering into Thai Culture*. Bangkok: Redmondian Insight Enterprises.

Reed, M. G., 1997. Power Relations and Community Based Tourism planning. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(3), pp. 566-591

Reid, D., 1995. *Sustainable development: an introductory guide.* London: Earthscan

Remenyi, D., Williams, B., Money, A., Swartz, E., 1998. *Doing Research in Business and Management: An Introduction to Process and Method.* London: Sage

Rezabek, R. J., 2000. Online Focus Groups: Electronic Discussions for Research. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 1(1), January

Rice, A., 2005. Post Tsunami Reconstruction and Tourism: A second disaster? *Tourism Concern* October

Richardson, B. (1994). Crisis management and management strategy—Time to ‘‘loop the loop?’’. Disaster Prevention and Management,3(3), 59–80.

Richardson, W., Nwankwo, S., Richardson, S., 1994. Understanding the Causes of Business Failure Crises: Generic Failure Types: Boiled Frogs, Drowned Frogs, Bullfrogs and Tadpoles. *Management Decision*, 32(4), pp. 9-22

Richards, G., Hall, D. (eds.), 2000. *Tourism and Sustainable Community Development*. London: Routledge

Rigg, J., 2003. *Southeast Asia: The human landscape of modernization and development*. New York: Routledge.

Rigg, J., Law, L., Tan-Mullins, M., Grundy-Warr, C., 2005. The Indian Ocean Tsunami-Socio-Economic Impacts in Thailand. *The Geographical Journal*, 171(4), pp. 374-379

Riley, S., Schouten, W., Cahill, S., 2003. Exploring the Dynamics of Subjectivity and Power Between Researcher and Researched. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (online Journal) Vol. 4, No. 2, May

Ritchie, B. W., 2004. Chaos, Crises and Disasters; A Strategic Approach to Crisis Management in the Tourism Industry. *Tourism Management*, 25, pp. 669-683

Rittichainuwat, B., 2011. Ghosts: A Travel Barrier to Tourism Recovery. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(2), pp. 437-459

Rittichainuwat, B. N., 2006. Tsunami recovery: A case study of Thailand’s Tourism. *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, 47(4), pp. 390-404.

Roberts, V., 1994. Flood management: Bradford paper. *Disaster Prevention and Management*, 3(3), pp. 44-60.

Roberts, J., 2005. ‘Thai Government puts Tourism ahead of the poor in Tsunami relief effort’, World Socialist Website (www.wsws.org), 17 January

Robinson, A. J., Meaton, J., 2005. Bali Beyond the Bomb: Disparate Discourses and Implications for Sustainability. *Sustainable Development*, 13, pp. 69-78

Robinson, W. I., 2002. Remapping development in light of globalisation: From a territorial to a social cartography. *Third World Quarterly*, 23(6), pp. 1047-1071

Robinson, W, I., Harris, J., 2000. Towards a Global Ruling Class? Globalisation and the Transnational Capitalist Class. *Science and Society*, 64(1), pp.11-54

Robinson, W. I., 1998. ‘Capitalist Globalisation and the trans-nationalisation of the state’ Presented at Transatlantic Workshop, ‘Historical Materialism and Globalisation’, University of Warwick, April 15-17

Rosenfeld, C., 2006. ‘The next Phuket? Three Thai beach destinations are polishing up their acts’ Time Europe 9 January, Vol. 167, No. 2

Rostow, W. W., 1960. *The stages of economic growth: A non-communist manifesto.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Routledge, P., 2000. Consuming Goa; Tourist Site as Dispensable Space. *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 22

Ryan, C., 1991. *Recreational Tourism, A Social Science Perspective*. London: Routledge

Saarinen, J., 2006. Traditions of Sustainability in Tourism Studies. *Annals of Tourism Research, 33(4), pp.*1121-1140.

Sakboon, M., 2005. 'Rebuilding Lives – Tsunami affected communities take stock' *The Nation* 8 and 24 February

Saltman, K. J., 2007a. *Capitalising on disaster; taking and breaking public schools*. Paradigm Publishers

Saltman, K.J., 2007b. Schooling in Disaster Capitalism: How the Political Right is using Disaster to Privatise Public Schooling. *Teacher Education Quarterly* Spring 2007

Samik-Ibrahim, R. M. (2000) 'Grounded Theory as the Research Strategy for a Developing Country' Forum: Qualitative Social Research (online Journal) Vol. 1, No. 1, January

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., Thornhill, A., 2000. *Research Methods for Business Students* (second edn.). Harlow: Prentice Hall

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., Thornhill, A., 2009. *Research Methods for Business Students* (fifth Edition) Harlow: Pearson Education

Seabrook, J., 2007. *The no-nonsense guide to world poverty*. Oxford: New Internationalist Publications

Seagrave, S., 1990. *The Marcos Dynasty*. London: Paladin

Seale, C., 1998. *Researching Society and Culture*. London: Sage

Seamon, D., 2000. Sources: Phenomenology, Place, environment and Architecture: a review of the literature. *Phenomenology Online* pp. 157-78

Scott, J. C., 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance.* London: Yale University Press

Scheyvens, R., 2002. *Tourism for Development; Empowering Communities*. Harlow: Pearson Education

Scheyvens, R., 2007. Exploring the tourism-poverty nexus. *Current Issues in Tourism.* 10(2-3)

Scott, J., Selwyn, T., 2010. *Thinking through Tourism*. Oxford: Berg Publishing

Sharpley, R., 2000. Tourism and Sustainable Development: Exploring the Theoretical Divide. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 8(1)

Sharpley, R., 2003. Tourism, modernisation, and development on the Island of Cyprus: Challenges and policy responses. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 11(2&3), pp. 246-265.

Sharpley, R., Telfer, D. J., 2008. *Tourism and Development.* Abingdon: Routledge

Sharpley, R., Telfer, D. J., 2002. *Tourism and Development: Concepts and Cases*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications

Shaw, G., Williams, A. M., 2002. *Critical Issues in Tourism: A Geographical Perspective*. Oxford: Blackwells

Shelby-Biggs, B., 2000. 'The Two faces of Leo', The Envirolink Network, 4 February

Shinawatra, Y., 2011. 'Policy Statement of the Council of Ministers' Delivered by Prime Minister Yingluck

Shinawatra to the National Assembly Tuesday 23 August B.E. 2554 (2011)

Silverman, D., 2000. *Doing Qualitative Research; A Practical Handbook.* London: Sage

Silverman, D., 2001. *Interpreting Qualitative Data; Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction* (2nd edition). London: Sage

Simpson, K., 2001. Strategic Planning and Community Involvement as Contributors to Sustainable Tourism development. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 4(1)

Siriwan, J., 2005. 'Speech by the Governor Mrs. Juthamas Siriwan', TAT Governor, 22 March

Slattery, M. 1991. *Key ideas in sociology.* Walton-on-Thames, Surrey: Nelson

Smith, M. K., Robinson, M., 2006. *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World: Politics, Participation and (Re) Presentation.* Clevedon: Channel View Publications

Smith, P.B., 2002 Culture's consequences: Something old and something new. *Human Relations,* 55(11), pp.119-135

Sneddon, C., Howarth, R. B., Norgaard, R. B., 2006. Sustainable Development in a Post-Brundtland World. *Ecological Economics*, 57, pp. 253-268

Sonmez, S. F., Aposolopoulos, Y., Tarlow, P., 1999. Tourism in Crisis: Managing the effects of Terrorism. *Journal of Travel Research*, 38(1), pp. 13-18

Srisang, K., Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism. 1991, *Caught in modern slavery : tourism and child prostitution in Asia : International Campaign to End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT) : report and proceedings of the Chiang Mai consultation, May 1-5, 1990*, Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism, Bangkok, Thailand.

Sritama, S., 2005. 'IHG to run 4 new Thai Hotels' *The Nation* 21 December

Storey, D., Bulloch, H. and Overton, J., 2005. The poverty consensus: Some limitations of the popular agenda'. *Progress in Development Studies* 5(1), pp. 30-44.

Stubbs, R., Underhill, G. R. D., 2006. *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (third edition). Ontario: Oxford University Press

Strauss, A., Corbin, J., 1990. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* London: Sage

Stumbling through Thailand, http://tblogs.bootsnall.com/west//archives/008308.shtml accessed 24.05. 2006

Sustainable Development Commission, http://www.sd-commission.org.uk/ accessed 24.05. 2006

Svetasreni, S., 2009. 'Tourism Management in a Critical Period' JATA World Tourism Congress 18 September

Swarbrooke, J., 1999. *Sustainable Tourism Management.* Wallingford: CABI Publishing

Tangwisutijit, N., 2004. 'Paradise Buried: Sea, Sun, sand, Surf and … an unholy stink' *The Nation* 7 November

Tangwisutijit, N., Warunpitikul, Y., 2005. 'Post-Tsunami Development – The lessons not learned' Third World Network 25 May

Tangkitvanich, S., Onodera, O., 2008. Facilitating Trade and Structural Adjustment Thailand: Experiences in Non-Member Economies. *OECD Trade Policy Working Papers*, No. 63, OECD Publishing.

Tansubhapol, B., 2006. 'Special court rules for the environment' *Bangkok Post* 10 May

Teo, P., Leong, S., 2006. A Postcolonial Analysis of Backpacking, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33(1), pp. 109-131

Telfer, D. J., Sharpley, R., 2008. *Tourism and development in the developing world*. London: Routledge.

TDRI, 1997. Thailand Tourism: Vision 2012: Natural Resources and Environment Program. *TDRI Quarterly Review*, 12(2), pp.14-24

Tejapira, K., 2006. Toppling Thaksin. *New Left Review*, 39, May-June

Thai Embassy of United States, 2005. 'Post-Tsunami Developments in Thailand', www.thaiembdc.org, 1 March

The Adventure Club, www.phi-phi-adventures.com, accessed 24.07.2005

Theobald, W. F., 1998. *Global Tourism* (second edition). Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann

Theerapappisit, P. (2008). *Tourism planning and policy in the greater Mekong subregion: local perspectives on development and participation, a study of ethnic communities in northern Thailand*. PhD thesis, Faculty of Architecture Building & Planning, Architecture, Building and Planning, University of Melbourne.

Third World Network, 2005. Briefing on Tourism, Development and Environment Issues in the Mekhong Subregion. *New Frontiers*, 11(3), May-June

Third World Network, 2005. Briefing on Tourism, Development and Environment Issues in the Mekhong Subregion. *New Frontiers*, 11(4), July-August

Third World Network, 2006. Briefing on Tourism, Development and Environment Issues in the Mekhong Subregion. *New Frontiers*, 12(2), March-April

Third World Network, 2005. Briefing on Tourism, Development and Environment Issues in the Mekong Sub region. *New Frontiers*, 11(4), July-August

Third World Network, 2005. Briefing on Tourism, Development and Environment Issues in the Mekong Sub region. *New Frontiers*, 11(1), January-February

Third World Network, 2005. Briefing on Tourism, Development and Environment Issues in the Mekong Sub region. *New Frontiers*, 11(5), September-October

Thongchai, W., 1994. *Siam mapped: A history of the geo-body*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Tosun, C., 1998. Roots of Un -Sustainable Tourism at a local level: The case of Urgup in Turkey. *Tourism Management*, 19(6), pp. 595-610

Tosun, C., 2001. Challenges of Sustainable Tourism development in the Developing World: The case of Turkey. *Tourism Management*, 22, pp. 289-303

Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2005. 'Andaman Tourism Recovery Plan 2005', TAT Governor Corner, 10 January

Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2005. 'Andaman Tourism Recovery Plan 2005: The Focus on PR Efforts', www.tatnews.org, 10 February

Tsai, C., Chen, C., 2010. An Earthquake Disaster Management Mechanism based upon Risk Assessment Information of the Tourism Industry: A case study of the Island of Taiwan. *Tourism Management*, 31, pp. 470-481

Tragen, I. G., 1969. 'Tourism Resource for Development - A Study of the Benefits to Developing Countries from Investment in Hotels and Motels' Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, Department of State, Washington DC

Transitions Abroad,
http://www.transitionsabroad.com/listings/travel/special/articles/thailand_koh_phi_phi_dive_camp.shtml, Date accessed 24.05.2006

Tribe, J., 2005. New Tourism Research. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 30(2), pp. 5-8

Trompenaars, F., 1985. The organisation of meaning and the meaning of organisation: A comparative study on the conceptions of organisational structure in different cultures. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Trompenaars, F., 1993. *Riding the waves of culture*. London: Brealey

Truong, T., 1990. *Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in South East Asia*. London: Zed Books Ltd

Truman, H., 1949. Public papers of the President, 20 January, United States Government Printing Office, Washington DC

Turner, B.L., Kasperson, R.E., Matsone, P.A., McCarthy, J.J., Corellg, R.W., Christensene, L., Eckleyg, N., Kasperson, J.X., Luerse, A., Martellog, M.L., Polsky, C., Pulsipher, A., Schillerb, A., 2003. A framework for vulnerability analysis in sustainability science. *Proc. National Acad. Sci*. 100 (14), pp. 8074–8079.

Turner, L., 1975. *The golden hordes : international tourism and the pleasure periphery*. London: Constable

United Kingdom Government, Sustainable Development Unit (SDU) http://www.sustainable-development.gov.uk/what/index.htm accessed 24.05.2006

United Nations, 1992. Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, conference proceedings, General Assembly, Rio de Janeiro, 13-14 June

United Nations, 1992. Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, conference proceedings, General Assembly, Rio de Janeiro, 13-14 June

United Kingdom Government, Sustainable Development Unit (SDU) http://www.sustainable-development.gov.uk/what/index.htm accessed 24.05.2006

UN, 2004. Agenda 21. UN Department for Economic and Social Affairs. Division for Sustainable Development.

UN website at http://www.un.org, accessed 19.08.2005.

United Nations (2005) 'Thailand: Livelihoods Next Step to Tsunami Recovery', www.scoop.co.nz, accessed 21.07.2005

United Nations Development Programme (2005) 'Post-Tsunami: Overview of the Situation', www.undp.or.th/Tsunami/Tsunami.htm, accessed 21/07/2005

United nations Development Programme (2005) 'Build back Better: New Post-Tsunami vision for Koh Lanta unveiled', www.undp.or.th/Tsunami/signing_Lanta.html, accessed 21.07.2005

UN Division for Sustainable Development, www.un.org/esa/sustdev/csd/csd.htm, accessed 27.07.2005

United Nations, 1992. Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, conference proceedings, General Assembly, Rio de Janeiro, 13-14 June

UNEP, 2005. 'Road Map for Sri Lanka's sustainable reconstruction' UNEP Press Release, 17 June

UN ESCAP, 2012. http://www.unescap.org/huset/lgstudy/country/thailand/thai.html accessed 05.04.2012

UNDP, World Bank, FAO, 2005. 'Joint Tsunami Disaster Assessment Mission' Livelihood Recovery and Environmental Rehabilitation 10 January

Urry, J., 1990. *The tourist gaze*. London: Sage.

Van Esterik, P., 2000. *Materialising Thailand.* Oxford: Berg

Veal, A. J., 1997. *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism* (second edition). Harlow: FT Prentice Hall

Veal, A. J., 2002. *Leisure and Tourism Policy and Planning* (second edition). Wallingford: CABI Publishing

Veal, A. J. (2006) Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism (third edition). Harlow: FT Prentice Hall

Vernon, J., Essex, S., Pinder, D., Curry, K., 2005. Collaborative Policymaking: Local Sustainable Projects. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(2), pp. 325-345

Villiers, C., 1989. Boiled Frog Syndrome. *Management Today*, March, pp. 121-124.

Waldren, J., 1996. *Insiders and Outsiders: Paradise and Reality in Mallorca*. Oxford: Berghahn Books

Wall G., 1997. Is eco-tourism sustainable.? E*nvironmental Management*, 24 (1), pp. 483 – 491.

Warnken, J., Bradley, M., Guilding, C., 2004. Eco-Resorts vs. mainstream accommodation providers: an investigation of the viability of benchmarking environmental performance. *Tourism Management*, 26, pp. 367-379

Warr, P. G., 2000. Is Growth Good for the Poor? Thailand's Boom and Bust. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 27(7-10), pp. 862-877

Warren, C., 1998. 'Tanah lot: the cultural and environmental politics of resort development in Bali' in Hirsch, P. and Warren, C., editors, *The politics of environment in Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge.

Weaver, M., 2006. 'Tsunami Victims Evicted by Developers' *The Guardian* 1st February

Weaver, D., Lawton, L., 2002. *Tourism Management* (second edition). Queensland: Wiley

Weaver, D., 2006. *Sustainable Tourism*. Oxford: Elsevier

Wellman, B., 1997. 'An electronic group is virtually a social network' in S. Kiesler (ed.), *Culture of the Internet.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 179-205

Westerhausen, K., 2002. *Beyond the Beach: An Ethnography of Modern Travellers in Asia*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press

Wheeller, B., 1991. Tourism's Troubled Times: Responsible Tourism is not the answer. *Tourism Management,* 12(2), pp. 91-6

Wheeler, B., 1993. Sustaining the ego. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 1, pp. 121-129.

Whetten, D. A., 1989. What Constitutes a Theoretical Contribution? *Academy of Management Review*, 14, pp. 490-495

Williams, M., 2002. 'Tourism Liberalisation, Gender and the GATS' Economic Literary Series: General Agreement on Trade in Services International Gender and Trade Network

Williams, J., Lawson, R., 2001. Community Issues and Residents Opinions of Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(2), pp. 269-90.

Willis, K., Dawson, B., 2005. *Theories and practices of development.* London and New York: Routledge

Wilson, A., 2004. *The intimate economies of Bangkok: Tomboys, Tycoons, and Avon Ladies in the Global city.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wisansing, J., 2004. *Tourism planning and Destination Marketing: Towards a Community-Driven Approach.* PhD Thesis, Lincoln University, New Zealand

Wittel, A., 2000. Ethnography on the move: From Field to Net to Internet. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Online Journal) Vol. 1, No. 1, January

Witzel, A., 2000. The problem centred interview. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Online Journal) Vol. 1, No. 1, January

Wickens, E., 2002. The sacred and the profane: A Tourist Typology. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(3), pp.834-851

World Bank, 2000. *Assessing Globalisation.* Washington DC: World Bank

World Tourism Organisation http://www.world-Tourism.org/frameset/frame_sustainable.html, accessed 27.07. 2005

World Tourism Organisation, World Travel and Tourism Council, Earth Council (1996) Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry; Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development, WTO

World Tourism Organisation, World Travel and Tourism Council, Earth Council (1996) Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry; Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development, WTO

World Tourism Organisation (2005) Tsunami Relief for the Tourism Sector; Phuket Action Plan, WTO

Wright, K. B., 2005. Researching Internet-based populations: Advantages and disadvantages of online survey research, online questionnaire authoring software packages, and web survey services. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication,* 10(3), article 11. http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol10/issue3/wright.html

Yee, B., 2006. Asia: Saving Private Thailand; Koh Chang Could be the Hot Resort – If it can avoid the missteps of Phuket. *Wall Street Journal* New York, March 4, p.4

Zeldin, T., 1995. *An Intimate History of Humanity.* London: Minerva