A Comparative Analysis of International and Domestic Tourists' Perceptions of Community-Based Tourism:

The Case of Pai, Thailand

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Student Declaration

I declare that while registered as a candidate for the research degree, I have not been a registered candidate or enrolled student for another award of the University or other academic or professional institution

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Abstract

Community Based Tourism (CBT) emerged during the 1980s as a result of the increasing need to define and implement ways of addressing the challenges of tourism development in the destination through a 'community approach'. It has since become a popular approach to tourism development that seeks to address the negative environmental and social impacts derived from such development whilst adopting the principles of sustainable development. Unsurprisingly, given its focus on benefiting and engaging local destination communities within tourism development, CBT has also attracted a significant degree of academic attention. However, such attention has been concerned primarily with the planning and management of CBT from a 'supply' perspective; conversely, a gap in the literature exists in regards to considering CBT as a tourism product in general, and from the perspectives and experiences of tourists in particular. In other words, limited attention has been paid to the demand for CBT as a tourism 'product'. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to address this gap by developing an understanding of CBT from not only the perspective of the supply side but also from the perspective of the consumer, more specifically, both international and domestic tourists.

Consequently, Pai, a well-known destination in Thailand for both international and domestic tourists was selected as a case study. Given the focus of this study on seeking to identify and appraise the perceptions and experiences of tourists consuming the CBT product, in-depth interviews were conducted to obtain rich and detailed data, the samples comprising 25 domestic and 25 international tourists. In addition, interviews were undertaken with the supply-side stakeholders, including three representatives of the local public sector administration and eight private sector respondents, including entrepreneurs and members of the local community, in order to understand the current situation with regards to CBT development in Pai. Brochure contents analysis was also undertaken in order to identify the contemporary 'induced' destination image of Pai as one influence on the destination choice and decision making process made by tourists. The outcomes of the interviews and contents analysis, along with a cross-cultural analysis of the responses of international and domestic tourists, revealed that the destination images held by both groups of tourists matched those portrayed by tour operators in the brochures. However, tourist knowledge and recognition of CBT in

general, and Pai as a CBT destination in particular, were found to be limited. Nevertheless, international visitors in particular perceived the authenticity of the destination more so than domestic tourists, reflecting the differing characteristics and motivations based on their own cultures. Furthermore the community itself lacked the participation and unity required for CBT to be effective. Hence, this study concludes that not only does a destination such as Pai, that originally developed within a community based development policy framework, face significant challenges in developing tourism according to the principles of CBT, but also that tourist themselves have difficulty in understanding the concept of CBT. Nevertheless, the study reveals that, despite the differing perceptions and demands of international and domestic tourists, the potential exists to develop tourism in Pai to bring greater benefit to the local community. Therefore, the thesis proposes collaborative plans that are necessary to allow CBT managers to better design and develop strategies that enhance the community's benefits from tourism, whilst meeting the needs of both international and domestic tourists.

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Acronyms

CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CBT-I	Community Based Tourism Institution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
NESD	National Economic and Social Development
NESDP	National Economic and Social Development Plan
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OTOP	One Tambon One Product
PIC	Participatory Incremental and Cooperation/Collaboration
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
SALPs	Structural Adjustment Lending Programmes
SAO	Sub-district Administration Organisation
ST-EP	Sustainable Tourism-Eliminate Poverty
TAT	Tourism Authority of Thailand
TOT	Tourism Organisation of Thailand
TRF	Thailand Research Fund
UN	United Nations
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
VFR	Visiting Friends and Relatives
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

Chapter 1

Introduction

Over the last half century, tourism has emerged as a worldwide economic and social phenomenon. From a baseline of just 25 million international arrivals in 1950s, international tourism has grown dramatically and consistently; by the start of the new millennium, annual international arrivals had reached 687 million and, by 2011 and despite a variety of external factors, including the global economic crisis in 2008, a total of 982 million international arrivals were recorded (UNWTO 2012). Commensurate with this growth in tourism numbers, the value of international tourism has also grown dramatically. Receipts in 1950 amounted to just US$2.1 billion. By 2000, this figure had reached US$473 billion and, according to the UNWTO (2012), international tourism generated US$1.030 billion in export earnings. And international tourism is only part of the story. Although accurate data are not collated on a global basis, domestic tourism (that is, tourists travelling in their own country) is considered to be significantly greater than international tourism in terms of both value and number of trips (Ghimire 2001). In fact, according to Bigano *et al*. (2007), about 85% of global tourism comprises domestic trips.

Consequently, it is evident that tourism is a force for revenue generation, mass mobility, social interaction and development opportunities on both a domestic and international level. It has experienced dramatic growth, and continues to do so, in terms of mobility and the movement of people as also as an economic sector and, therefore, it is unsurprising that tourism has long been considered an effective means of encouraging and supporting development, especially within less developed countries such as Thailand (Jenkins 1991; Opperman and Chon 1997). At the same time, however, the rapid growth of tourism has long been associated with negative consequences on destination environments and societies (de Kadt 1979; Hickman 2007; Wall and Mathieson 2006; Young 1973). Thus, since the late 1980s, these negative consequences of tourism development have brought about a change in paradigm towards the principles of sustainable development (Sharpley 2009). More specifically, the focus of tourism development has shifted away from more conventional forms of mass tourism

towards what has become known own as alternative tourism (Smith and Eadington 1992), manifested in approaches to tourism such as Community Based Tourism (CBT).

First conceptualised some 25 years ago by Murphy (1985), increasing attention has been paid to CBT as a potential approach to tourism development that, in principle, combines environmental sustainability with the optimisation of well-being of local communities through their engagement or involvement in tourism at the same time providing incentives to attract tourists, both international and domestic (for example, Blackstock 2005; Murphy 1983, 1985; Okazaki 2008; Simmonds 1994). Importantly, however a full understanding of CBT as a tourism product has not yet been realised. In other words, despite the considerable attention paid to CBT in the literature as an approach to tourism development, the focus has been primarily on what may be referred to as the 'supply side'. That is, the principal concern has been how to produce tourism in a way that optimises benefits, both economic and social, to the local community. Conversely, more limited attention, if any, has been paid to the 'demand side' of CBT, specifically, how and why tourists perceive and consume CBT experiences.

The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to address this gap in the literature and, in particular, to develop an understanding of the different perceptions and expectations of international and domestic tourists at a specific destination (Pai, Thailand). In so doing, it seeks to propose a balanced planning model of CBT as both as an effective form of tourism development and a successful tourism product. This introductory chapter, therefore, explores the premise of this thesis and emphasises the need to consider the consumer (both international and domestic tourists) in the planning of CBT. In order to understand CBT as a tourism product and tourists' perceptions of it, a broader picture of the origin of, and background to, CBT must be established along with the principles of sustainable development and alternative tourism. However, before the changing paradigms of tourism development can be explored, it is first necessary to explore briefly what tourism essentially is and why, since the 1950s, it has evolved into the social and economic phenomenon it is today.

Although increasingly recognisable and experienced worldwide – the majority of people, according to Cohen (1994), are able to 'recognise a tourist immediately' – tourism remains difficult to define in simple terms. Arguably, this reflects the multi-

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faceted and 'abstract nature of the concept' (Burns and Holden 1995: 5). As noted above, tourism is socio-economic in nature and can be essentially thought of as two concepts: firstly, as a platform for economic growth and, secondly, as the movement of people. Additionally, it may be conceptualised as a 'system' (Farrell and Twining-Ward 2004; Leiper 1979). In terms of precise definitions, efforts have long been made to define the phenomenon of tourism, however, to the extent that something of a 'definition continuum' exists (Buck 1978; Burkhart and Medlik 1981). At one extreme are so-called technical definitions of tourism. These relate to specific characteristics of tourists, predominantly the various tourist types and the activities they undertake, and are principally used as a means of establishing the parameters for the measurement of tourism. Thus, one example of a technical definition of an international tourist is: 'any person visiting a country other than that in which he has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited' (UN 1963). As observed, such technical definitions serve to gauge statistical and quantitative information regarding tourists, yet attempting to establish such parameters around 'the single largest peaceful movement of people across cultural boundaries in the history of the world' (Lett 1989: 277) is a difficult if not impossible task. Therefore, a more holistic and balanced definition may be more appealing (Gilbert 1990).

Consequently, in contrast to technical definitions, conceptual definitions attempt to ground the concept of tourism in wider terms of its social function and anthropological meaning. Such conceptual definitions consider the tourist to be at the heart of the definition of tourism, as 'a person at leisure who also travels' (Nash 1981). As already noted, tourism can be described as the movement of people and, hence, conceptually defined as a 'highly significant dimension of temporary mobility' (Hall 2005: 21). It is often referred to and promoted as 'travel', involving a journey and a destination but it is becoming clearer that this only accounts for a single aspect of the wider spectrum of tourism. Consideration has also been given to the meaning or significance of tourism, for example as a type of escape from everyday life through holidays and annual breaks in the form of 'ritualised pleasure' (Shields 1991) or, alternatively perhaps, through gap years and backpacking, fuelled by a desire to experience the 'other' (Scheyvens 2002). Tourism is also one element of the contemporary movement of goods, resources, wealth, people and information across the world, and tourism's subjection to the

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patterns and networks of various forms of contemporary mobility has inevitably encouraged studies to ground the nature of tourism within a mobilities framework (Hall 2005).

This multi-faceted nature of tourism is also notable in the concept of the tourist system (Leiper 1990), which describes the cycle of the consumer originating from the tourist generating region to the supply side tourist destination including the initial and return journeys in between and also encompasses everything else around this system (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: The tourism system
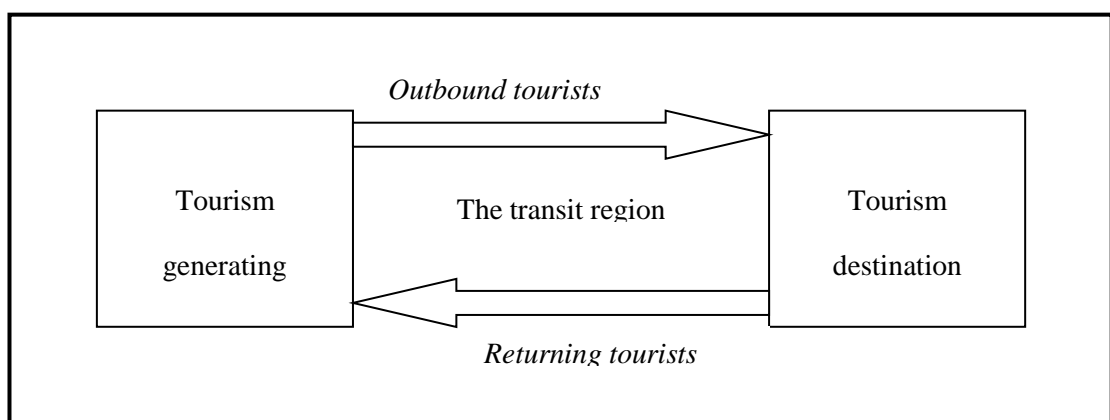
Source: Adapted from Leiper (1990) in Sharpley (2009: 12)

This perspective highlights the fact that the functioning of supply and demand is fundamental to the existence of tourism as a social victory and as an economic phenomenon and that it is also big business (Krippendorf 1986). The tourist's main function as a consumer is to consume the product (the tourist experience) on site (McKercher 1993), and tourism as an industry has to meet that demand or to facilitate the means for the tourist to satisfy that demand. It is important to note the relevance of the consumption of tourism within this conceptual system and the importance of the tourism product, as it is widely accepted that consumers play a vital role in the production and/or delivery of the majority of service products (Cowell 1984).The personal experience the tourist receives from the destination should theoretically determine the success/future of the tourism product, as the tourist's perception of the destination region determines the 'final output' followed by the return to the tourist/consumer generating region influencing future demand. However, the personal

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experience is largely dependent on the tourists themselves (Smith 1994). In other words, the cycle presented by the tourism system is symbolic of a balanced, symbiotic relationship that should exist between the satisfaction of the tourist's needs and meeting the development needs and goals of the destination region (Budowski 1976).

What is also important with regards to the tourism product and tourist perceptions is the fact that 'the manner in which tourists consume tourism experiences is as influential as the activities of the tourism industry in determining the character of tourism development' (Sharpley 2002a). In the specific context of CBT and its sustainable principles, it is perhaps somewhat naïve to expect consumers to embrace an authentic experience or consider the well-being of the destination community and aspire to become 'good' tourists (Wood and House 1991). Moreover, very few tourists are aware of or even question the impacts of tourism (Ryan 1997). Thus, the need exists to incorporate the demands, perceptions and behavior of the consumer within the development planning of CBT.

However, this is not to say that the tourism system is completely reliant on the behavior and perception of the tourist, as Leiper's (1990) tourist system includes a complexity of external factors including the political, economic, social, environmental or technological systems that may hold a wider influence, whilst 'the tourist industry consists of all those firms, organisations and facilities' that exist to serve the needs of tourist consumption (Cooper *et al*. 2008: 13; Leiper 1979: 400). The close linkage with other systems, industries and government sectors not only indicates the integrated nature of tourism but also suggests a widespread dependency and vulnerability to external forces.

Despite this, tourism has not only proven resilient as an economic sector against natural disasters, international terrorism and financial recessions but has also remained consistent as a growth industry, becoming 'a major component of economic strategies' (Williams and Shaw 1991). As previously mentioned, tourism is an economic phenomenon and can be conceptually defined as a platform for economic growth that not only generates substantial revenue but also is seen to redistributes wealth from industrialised countries to less developed countries. This bridging of wealth by tourism was described by the recent UNWTO or formally known as World Tourism Organisation (WTO) (1980: 1) as 'a new international economic order that would help

to eliminate the widening economic gap between developed and developing countries'. Global estimates point to the remarkable economic gains from tourism, although it is worth noting that only estimations of the revenue generated are made. That is, the scale and accuracy necessary to acquire precise data regarding the actual value of tourism seems out of reach, as Cooper *et al.* (1998: 87) state: 'It's not so much the size of these figures that is so impressive, but the fact that anybody should know the value of tourism.' Also, such figures do not recognise the variation between national and local income from tourism.

Furthermore 'abstract' aspects of tourism also influence its definition as an economic sector or industry. In other words, given its multitude of direct and indirect links with other sectors, it is difficult encompass its economic activity in its entirety as its inputs, products and supply chains remain unclear (Mill and Morrison 1998). Nevertheless, despite this lack of definition and reliable statistics, tourism is recognised as one of the world's fastest growing economic sectors. It has grown steadily over the last five decades (van Egmond 2007), particularly in the post-war period during which the number of international tourists demonstrated an annual growth rate of more than 10% between 1950 and 1970 (IUTO 1970; Murphy 1985) – see Table 1.1.
Table 1.1

Table 1.1: Tourism arrivals and receipts growth rates, 1950-2000

Decade	Arrivals (average annual increase %)	Receipts (average annual increase %)
1950-1960	10.6	12.6
1960-1970	9.1	10.1
1970-1980	5.6	19.4
1980-1990	4.8	9.8
1990-2000	4.2	6.5

Source: Adapted from (UNWTO 2008)

On a global scale, the WTO has forecast that, by 2020, international tourist arrivals will have been increased to 1.5 billion, and current figures suggest that this target may be realised (Table 1.2). The forecast also illustrates a change in the market shares between

developed and developing regions, also predicting close to a threefold increase worldwide in the amount of international tourist arrivals.

Table 1.2: Estimated number of international tourist arrivals for 2020

	International Tourists Arrivals (Million)		Market share (%)	
	Based Year	Forecasts		
	1995	2020	1995	2020
World	565	1561	100	100
Africa	20	77	3.6	5.0
America	110	282	19.3	18.1
Asia/Pacific	81	416	15.1	26.6
Europe	336	717	59.8	45.9
Middle East	14	69	2.2	4.4
South Asia	4	19	0.7	1.2

Source: Adapted from WTO (2004)

More generally, (see Table 1.2), the UNWTO forecast that the numbers of tourists would dramatically increase between 1995 and 2020, indicating that developing nations or Third World countries would become relatively more popular as destinations for international tourists. As Scheyvens (2002) observes, there is increasing interest amongst tourists to seek out 'untouched' and 'exotic' experiences. Although the share of developing countries of the overall tourism market remains lower than that of developed nations (Table 1.3), there is no doubt that, for developing countries, tourism is a major source of earnings.

Table 1.3: Percentage share of international arrivals by region 1960-2007

	Africa	Americas	E. Asia Pacific	S. Asia	Europe	M. East
1960	1.1	24.1	1.1	0.3	72.6	0.9
1970	1.5	25.5	3.2	0.6	68.2	1.1
1980	2.6	21.6	7.4	0.8	65.6	2.1
1990	3.3	20.4	12.0	0.7	61.6	2.2
1995	3.6	19.8	14.8	0.8	58.6	2.5
2000	4.0	18.6	15.9	0.9	57.1	3.5
2005	4.6	16.6	18.2	1.0	54.8	4.7
2006	4.9	16.0	18.6	1.1	54.6	4.8
2007	4.9	15.8	19.3	1.1	53.6	5.3

Source: Adapted from UNWTO (2008)

It may also bring other benefits and, since the 1960s, has been perceived as a positive means of achieving economic development (Bond and Ladman 1972; Lea 1988).Consequently, since it first emerged as a major international economic activity, tourism has become the development sector of choice for many less developed countries as they strive for economic growth and prosperity (Reid 2003).

Table 1.4: International tourism receipts in selected less developed regions, 1990-2010.

	International Tourist Arrivals (million)							Market Share (%)	Change (%)	Average annual growth (%)	
	1990	1995	2000	2005	2008	2009	2010	2010	09/08	10/09	'00-'10
Southeast Asia	21.2	28.4	36.1	48.5	61.8	62.1	69.6	7.4	0.5	12.1	6.8
South Asia	3.2	4.2	6.1	8.1	10.3	9.9	11.1	1.2	-3.6	11.9	6.2
South America	7.7	11.7	15.3	18.3	21.8	21.3	23.5	2.5	-2.3	9.7	4.4
Africa	14.8	18.9	26.5	35.4	44.4	46.0	49.4	5.2	3.7	7.3	6.4

Source: UNWTO (2011)

Table 1.4 presents international tourism receipts in selected less developed regions of the world for the period 1990-2010; these reflect the growth in income from international tourists visiting these regions. The development of tourism may bring numerous advantages, not only in terms of the macro economy but also more specifically in the form of employment opportunities in host communities, infrastructural developments, support for the preservation of heritage and traditional culture, and so on (Goeldner and Ritchie 2009). It has also been adopted within many urban and peripheral rural areas as a potential solution to social and economic problems, such as industrial decline, unemployment, a reduction in local services and out-migration amongst younger members of the population (Cavaco 1995; Hoggart *et al*., 1995).

Given these potential positive benefits of tourism, recent decades have witnessed the rapid and widespread promotion and growth of tourism, with many countries jumping on the tourism 'bandwagon' and integrating tourism into their development strategies (Jenkins 1991). For many governments, the attraction of developing international

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tourism lies in its potential to contribute to the national balance of payments (Oppermann and Chon 1997), as a source of hard currency to meet import bills. Moreover, during the time of modernisation in the 1950s and 1960s, tourism was heralded as a 'clean' catalyst of development, a 'smokeless industry' (Holden 2000: 65) regarded as an effective means of stimulating economic growth with apparently minimal negative consequences.

However, it soon came to be realised that there were not only advantages but also disadvantages arising from tourism development, negative consequences that came to be described as economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts (Andereck *et al*. 2005; Mathieson and Wall 1982). Opinions towards tourism development shifted away from the belief that there were no deleterious impacts on the environment (Dowling 1992), towards a more negative stance critical of tourism's impacts. Moreover, such criticism of tourism development was framed by the paradigm of dependency, which suggested that, far from encouraging development, tourism was actually promoting a state of economic imperialism and colonialism (Lea 1988). This 'development dilemma' (Telfer and Sharpley 2008), in which the benefits of tourism development must be balanced against its negative consequences, subsequently gave rise to the concept of sustainable tourism development, the objective of which was to balance the costs and optimise benefits of such development to local communities, the tourism industry and to tourists themselves (Dowling 1992).

In other words, as there was increasing awareness of the need to address the environmental consequences of tourism, sustainable tourism development emerged as the new approach to tourism development, reflecting a more 'green' consciousness that was emerging in the mid- to late-1980s (Cooper *et al*. 1994). Key to sustainable tourism development is a long-term perspective which embraces the environmental, economic and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development (WTO 2004). Similarly, increasing attention was paid to the notion of alternative (to mass) tourism development that focused predominantly on human and environmental concerns (Telfer 2009). Specifically, the alternative tourism approach promotes tourism as a resource-based, grass-roots form of development, examples including agro tourism, pro-poor tourism and community based tourism (CBT). The most significant departure from more traditional approaches to tourism development was to put people at the centre of

attention (Brohman 1996), thus introducing the idea of CBT. The principal connection between CBT and sustainable development are the combined policies of conserving local cultural and heritage, the objective of maximising the positive impacts while minimising the negative impacts on the host community (Ritchie and Inkari 2006: 28; Vargas-Sanchez *et al*. 2009) and , in particular, the encouragement of participation between local people and stake holders in the tourism sector.

It should be noted here that the concept of sustainable tourism development remains contentious, with lack of a consensus over its definition and viability as well as 'limited evidence of its implementation in practice' (Sharpley 2009). For the purposes of this thesis, definitions of tourism, tourism development and sustainable tourism development and it importance will be clarified more in detail in Chapter 2. However, a brief introduction to CBT in this chapter is necessary to justify the focus of this thesis on CBT as a tourism product.

It was Murphy (1983, 1985) who initially proposed that tourism should be developed following a 'community approach'; that is, he suggested that tourism development should be concerned with needs, desires and customs of local people as tourism activities depend on local hospitality (Murphy 1985). Furthermore, Scheyvens (2002) advocates that the concept of CBT development is based on neo-populist perspectives which focus mainly on empowering local people by providing them with opportunities to have greater control over their own lives and well-being (Friedmann 1992; Scheyvens 2002). CBT is also perceived by some as one of what have become known as pro-poor tourism (PPT), strategies as it aims to reduce poverty in communities by enhancing benefits at the grass-root level through providing employment opportunities, decreasing critical gaps in income and infrastructural improvements (Ashley *et al*. 2001). Hence, the idea of community-based tourism development combined with sustainable tourism development seems to be an essential consideration for any destination that attracts tourists, especially developing countries, in order to reduce poverty amongst local people.

The strategic implication of CBT is that destinations should adopt a collaborative perspective, more specifically encouraging community participation (Ashley *et al*., 2001). However, it has been argued that many tourism policies have been developed by

the central government without local involvement (Haris and Vogel 2007). Moreover, Beeton (1998) recommends with regards to marketing the destination that managers should consider the '4Ps', that is, product (destination and service), price, place and promotion, with a fifth factor being the people who serve tourist needs. As CBT focuses principally on the involvement and participation of the destination community within the planning of tourism development, it is important to look at the other factors of CBT, primarily as a tourist product and the tourist perception of that.

1.2 Significance of the research

Although this research considers community-based tourism development and sustainable tourism development in general, the particular significance of this research lies in its focus on community-based tourism development conceptualised as a tourism product. More specifically, based on a case study of Pai in Thailand, it sets out to critically explore the differing perceptions of CBT amongst international and domestic tourists in a case study of Pai in Thailand. In other words, previous research has typically focused on the principles and policies for sustainable tourism development and community-based tourism development from a 'production' perspective. Conversely, little if any attention has been paid to identifying the opinions or perceptions of those who consume or experience the CBT product. Thus, existing studies on CBT, whilst considering the opportunities and challenges of developing CBT from a supply perspective, have largely overlooked it from the perspective of tourists or, in short, as a product. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to address this gap in the literature.

Additionally, given its importance at a national level, particularly in terms of foreign exchange and international trade (Godfrey and Clarke 2000), governments in developing countries tend to focus mainly on international tourism. Indeed, the role of tourism in development more generally is typically promoted from an international perspective. However, in many countries, domestic tourism is also a significant market. Indeed, according to the WTO, the growth of domestic tourism in the next 20 years is expected to be particularly strong in developing countries, as is the growth of intra-regional tourism within Asia and Africa (Scheyvens 2002; WTO 1998). Domestic tourism is often overlooked yet, as observed earlier in this chapter, is estimated to be some six times greater than international tourism in terms of visitor arrivals and receipts

(Bigano *et al*. 2007). Thus, not only should there be more concern for domestic tourism planning in general (Ghimire 2001) but also, and more specifically in the context of this study, community based-tourism development in Thailand should also focus on the domestic market, in order that development can meet the needs of both international and domestic tourists groups as well as those of the local community. Hence, the objective of this research is to propose ways of implementing community-based tourism in Thailand based on research into the differing perceptions of both domestic and international tourists in the case study destination.

In 2011, Thailand was ranked 11th in terms of international tourism receipts (up from 12th in 2010); moreover, it was the top destination amongst developing countries (UNWTO 2012). More specifically, van Egmond (2007) indicates that Thailand is the top destination for backpackers, the principal reasons being opportunities for sun-sea- and sand tourism and it being an inexpensive destination. Hence, for a number of decades tourism has been developed for economic growth in Thailand although, reflecting the increasing adherence to the sustainable development paradigm following the publication of the Bruntland Report (WCED 1987), Thailand's National Economics and Social Development Plans (NESDPs) have since 1997 focused on sustainable development since 1997. In particular, the 8th NESDP sets out a long-term policy for empowering local people and human resource improvement. Therefore, the 8th NESP relates directly to CBT development as it focuses on benefits to the community as well as the other principles of environmental awareness, cultural preservation and poverty reduction.

As this research involves a comparison of international and domestic tourists' perceptions of CBT, Pai, as a small town in the province of Mae Hong Son in the North of Thailand, is selected as an appropriate case study. Pai is a popular destination for both international and domestic tourists and, well-known destination for its beautiful environment of mountains and natural scenery, it is considered a 'peaceful antidote to the bustle of modern Thailand' (Cohen 2008; Gampell 2002: 22). It is also known for the distinctiveness of its indigenous community, the Thai Yai or Tai, who emigrated from the Shans region of Burma in the 15th century (Ruengwiset 1999), as well as a number of other ethnic groups. However, a recent issue in Pai has been the influx of tourists and the consequential dilution of the town's traditional identity. Moreover, in

the past, the community was engaged in and received direct benefits from tourism but, since becoming a more popular destination, such benefits are now accruing to outsiders who have moved into the town. Thus, Pai is a well-known example of a destination community that receives and provides for the needs of both international and domestic tourists, and it therefore presents a unique opportunity as a case study to discover the perceptions of both groups towards CBT within one location and to record their experiences of tourism product on site. It also presents the opportunity to gather information and form an understanding as to whether or not the development of CBT in Pai reflects the policies in the 8th NSEDP that aims to empower the local community and utilise human resources to encourage the participation of locals in development.

1.3 Research objectives

The primary aim of this research is to identify, compare and critically appraise the differing perceptions of international and domestic tourists of a community-based tourism (CBT) destination (Pai, Thailand) and the subsequent implications for its future management and development. Within the broader context of CBT development in Thailand, this research also seeks:

- to identify recent destination images of Pai;
- to analyse and contrast the perceptions of international and domestic tourists in Pai;
- to characterise tourists' perceptions of the supply-side approach towards CBT in Pai based upon the analysis of supply-side's attitudes;
- to produce an emergent conceptual model of community based tourism;
- to define and determine the implications for future community-based tourism development in Thailand and more generally.

1.4 Research questions
Following the research objectives outlined above, the research questions for this study are as follows:

Research question 1: What is the understanding of CBT from the perspectives of international and domestic tourists?

Research question 2: What differences exist between the perceptions of CBT amongst the two groups of visitors?

Research question 3: What are the implications for the management and development of such destinations and for sustainable (tourism) development more generally?

As suggested above, despite the significant attention paid to the concept of community-based tourism (CBT) as an approach to sustainable tourism development, much of the research is focused on supply as opposed to demand and as a consequence, an understanding of tourists' perceptions of CBT remains limited. Thus, Research Question 1 intends to identify tourists' opinions with respect to community-based tourism in order to assess their understanding of the concept. Thereafter, Research Question 2 aims to reveal the differing perceptions between two groups of visitors, and what influences their different perceptions. Finally, Research question 3 aims to reveal the implications of the study for the management and development of community-based tourism following the sustainable tourism development paradigm.

1.5 Scope of the study

Due to the broad nature of the study, the investigation is concentrated on in-depth interviews within the supply-side (local administrative sectors, entrepreneurs and locals) and the demand side of CBT in the case study destination. As this research aims to find out the differencing perceptions between international (in this case, Western) tourists and domestic (Thai) tourists, respondents are international tourists from North America, Europe or Oceania (Australia and New Zealand) and domestic visitors who visit Pai for tourism proposes. The duration of fieldwork was four months (August – November 2010) and the tourists interviews were conducted around Pai, particularly in the town centre.

1.6 Structure of thesis

Chapter one introduces the thesis. It proposes the significance of this research that will be investigated as the focus of the study, and outlines the research questions, the primary aim and the research objectives. It also provides a brief introduction to tourism as the context of the thesis

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Chapter two presents the first part of the literature review, focusing on tourism development and sustainable development, identifying significant factors and key principles of sustainable tourism development. This chapter defines tourism, the evolution of tourism development, the benefits and impacts of tourism development, sustainable development and sustainable tourism development. The overall purpose of this chapter is to establish a conceptual framework of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development as it the broader paradigm within which the concept of community based-tourism is located

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Chapter three, the second part of the literature review, critically appraises the concept of community-based tourism. It introduces the concept of community and CBT and goes onto consider how principles of CBT are adapted from the broader sustainable tourism development paradigm. Collaborative planning and implementation are discussed, whilst critiques and limitations of community based-tourism and sustainable tourism development are also reviewed. CBT as a tourism product is then discussed in order to present the significance of community based-tourism to tourists.

Chapter four further examines the literature, reviewing destination image and tourists' perceptions. It focuses on the demand side, in particular on the concept of tourist perceptions from both a domestic and international perspective. This chapter also reviews the influences that may give rise to differing perceptions between international and domestic visitors, highlighting how national cultures may sculpture tourists' beliefs, attitudes and values, as well how influential values impact western tourists when they travel in developing countries, including supra-national culture, authenticity and exoticism, the tourist gaze and 'otherness'. Finally, the chapter explores the link between sustainable tourism development, CBT and tourists perceptions and proposes a conceptual model for this research.

Chapter five provides a brief introduction to Thailand, including the evolution of tourism in the country, as the context for the emergence of CBT in the country. The National Tourism Plan is evaluated, along with the 8th National Economics and Social Development Plan, to explain recent policies influencing CBT development. Pai, the case study for the research, is also introduced.

Chapter six explains the research methodology in terms of how research was planned, which methods were used for data collection, and how the research methods were implemented in the fieldwork. It commences with an analysis of research philosophies before going on to discuss the methodology, analysis and trustworthiness of the research.

Chapter seven presents and analyses the findings of this research. The results include: The participation of local communities. How local people, stakeholders and local administration participate in the community.
The failure and success in CBT in Thailand in general, and Pai in particular.
The different perception between domestic and international tourists towards CBT in Thailand. Their different motivations and destination images are also revealed as they influence the tourism demand and tourist destination choices respectively. In the last section, a cross-cultural comparison of international and domestic tourists is presented to identify and analyse the reasons for differing perceptions.

The discussion element of this chapter considers the findings based on the theory and concepts from reviewed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 and measured against Thailand's tourism policies and plans as outlined in Chapter 5. It focuses in particular on the lack of community participation and the different perceptions of CBT.

Chapter eight, final chapter, presents the conclusion to the study, discussing the outcomes and implications for the development of CBT. The limitations of this research are also presented, as are recommendations for future research.

1.7 Chapter Summary

This purpose of this chapter was to introduce the thesis, highlighting its significance and potential contribution by exploring its position within the broader context of tourism, thereby revealing a gap in knowledge and understanding with respect to tourists' perceptions of CBT as a product. In so doing, it points to the way in which the research could contribute to the future planning of CBT, acknowledging an optimal balance between the objectives of sustainable tourism development and the consumption needs of the tourist. It also serves as an introductory overview of the thesis, encompassing a

review of all the chapters and their overall contribution towards to the objectives of the thesis.

The rapid and remarkable growth of tourism over the last fifty years has led to it becoming an economic and social phenomenon. Consequently, the role of tourism as a catalyst for development has become embedded worldwide. However, the success of tourism in stimulating economic growth and development has long been overshadowed by the paradigm shift that recognised the consequences of degradation of local destination culture, the physical environment and the authentic tourist experience. Hence, sustainable tourism development emerged as an alternative approach to tourism development, manifested in a variety of specific forms of tourism including CBT. It is now the task of thesis to explore in more detail the broad phenomenon of tourism and its role in development, focusing in particular on the principles of sustainability, CBT and the tourism product. Therefore, the following chapter establishes the framework for the thesis by reviewing tourism and it role in development.

Chapter 2

Tourism development: a review

2.1 Introduction

As observed in Chapter one, tourism has long been a growth sector. Consequently, in many countries it has become 'a major component of economic strategies' (Williams and Shaw 1991: 1) and, more generally, used as an important and integral agent of development (Jenkins 1991). However, in recognition of the potential negative impacts of tourism development and the subsequent 'development dilemma' (Telfer and Sharpley 2008), a variety of approaches to tourism development have been proposed within the broad framework of sustainable development. One such approach, and the focus of this thesis, is community-based tourism (CBT) development. In order to understand CBT and the academic attention it attracts, it is necessary to explore why and how CBT has emerged as a particular approach to the development of tourism. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a framework for considering the concept of CBT through an exploration of what tourism is, its role in development, traditional development models and their weaknesses, and how CBT has emerged.

More specifically, this chapter serves as a foundation to the thesis through a general overview of the complex nature of tourism and tourism development, thereby establishing a conceptual background for the subsequent chapters. This is achieved by first broadly defining tourism, both in conceptual and technical terms but in particular as a social and economic phenomenon and as a system (Leiper 1990; Sharpley 2009). Definitions of development, as a potential outcome of tourism are then explored, with specific attention paid to the question of why tourism in particular is used as a vehicle for development. The chapter then turns to development paradigms and their evolution over time, along with a consideration of the negative consequences of tourism development that eventually led to a 'development dilemma'(Telfer and Sharpley 2008), thus pointing towards the emergence of sustainable (tourism) as a potential means of balancing the benefits and costs of tourism development, seeking

environmental sustainability and benefits to local communities, the tourism sector and to tourists themselves (Dowling 1992).

As is discussed, though widely seen an an 'ideal' approach to development in general and tourism development in particular, sustainable development has long been, and remains, a contentious concept (Redclift 1987). Nevertheless, a key tenet of sustainable tourism development is a focus on a 'bottom-up' grassroots approach to tourism; that is, an approach which centres on the needs of the local community in destination areas. Thus, this chapter lays the groundwork for a critical review of CBT in the following chapter.

2.2 Definitions of tourism

First and foremost, it is necessary to understand what tourism is, its defining parameters, and early and recent concepts of tourism before exploring CBT in particular. However, although nowadays most people undoubtedly have some understanding of what tourism is, it is a phenomenon that remains quite difficult to define. That is, it is something of a multidimensional and ambiguous phenomenon, however, we can say that tourism broadly concerns the movement of people which can be defined as both a social and economic phenomenon (Sharpley 2009).

2.2.1 Tourism: a social phenomenon

Tourism can be described as a 'social phenomenon 'as its focus is on people, from the individual traveller to mass mobility. Sharpley (2011: 27) states that to fully understand contemporary tourism 'requires knowledge and understanding of the meanings and implications of the multiple mobilities of people, capital, culture, information, goods and services more generally', at the centre of which are people.

Tourism may also, however, be described as a system (Farrell and Twinning-Ward 2004; Leiper 1990; Mill and Morrison 1998) that involves a variety of companies and organisations that provides for 'the activities of the tourist and those who cater for them', as described by the Chambers English Dictionary (1988: 1552). In the Oxford Dictionary (2001: 1791), tourism is defined as 'the commercial organisation and operation of holidays and visits to places of interest' placing the emphasis on tourism as

a business sector whilst, according to the Webster Dictionary (1986: 2416), the definition of tourist originates from 'tour', which means 'a journey on which one returns to the starting point; a circular trip usually for business, pleasure or education during which various places are visited and for which an itinerary usually planned'. Thus, tourism may also be defined from the perspective of the tourist's experience. Immediately, this shows that tourism may be defined in a variety of ways although, over the years there have been efforts to define the complex nature of tourism in more finite terms. In particular, many studies (for example, Ivanovic 2008; Sharpley 2009; Theobald 2005) argue that definitions of tourism as the movement of people can be divided into technical and conceptual terms.

2.2.1.1 Technical definitions

Several technical headlines provide definitions relevant to the volume and value of tourism (Ivanovic 2008), accounting for different types of tourist and tourism activities. Such technical definitions are essentially applied for statistical purposes, that is, providing the parameters for the quantitative measurement of tourist traffic (Sharpley 2009). Early efforts to universally define tourism came from the League of Nations in 1937, which defined a tourist broadly as someone who travels for 24 hours or more outside of their country of residence. Further examples of these original definitions came from Olgivie (1933) who defined tourists as 'All persons who satisfy two conditions, that they are away from home for any period of less than a year, and second, that while they are away they spend money in the place they visit without earning it there' (Batta 2000; Olgivie 1933: 5-6). The condition of length of time for spending on travelling has been more widely adapted in various technical definitions, including the most recent one from the World Tourism Organisation (formerly, WTO; now UNWTO): in 1991, the International Conference on Travel and Tourism Statistics defined tourism as 'the activities of a person travelling to a place outside his or her usual environment for less than a specified period of time and whose main purpose of travel is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited…' (WTO 1991).

Following the UNWTO, van Egmond (2007) provides a broader definition of the tourist as a person who remains in the visited area for a minimum period of twenty four hours to a maximum of one year and engages with activities called 'tourism' that consist of

various components, such as location, service, activities and, of course, tourists. Tourists can be classified broadly into domestic and international tourists, based on the location of travelling. Domestic tourists are residents who are travelling within their own country of residence, while international tourists travel outside their country of residence (Cooper *et al.* 1998). The purpose of travel can be grouped into three major categories, namely, leisure and recreation, visiting friends and relatives, and business (Weaver and Lawton 2006), although a variety of other purposes of tourism are recognised by the UNWTO, including education/study, sport, religion, health and so on. Thus, definitions of who is or isn't a tourist are broader than might be initially imagined, whilst it should be noted here that attempts to technically embrace such a broad spectrum of activities and purposes have been further complicated by what Ureily (2005) refers to as 'postmodernist theorising' within the social sciences in general and in tourism studies in particular. Though a full consideration of this issue is beyond the scope of this chapter, it may be summarised by Urry's (1994) argument that, in recent decades, tourism 'is no longer a differentiated set of social practices with its distinct rules, times and spaces' (Urry 1994). Rather, it has merged into contemporary (post)modern social life, suggesting that trying to technically define the tourist may be a fruitless task.

2.2.1.2 Conceptual definitions

Given the complex social and multi-faceted aspects of tourism, it is perhaps appropriate to look at how tourism can be defined within anthropological and theoretical terms. One of the earliest conceptual definitions of tourism was proposed by Hunziker and Krapf (1942), who defined tourism as 'a sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the travel and stay of non-residents, in so far as they do not lead to permanent residence and are not connected to any earning activity' (Cruz 2006; Hunziker and Krapf 1942). This definition tends to separate tourism from migration and emphasises the temporary aspect of the travel (Cruz 2006). However, this definition has been criticised as it links tourism explicitly to leisure / pleasure, and so subsequent definitions attempted to broaden the theme (Batta 2000). In other words, the idea that tourism can be solely thought of as occurring within a 'pleasure periphery' (Turner and Ash 1975) or for 'intrinsic satisfaction' (Roberts 2004: 3) tends to associate it with the leisure industry, yet this is perhaps a somewhat out-dated perspective given the emerging need to define tourism within a broader context, including elements not

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defined as recreational. Nevertheless, it could be argued that tourism is generally thought of as a form of recreation and as the ability of individual within a culture or society to reward itself with a vacation. Certainly, as Krippendorf (1986) reflects, tourism could be deemed a 'social victory', perhaps even suggesting that tourism is not only an individual goal but a social aspiration. Additionally, examples of conceptual definitions in relation to tourism engage anthropological themes hinting at nomadic behaviour and habitat: 'Tourism is a study of Man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both he and the industry have on the host's socio-cultural, economic and physical environment' (Jafari 1977: 8; Leiper 1979). This also touches upon the idea that tourism can be defined in relation to a network or a business sector with distinctive attributes that reflect similar supply and demand components, leaning towards a search for a more systematic definition. Thus, although conceptual definitions tend to focus on the tourist, it is also possible to define the phenomenon in supply terms. For example, Leiper (1979) defines tourism as follows: 'the tourist industry consists of all those firms, organisations, facilities which are intended to serve the specific needs and wants of tourist (Leiper 1979: 400). Furthermore, this concept develops the idea that tourism comprises two elements; the journey to the destination and the stay (including activities) at the destination (Cooper *et al*., 2008). This can be seen in figure 2.1 below (see also Figure 1.1, Chapter 1).

Figure 2.1: The tourism system
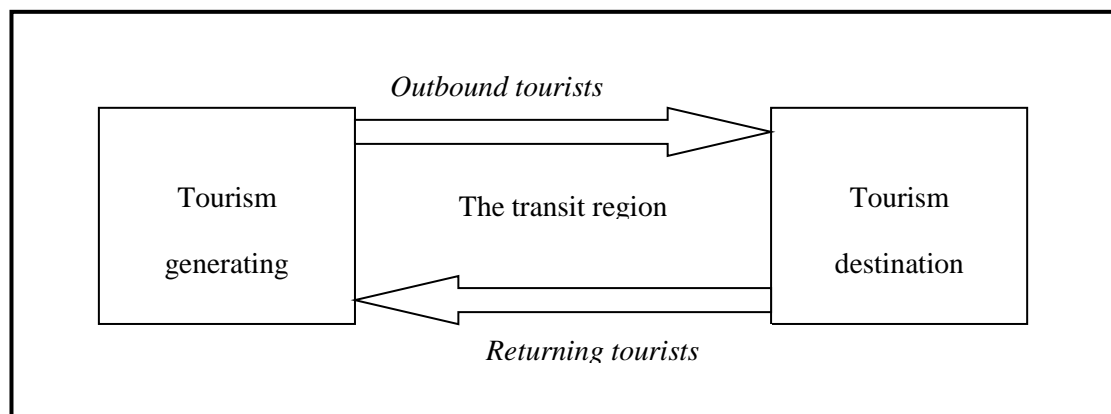
Source: Adapted from Leiper (1990) in Sharpley (2009: 12)

This system not only applies to outbound international tourists but also to domestic tourists visiting destination regions within their own country. A wider view of the

system comprises of four components, not only of the tourism generating region and destination region but also the transit region in between the tourist travels through and the environment in which the first three components are located and in which the tourist interacts (Farrell and Twinning-Ward 2004; Leiper 1979; Mill and Morrison 1998). The fourth component is represented in Figure 2.1 by the surrounding box, that is, the supporting infrastructure and tourism environment but also the individual who participates within it, as Sharpley (2002b: 22) describes tourism as:

An activity which involves individuals who travel within their own countries or internationally, and who interact with other people and places. It involves people who are influenced and motivated by the norms and transformations in their own society and who carry with them their own 'culture baggage' of experience.

This may suggest that, in order to define tourism, particularly as a social phenomenon, the study of tourism should be directed towards the traveller and their motives to travel. In other words, 'at the heart of any definition of tourism is the person we conceive to be the tourist' (Nash 1981). The motives for mobility are a key factor in defining the tourist, as suggested by Nash (1981) who describes the tourist as 'a person at leisure who also travels'. Similarly, Smith (1989) determines that a tourist's decision to travel will made 'voluntarily' and 'for the purpose of experiencing a change', implying that tourism comes from not only the choice to travel but the freedom and accessibility to travel, again a suggestive sign of social success (Krippendorf 1986).

Such commentaries define what form a tourist should take and what motives they should have so as to separate them from other mobile collectives, such as migrants or refugees (Cruz 2006). At the same time, tourism can also be defined as a product, sold to the tourist based on the experience they seek from it. Definitions of the tourist and their various typologies, as well as the tourist product, will be considered in more detail in the next chapter in the specific context of CBT. However, attempting to define tourism through the needs of the individual tourist is somewhat flawed, as Smith (1989: 33) states: 'would be like trying to define healthcare professions by describing a sick person'. Moreover, we can be critical of such attempts to define the 'abstract nature of the concept of tourism' that proves too multi-dimensional and vague for finite interpretation (Burns and Holden 1995). Therefore, it is important to look at tourism as a form of mobility and, in particular, concerning the movement of people.

2.2.1.3 Tourism as mobility

According to the National Research Council (2002: 16) mobility refers to 'the time and costs required for travel'. In the context of tourism, this would imply that mobility refers to the time, resources and facilities that the tourist requires to be able to travel; that it is the circumstances affecting their ability to travel rather than the act of travel itself. Given the contemporary global growth of the tourism industry and the widespread movement of people and their facilitators, efforts are being increased to examine tourism within a mobility framework (Hall 2005). Under the broad umbrella of mobility, this would encompass tourism, along with the movement of people, goods, wealth, culture and information, rather than closing tourism within its own definition. In other words, tourism has been brought under a conceptual framework of, and is 'increasingly being interpreted as but one, albeit highly significant dimension of temporary mobility' (Hall 2005: 21). Indeed, some commentators agree that within this mobility hierarchy, a better understanding of tourism in relation to being a social phenomenon and its relevance within modern societies is achieved.

It may seem appropriate to define tourism as a part of a framework of mobility networking, both locally and globally. More than twenty years ago Lett (1989) described tourism as accounting 'for the single largest peaceful movement of people across cultural boundaries in the history of the world' (Lett 1989: 277). However, conceptually placing tourism within the larger context of mobility still renders an exact definition elusive; indeed, if tourism is but one manifestation of contemporary mobility, the attempt to define it as something distinct may be futile. However, tourism does arguably remain a recognised sphere of contemporary social life and thus, although it may be evidence of an increasingly mobile world, some effort should be made to define what it encompasses.

The definitions above represent the differing variables of transit and space, such as minimum and maximum length of stay or away from home. Moreover, the linkage of definitions of tourists is also expressed in these terms with the purposes of travelling and meanings of tourist. Weaver and Lawton (2006:18) define tourist as 'a person who travels temporarily outside of his or her usual environment (usually defined by some distance threshold) for certain qualifying purposes'. Tourists are reasonably easy to identify as 'there are scarcely people left in the world who would not recognise a tourist

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immediately' (Cohen 1974). Yet it can be said that the conceptual and technical terms of defining tourism are in some respects at odds with each other, a definitional continuum, both relevant yet to an extent contrasting (Buck 1978). In short, it not only encompasses the expectation of the tourist and the 'travel experience' (Ryan 2002) but acts also as the entire interface in between. However, there is another side in defining tourism, arguably the reason for its remarkable growth in modern times as an economic endeavour.

2.2.2 Tourism: an economic endeavour

Sharpley (2009) suggests the idea why the nature or structure of tourism can be defined as an economic sector is because it depends upon the procurement of goods and services to facilitate people's travel and their activities at the destination, and these goods and services actually represent big business (Krippendorf 1986).

2.2.2.1 Economic growth

Since the 1950s, tourism has become a mass phenomenon, especially in the most European countries with the favourable exchange rates that led to high levels of investment in tourism infrastructure, transport and communications technologies (Ivars Baidal 2004). Thus, tourism is no longer a luxury only available to the wealthy few but 'democratised' (Urry 2001) and available to the masses. Manifested particularly in the development of large coastal resorts around the Mediterranean, these still support the most popular form of tourism, namely, the sun-sea-sand package holiday However, more recently there has been a growth in demand for the more individualistic, alternative and fulfilling experiences, such as cultural tourism, adventure tourism and heritage tourism (Telfer and Sharpley 2008). At the same time, new forms of travelling to more remote locations have begun to replace the idea of the 'democratised' or congested resort visitation (Urry 2001). In so doing, tourism has become a driving force in the economies of developing the world as western people increasingly seek the 'untouched' and 'exotic' (Scheyvens 2002). Therefore, the development in tourism, in particular within less developed countries (LDCs) has become a major element of development policy and planning (Reid 2003). However, an increase in demand and growth in tourist activity does not necessarily mean a substantial increase in economic growth. Table 2.1 presents the steady change in international tourist arrivals and receipts from 1950 to 2010.

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Table 2.1: International tourist arrivals and receipts, 1950-2010

Year	Arrivals (million)	Receipts (US$bn)	Year	Arrivals (million)	Receipts (US$bn)
1950	25.3	2.1	1997	598.6	450.4
1960	69.3	6.9	1998	616.7	451.4
1965	112.9	11.6	1999	639.6	464.5
1970	165.8	17.9	2000	687.0	481.6
1975	222.3	40.7	2001	686.7	469.9
1980	278.1	104.4	2002	707.0	488.2
1985	320.1	119.1	2003	694.6	534.6
1990	439.5	270.2	2004	765.1	634.7
1991	442.5	283.4	2005	806.8	682.7
1992	479.8	326.6	2006	846	742
1993	495.7	332.6	2007	900	858
1994	519.8	362.1	2008	919	942
1995	540.6	410.7	2009	880	852
1996	575.0	446.0	2010	940	919

Source: Adapted from UNWTO data

Tourism is increasingly becoming something of a global phenomenon. Some thirty years ago, the then WTO expressed the ambition that 'World tourism can contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order'. The statistics from Table 2.1 demonstrate continual growth in tourism since the 1950s, albeit at a diminishing rate; whether a 'new worlds order' has emerged as a result of tourism is uncertain.

The modern world can therefore be described as being involved in widespread tourist activity, whether a nation's peoples are playing the role of visitor or host. However, economically, it is questionable to say that 'global mass tourism has now arrived and that the populations of most countries are caught up in a whirlwind of international travel' (Shaw and Williams 1994: 23). Although tourism worldwide shows evidence of economic growth, these growth trends differ by region and this growth status seems to be more identifiable amongst the developed nations than the less developed nations, signaling that such growth may not be universal.

2.2.2.2 Trends: growth areas

According to Scheyvens (2002), tourism is increasingly becoming a fundamental element within the development of many less developed countries. It is being used as an avenue to stimulate growth within a nation's economy; in some cases this can be the only avenue to take (Brown 1998: 59). This not only defines tourism as serious factor of economic growth but for some nations, especially less developed countries, it could be described as an economic lifeline. For some LDCs , such as some countries in the Asia Pacific region, international tourism expenditure in 2010 could make over US\$30 billion in total from Cambodia, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: International tourist arrivals and receipts in 2010 in the selective developing countries of Southeast Asia

Countries	Arrivals (million)	Receipt (US\$bn)
Cambodia	2,399	1,260
Indonesia	7,003	6,980
Philippines	3,520	2,783
Thailand	15,842	19,760
Vietnam	5050	4450

Source: Adapted from UNWTO (2011)

Compared with developed nations, the revenue from tourism in developing countries is seemingly limited, but it can be extremely important to economic development for many developing countries (Scheyvens 2002). Figure 2.2 below shows the trends over the last twenty years with a predicted shift in the share of global tourism in favour of the Asia and Pacific region, eventually coming close to the same share of global tourism as Europe.

As is evident in Figure 2.2, the more developed regions in the world, such as Europe, continue to enjoy a significantly greater share of global tourism compared to less developed regions such as Africa. However, it is also evident that the worldwide growth of tourism is not equitable. That is, growth is more apparent within the less developed regions, such as Asia and the Pacific, Middle East and Africa. Thus, there is movement

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towards a more balanced worldwide share of tourist arrivals, although it is important to look beyond absolute arrivals figures. For example, much of the growth in East Asia and Pacific is based on a growth in intra-regional tourism, rather than an increase in arrivals from traditional tourism markets in developed countries. This suggests that regional tourism growth is dependent on economic growth and prosperity within that region.

Figure 2.2: Diagram of regional shares trends
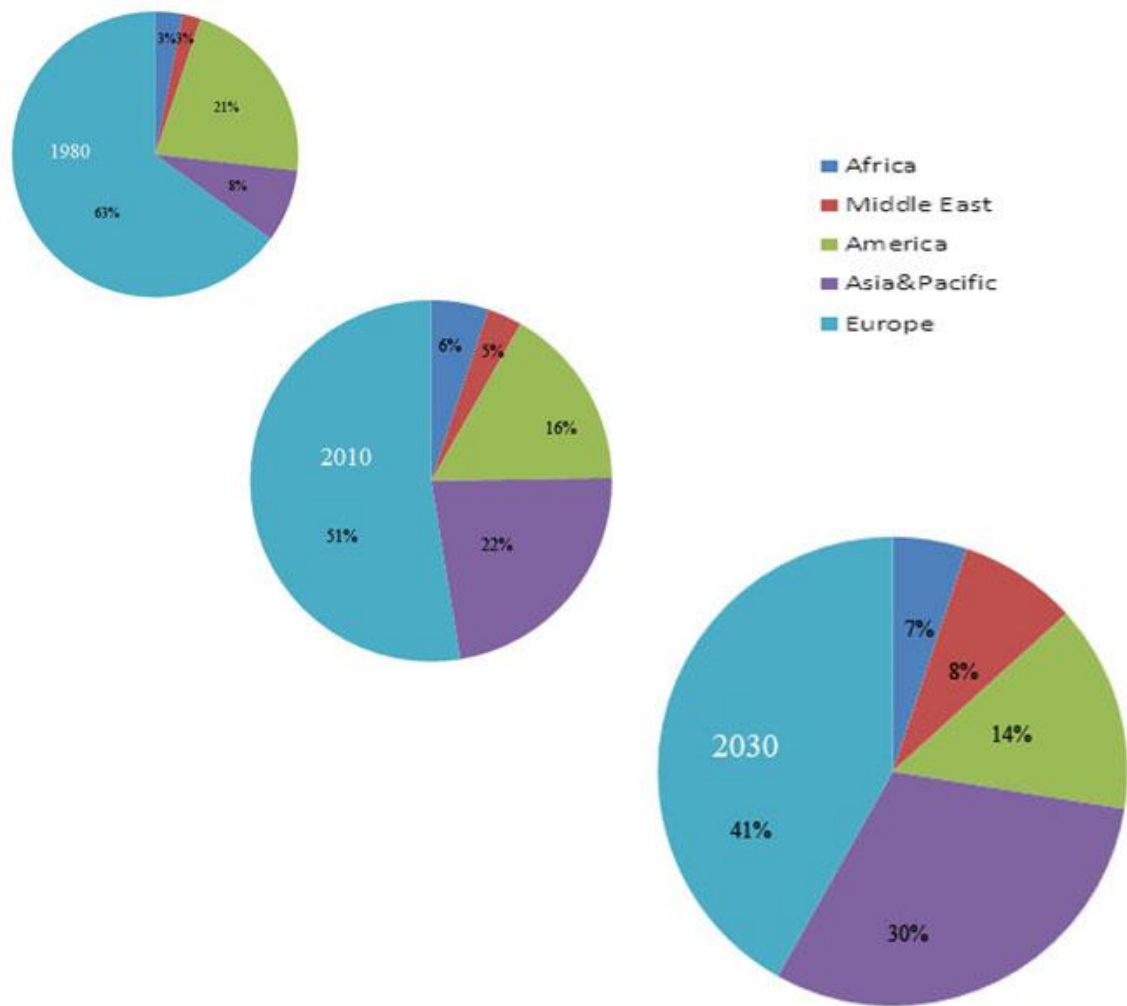
Source: UNWTO (2011)

Such growth requires careful planning to ensure its the success and sustainability, to ensure that developments do not become 'divorced from the processes which have created them' (Pearce 1988:15).Yet despite this, in some cases resources previously

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deemed as useless may become useful and that 'economic value can be derived from resources which may have limited or no alternative use' (Jenkins 1991: 86).

2.2.2.3 Critique and forecast for economic growth

To further highlight tourism as an effective economic endeavour and social phenomenon, it is important to look at the challenges facing current growth trends and the potential future for tourism growth. In principle, tourism is an 'ideal' means of redistributing wealth from developed to less developed nations but international growth trends suggest that substantial economic returns from tourism remain most prominent with the developed nations whilst higher levels of economic generation do not necessarily mean higher equality (Willis 2005). With Western developed nations currently facing unseen economic crises, it can be reasonably presumed that the 'leisure' activity of international tourism may become less frequently consumed (or at least, patterns of tourist flows may change) due to the economic effects of recession. This may pose an ominous threat upon the tourism industry internationally yet growth may stem within other regions, especially if economies depend on the revenue generated from tourism. Moreover, tourism potentially offers significant opportunities to the global economy in the long term and its multi-faceted nature may potentially help sustain its growth in times of crisis. However, there is growing scepticism as to where the tourist numbers will come from. Despite this, the forecast for global economic growth predicts an average annual growth of 4.4% by the year 2020 (WTO 2001). Schubert *et al*. (2011: 149) also state that 'International tourism is recognised to have a positive effect on the increase of the long-run economic growth through different channels'. Although the trends indicate continual financial gain from tourism growth, not only is that rate of growth declining, but also there is doubt whether such growth will be sustained.

In order to further understand such economic imbalances and reliance from a global perspective, it is important to understand what defines tourism development at the ground level, from its original implementation and towards emerging contemporary theories.

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2.3 Tourism development

As indicated above, tourism as is something of an economic phenomenon, an important if not vital instigator of revenue generation and economic growth. It is, therefore, perhaps unsurprising that tourism has been harnessed as a vehicle for development in order to 'ensure the steady acceleration of economic and social development and progress, in particular in developing countries' (WTO 1980). However, it is important to ask, what is tourism development? The concept of development has changed over time, shifting from a focus on economic growth to one of regional sustainability and a means of establishing 'well-being' and a more 'holistic perspective on social change' (Hettne 1995). Hence, the evolution of development paradigms, with reference to tourism development in particular, is considered [to] chronologically in the following section, the purpose being to illustrate the relevant progression towards community based tourism as a form of alternative tourism and its relation to the policies of sustainable tourism development. First, however, to begin to grasp the wider implications of tourism development it is crucial to ask the question: what is development?

2.3.1 Defining development

Development means different things to different people (Wall 1997). In general, development is concerned with an evolutionary process of change occurring over time in a generally positive direction (Friedmann 1980: 4; Pearce 1989), whereas Thomas (2000:29) defines development as 'an historical process of social change in which societies are transformed over long periods'.

It is a term which is used in an everyday context and has the simplest definition as change (Aronsson 2000), whereas it is implied to mean to transform positively or a 'good change' (Thomas 2000). Contrary to these simplistic definitions, the complex task of defining development mirrors that of defining the 'abstract nature' of tourism [presenting]. Both share a vague and unclear meaning; they are words that 'seem to defy definition' (Burns and Holden 1995: 5; Cowen and Shenton 1996: 3). Furthermore, it has been stated that the meaning of development cannot be encapsulated, that is 'bereft of precise meaning...used to mean anything from broad, undefined change to quite specific events' (Welch 1984). However, this has not deterred the need for a definition or concepts to be sought.

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2.3.1.1 Concepts of development

Development, in particular tourism development, can be seen to be a widespread phenomenon, integral at both a micro and macro level as it 'relates to all parts of the world at every level, from the individual to global transformations' (Elliot 1999: 10).This includes people travelling for leisure, business, and other purposes such as to escape their routine environment or home as tourism transects many levels, interests and sectors (Carter 1995).

The link between tourism and development has been discussed in many tourism studies, including Scheyvens (2002), Sharpley and Telfer (2002), Sofield (2003), Telfer and Sharpley (2008), and Wall (1997). For the purposes of this thesis it is important to underline the key themes with regards to the concepts of development; the WTO (1980: 1) stated that the establishment of international tourism would 'ensure the steady acceleration of economic and social development and progress' particularly in developing nations. Yet it is important to clarify what development is and how it may be achieved. The main emergent themes in defining development are measurable economic growth, the realisation of positive social progress in society towards living the 'good life', and an increase in peoples 'well-being' (Goulet 1968). Considering that international and domestic tourism development have become a popular solution for the socio-economic problems facing certain failing industrial sectors or peripheral rural areas (Hoggart *et al.* 1995), it is important to explore why tourism development has become an integral agent of development (Jenkins 1991) and more specifically as a means to instigate or encourage economic growth and peoples' 'well-being'.

2.3.1.2 Tourism development as economic growth

The initial and mostly positive support for tourism as a means of encouraging economic growth became predominant following its mass emergence in the 1960s (Archer 1977 ; Davies 1968). Indeed, since then, tourism has arguably become just as vital, if not more so, as other industry sectors such as the financial and telecommunications services, increasingly being embraced as a major component of economic strategies' (Williams and Shaw 1991: 1). This is particularly so in developing countries, such as Thailand, where tourism is utilised as a catalyst for increased economic and social growth (Clancy 1999; Tohamy and Swinscoe 2000). Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, it is important to explore the reasons why

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tourism, as opposed to other industries or economic sectors, has become a popular choice for many less developed countries seeking economic growth and prosperity (Reid 2003).

As previously noted, tourism is a growth industry; it is 'big business' (Krippendorf 1986). Global figures highlight the remarkable growth of tourism over the last half century or so (see Table 2.1 above). In 1950, international tourist receipts were a 'mere' US$2.1 billion. In comparison, by 2011 this figure had risen to an impressive US$919 billion and, at the time of writing this thesis, the indications are that both international tourist arrivals and receipts will pass the one billion mark by 2013. Moreover, even in 2007 it was estimated that the 'tourism economy' worldwide (total direct and indirect economic activity generated by international and domestic tourism) was worth a massive US$7 trillion, or 10.47% of global gross domestic product (GDP) (WTTC 2008). Such growth is one reason why many countries are attracted by the potential of tourism to contribute to their national balance of payments (Oppermann and Chon 1997).

In addition to foreign exchange earnings, however, tourism as a development option can also generate new sources of income from the provision of services and products to facilitate the tourist experience, whilst it is also considered a labour-intensive sector, either generating new jobs representing an alternative source of employment in areas suffering from industrial or agricultural decline, particularly in peripheral regions (Cavaco 1995; Hoggart *et al.* 1995). Furthermore, the popularity of tourism as a development option reflects its role in stimulating local market competition and investment in infrastructure (Schubert *et al.* 2011), whilst it also offers significant opportunities for backward linkages as 'no other economic activity… transects so many sectors, levels and interests as tourism' (Carter 1995). Further incentives include the use of 'free, natural infrastructure and resources of destinations including beaches, scenery or heritage sites' which may represent low 'start-up' costs compared to other development sectors (Sharpley 2009). Tourism development is also said to redistribute wealth both between and within countries, although 'high levels of economic development do not necessarily mean greater equality' (Willis 2005: 8).

However, despite the attraction of tourism as a vehicle of economic growth and wealth generation, it can be argued that economic growth does not inevitably result in development. As discussed shortly in the context of modernisation theory, economic growth was, in the 1950s and 1960s, considered synonymous with (Mabogunje 1980; Willis 2005). Yet, the recognised failure of economic growth to stimulate development led to criticism of growth-based development models. As Seabrook (1993) notes, economic benefits 'have not even trickled down to the vast majority of people in most countries honourably referred to as 'developing', whilst Seers (1969) questioned what had done to address the issues of 'poverty', 'unemployment', 'inequality', stating that, regardless of economic gain, if any of these central problems had become worse 'it would be strange to call the result 'development', even if per capita income had doubled' (Seers 1969, 1977). Thus although the attraction of tourism is its potential, under ideal circumstances to lead to economic growth, such growth does not necessarily represent social betterment, cultural development or increases in 'human capital' (Todaro and Smith 2006). This may even support the idea that development is but a 'myth of progress' (Goulet 1992), that only 'pseudo-development' is measured in economic terms and that fundamental progress is realised through the enhancement of a society's well-being.

2.3.1.3 Tourism development as peoples' 'well-being'

If tourism is to be a vehicle of economic development, it should be considered not only as a method of economic gain but also as an opportunity for the betterment of people's lives and social conditions by 'good change' or, more specifically, through the process of social change in which societies are transformed over long periods' (Thomas 2000: 29). Understanding of what development represents had evolved from the specific focus on economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s into a more holistic perspective on social change, embracing factors such as the satisfaction of basic needs, political freedom and self-reliance (Hettne 1995). Tourism development was no exception to this shift in development thinking, as the idea of development became a complex and a multi-dimensional concept which is understood to refer to an evolutionary process of positive change occurring over time in the economic, social, political dimensions of the human condition, caused by the principle of freedom of choice and restricted by the environment's capacity to sustain change (Telfer and Sharpley 2008). Specifically, three core values of economics, social and political dimensions became attributed to the

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concept of development or, more specifically, how development could encourage the 'good life' (Goulet 1968). These included 'sustenance: the ability to meet basic needs'; 'self-esteem: to be a person' and, finally, 'freedom from servitude: to be able to choose' (Sen 1999; Todaro and Smith 2006: 21).

However, such development may present a built-in western bias, as Western societies are often perceived to be in a developed position, while other countries are in a position of lacking in development (Wall 1997). At the same time, the post-development school argues that the whole process of global development has failed; numerous countries over the years have not developed and, thus, the idea of development is now 'exhausted'. (Sachs 1996). This is not to deny the development process in general, but the global western-centric process in particular, and so the post development school emphasises the need for the development process to be identified and decided upon independently by individual societies according to their own needs (Peet 1999).

Despite the criticism towards the global development paradigm, the more human orientated concept of development was a welcomed change to the financially driven development previously experienced. Within the specific context of tourism, a similar transformation occurred yet the economic growth potential of tourism to benefit national economies has always appealed to governments (Oppermann and Chon 1997). Indeed, just as economic growth may be considered a prerequisite to development generally, the development of tourism in particular to encourage economic gain may be needed to develop broader aspects associated with the betterment of the destination. As Sen (1994: 220) states, economic growth 'may matter a great deal…because of some associated benefits that are realised in the process of economic growth'. Moreover the economic potential of tourism development may be considered symbiotic to peoples well-being with its ability to increase capital and employment opportunities (Keller 1987).

Though tourism development and development in general is not without its flaws, community based tourism emerged as a form of alternative tourism, significantly putting people at its centre (Brohman 1996) along with the adoption of the principles of sustainable development, which brings issues of environment and development together (Dresner 2002). However, in order to understand where these development principles and tourism ideals originate, the historical and political landscape needs to be illustrated

in terms of the evolution of key development paradigms and how they influenced the way tourism developed.

2.3.2 The evolution of key theories for tourism and development

It is necessary to understand the evolution of development theory as well as the concept of development itself because each stage may be linked with approaches to tourism development in different periods. In this section, the discussion of tourism development is linked with the key stages of development theory [namely] such as modernisation, dependency, economic neoliberalism and alternative development. This will to some extent reveal the historic political and economic ideals that influence tourism development as development is an inherently political process reflecting the prevailing ideologies and structures at the time (Goldsworthy 1988).

2.3.2.1 Modernisation

Modernisation theory is, perhaps, the most well-known development theory (Kendall 2008). Moreover, its relevance to tourism development in particular is examined in depth in the literature (Brohman 1996; Opperman and Chon 1997; Telfer 2002; Telfer and Sharpley 2008). The concept of modernisation was prevalent during 1950s-1960s, originally declared the 'Development Decade' by the United Nations. In terms of development, its central tenet is that if economic growth can be achieved, then 'development' will inevitably follow (Burns and Novelli 2008). Thus, development policy at that time focused on the introduction of 'growth poles' in the form of particular sectors or industries, such as tourism, to stimulate such economic growth, reflected in Keynesian economics advocating state intervention. That is, Keynes proposed that government intervention was good for economies; for example, expanding fiscal deficits would help countries climb out of economic recession (Murad 1962), a policy that is central to current debates on the global economic situation.

Underpinning modernisation theory, particularly during the 1950s and early 1960s was the view that 'the process of development... [is]... a series of successive stages through which all countries must pass' (Todaro and Smith 2006: 103). That is, it was believed that all countries or societies follow an inevitable evolution from traditional to modern structures, values and institutions (Sharpley 2009: 40). Crucially, however, the process

of modernisation can only begin once a country has reached the so-called 'take-off' stage (Rostow 1960).

In brief, the take-off stage occurs when one or more significant industries (that is, growth poles) emerge which stimulate further economic growth and investment. In turn, growth impulses spread out, stimulating the wider economy, leading the country towards the stage where it can begin to modernise or 'develop' (Rostow 1960).The five stages Rostow describes can be divided into both economic and social factors (see Table 2.3 below).

Rostow (1960) believed that, in order for people to improve their standard of living, their values and work ethic would also need to be aligned. In other words, 'the low income, less-developed nations can improve their standard of living only with a period of intensive economic growth and accompanying changes in people's beliefs, values, and attitudes towards work' (Kendall 2008: 265). Thus, as noted above, development policy was manifested in the adoption of Keynesian economic policies to encourage economic growth and as a consequence, western style modernisation (Harrison 1988). In short, modernisation theory orientated from the more developed nations (modern societies) in North America and Western Europe, encouraging less developed nations (traditional societies) to proceed along an evolutionary path that modern societies had historically followed (Schmidt 1989; Todaro and Smith 2006)

However, modernisation theory soon attracted criticism. Although, according to Kendall (2008: 267), the modernisation paradigm 'links global inequality to different levels of economic development and suggests that low-income economies can move to middle and high-income economies by achieving self-sustained economic growth'. Others pointed to potential weaknesses. For example, Mydral (1963) warned of a 'backwash effect' whereby, rather than stimulating the wider diffusion of economic growth, investment in a growth pole may in fact draw in people and resources from outside, leaving other areas depleted and raising rather than reducing socio-economic inequality (Sharpley 2009).

Table 2.3: Rostow's five stages of development

Stages	Economic Factors	Values and Attitudes
(1) The traditional society	Low income, low growth, little or no savings	Very little social change, no thought to change current circumstance, little or no work ethic, simple ways
(2) Pre-conditions for take off into self-sustaining growth	The mobilisation of domestic and foreign saving in order to generate sufficient investment to accelerate economic growth	Mobilisation towards growth, saving and investment, increase in self-esteem
(3) Take Off	Increased Income, increase growth, saving and investing, consumption increased	Belief in individualism, competition and achievement, discarding of traditional attitudes
(4) The drive to Technological Maturity	Continual increase in income and development, continual saving, investing and entrepreneurship in new industries and improved technology, growing consumption	Embracing the beliefs and values of high income and social institution developed nations, innovation
(5) High Mass Consumption	High Income and development, higher standard of living	Sense of pride, achievement and confident with high value status, complex ways

Source: Adapted from Rostow (1960), Kendall (2008) and Todaro and Smith (2006)

With respect to tourism, the link between modernisation theory and tourism development is evident. Many studies, such as Lea (1988), Murphy (1985) and Urry (2001) discuss the growth of the tourism industry around the world from the 1960s onwards, particularly the manner in which tourism was introduced as a growth pole to stimulate national economic growth. That is, in the context of the modern period, tourism was considered a panacea, a positive light for economic development in many areas during the 1960s (Bond and Ladman 1972; Lea 1988), manifested in the development of destinations such as Cancun in Mexico (Clancy 1999; Torres 2003). The principal focus was on in generating revenue and, consequently, emphasis was placed on developing attraction, facilities and infrastructure in order to optimise tourism numbers (Scheyvens 2002).

2.3.2.2 Dependency

Emerging at around the same time as the modernisation paradigm, the counter-theory of dependency essentially criticised modernisation as an 'ideology used to justify western involvement and domination of the developing world' (Telfer 2002: 41). In particular, it criticised the failure of modernisation theory by highlighting the continuing spread of poverty around the world (Ferraro 2008). Dependency is a well-known neo-Marxist

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development theory (Schuurman 1993) that addresses concerns regarding the link between development and underdevelopment (Jafari 2000). Specifically, its main argument is that the developing countries have both external and internal political and economic structures which maintain them in a dependent position relative to the developed countries (Todaro 1997). In other words, global political-economic relations are such that developed countries are able to exploit weaker, developing countries, restricting the extent to which they can develop (Frank 1996); hence dependency theory is sometimes referred to as underdevelopment theory (Pandey 1986). An explanation of the concept of dependency is offered by Dos Santos (1970: 231), as follows:

By dependence we mean a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of this expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development.

In terms of tourism development, dependency theory can describe the reaction towards the failure of tourism to bring the expected economic growth to the people of less developed countries. In many cases, countries found themselves in a position of dependency or in a process of trusteeship (Cowen and Shenton 1996); other developmental options were not available to them and tourism development was in fact a 'last resort' (Lea 1988). Many countries had also borrowed money or accepted investment from international lending agencies, such as the World Bank, to maximise development plans in destinations (Jafari 2000). However, this often led to the perpetuation of underdevelopment (Todaro 1997), a situation exacerbated by the fact that the benefits of tourism did not go to locals but to foreign investors or elite groups, consequently creating the conditions for social and cultural problems, such as drug abuse, crime and prostitution, which became widespread occurrences in developing countries (Scheyvens 2002).

In some respects, then, tourism development came to be seen not only as an agent of development but also as a potential catalyst for underdevelopment, a vehicle of

'colonial control and the stripping of non-Western societies of their peoples, resources and surpluses' (Peet 1999: 107). Indeed, the dependency view explained more generally the subordinate position of less developed countries to developed countries, the root cause of underdevelopment of the peripheral nations being their position in the world system (Hettne 1995). Thus, the lack of positive results from development policies and processes for people in developing countries was judged to be a form of exploitation by developed countries, evidently seen as a form of colonialism (Wall 1997). Moreover, it can be linked to the notion of cultural dependency, whereby developing countries passively adopt ideas and policies from developed countries, so they are considered to be in a culturally dependent position (Blaikie 2000; Ryan and Gu 2009). The influx of international tourists may result in such cultural dependency and even to the degree where the planning and policy of tourism development reflects outer/western ideals (Erisman 1989).

The concept of tourism as a form of neo-colonialism is shared by Mowforth and Munt (1998: 291):

Colonial powers of the First World and transnational corporations (TNCs) dictated the main thrust of economic policy through the Third World. The IMF, World Bank and other supranational lending agencies along with the TNC's took over the mechanism of power from the former colonial powers.

This suggests that the imperial power and colonial control prevalent before the Second World War had to an extent remained in place, acting through international financing and supra-national bodies that 'considerably restricted the right and powers of sovereign states' (Arrighi 1994: 182). Others, such as Nash (1989), also see the resemblance between tourism development and the old colonial presence, stating that 'it is this power over touristic and related developments abroad that make a metropolitan centre imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism' (Nash 1989: 35). This concern reflects a paradigm shift to one of concern that tourism was heading in a direction 'that closely matches historical patterns of colonialism and economic dependency' (Lea 1988: 10). By definition, it is developing nations that suffer the most from this 'neo-colonial' paradigm of tourism, with such development that seeks to improve a nation's economic and social 'well-being' in reality corrupting and diminishing culture, sovereignty and

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prosperity (Nash 1989). However, dependency theory has been criticised for being too vague and highly abstract (So 1990), and lacking in positive policies in processes. Possible solutions to the dependency problem were also raised such as the need for empowerment or self-reliance in order to 'reduce the cultural dependence on one or more of the great powers' (Seers 1977).

Thus, despite the evidence that tourism can be a positive force for the generation of revenue for undeveloped nations, others argue the case that 'Third World tourism carries a major symptom of colonialism: domination and subjugation' (Chung 1994: 21) whether because rich nations 'were intentionally exploitative or unintentionally neglectful' (Todaro and Smith 2006: 115). Moreover, dependency theory has had a lasting impression on tourism development, encouraging the consideration of the negative consequences of tourism, particularly in developing nations, and of the relationship between the destination and the tourism sector (Britton 1991).

2.3.2.3 Economic-neoliberalism

Neoliberalism as an approach to development is manifested in policies such structural adjustment programmes, privatisation, deregulation, free trade and market-based development (Harvey 2005; Jamal and Robinson 2009; Slater 2002). Coming to prominence in the late 1970s-1980s during the Reagan-Thatcher era and again in 1990s during Clinton-Blair era, the roots of neoliberalism originate in the more classic theories of Adam Smith, arguing that the market would operate more effectively if less restrained and restricted and left to its own devices (Willis 2005). Thus, in terms of development, attention fell on the role of international trade in export-led economic development as fiscal evolution (Roy and Denzau 2004).

This development theory was known as the 'counter-revolution' as it rejected the interventionist Keynesian economic policy that dominated the modernisation development era (Brohman 1996; Toye 1993). The neoliberal paradigm was adapted from the traditional concepts of liberalism based on market-led growth and economic liberalisation. It also advocated that foreign investment should become the priority of government policies (Roy and Denzau 2004; Scheyvens 2002). It was argued that the problems occurring in developing countries, particularly those with foreign trade deficits, price controls and inflationary financing of fiscal deficits, reflected not market problems but 'irrational government interventions' (Lal 1985: 36). Thus, loans from

international organisations, such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF), were provided according to conditions of 'Structural Adjustment Lending Programmes' (SALPs) which required the restructuring and liberalisation of the economies in recipient countries. In this sense, tourism development has for a long time largely been supported by and benefited from the funding of financial institutions such as the World Bank (Inskeep and Kallenberg 1992; Telfer 2009). However criticism has been directed towards SALPs, including the point that countries members might be pressured to earn foreign exchange through promoting the growth of tourism (Scheyvens 2002), whilst SALPs are also accused of increasing poverty and unemployment in recipient countries (Harrigan and Mosley 1991). Moreover, whilst there is evidence of wider co-operation and higher investment in many countries resulting from this free-market, the benefits once again largely accrue to elite groups and a small number of businesses (Scheyvens 2002).

2.3.2.4 Alternative development

Following the Second World War, mainstream development theories had predominantly focused on top-down approaches for economic growth (Brohman 1996). However, during the 1970s, dissatisfaction and disillusion with prevailing development paradigms were widespread (Brohman 1995; Telfer 2002). As issues of increasing poverty, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy and poor sanitation were being raised (Streeten 1977), it was argued that a more people centred, indigenous and locally involved approach to development should be adopted (Alamgir 1988; Brohman 1996; Haq 1988; Pretty 1994; Schafer 1989). With respect to tourism, the alternative development approach was adopted during the 1980s. Becoming known as 'alternative tourism development', it sought to address the negative impacts of modernisation and mass tourism, to 'correct the mistakes of past' (Smith and Eadington 1992). In other words, the broader concept of alternative development was applied to the specific context of tourism during 1980s manifested in new (alternative to mass) approaches to tourism development such as 'green' tourism and community based-tourism (Beeton 1998). The main focus of alternative development (and alternative tourism) is on people, to provide benefits to local communities, empower indigenous people (Scheyvens 2002), encourage gender equality (Kinnaird and Hall 1994), and raise awareness of cultural and environmental concern (Brohman 1995). Moreover it emphasises a community-centred and participatory approach to tourism development (Murphy 1983, 1985). Brohman (1995:

65) highlights the main strategies of alternative tourism development as involving 'small scale, locally owned developments, community participation, and cultural and environmental sustainability'.

Although originating in the 1980s, this alternative approach only became more widespread in practice 1990s with the influential involvement of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Uvin and Miller 1996). Indeed the involvement of NGOs has been seen as an essential ingredient of alternative, grassroots approaches to development (Willis 2005) with such organisations increasingly playing 'a role in local and community-based development initiatives' (Telfer 2002: 47). This, in turn, laid the foundations for the continual importance of inclusive partnerships within tourism development (Bramwell and Lane 2000). However, it is also notable that the reliance of NGOs on international aid and their multiple accountabilities may present a hindrance towards fully addressing the needs of destination communities (Edwards and Hulme 1995; Sharpley 2009).

More recently, the theory of alternative development has been adopted within the context of tourism development as the most effective approach to addressing the concept of sustainability (Telfer 2002). That is, since the late 1980s it has been accepted that, along with an emphasis on community involvement and local empowerment within tourism planning (Jamal and Getz 1995; Murphy 1983; Simmonds 1994), there is a need for planning to be based upon the policies and principles of sustainable development (Gunn 1994; Holden 2000; Inskeep 1991). Thus, as considered at the end of this chapter, the principles of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development in general are fundamentally linked to, and form the framework for, forms of alternative tourism including CBT in particular.

Alternative tourism development and sustainable tourism has been increasingly linked with the notion of 'Responsible Tourism' (Cooper and Ozdil 1992; Harrison and Husbands 1996; Wheeller 1991). Responsible tourism encourages the stakeholders, tourism business and tourists themselves to take responsibility for their roles and actions in tourism (Goodwin 2009), in an effort to make 'better places for people to live in and better places for people to visit' (Goodwin 2009: 12). It is largely dependent upon tourists changing their attitude and behavior towards genuine environmental values

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instead of being motivated by guilt or enhancing ones ego by acting on such issues (Munt 1994). In other words, to be a responsible tourist is to truly and willingly become something of a 'good' or even 'new' tourist (Poon 1993; Wood and House 1991). Moreover, as one of its main proponents states, 'It's about respecting and benefiting local people and the environment...the responsible traveller values authenticity' (Responsible Travel 2010). Apart from this involvement from the part of the tourist, it is also dependent upon 'all stakeholders taking responsibility for creating better forms of tourism' (Goodwin 2009). However, despite the exploration of the idea of 'responsible and responsive planning' (Haywood 1988), Goodwin (2009) admits that responsible tourism represents more of a philosophy or movement rather than an approach to tourism development management in a practical sense.

It should be noted that alternative development in general is not without its critics (Brinkerhoff and Ingle 1989; Wiarda 1983). For example, van Der Hoeven (1988) contests that such an approach to development would possibly impede long term economic growth, lead to an overreach of state control and underestimates the significance of political change. The definition of alternative tourism has also come under scrutiny as it may sound appealing and propose something different, yet it remains vague with multiple definitions (Arnold 1989; Butler 1992). Many have taken the stance that alternative tourism has at its core a 'green' agenda (Butler 1992), suggesting that it could actually discourage development and the use of resources, thereby limiting the promotion of tourism for economic growth and development, especially in developing nations. Moreover, despite its ideals, it is contentious whether or not a community and environmental-minded approach would be able to compete against more mainstream tourism development approaches, or if its humanitarian or green elements would be enough to attract a sufficient tourist market or its modest returns appeal to the host location (Weaver and Opperman 2000: 375). Nevertheless, the emergence and indeed policies of alternative tourism are directly linked to the evolution of sustainable development, tied in with 'green' ideals and addressing humanitarian issues, such as rights and poverty (France 1997: 15). This primarily 'green' perception of alternative development contrasts with the previously mentioned dominant development paradigms of modernisation, dependency and neo-liberalism which largely ignored environmental issues (Redclift 1987).

However, it has been argued that this emerging emphasis to globally 'manage' the environment could actually infringe or present a barrier to the social aspirations of cultural rights, self-determination and lifestyles of local communities (Sachs 1996). Indeed, as previously mentioned, criticism of development theories overall came particularly from the post-development school (Peet 1999). Referring to the 1980s as 'the lost decade' of development, proponents of post-development rejected modern and primarily western centred development, which was to be resisted (Peet 1999; Telfer 2002). In other words, because the previous paradigms of development had 'failed', the idea of development had become obsolete and 'stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape' (Sachs 1996:1). However, despite the fact that the post development thinking would no longer entertain the idea of development *per se*, there was still a support amongst 'post-developmentists' for the involvement of community and locally based initiatives in the development process. Furthermore, Telfer (2002) explains that the 'linkage to the local community and its role in the development decision-making are becoming more essential as development policies start to operate under the paradigm of sustainability' (Telfer 2002: 50). This further indicates the importance and growing attention of CBT as a form of alternative tourism development but highlights the community as a central pillar in the development process.

2.3.3 The development dilemma

Given the recent history of development, with changing paradigms and emerging needs to be addressed, there has been an imbalance between development theories and unresolved issues / unachieved ideals, leading to a point where it is claimed that development has reached an 'impasse' (Schuurman 1993). The prevailing presence of poverty and inequality has raised doubts and concerns over the influence of development theories and globalisation (Sachs 1996; Saul 2005), whilst post-structuralists have brought in to question broader theories and approaches such as Marxism, liberalism and modernisation (Randall 2005). However such radical criticisms of development do not abandon the need for change and their decision to not use the term will not solve the issues raised of poverty, powerlessness and social and environmental degradation (Thomas 2000).

Within tourism, a contrast exists between the positive outcomes of tourism development and its negative consequences; tourism may, on the one hand, have the ability to elevate

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the living standards of a destination population or, on the other hand, jeopardise its well-being. Thus, 'making the right policy choices is not just a technical matter. It requires careful political judgment as to how to promote economic and social change in ways that stand the best chances of succeeding' (Addison 2005: 219). When making a decision to move towards tourism development, it is vital that the potential for positive results outweigh the negative, what Telfer and Sharpley (2008) call the 'development dilemma'.

Overcrowding, pollution, traffic congestion, vandalism may be some of the negative physical effects which are a result of inadequate planning of tourism development (Mathieson and Wall 1992). However these impacts are not always negative; communities and individuals can benefit by responding to the opportunities presented by tourism (Wall and Mathieson 2006). Nevertheless, in order to understand what kind of factors determine this dilemma, including the imperatives of development and sustainability (Telfer and Sharpley 2008), the overall impacts of tourism development should be briefly reviewed.

2.3.3.1 The impacts of tourism development

As previously discussed, the growth of tourism development can bring a number of benefits to destinations and local communities, primarily the economic growth. However, it may also result in costs and problems for the destination. The majority of criticism has been directed, at times reasonably, towards 'mass tourism' as the main problems arising from tourism development have been associated particularly with the so called 'crisis of mass tourism' (Poon 1993). As previously observed, tourism development offers the potential for economic growth and societal benefits, along with new opportunities for business and employment that may result in increases in investment and income. Arguably, the economic significance of tourism on the community is mostly positive (Stynes 1997) but there is a tendency to highlight the positive economic impacts (Gratton and Taylor 1985; Holden 2000; Jafari 2000) whilst even few tourists acknowledge or even question the real impacts of tourism (Ryan 1997).

The social impacts of tourism are somewhat mixed. Positive factors include giving people the opportunity to explore and engage in new countries and cultures

(Wearing 2002) yet such a mass movement of people from all of over the world with different languages and traditions can create 'a hotbed of misunderstanding' (Hunter 2001: 46). These social conflicts which can be resolved with an emphasis on cultural education and an availability of information to bridge gaps between cultures, values, attitudes and misplaced expectations (Pearce 1982b).

However, it is the environment that is, perhaps, most vulnerable to tourism development, particularly as any conclusion regarding the consequences of tourism can only be arrived at post-impact (Wall and Wright 1977). In the early days of tourism development in the 1960s, tourism and environmental concern used to be two separate issues as tourism development was seen from an 'advocacy' platform (Jafari 1989). However, opinions that tourism development caused no deleterious environmental impacts soon shifted (Dowling 1992). Tourism development has often caused damage to natural, fragile environments, especially as they usually act as the attraction (Holden 2000; Mieczkowski 1995). This also brings into question the longevity or sustainability of such development if it actually results in the destruction of that which attracts the tourist. Blomgren and Sørensen (1998) have also voiced concern over 'the risk that development may eventually undermine the destination's attraction for tourism'. As most tourists' destinations are dependent in their environment, it could be stated that tourism is an environmentally dependent activity and any impact on the environment would impact the tourist industry (Mowl 2002). However many studies fail to see the wider implications, referring specifically to the physical impact of tourism (Wall and Mathieson 2006), or only look at 'the impact of tourism at the destination rather than over space and time in all stages of tourism mobility' (Hall 2005: 61). Moreover, the tourism environment 'can be viewed as possessing social, cultural, economic and political dimensions, beside a physical one' (Holden 2000: 24). However from the perspective of the consumer, 'relatively few tourists seem to make decisions based on environmental concerns' (Swarbrooke and Horner 1999: 204).

This need for awareness and a balanced approach to planning led to environmental impact assessments aiming to both optimise the benefits for local communities, the tourist and the tourist sector whilst focusing environmental sustainability (Dowling 1992). The UN's Report on Poverty Alleviation (2003) provides inclusive impacts from tourism in Table 2.4.

Sustainable development to a great extent answers or rather offers a potential solution to the tourism development dilemma, providing a framework for resolving the various

Table 2.4: Benefits and disbenefits of tourism development

	Benefits	Disbenefits
Economic aspect	1. Local empowerment 2. Profits to domestic industries 3. Foreign exchange creation for the country and capital and new money injection into the local economy. 4. Local economy diversification 5. Road system and infrastructure improvement 6. Better economic conditions for the poor from low-paying and unskilled job creation 7. Tax revenues increase	1. Possible increases in the price of land, housing and commodities resulting from higher demand from tourism 2. Demands on health service provision and police services increase during tourist season at the expense of the local tax base.
Social aspect	1.Better quality of life of a community from economic diversification through tourism 2. Benefits for local people from recreational and cultural facilities created for visitors 3. A possibility of public space creation for the community 4. Opportunity to understand and communicate among peoples of diverse backgrounds	1. The inability of local amenities and institutions to meet service demands from the growth of tourism. 2. Problems e.g. litter, vandalism and crime from poor management. 3. Overcrowding and traffic congestion in tourism communities 4. Disruption of traditional community ways of life of teenagers from visitors' materialism and apparent freedom 5. A possibility of community structure change 6. Changes of the authenticity of social and cultural environment to meet tourism demands.
Cultural aspect	1. Local cultural awareness increase 2. Revenue creation from tourism for preservation of archaeological sites, historic buildings and districts 3.Possibility of the revival of local traditions and crafts from cultural knowledge and experience sharing between hosts and guests	1. Youth in the community begin to emulate the speech and attire of tourists 2. A possibility of damage in historic sites 3.Long-term damage to cultural traditions and the erosion of cultural values
Physical Environmental aspect	1. Possibility of ecological preservation for nature-based tourism from parks and nature preservation. 2. Waste management improvement 3. Awareness of environmental increase	1. Negative changes in the physical integrity of the area 2. A possibility of Ecosystem forever changes from rapid development, over development and overcrowding 3. A possibility of degradation of park, preserves and other attractions from overconsumption and poor management

Source: Adapted from UN (2003)

impacts of tourism. It has, thus, come to the forefront of the development debate (Telfer and Sharpley 2008). The accepted impacts of tourism development on the environment emphasise the need to balance environmental sustainability along pursuing optimal

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benefits to local communities, the tourism sector and tourists themselves (Dowling 1992).

Tourism development is fundamental to this social and economic phenomenon but it also draws in more discussion towards environment and its sustainability so that both tourist creating regions and tourist destination regions will both continually benefit. To understand in depth principles of sustainable development and its relationship to community based tourism, the next section will seek to define it in both within a global and local context.

2.4 Sustainable development

As noted above, the failure of previous development paradigms to lead to development, along with increasing attention being paid to environmental issues, resulted in the traditional economic growth-based models of development being increasingly challenged (Scheyvens 2002). Indeed, in the context of tourism in particular, the 1950/60s status quo approach was thought not only to be in some ways the instigator of many negative impacts brought by tourism development but also their facilitator (Croall 1995).Thus, as discussed above, the 1980s witnessed the beginning of the rise of the alternative development approach, in particular the rise of environmentalism along with a new prominent 'green' consciousness (Cooper *et al*. 1994) and awareness of the need for sustainable development, a 'meeting point for environmentalists and developers' (Dresner 2002: 64). Since the publication of Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future*, by World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987, sustainable development has been integrated into contemporary tourism development (Butler 1999). In order to further understand sustainable tourism development, the following section provides an overview of what has been the dominant approach to tourism development over the last twenty years.

2.4.1 Background
The early origins of the concept of sustainable development can be traced back to a growing awareness of environmental problems caused by humans, such as overpopulation, resource depletion, pollution and other societal problems (McCormick 1995). Throughout history, the impact of human activity on the natural environment, such as deforestation, has been recognised, but it was in the mid-19th Century that the

roots of the contemporary environmental movement lie. For example, conservation organisations, such as the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds in the UK in 1889 and the USA's Sierra Club in 1892 were established in response to concerns about natural area and resource preservation, concerns that were to become more prominent in the mid-20th Century (Telfer and Sharpley 2008). Although the issues of conservation had long contributed to the sustainable development debate (Hardy *et al.* 2002; Hays 1959; Ingram *et al.* 1995; Pearce *et al.* 1989), it was publications such as Hardin's (1968) *The Tragedy of the Commons*, which warned that the over-consumption of limited resources and human self-interest would lead to the ruin of all, and Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), that gave rise to the broader environmental movement. Focusing on broad spectrum of issues, from natural resource protection to nuclear proliferation, the concern of the environmentalist was as much on the causes of environmental degradation as the actual resource problems. Consequently, the 'popular' concept of sustainable development emerged from the Brundtland Report which famously, though ambiguously, refers to sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs' (WCED 1987: 43). However, the definitions and concepts of sustainability and sustainable development are complex, ambiguous and varied (Redclift 1987), thus require further examination.

2.4.1.1 Definitions and concepts

The basis of sustainable development is *sustainability*, from verb to *sustain*. The meaning of sustain in the Oxford Dictionary (2001: 1712) is 'cause to continue or be prolonged for an extended period or without interruption'. Thus, the combination of 'sustainable' with 'development', the latter referring to change or to move on, creates something of an oxymoron; it is difficult to envision sustained change in terms of practical action (Weaver and Oppermann 2000: 353). However, Porritt (2007: 33) explains that sustainability is more broadly the 'capacity for the continuance into the long term future' and that sustainable development is 'the process by which we move towards sustainability'.

Thus, sustainable development can be thought of as maintaining development (however defined) over time (Elliot 2006), yet still remains ambiguous. For example, so-called techno-centrics argue that sustainability can be achieved through advances in

knowledge and technology and, hence, advocate continued development and resource exploitation, whereas eco-centrics give primacy to resource conservation. Moreover, critics of the definition ask 'what are the true needs of the present generation?' (Blackburn 2007: 22) and seen it as framed by western ideology, ignoring the specific needs of developing countries and failing to take in account the vast consumption of the more economically developed nations often at the cost of the other nations (Giddens 2006). However, it is widely used as it is 'a normative standard that serves as a meta-objective for policy' (Meadowcroft 2007: 307) whilst, in the context of tourism, the 'term should be used to refer to a condition of tourism, not a type of tourism' (UNEP/WTO 2005: 9).

2.4.1.2 Objectives and principles of sustainable development

The evolution of development theory from the 1950s onwards was characterised by the emergence of a more grass-roots, bottom-up approach to development replacing traditional top-down, economic growth-based models, with increasing focus on the preservation of the ecosystem (Ingram *et al*. 1995).Thus, the Brundtland Report was not only concerned with environmental issues (i.e. sustainability), but also adopted a people-centre ethical stance towards development, focusing on the satisfaction of human needs (See Kirkby *et al*. 1995; France 1997). The Brundtland Report provides the holistic framework of the key elements of sustainable development under three headings: (i) *economic sustainability*, that is, a long-term benefits focus and the wise utilisation of available resources; (ii) *social sustainability*, a focus on local communities, including a concern for human rights and poverty alleviation; and (iii) *environmental sustainability*, resource conservation and management, especially of non-renewable resources. In short, the Report implicitly accepted the argument that 'resource problems are not really environmental problems; they are human problems' (Ludwig *et al.* 1993). These three dimensions later became referred to as the 'triple bottom line', embracing the core values of economic and human development and the objectives of environmental sustainability (Sharpley 2009). The triple bottom line has been widely used and adapted in many contexts, and indeed has been expanded into both four dimensions, namely, environmental, economic, social and cultural (Mowforth and Munt 2003) and seven dimensions: environmental, cultural, political, economic, social, managerial, and government (Bramwell *et al*. 1996). However, each framework suggests a holistic approach embracing the factors required for the achievement of

sustainable development. The principles of sustainable development are summarised in Table 2.5, which draws on International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) (1991) and The Report of Poverty Alleviation (UN 2003):

Table 2.5 Principles of sustainable development

IUCN's principles	UN's principles
Holistic perspective: A worldwide agenda for both development and sustainability; *Futurity*: long-term future focus *Equity*: Fair and equal Development allowed to all including within the span of generations	Broadening the range of the roles and responsibilities and decentralising decision making for the benefit of all within the location. Upholding basic human rights and gender equality along with the abolishment of poverty. Improving healthcare and sanitation, nutrition and shelter, education and job skills to enhance quality of life. Preserving natural habitats and eco-systems allowing bio-diversity to prosper Respecting and Preserving of indigenous cultures, helping to keep intact the knowledge and way of life of different peoples

Source: Adapted from IUCN (1991) and UN (2003)

As can be seen in table 2.5, the principles in the UN (2003) expand upon the guidelines from IUCN (1991). It can be summarised that the principles of sustainable development embrace a focus on people – empowerment, benefits and respect – long-term planning, and environmental conservation. Table 2.6 summarises the objectives of and requirements for sustainable development.

In general, then, sustainable development emerged from fears of overconsumption of resources and degradation of the environment, seeking to ensure that meeting the needs of the present did not jeopardise the needs of future generations. However sustainable development remains a highly contested and controversial and often contradictory concept (Redclift 1987), it has also been argued that it is theoretically flawed and is based upon weak assumptions (Liu 2003).

With regards to tourism, Wright (2008) depicts successful sustainability as the ideal intersection that addresses the concerns of being both economically and environmentally feasible along with being socially desirable. Following various early publications, such as a *Strategy for Sustainable Tourism Development* (Cronin 1990) and *Sustainable Tourism Development: A Guide For Local Planners* (WTO 1993), it

was evident that, by the early 1990s, 'sustainable tourism is an idea whose time has come' (Howie 1990: 3).

Table 2.6: Sustainable development principles, objectives and requirements

Fundamental principles	Holistic approach: development and environmental issues integrated within a global social, economic and ecological context. Futurity: focus on long-term capacity for continuance of the global ecosystem, including the human sub-system. Equity: development that is fair and equitable and which provides opportunities for access to and use of resources for all members of all societies, both in the present and future.
Development objectives	Improvement of the quality of life for all people: education, life expectancy, opportunities to fulfill potential Satisfaction of basic needs; concentration on the nature of what is provided rather than income. Self-reliance: political freedom and local decision making for local needs. Endogenous development
Sustainability objectives	Sustainable population levels. Minimal depletion of non-renewable natural resources. Sustainable use of renewable resources. Pollution emissions within the assimilative capacity of the environment
Requirements for sustainable development	Adoption of a new social paradigm relevant to sustainable living International and national political and economic systems dedicated to equitable development and resource use. Technological systems that can search continuously for new solutions to environmental problems Global alliance facilitating integrated development policies at local, national and international levels.

Source: Sharpley (2000)

2.5 Sustainable tourism development

As previously indicated, sustainable tourism development emerged from the concept of alternative (tourism) development and, by the mid-1990s, had achieved almost global. endorsement (Godfrey 1996: 60). Adopting the principles of sustainable development, new forms of tourism evolved, such as eco-tourism, responsible tourism and, of course, community-based tourism (Beeton 1998), all of which aim to minimise the negative impact of tourism whilst optimising its benefits to the destination (UNCSD NGO 1999). Generally, Butler (1993: 29) states that sustainable tourism is 'tourism which is in a form which can maintain its viability in an area for an indefinite period of time', while Bramwell and Lane (1993) describe sustainable tourism development is a 'positive

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approach intended to reduce tensions and friction created by the complex interactions between the tourism industry, visitors, the environment and the communities which are host to holidaymakers' (Bramwell and Lane 1993; Telfer and Sharpley 2008). This immediately points to a tension between a 'tourism-centric' perspective (Hunter 1995), which focuses on sustaining tourism itself as an economic activity, and a broader approach which locates tourism within a wider sustainable development agenda. Indeed the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) has traditionally promoted the sustainability of tourism as a specific activity, albeit to all forms of tourism rather than specific types:

Its guidelines and management practices are applicable to all forms of tourism in all types of destinations, including mass tourism and the various niche tourism segments. Sustainability principles refer to the environmental, economic and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development, and a suitable balance must be established between these three dimensions to guarantee its long-term sustainability (WTO 2004).

However, it is generally recognised that sustainable tourism development has as its principal objective a contribution to the sustainable development of destination areas; that is, the principles of sustainable tourism development are the same as those of its 'parent l paradigm', sustainable development (see Table 2.7 below).

As is evident from Table 2.7, sustainable tourism development requires the participation of the local community, including tourism sector stakeholders and residents, whilst there is also a need to raise tourists' awareness of sustainability issues (WTO 2004). More specifically, and of particular relevance to this thesis, the core to sustainable tourism development is community involvement in the development process, hence the importance of community-based tourism (CBT). CBT, which is explicitly about local empowerment and adopts the principles and objectives of sustainable tourism development as it aims to improve residents' quality of life by optimising local economic benefits, protecting the natural and built environment and providing a high-quality experience for visitors (Bramwell and Lane 1993; Choi and Sirakaya 2005; Hall and Lew 1998; McIntyre 1993; Stabler 1997; UNCED 1992).

However, sustainable tourism development has not escaped critical scrutiny. There is a lack of a consensus over the meaning and viability of the concept; the debate is disjointed over the definitions and theoretical foundations of the concept and it also falls

Table 2.7: Principles of sustainable tourism development

Sectors	Principles of sustainable tourism development
Participation	Local communities should be encouraged and expected to participate in the planning, development and control of tourism with the support of government and the industry. Particular attention should be paid to involving indigenous people, women and minority groups to ensure the equitable distribution of the benefits of tourism.
Stakeholder Involvement	All stakeholders need to be consulted and empowered in tourism decision making, and they also need to be informed about sustainable development issues
Local Ownership	Tourism development must provide quality employment for community residents. The provision of fulfilling jobs has to be seen as an integral part of any tourism development at the local level.
Establishing Local Business Linkages	Linkages must be established among local businesses in the tourism industry in order to ensure tourism expenditures stay within the destination rather than leak out to purchase imported goods and services for tourists.
Sustainability of the resource base	Optimal use and Long-term plan and management of environmental resources as they are limited, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity. The cultural base and heritage should be also sustained.
Community Goals	Harmony is required between the need of a visitor, the place and the community which is facilitated by broad community support with a proper balance between economic, social, cultural and human objectives, and all sectors in community. Moreover, long-term plan should be attached to community plans.
Cooperation	All agencies, organisations, businesses and individuals should cooperate and work together to avoid potential conflict and to optimise the benefits to all involved in the development and management of tourism.
Carrying Capacity	There is a definite need for the impact assessment of tourism development proposals to distinguish between plans which encourage mass versus alternative tourism. The capacity of sites must be considered, including physical, natural, social and cultural limits. Development should be compatible with local and environmental limits, and operations should be evaluated regularly and adjusted as required.
Monitoring and Evaluating	Guidelines have to be established for tourism operations, including requirements for impact assessment. There should be codes of practice established for tourism at the national, regional and local levels. There is also a need to develop indicators and threshold limits for measuring the impacts and success of local tourism ventures.
Accountability	The management and use of public goods such as water, air and common lands should ensure accountability on behalf of users to ensure these resources are not abused.
Training	All stakeholders within tourism should be educated about the need to develop more sustainable forms of tourism. This includes staff training and raising awareness, through education and marketing tourism responsibility, of sustainability issues among host communities and tourists themselves.
Positioning	Promoting appropriate uses and activities to reduce poverty and draw from and reinforce landscape character, sense of place, community identity and site opportunities. These activities and use should aim to provide a quality tourism experience that satisfies visitors while adhering to other principles of sustainable tourism

Source: Adapted from: Bramwell *et al.* 1996; Telfer and Sharpley (2008); UN (2003)

short when it comes to the practical implementation of planning and managing sustainable tourism development in the real world (Berno and Bricker 2001; Liu 2003).

Furthermore, it has been stated that the principles of sustainable tourism development, if anything, represent a micro solution to a macro problem (Wheeller 1991) and, consequently, sustainable tourism development continues to face a number of challenges and criticisms.

2.5.1 Challenges facing sustainable tourism development

Even though sustainable development is perceived as the dominant contemporary theoretical approach to tourism development, seeking to 'square the circle of competing demands for environmental protection and economic development (Dresner 2002), criticisms of the concept continue to be in evidence. Some issues and critiques of sustainable development which are of equal relevance to sustainable tourism development are suggested by Gibson (1991) and later revised by Robinson (2004):

Vagueness: sustainable tourism development can be criticised for being too vague, and something of a paradoxical conflict between development and sustainability (Redclift 1987; Weaver and Oppermann 2000). That is, how can development (necessitating resource exploitation) be achieved at the same time as sustainability (minimising resource depletion)? Moreover, there are questions that demand attention, such as what should be developed sustainably? How long should it be sustained? And who is responsible for sustainable development? Answers to such questions remain elusive within the current definition (Telfer and Sharpley 2008).

Hypocrisy: the language or eco-speak of sustainable tourism development may be labelled as 'greenwashing' that attempts to disguise unsustainable activities. As the measurement of sustainable tourism is complex and ambiguous in practice (Fernandez 2009), some products take advantage by labeling products as 'green' or 'eco' to greenwash tourists who may feel more responsible (or less guilty) by consuming those products, for example by going on ecotours (Robinson 2004)

Delusional: according to Robinson (2004), there are two major delusions relevant to sustainable tourism development: its oxymoronic character and a focus on the wrong issues. The first delusion is the suggestion of sustainable tourism development that real growth can be achieved with the reformulation of old physical environmental limits and the restrictions of 'sustainable' measures. Again, as Liu (2003) argues, the concept is

theoretically flawed and based upon weak or false assumptions, thus begging the question: is sustainable development itself sustainable? The second delusion is that, arguably, sustainable (tourism) development is an influential distraction from real problems. The questions to be asked are: is attention focused on the wrong issues? Or is development going in the wrong direction? Is the position of sustainable development ultimately to serve human well-being or mankind's sacred relationship with nature or the planet? (Suzuki and McConnwell 1997). Sustainable development in this regard may be a delusion (Sharpley 2009).

Moreover, another significant challenge is there is a limited evidence of an increase of responsible tourist behaviour based on environmental concerns (Sharpley 2006a; Swarbrooke and Horner 1999). Sustainable development in general, and sustainable tourism development in particular, requires the adoption of a new, responsible approach to consumption, yet it is accepted most of tourists seek relaxation, fun, escape and entertainment; they are consumers tourists, not anthropologists, and do not wish to have to 'work' at tourism (McKercher 1993).

Overall, then, it could be said that ethics and ideals behind the sustainable development concept were directed towards positive change concerning both the protection of the environment and the efficient use of resources for the benefit of both present and future generations (WCED 1987). Given the challenges facing tourism development, the sustainable route would seem to be in the interest of both national and global concerns. However, although over-development and the exportation of limited resources can be considered real problems, it is questionable whether preconceived future threats should dictate present development policy, especially when people's livelihoods and well-being are at stake. Indeed, in some cases, sustainable development may actually work against the economic prosperity and community harmony it promotes, hindering progress in the present for a pseudo-secure future. Nevertheless, despite such criticism, sustainable development, particularly in the context of tourism, has brought issues such as the environment and human rights to the global level. Moreover, many now argue that for more practical tourism development solutions and to obtain more measurable long term success, overcoming the developmental 'impasse', it is best to look locally at the fundamental needs of people; that is, it is best to look towards the destination area and its community (Schuurman 1993).

2.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an overview of approaches to tourism development and the growing need for sustainable tourism development. It commenced by looking at definitions of tourism from both a technical and conceptual perspective, revealing that tourism can be defined variously as mobility, a social phenomenon or economic endeavour. The depiction of tourism in economic terms was supported by current trends and forecasts for economic growth along with the identification of growth areas, especially within Southeast Asia. Subsequently, tourism development was reviewed, including an in-depth consideration of definitions of development and its evolving concern for economic growth and people's well-being. As this thesis focuses primarily on community based tourism, it was equally important to explore the paradigms surrounding tourism development and, thus, the chapter also explored the theories of development, from modernisation, dependency and economic neoliberalism to alternative development, and their relation to tourism development. It was revealed that, since the 1950s the push for economic growth had neglected to address the resultant challenges facing local population, resources and environment. In the specific context of tourism, this development dilemma fostered the sustainability school of thought and gave rise to alternative forms of tourism, including CBT. This led a review of sustainable tourism development, which examined its definitions and concepts along with its specific objectives, and the challenges it faces

Overall, then, this chapter has explored and defined the main concepts and evolving paradigms of tourism and its development in order to provide a foundation upon which to build a better understanding of CBT and the tourism industry as a whole. Despite the differences and even conflicts between these development theories, the one thing that is in common is that the community is at the core to the development process. Thus, having established an understanding of the principles of sustainable tourism development, and the role of the community within it, this thesis can now turn to CBT in particular. Therefore, the following chapter introduces and critically appraises the concept of CBT.

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Chapter 3

Community-based tourism

3.1 Introduction

As noted in the preceding chapters, the last half century has witnessed the rapid and consistent growth of tourism, particularly international tourism, to the extent that it is now frequently described as the world's largest industry or economic sector. More specifically, since it was first officially sanctioned by the WTO – 'World tourism can contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order that will… ensure the steady acceleration of economic and social development and progress, in particular in developing countries' (WTO 1980: 1) – tourism has become widely adopted as a means of supporting or driving socio-economic development in destinations (Jenkins 1991; Opperman and Chon 1997). In other words, given its potential for the generation of income foreign exchange and employment opportunities, tourism is widely regarded as an effective catalyst of economic growth and social development.

At the same time, however, it has also long been recognised that tourism, particularly unplanned, mass tourism development, may result in significant environmental degradation and negative socio-cultural consequences for the destination and host communities (de Kadt 1979; Hickman 2007; Mowforth and Munt 2003; Poon 1993; Wall and Mathieson 2006). Consequently, since the mid-1980s, alternative forms of tourism development have been sought to mitigate the negative impacts of tourism (Smith and Eadington 1992) whilst, from the early 1990s, sustainable tourism development, or tourism that is based on the principles of sustainable development, emerged as a new approach to tourism development. The rationale for sustainable tourism development is based on environmental concerns and need for conservation and the preservation of cultural and national resources from the negative consequences of tourism (Butler and Boyd 2000; Richards and Hall 2000). Though widely contested (Redclift 1999; Sharpley 2009), it remains a dominant policy for tourism development; the UNWTO now states that 'sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices are applicable to all forms of tourism in all types of destination'

(UNWTO 2012). More succinctly, all tourism development should follow the principles of sustainable development.

As observed in Chapter 2, a fundamental principle of sustainable development more generally is a bottom-up, people-centred approach to development (Brohman 1996) – that is, it is community focused. Similarly, within tourism, community-based tourism (CBT) development has emerged as one approach to sustainable tourism development. Indeed, the concept of CBT pre-dates that of sustainable tourism development (Murphy 1983, 1985), yet the core values of sustainable tourism development are people-centred and involve community participation. Nevertheless, as a form of tourism that champions the concerns of people empowerment and participation (Scheyvens 2002), understandings of community and participation remain an issue of interpretation whilst, of particular relevance to this thesis, it can be argued that, as an approach to tourism development, the success of CBT has been limited by a dominant focus on planning and management issues (i.e. the 'production' of CBT) to the exclusion of tourists' experiences of the CBT 'product'.

Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to critically review the concept of CBT, its underpinning concepts, principles and limitations, before going on to suggest that tourists' experiences are a fundamental, though frequently overlooked, element of successful CBT development. In so doing, it provides a framework for the review of tourist perceptions and image formation in the following chapter.

3.2 Community-based tourism

3.2.1 Defining community-based tourism
As already observed, the concept of CBT can be traced back almost 20 years to the early work of Murphy (1983) who proposed an 'ecological model' of community tourism development. Since then, numerous studies have explored the principles, planning and management of community tourism (for example, Beeton 2006; Dei 2000; Haywood 1988; Joppe 1996; Moscardo 2008; Murphy and Murphy 2004; Scheyvens 1999; Timothy 2002; Tosun 2000). However, although most of these studies share a focus on how local communities may manage and use their resources to their benefit through tourism development, definitions of CBT remain varied. Indeed, a commonly

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accepted definition of CBT remains elusive, as does agreement over its viability in practice (Butcher 2008). Nevertheless, CBT is generally considered to be an approach to tourism development in which the local community should be partners in the development process in order to engender a sense of environmental responsibility within the community (Kneafsey 2001).

Hall (1996) defines (CBT) as a way of implementing the involvement of the host community in planning and maintaining tourism development in order to create a more sustainable industry (also, Blackstock 2005). Likewise, O'Niell (2008) explains CBT as 'situations in which local people, usually those that are poor or economically marginalised in very rural parts of the world, open up their homes and communities to visitors seeking sustainably achieved cultural, educational or recreational travel experiences' (O'Niell 2008). Hatton (1999) further specifies that CBT is a type of tourism which incorporates high levels of community involvement under the sustainability umbrella. It is, essentially, tourism that is developed in local communities in various ways by several individuals and groups, small business owners, entrepreneurs, local associations and governments.

The overall direction of CBT planning and development is people centered; it focuses on the needs and requirements of the destination community, and it should seek to meet these needs and requirements of the destination community in ways that bring economic benefits but also in ways that are not environmentally destructive or detrimental to their traditional lifestyle, culture or day-to-day lives (Fitton and Price 1996; Timothy 2002). Thus, there is a need for the tourism industry to encourage sustainability for the conservation of both environment and culture at the local level. Furthermore this suggests that tourism development and planning should encourage more environmental awareness and responsibility amongst the local community to avoid negatively impacting on their way of life. These ideals and goals help to define CBT as a form of sustainable tourism development that seeks to form a closer links between the host community and the tourist industry where both can benefit. However, such ideals may not convey a realistic definition of CBT and it implementation and, thus, in order to develop a more complete understanding of CBT, its general concepts and main components need to be explored (Botes and van Rensburg 2000).

3.2.2 CBT: principal concepts

One of the more widely perceived aspects of community tourism is that it represents an opportunity for grassroots empowerment, as it seeks to develop the industry in harmony with the 'needs and aspirations of host communities in a way that is acceptable to them, sustains their economies, rather than the economies of others, and is not detrimental to their culture, traditions or, indeed, their day-to-day convenience' (Fitton and Price 1996: 173; Timothy 2002). The main focus of CBT is on people. For example, Scheyvens (2002) observes that the concept of community-based tourism development is based on a neo-populist perspective which focuses mainly on empowering local people by providing them with opportunities to have greater control over their own lives and well-being (see also Friedmann 1992). Similarly, Pearce (1992) suggests that CBT should deliver local control of development, consensus-based decision making and an equitable flow of benefits to all affected by the industry. Moreover, CBT may enhance local participation in tourism and promote the economic, social, and cultural well-being of the popular majority (Brohman 1996), although some commentators dispute the extent to which community agency may occur (Butcher 2008). According to Shuntie (1998), CBT is tourism development that should seen, planned and arranged from the perspective of the destination community, in an effort to 'improve the efficiency of tourist flows by optimising the structure of the tourist community in order to seek for the harmonious unification and optimisation of the tourist destinations' economic, environmental and social benefits.' This also touches upon the CBT concept of benefiting from optimal social integration and interaction between the inflow of tourists and local communities, with a higher degree of organisation and participation from the locals. In a sense, such a concept would allow for the community to not only be involved in facilitating but also, to an extent, directing tourism in their local tourist destination. Therefore, CBT seeks to not only help local communities' benefit from an alternative form of sustainable tourism development, but also to enhance the connection between the tourist and the host community (Tosun 2000; Vaughan *et al*. 2000).

Growing concern has been expressed with regards to the consequences of tourism development (see Chapter 2) which can bring economic benefits to a destination but also has the potential to contribute to environmental degradation, negative social and cultural impacts and habitat fragmentation. These externalities have led to a concentration of efforts on the conservation and preservation of natural resources,

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human well-being and the long-term economic viability of communities (Choi and Sirakaya 2005) Thus, the goals of sustainable development through community tourism should be to improve residents' quality of life by optimising local economic benefits, protecting the natural and built environment and providing a high-quality experience for visitors (Bramwell and Lane 1993; Choi and Sirakaya 2005; Hall and Lew 1998; McIntyre 1993). Moreover, it offers an appealing opportunity for the tourism industry to introduce planning measures that not only work towards preventing environmental damage of the destination but also create an infrastructure of local participation from which the community would gain from any tourism development or activities, sustaining both the local environment and culture (Clement *et al.* 1993; Spenceyley 2001).

The tourism industry is, of course, dependent on local resident involvement through their role as employees or local entrepreneurs, and on resident concernedness towards tourists (Cole 1997; Dann 1996a; Laws 1995; Taylor and Davis 1997). The importance of participation is referred to throughout this chapter as it not only forms the backbone of CBT in both the planning and implantation of tourism development, but also the local community benefits from it. Furthermore, tourism brings advantages and prospects to local residents through the provision of employment, creating foreign exchange and raising living standards (Kaiser and Helber 1978: ix; Murphy 1985). Thus, community-based tourism development is receiving increasing attention from a variety of sectors, including governmental and non-governmental organisations (Ashley and Garland 1994) and is often a reaction, in the form of state assistance or development priority, to an opportunity that presents itself (Joppe 1996). The inclusion of the community in planning and participation is an important deterrent against the emergence of conflict as such tourism development may be required to utilise the destination's resources (Richards and Hall 2000; McCool and Moisey 2001). This level of involvement not only prevents the local community from being exploited from such development but also, in general, allows the community to have a say in how they will benefit from tourism development. Of course, this concept of community benefit is not unique to CBT; it is shared by other forms of alternative tourism, though not to the extent of local empowerment proposed by CBT. Nevertheless, it is useful here to consider briefly these other forms of alternative tourism to distinguish them from CBT.

As mentioned previously, CBT is a type of alternative tourism that adopts the policies of sustainable tourism development and focuses on how the destination community can become more involved and benefit more through tourism development. The paradigm shift, as considered in Chapter 2, from mass tourism to alternative tourism was a result of the negative implications of mass tourism development towards destinations, especially in developing nations. This and the widespread call for sustainability has contributed significantly to the emergence for forms of tourism such as CBT (Mowforth and Munt 2003; Sharpley 2009; Sharpley and Telfer 2003). However, with various principles such as sustainability and community participation at its core, CBT is often associated (or, perhaps, confused) with other forms of alternative tourism, such as eco-tourism, agro-tourism, indigenous tourism and pro-poor tourism (Beeton 1998; Richards and Hall 2000). Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, it is important to identify the ways in which CBT differs from these. As previously discussed, CBT fits within the brackets of alternative tourism, so called because it encompasses forms of tourism that are not considered to be part of the (or are alternatives to) more mainstream mass tourism. These tend to include smaller, low impact developments and activities which aim to reduce as far as possible any impact on the cultural and environmental resources of the destination whilst seeking to promote forms of tourism that are in the best interests of the destination community (Becken 2004; Bishop *et al*. 2008; Broham 1996; Scheyvens 2002).

Eco-tourism

One of the more common forms of tourism designed to manage natural resources at the community level is through ecotourism, which also focuses on the principles of sustainable development along with the promotion of pro-active conservation, economic benefits and human rights (Ashley 2000; Boo 1992; Honey 1999; 2002; Salafsky *et al*. 2001). In short, ecotourism is nature centred, following the principles of sustainability mainly within an ecological context, but also with a concern for local culture and economy with education as a primary focus for visitor interaction with its nature based attractions (Fennell 2003; Weaver and Lawton 2007*)*. Although similar through the principles of sustainability, the differences between ecotourism and CBT are notable; ecotourism concentrates heavily on the natural environment unlike CBT which critically holds the involvement of communities at its essence (Hayle 2000).

Agro-tourism

Similar to ecotourism, agro-tourism or agri-tourism should primarily be nature based, generally on a farm or within the countryside. It is sometimes seen to be synonymous with rural tourism, though this is a broader concept that encompasses any tourism activity within a countryside or rural setting (Sharpley and Sharpley 1997). In contrast, agritourism is by definition related specifically to the agricultural economy /society, and is most commonly manifested in farm diversification into tourism (Phelan and Sharpley 2011). Types of agro-tourism can be varied and may encompass a complexity of different forms of tourism centred on culture, nature, adventure or farming. It has been suggested that the increasing prevalence of agro-tourism is directly related to a decline in agriculture in general, forcing farms and pastoral communities to utilise their land, resources and way of life as an attraction or recreational activity to generate income (Allen *et al*. 1993; Andereck and Vogt 2000; Long *et al*. 1990; Weaver and Fennel 1997). As such, it differs from CBT in that it is usually a form of small-scale private enterprise rather than a community-wide project, although the development of networks such as 'food trails' may involve the wider community.

Indigenous tourism

CBT can be linked to some forms of indigenous tourism, 'tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/ or having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction' (Hinch and Butler 1996).Therefore, commodification, the form of local culture, language, traditions, lifestyles and natural environment may be enhanced to emphasise the tourism product (Telfer and Sharpley 2008.) This form of tourism could also be described as people-centered as it is directed towards local culture and tradition; the people participate both as the attraction and also as participants of their destination tourist enterprise. Nevertheless, in comparison to CBT, indigenous tourism focuses more on the inherited tribal knowledge of the culture and nature of the aboriginal as the tourism product (Zeppel 2006). Conversely, in CBT, and as many studies indicate (Hatton 1999; Kneafsey 2001; O'Niel 2008), the emphasis of community participation is vital when approaching destination development along with environmental considerations.

Pro-poor tourism

Pro-poor tourism, as its name suggests, is a form of tourism that seeks to contribute to poverty alleviation through tourism; that is, it aims to reduce the incidence of poverty in a destination, primarily by enhancing the net benefits of tourism to the poor who fall outside or who are unable to gain access to the formal tourism sector. The concept of pro-poor tourism emerged during the late 1990s as part of the emerging poverty alleviation agenda (Ashley 2000; Cooper and Vargas 2004), though in 2002 it was adopted by the UNWTO within its ST-EP (Sustainable Tourism-Eliminate Poverty) scheme. Importantly, pro-poor tourism is not a specific form of (alternative) tourism, though it is often thought to be so. Rather, it is a form of intervention that can be applied to any form of tourism, the purpose being to bring net benefits to the poor (Ashley 2000; Binn and Nel 2002; Ellias 2000; Emerton 2001; Greenwood 2006). The focus of this form of tourism could possibly be described as charitable rather than focused on sustainability and locally empowering, offering solutions to aid those in poverty, and as Harrison (2008) notes in his review of pro-poor tourism, it should *not* be confused with CBT.

Overall, these forms of tourism share some similarities with CBT but do not put community at the forefront of their agenda; indeed, in some, it seems that local participation has limited or no emphasis. These forms of alternative tourism share common traits and concepts that are interwoven and include aims to benefit locals economically and promote conservation through alternative development and learning, yet there focus is directed differently (Bin and Nel 2002). However, CBT's main focus is on the host community, encouraging their involvement, participation and benefit from tourism and also to educate and encourage them towards sustainable tourism development.

Thus, this section has outlined the principles of CBT and the need for its emergence, focusing on the aspects of sustainability, alternative tourism and most prominently towards the well-being of people. However, in order to understand CBT more fully, its central pillar, the community and their roles, must be considered.

3.3 Defining 'community' within CBT

To understand community-based tourism, it is first necessary to define what is meant by the term 'community' and, in particular, how this relates to the development of tourism within a community context. Generally, according to Joppe (1996: 475), the term community implies 'a coherent entity with a clear identity and a commonality of purpose…communities are made up of an agglomeration of factions and interest groups often locked in competitive relationships'. Conversely, Beeton (1998) argues that a community contains both physical and emotional meanings. From the physical perspective, geographical landmarks such as rivers and mountains or a small town of population may define a community and its boundaries whilst, from the emotional perspective, a community may be defined by a 'sense of place' engendered by a range of community traditions and values combined with landscape and / or history of community.

However, the characteristics and frameworks of a community may be various and complex, and many studies discuss the problematic issue of defining community including Anderson *et al*. (2007), Delanty (2007), and Scheyvens (2002). For example, on the one hand a community can be defined as 'a social network of interacting individuals, usually concentrated into a defined territory' (Johnston 2000:101, cited in Scheyvens 2002) whilst, on the other hand, Harvorson and Spierling (2008) define community as 'a group of people who perceive themselves as having common interests and, thus, a common identity or self-understanding'. Community can be based on ethnicity, religion, class or politics (Delanty 2007). Moreover, community may be considered within the context of social framework construction (Carroll 1993). Thus, Minar and Greer (2007) identify the components that make up the community as collectively being human actions, purposes, and values; community expresses the common human desire to share identity amongst people in a group.

According to Anderson *et al.* (2007), the main characteristics of community include: knowingly identifying with one another; usually based in one area; participating together in activities; and holding a form of structure or governing system that provides for various functions, allowing the community to consciously adapt to its environment, thereby addressing the needs of the community's population The overall community

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population is made up of individuals, groups, families, and organisations and is structured by institutional groups to address its needs. Its environment is the societal landscape in which it is based and one to which it must adapt, whilst interactions with and influential factors emanating from outside communities and organisations are also included within the wider sphere of the community. (Anderson *et al.* 2007).

In the context of this, the definition of community may be based on an accumulation of people who share common values, interests and locality, thus establishing a uniting sense of identity. People are social by nature; the needs of individuals, families, groups are served by the intuitional umbrella of the community as it addresses both small and larger aspects of society. A definition which was adapted to idealise community based-tourism in a modern context is provided by Murphy (1985: 96): 'a bonding of people and place, which creates its own distinctive character and force for survival in an increasingly impersonal business world'. The community is very important in the tourism context, for according to Murphy (1985: 1), 'tourism is an industry which uses the community as a resource, sells it as a product, and in the process affects the lives of everyone'.

Overall, then, community may be defined in various different ways and from various conceptual perspectives, from human to geographical and from social to corporate yet, in the context of this thesis, the community generally (and simply) refers to those who are locally associated with a tourist destination. As explored further towards the end of this chapter, the community may not only be a participant in tourism development and planning, but also, from the perspective of visitors, an element of the tourism product / experience. However, it should be re-emphasised here that community based-tourism, based as it within the framework of sustainable development, places an emphasis on people and local benefits, whilst its success relies on local participation. Therefore, it is important to consider how the different ways or levels of participation in CBT.

3.3.1 Community roles and participation
By definition, the participation of the community is fundamental to CBT, not only in developing the community itself but also in building the community's ability in the development of tourism (Simmonds 1994; Tosun 1998, 2000). Community participation or public participation is related to the interest of the citizen in participating in

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government decision-making and the demand for direct participation in the development process (Joppe 1996). It is a form of political action which has been modified from existing institutions and planning procedures to affect social change and environmental preservation, so its extension to tourism became inevitable (Murphy 1985). Broadly speaking, the components of community participation are information exchange, education, support-building, decision-making supplement, and representative input (Glass 1979; Loukissas 1983). Community participation may provide benefits to the public in terms of: democratic and accountability improvements; the enhancement of social cohesion; understanding, knowledge and experience accruing to the community; opportunities for local people to upgrade their skills and for employers to add value to community products; and, promoting sustainability as members of the community can develop the confidence and skills to sustain development once the 'extra' resources have gone (Burns *et al.* 2004).

However, there are different ways or intensities in which members of the community may participate. At a basic level, there is, on the one hand, *direct participation*. This includes: the involvement of stakeholders in activities; taking an active role in meetings; contributing labour towards management, and monitoring. On the other hand, there is *indirect participation*, reflected in individuals' obedience to institutional rules which facilitate community protection or provide moral support to community for ensuring justice and transparency in community management (Ostorm 1990; Sinha and Suar 2005).

Similarly, Selznick (1949) suggests two distinctive manifestations of the role of public participation. The first advocates the administrative perspective, where the citizen is used as an instrument in the achievement of administrative goals. The second advocates the public's perspective, where citizens are provided with real power and control in the determination of policy (Selznick 1949; Loukissas 1983). In the literature, however, it is the work of Arnstein (1969), Pretty (1995) and France (1998) that is most commonly drawn upon to represent the different levels of community participation.

Table 3.1: Arnstein's typology of community participation

Typology	Characteristic of each typology
Manipulation	Public cannot change what has been predetermined. Involves educating the public as to what will be done Community involvement in the decision-making process is nonexistent There is no distribution of power from the planners to the community.
Therapy	Involve a very low level of participation Provide limited opportunities for them to suggest small changes
Consultation	Involves minor degrees of participation - special forums exist for the public to share its views The distribution of power is still quite minimal and remains with the planners.
Placation	Involves a moderate level of participation Public seems to influence the decision in a broad-based manner Task force created to represent the broader interests of the community
Partnerships	The actual decision-making is shared with members of the public Redistribution of power is through negotiation between the established decision-making bodies and members of the public through the establishment of joint committees.
Delegated power	Involves a very high level of participation in terms of actual decision-making being led by members of the public
Citizen control	Involves the power decided or full managerial controlled by the citizens.

Source: Adapted from Arnstein (1969)

Arnstein's work in particular is widely cited in the tourism literature as a model for determining the form and extent of community participation in tourism. He views 'citizen participation' as the outcome of the purposeful redistribution of power to that 'have-not citizens' (Arnstein 1969: 216). Such participation may occur, according to Arnstein (1969), at eight different levels (Figure 3.1 above). Similarly, Pretty (1995) proposes a model of community participation, based around seven levels of participation: passive participation; participation in information giving; participation by consultation; participation in material incentive; functional participation; interactive participation; and self-mobilisation.

Table 3.2: Levels of community participation

Degree of participation	Arnstein's model	France's model	Characteristics
Degree of citizen power	Citizen control	Self-mobilisation	Independent initiatives: locals can handle the entire job of planning, policy making and managing a programme
	Delegated power	Interactive participation	Public has power as residents to contribute to planning, and groups take control of local decisions: locals can be representative to make decisions
	Partnership	Functional participation	Negotiate power between citizens and power holders
Degree of Tokenism	Placation	Material incentives	Locals contribute resources but have no stakeholding or citizens advise or plan something but the right to judge belongs to power holders.
	Consultation	Consultation	Residents consult but external definition of problem and control
Non Participation	Informing	Manipulate or passive participation	Pretence of participation or one-way informing but no feedback to participate
	Therapy Manipulation	Plantation	No attempt of participation

Source: Adapted from Arnstein (1969) and France (1998)

The work of Arnstein and France is combined in table 3.2 above. Here, the most important level within the characteristics is arguably delegated power or interactive participation; it is this level that shares similar actions with Pretty's (1995) active participation in his 'typology of participation.' This active participation means that communities have access to information regarding the benefits and costs of tourism development, and are directly involved in planning for and managing tourism in line with their own interests and resources. This means that local people have the power to decide whether or not tourism is an appropriate development avenue for them to pursue and in what form it should be pursued (Petty 1995; Scheyvens 2002).

More specific proposed means of involving local people in tourism decision-making are offered in the literature. For example, the 'planning for real' method is a form of town meeting that involves bringing the community together before the planning process begins (Fitton and Price 1996: 168); similarly, undertaking household questionnaires is suggested as the successful method to identify the needs of the community (Haywood

1988; Simmons 1994; Timothy 2002), whilst Brohman (1996) proposes a policy of developing small-scale establishments in order to maintain control of decision-making in local hands and reduce alienation of indigenous peoples from their land (Timothy, 2002). More broadly, Murphy's (1985) ecology model approach can be applied at any scale of tourism and is about interacting to produce an exchange of materials between the local living (hosts, services) and non-living (landscape) resources which reflect the community's natural and cultural heritage. Also, Reid *et al.* (1993) offer a tourism planning process model that attempts to map out how communities establish tourism under their control, suggesting that leadership, often under the auspices of a chamber of commerce or local business association, being a critical part of the process (Reid *et al*. 2004). This also brings into discussion the idea of giving the community power for tourism development and how this interacts with the regional authority.

Generally, the level of community participation will not only increase the effectiveness of CBT development but will also to contribute to continual sustainability. According to Li (2004), the higher the number of local people willing to become involved, the higher the chance of success of CBT in that destination (Li 2004). The importance of participation is also discussed by Tosun (2000: 615), who states:

It is believed that a participatory development approach would facilitate the implementation of principles of sustainable tourism development by creating better opportunities for local people to gain larger and more balanced benefits from tourism development taking place in their localities.

However in order for this planning to be effective certain obstacles need to be considered and addressed. Jenkins (1993: 62), for example, states that there are six main obstacles facing community participation in tourism development, as in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: The six main obstacles facing community participation in tourism development

The local community:
does not understand the technical complexities within the planning does not understand how the planning process operates and decisions are made. has difficulty attaining and maintain representation of views in decision making. is largely apathetic.
The financial expense:
of decision making increases since it takes longer due to community participation along with time adversely affects the overall efficiency of decision making

Source: Adapted from Jenkins (1993)

The barriers to community participation in tourism are discussed in more detail below but, as reviewed in this section, increasing attention has been paid to defining participation through typologies and establishing frameworks for its application in tourism. As noted above, such participation can be thought of as a redistribution of power, as a result of which the participation of its community can be harnessed to its own benefit (Arnstein 1969; Pretty 1995; Tosun 2000). Arnstein (1969: 216) touches the theme of community empowerment:

The redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens to be deliberately included in the future. It is the means by which they can induce significant social reform, which enables them to share in the benefits of affluent society.

This suggests that the implementing CBT in a tourist destination will not necessarily encourage social reform, but will empower that community through its participation ultimately to improve their living conditions and well-being. It also suggests that such power sharing would improve their position long term keeping within the goals of sustainability. Thus, as now considered, empowerment is a key feature or objective of CBT

3.3.2 Community empowerment and relationships with power holders

The definition of empowerment is 'to authorise, license (person to do); give power to, make able, enable, to commission (Sykes 1987: 339), it is 'the process whereby decisions are made by the people who have to wear the consequences of those decisions' (Craig and Mayo 1995: 50; McArdle 1989). In the context of community development, the concept of empowerment links to those of self-help, participation, networking and equity; people must engage in those decisions that affect their lives but, as a consequence, they achieve confidence, self-esteem and knowledge, and may develop new skills (Craig and Mayo 1995). There are three key elements to the development of community empowerment (HM Government 2005):

active citizens; people with the motivation, skills and confidence to speak up for their communities and say what improvement is needed,

strengthened communities; community groups with the capability and resources to bring people together to work out shared solutions,

partnership with public bodies; public bodies willing and able to work as partners with local people.

Gray (1989) states that 'collaboration for community-based tourism planning is a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organisational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain' (Gray 1989; Jamal and Getz 1995). Scheyvens (2002) proposes a framework for assessing the extent of empowerment of communities involved in tourism based on four dimensions of empowerment:

economic: tourism brings cash flow between many households in the community;
psychological: the enhancement of self-esteem for community members due to outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, natural resources and traditional knowledge;
social: the improvement of the local community's balance from more community cohesion; and

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political: the political structure of community equitably represents the needs and interests of all community groups .

Community participation can be seen as the practice of exchanging power from the central power holders to the people at the community level (Timothy 1998). Murphy (1985: 17) makes the case that 'as tourism relies upon the involvement of local people, as part of the tourism product, then if the industry is to be self-sustaining, it should involve the community in decision making'.

According to HM Government (2005) principles, community empowerment is evidence of the work and co-operation between community and government; consequently, the emphasis on community participation is justified as it is the mechanism element to advocate empowerment. The state plays a significant role in providing or coordinating appropriate training to upskill local people engaging in community-based tourism (Scheyvens 2002). Inskeep (1991: 29) classifies the types of planning as 'economic development planning; physical land-use planning; infrastructure planning for services e.g. transportation, water, and electrical; social facility planning for educational, medical and recreation facilities and services; park and conservation planning; corporate planning; and urban and regional planning'. The implementation of national state plans must be pursued at both regional and local levels (Murphy 1985). As the national level establishes the framework for tourism, creating environmental, economic and social policies, the regional level establishes development strategies and structural plans for the region, such as infrastructure, protection areas and transport. Lastly, local level planning is required to focus on local development, allocation of resources, conservation measures, coordination and implementation of policies (Baud-Bovy and Lawson 1998)

From the above, it is evident that local level effective development is influenced by the national and/ or regional level. In addition, Beeton (1998) suggests that local councils should directly and indirectly participate in tourism, implementing central government policies through the provision of infrastructures and services, such as public footpaths, convention centres, public toilets, and so on. Equally, local councils may promote cultural festivals and special events or any programmes to reach potential tourists markets. In terms of the organisation of special events, they could increase visitor numbers to communities, adding to communities' values whilst also raising the quality

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of tourists' experience. The empowerment of the community to make decisions and encourage participation is a crucial factor in defining the community's role in CBT and how it relates at the national/regional level. Following the general concepts of the community's role and participation in CBT outlined above, along with the review of power and responsibility within CBT, the next step is to look at the planning framework including polices and concepts of collaboration.

3.3.3 Policies and programmes for community-based tourism

Within the broader objective of sustainable development, 'the main goal in developing tourism is to maximise the positive impacts while minimising the negative impacts on the host community' (Ritchie and Inkari 2006: 28). Thus, policies and programmes for community empowerment and local participation, focusing upon how local communities can benefit from and gain control over tourism in their surrounding area, fall within the framework of sustainable development (Scheyvens 2002). Moreover, the local community itself must play an active role and participate in the design and management of the tourism that is developed there (Allen *et al*. 1988; Vargas-Sanchez *et al*. 2009). Due to its characteristics, which emphasise the benefits of local residents' involvement, it may be appropriate that community tourism should be planned systematically, thereby taking into account residents' attitudes and perceptions about its growth at the outset. This may include activities such as vision creation, asset inventorying and assessment, values clarification, organisation structure development, action planning, and implementation (Minnesota Extension Service 1991; Reid *et al*. 2004). Hence government, which has an official role in planning policies and programmes for community-based tourism, should develop plans based on the needs of local residents. However, in order for CBT development to be successful in achieving sustainability, bringing together multiple interests and addressing local concerns, extensive planning and management is necessary (Simmons 1994; Tosun and Jenkins 1998). Previously, such planning processes proved too rigid in practice and so more recent attempts have introduced targets within tourism planning to encourage more flexible and adaptable processes (Hall 2000; Simmons, 1994; Timothy, 1998; Tosun and Jenkins 1998). Furthermore, Timothy (1998) proposes integrative planning, which seeks to integrate tourism planning into wider schemes or, more specifically, strategic planning at the national or regional level. However, in practice, the use of integrated planning has been less frequent within the tourism industry as it typically demands

collaboration amongst a large number of stakeholders (Dowling 1993; Inskeep 1991; Pearce 1995).

According to Timothy *et al*. (2003) in their book *Tourism in the Destination Community*, such planning can be addressed in three approaches, namely, participatory, incremental and collaborative/cooperative. This is then encompassed in the PIC model, as seen below in Figure 3.1, which combines the three methods of planning. Its purpose is not to replace procedural planning but to allow for comprehensive planning within a broader context (Timothy *et al*. 2003).

Figure 3.1: PIC Planning Model

Participatory
- Residents' voice in establishing goals and desires for tourism
-All stakeholders involvement in decision making
-Economic opportunities for residents, resident education and awareness bulding

Cooperation/Collaboration
-Between government agencies
-Between private and public sectors
-Between administrative levels
-Between same-level polities
-Between private sector services

Incremental
-Careful selection of development options
-Gradual implementation
-Regular and continuous monitoring and evaluation

Source: Timothy *et al*. (2003: 195)

Furthermore, they state that the principles of participatory and cooperative/collaborative planning should be present during the entire planning, whereas incremental planning is best suited towards the end of the process. Timothy *et al.* (2003) add that, if properly used, the PIC model would lead a tourist destination to become effectively sustainable.

A detailed definition of collaboration in the context of CBT is provided by Jamal and Getz (1999: 188) as 'a process of joint decision making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organisational, community tourism domain'. They further define its purpose as 'to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or manage issues related to the planning and development of domain' (Jamal and Getz 1999: 188). It is also worth noting that, by involving stakeholders, issues concerning the balance of power and planning control are to an extent reformed, allowing the needs of all stakeholders to be addressed along with an increase of influence in tourism planning (Jamal and Getz 1995).

However, although an important and potentially effective solution to social or organisational issues, the concept and theories of collaboration lack substantial research (Gray and Wood 1991; Jamal and Getz 1995). Nevertheless, collaboration is acknowledged by various studies as a necessary ingredient within tourism planning (de Kadt 1979; Hall 1994; Murphy 1985; Roberts and Simpson 1999). This optimism for collaboration planning is further supported by Bramwell and Lane (2000: 1-2), who state that 'stakeholder collaboration has the potential to lead to dialogue, negotiation and the building of mutually acceptable proposals about how tourism should be developed'. The involvement of all stakeholders is a key practice in the collaborative process because it means that management is shared between inner and outside parties as opposed to one party dominating, which is an appealing aspect to many tourism development planners as all groups concerned are actively involved (Jamal and Getz 1995). The collaborative planning process undergoes three steps to its completion. The first is to identify the problem, the second is to find a direction and the third is the implementation of the plan (Gray 1985). This planning process is heavily reliant on cooperation and negotiation between stakeholders and then the issues are addressed and followed by forging a united vision/ideal or establishing the common ground upon which solutions can be found.

Despite the positivity shown towards the method of collaborative planning, however, it is not necessarily easy to undertake given the problems in identifying legitimate stakeholders along with the challenges associated with the presence of multiple parties holding potentially conflicting views and interests (Butler 1999; Miller 1998; Roberts and Simpson 1999). Furthermore, obstacles identified included a lack of commitment,

trust and consensus on decisions within the planning process along with issues of rivalry and competition between stakeholders. This suggests that the more ideal and, perhaps, more democratic approach to collaborative tourism planning may not necessarily be the most effective or straightforward approach (Bramwell and Lane 2000; Gray 1985; Miller 1998). Nevertheless, the collaborative approach to planning for tourism development is still arguably the most popular and applicable in regards to CBT and may prove effective in drawing together crucial stakeholders within and outside the destination to work together for the benefit of the community (Jamal and Getz 1995). However bringing the stakeholders together to be involved in the planning guarantees neither their cooperation nor commitment and, perhaps, such less rigid planning may even hinder the development of the tourism product.

In short collaborative planning seems the most apt for the development of CBT even though it is not without its obstacles, yet if these can be overcome, it should ensure the level of participation needed to implement and sustain CBT in the destination. However, collaborative planning and CBT more generally has long been the focus of criticism, as the following section considers.

3.4 Criticisms of community based-tourism

Since the 1970s, community participation has become an umbrella term for a supposedly new genre of development intervention (Department of Economic and Social Affairs 1970; Tosun 2000). However it is not without criticism, with commentators pointing out that not only may CBT result in negative consequences for the community but also that, owing to a number of limitations, there may be a failure to achieve community participation. Indeed, as noted earlier in this chapter, simply defining and conceptualising CBT has proved to be difficult whilst, in general, it suffers from the same weakness as other alternative forms of tourism development. That is, it is perceived as 'a utopian ideal, of no practical consequence' (Pigram 1994). This idealism towards CBT as a form of tourism development that distributes both power and benefits to the destination community stems, of course, from the sustainable development school of thinking (Hamza 2010), yet it has been argued that there is a significant gap between the theory and reality of CBT. In other words, its idealistic concepts prove difficult to

implement in practice, facing numerous obstacles (Kumar 2002; Mason 2003; Scheyvens 2002; Tosun 2006).

Similar to the negative consequences commonly experienced with other forms of tourism development, CBT is seen to impact on the host community from, typically, an economic, socio-cultural, and environmental perspective (Andereck *et al*. 2005). From the economic perspective, not only may there be an increase in the cost of living (Andereck *et al*. 2005), but CBT may also provide only low-paid and mainly seasonal employment, with most of the benefits traditionally flowing to a limited number of businesses (Murphy 1985). Furthermore, studies have pointed out that the development of CBT and the concepts of community participation focus mainly on the political aspects within the community to the relative exclusion of economic or financial benefits (Salafsky *et al* 2001; Adams and Hulme 2001). Moreover, with respect to socio-cultural problems, CBT may contribute towards a decline in traditions and an increase in materialism, crime rates, social conflicts and overcrowding, whilst 'typical' environmental impacts may be experienced, such as pollution, traffic and deforestation (Andereck *et al*. 2005).

Not surprisingly, perhaps, such consequences may result in negative attitudes emerging within local communities (Vargas-Sanchez *et al.* 2009). It is suggested that residents' may develop negative attitudes towards tourism and perceive it as a problem because it has shown to be an impediment to growth and development (Hall 1994; Blackstock 2005). It appears that local demands and interests may not be met and no guarantee is given that such issues will be addressed in the planning of CBT, whilst in reality the government has the final word over such matters (Mowforth and Munt 1998). This is, of course, contrary to the concepts of community empowerment presented in CBT; as Beeton (2006: 50) confirms, 'community tourism is presented as a way of ensuring the long-term survival of a profitable tourism industry rather than empowering local residents'. Moreover, she argues that the destination community is seen from a somewhat detached or unconcerned perspective and that local control is limited, stating that 'local communities are presented as homogeneous blocks, devoid of internal power struggles of competing values... [whilst]... community tourism accounts ignore the external constraints to local control.' (Beeton 2006: 50). Furthermore, although the community approach to tourism has been heralded as a way of empowering

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communities and affording opportunities to local residents, it appears that community groups do not become involved since the participation initiatives are introduced by government or external agencies and, as a consequence, citizen participation is rarely considered to have an influence on decision making (Joppe 1996). Thus, power relationship and community empowerment issues remain unresolved (Beeton 2006; Blackstock 2005). According to Tosun (2000), the three main categories of barriers to CBT are

i.   Limitations at the operational level: for example, a lack of co-ordination and information.

ii.   Structural limitations to community participation, including the attitudes of professionals, a lack of expertise amongst locals, elite domination, a lack of an appropriate legal system, a lack of trained human resources, the relatively high cost of community participation, and a lack of financial resources.

iii. Cultural limitations, which include the limited capacity of poor people, and apathy and low level of awareness amongst the local community.

These limitations imply that the potential benefits of CBT do not accrue to local residents as they should. Most studies focus attention on institutions of power (Reed 1997). For example, in Thailand the policy of empowerment is monopolised by the 'Big Man System', in which the centre of power belongs to a leader or groups of leaders who will make decisions that are for the common good of society (Timothy 2002). Consequently, dominant national and local groups of elites sometimes intentionally keep residents in an inferior position (de Kadt 1979; Haywood 1988; Timothy 2002). It is argued that communities are controlled by local elites or foreign companies and few benefits accrue to the local communities (Page and Connell 2006). Thus, the rhetoric of 'community action' must be deconstructed, and attention paid to whose voices are speaking and whose interests are being served (Blackstock 2005; Cox 1995).

Moreover, a lack of interest can be a major problem (Beeton 1998). Contrary to what planners may envision, it is often difficult to bring the public into the participation and planning process (Loukissas 1983). Moreover, Murphy (1985) indicates that is more likely that the community will commit, unite and participate against the development of tourism within their local area than come together to plan and work towards more

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sustainable tourism development such as CBT. This can be attributed to a limited understanding of tourism or more so their place within it, or how it can relate to their skills or way of life. Thus, community destinations with a lack of training, skills or abilities to contribute to tourism development may prove more difficult to convince in promoting the concepts of local empowerment and participation (Tosun 2000). Many residents may not feel sufficiently informed to participate in critical matters like tourism and feel that locals should not be involved (Timothy 2002; Timothy and Wall 1997) though, of course, without local participation, CBT development cannot hope to be successful. Moreover, despite the fact that studies have emphasised the need for community participation as a vital part to tourism development (McCool and Moisey 2001; Richards and Hall 2000), it has also been argued that such participation from the destination community does not guarantee success (Getz 1983; Haywood 1988; Lea 1988; Ritchie 1988). Further criticism indicates that there is no convincing evidence to suggest the success or effectiveness of the implementation of CBT planning to the destination (Middleton and Hawkins 1988).

Funding is another issue, as a lack of national funds to support communities is considered to be a major problem for many developing countries (Tosun 2000). Meanwhile, for the regulations of state, there is inadequate coordination of planning from national to regional and local levels. Often, national planning is overly top-down while, at the local level, officials lack capacity and resources to effectively implement tourism plans and to regulate development (Sheyvens 2002). Hence, CBT development may often result in projects that are inappropriate to local conditions (Rondinelli 1982; Smith 1984; Timothy 2002). Moreover, many plans do not achieve long-term usefulness as instruments for guiding development because they lack emotional commitment and the leadership skills of those charged with implementation (Reid *et al*. 2004).

In addition, the barriers to community-based tourism may reflect the barriers to sustainable tourism development more generally. Although sustainable tourism and sustainable development are suggested as the appropriate principles and practices for tourism development, in reality it is difficult to succeed in achieving the objectives for sustainable tourism development. Sharpley (2002a, 2009) provides a number of obstacles to sustainable development, whilst Croall (1995) suggests the obstacles to sustainable tourism development include traditional public attitudes about holidays; the

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tour operator; and the failure of developers and local politicians to practice sustainability in the short term. Moreover, other weaknesses of CBT based on sustainable tourism development are also relevant to tourist behaviour. It is been said that most tourists seek relaxation, fun, escape and entertainment; they do not wish to 'work' at being a tourist (Telfer and Sharpley 2008; see also McKercher 1993), work in this context referring to adopting a sense of responsibility or environmental awareness towards the community or destination.

CBT development is complex; each community is different and policy really depends on the specific context. Given some of the limitations above, government intervention may resolve some of the challenges facing CBT working in conjunction with the tourism industry, the destination community and stakeholders, yet not all locals are permitted to take part in the planning or decision making (Kumar 2002; Mason 2003). Ideally the role of government would be to act as an incubator of sustainable policies and an education provider to the community towards long term tourism development, and to gradually reduce this role once successful implementation of CBT has been achieved. The degree of participation varies depending on locality and community, therefore there is no one level of participation that suits all destinations (Burns *et al*. 2004). In effect, to nurture a more grass-roots or bottom-up involvement, assessing local community attitudes as a precursor to planning policy is suggested. Moreover, government could implement regulations to prevent the outsiders from taking too much advantage from locals and to prevent exploitation.

The majority of problems facing CBT development, such as the lack of financial resources, institutional corruption and elite domination, appear difficult to resolve. Thus, small-scale local planning would seem to be the more appropriate approach to develop community tourism. However, contemporary studies indicate that it is necessary to involve other sectors and stakeholders within more inclusive planning (McCool and Moisey 2001; Richards and Hall 2000). A partnership of power must be also taken into consideration between the governing power and its people, allowing communities to push forward the agenda and influence decisions in a way that both sustains the environment and culture of the tourist destination and to prevent corruption and a monopoly of development power at a local/regional level, allowing for the input

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of the destination community. Moreover, Chris and Turk cited in Budruck (2001: 118), state that:

Despite the fact that one goal of sustainable community tourism is improved quality life for local residents in both developed and developing countries, government control tourism development. As a result, local residents are often excluded from the decision making process.

Due to its history, the paradigms and policies of tourism development policy may be still seen as negative, alienating communities from the idea of its implementation. Therefore it is important to educate and inform communities that the concepts and conduct of tourism development has changed and its interests especially concerning CBT lie with the economic and social well-being of people.

3.5 Development of CBT as tourism product

Having explored the definitions and concepts of CBT in the context of community participation and planning initiatives, it is evident that attention in the literature has primarily been focused on the planning and management of CBT. In other words, CBT has been addressed primarily from a production perspective. However, it may be argued that the success of CBT is also dependent on an understanding of the consumption of CBT; as with all forms of tourism, ultimate success in contributing to destination development is dependent upon tourists receiving satisfying experiences that meet their expectations. Therefore, this chapter now turns to the 'end result', the tourist product. This final section highlights the concepts and principles of the tourist product and, more importantly, how the community can be seen as a product from a supply and demand perspective.

3.5.1 Tourism Product

Kotler (1984: 463) defines a product as 'anything that can be offered to a market for attention, acquisition, use or consumption that might satisfy a need or want. It includes physical objects, services, persons, places, organisations, and ideas.' It is important for planners of tourism development to recognise tourism as a product, as the use or modification of marketable elements of the destination including the environment or

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scenery, although enhancing the tourist market may also be limited or produce negative consequences (Batta 2000). As community based-tourism is one of many tourism types, it should be represented and discussed as a tourism product along with the components that make it such.

Medlik and Middleton (1973) suggest that 'as far as the tourist is concerned, the product covers the complete experience from the time he [sic] leaves home to the time he returns to it'. And the package of components is the activities, services, and benefits that frame the total tourism experience (See Medlik and Middleton 1973; Smith 1994). Jefferson and Lickorich (1988: 67) define the tourism product as 'A collection of physical and service features together within symbolic association which one expected to fulfil the wants and needs of the buyer' Crucially, they emphasise that 'it is a satisfying activity of a desired destination' (Ibid: 211). So, basically the tourism product can be physical or the several service characteristics and concerns geared towards the tourist's experience during the trip or after, which should at the very least leave the tourist satisfied.

Smith (1994) conceptualised the elements of the tourism product model to represent the important sectors that influence tourist experience. His model is formulised from the work from Jefferson and Lickorich (1988), Lewis and Chamber (1989), Medlik and Middleton (1973), and Middleton (1989), but he also includes the tourist in the tourism product unlike other models which focuses only on the features of destinations and services. The figure 3.2 presents these elements in his model which are physical plant, service, hospitality, freedom of choice, and involvement:

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Figure 3.2: Tourism product model

Involvement: participation of tourists in the conveying of service

Freedom of choice: range of options during the trip e.g. mode of transport, activities, and alternate destination.

Hospitality: attitude or style in which the service is offered.

Service: performance of particular tasks needed to meet the satisfaction of tourists

Physical Plant: site, natural resource and facility

Or physical environment: weather, water quality, crowding, and infrastructure

Source: Adapted from Smith (1994)

More details in Stephen's model of tourism product's elements are provided with the utilisation in community based-tourism:

Physical Plant: following the concept, the physical plant is community as the core of tourism product, and from site, natural resource or other physical environment. However, it should be noted that as community-based tourism or in other words, indigenous tourism is a destination offers tourists whose motives are to pursue and experience the local culture, language, traditions, lifestyles and natural environment of community, this process namely commodification (Telfer and Sharpley 2008), all of them being bought and sold, with some communities being purposively planned and constructed for tourists consumption (Haywood 1988; Joppe 1996). Therefore, physical plant in this term can primary be the culture or way of life of locals in community which in general are from the habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts (Smith 1996). Furthermore, the access to community, facilities, and seasoning are also contained in this frame.

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Service: the performance of specific tasks required to meet the needs of tourists in the community destination e.g. service from hotel front desk operation, housekeeping, and food and beverages. It might connect with locals in the case that locals in the community tourism industry have duties to serve tourists.

Hospitality: Attitude or style of local residents when offering service to tourists, which present an expression of welcome with a smile, genuine warmth and the willingness to respond to other requirements of the guest such as information on local restaurants. As it is more individual and subjective, hospitality is more difficult to evaluate and manage.

Freedom of Choice: the necessity that the tourist has some acceptable range of options in order for the experience to be satisfactory. The degree of freedom choice is varied depending on, for example, the traveller's budget, previous experience, and knowledge. Factors which satisfy tourists can be their choices of hotel, selection of airline, activities they attend or other service, however, it is not only choice, freedom indicates the potential for happy surprises and spontaneity.

Involvement: refers to when tourists engage in the service and activities during the trip. Involvement for a community based-tourist can be playing or relaxing in a way that is personally satisfying, and feeling sufficiently safe and secure that one can do any activities including strike up conversations with other tourists or even locals. It combines with an acceptable physical plant, good service, warm hospitality and freedom of choice.

Smith (1994) also purposes the tourism product function to illustrate the complex process of tourism product, there are four stages of process: primary inputs (natural resources, raw materials and other components e.g. fuel, buildings, and agricultural products), intermediate inputs (attractions, tourism support and facilities), intermediate outputs (service), and final outputs (personal tourist experience). From the product process, two special features are exist: value is added at each stage of the process and the consumer is an integral part of the product process.

3.5.2 CBT as a product in tourists' perceptions

The perception of the tourist of the tourism product is the 'total experience from the time of leaving home until his or her return…the tourist therefore buys a total bundle of benefits' (Health and Wall 1992: 129; Ivanovic 2008). In terms of the CBT product, Beeton (2006) explains that most visitors' perceptions through community tourism are not the physical things they saw, but the emotion they experienced through the encounter tourists had with community members, hosts or others. However, for some tourists, they may need only peace and quiet or being left alone. Nevertheless, as discussed in the beginning of the chapter that CBT is somehow relevant to indigenous tourism (Hinch and Butler 1996), therefore the context of indigenous tourism product cannot be neglected. In regards to the indigenous tourism product, with the obvious concentration being on values, cultures, ways of life including the heritage of community, rural and natured based tourism product or accommodation owned by indigenous operators (Butler and Hinch 2007). Hence, it means community is actually a product for tourist consumption as they seek for two perspectives of a tangible product such indigenous cultures and intangible products such as experience of tourist's interaction with the community along with other supporting factors as attractions, facilities and service to satisfy tourist's expectation.

Moreover, many studies embed MacCannell's (1973, 1976) authenticity to the tourist experience to explain the preference of the seeking/searching for something 'real' in another place or site. It is commonly bound up with Urry's (2002) Tourist Gaze which explains the idea that destination or the people in destination, in other words the communities become an object that tourists fantasise about experience. Thus, Smith's product process can be adapted to community-based tourism product process as Table 3.4 presents:

Table 3.4: Community-based tourism product process

Primary Input → (Resources)	Intermediate Inputs → (Attractions and Facilities)	Intermediate Outputs → (Service)	Final Outputs (Personal experience)
Land Water Locals in community, agricultural products Building materials	Culture and way of life as attraction gaze for tourists Hotel and restaurants Transportation modes	Interactions with locals Service from locals e.g. accommodations, guide services, and food Cultural performance Souvenirs Festival and events	Authenticity Recreation Social contacts Education Relaxation Memories

Source: Adapted from Smith (1994)

However, it is argued that the idea of searching for authenticity by western tourists is a western notion by western shaping, the context of some domestic tourists studies tend to be different (van Egmond 2008). The different societies and countries influences different people behaviour, therefore to study these distinctiveness, cross-cultural studies are adopted to many comparative researches (Dann *et al*. 1988), in order to understand different perceptions or behaviours of international and domestic tourists as well as this study. A comparative study of different perceptions of CBT, in the case of Pai is the distinct focus of this research, however, cross-cultural research is not the only factor to consider when reviewing different tourist's experiences, there are more factors influencing different perceptions including push and pull factors, destination images and an impact of western culture to tourist behaviours, which will be provided in the next chapter.

From the tourists' perspectives, community is an important basis in the context of the tourism product and could possibly be considered as the main attraction and the gatekeeper to local knowledge, while for others the community is simply the setting where tourism occurs (Mowforth and Munt 1998). Attracting tourists to experience the local culture, language, traditions, lifestyles and natural environment are vital components of the journey (Telfer and Sharpley 2008).

Indeed the partnership CBT offers seems in the best interests of delivering a successful product as the experience of the tourist is largely beholden to the various components of the destination community (Clement *et al.* 1993; Reid *et al.* 2004). With an explanation of CBT as a tourism product covered it is important to take on board the criticisms and barriers facing CBT in order to gain a more all round and realistic understanding of it, from which solutions and conclusions can be drawn.

3.6 Chapter summary

This chapter gives an overview of community-based tourism and its objectives and principles along with the criticism. Community-based tourism has existed in the alternative era as adapted the concept of sustainable tourism development; maximise advantages to destination while minimise disadvantages to destination. The advantage maximisation of CBT focuses on the community's benefit which it is the essence wherein the concept of community participation lies as well as local empowerment. However, the obstacles are seen such as lack of co-operation, lack of expertise and the big man system. Therefore, from this chapter, the researcher is confident that it demonstrates the deep and rich CBT understanding that can be used to explain the recent situation of the study location, Pai in later chapters.

Chapter 4

Destination image and tourists' perceptions

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding two chapters, a review of tourism development in general and of sustainable tourism in particular revealed the significance of community based-tourism (CBT) to sustainable development. However, despite the attention paid to CBT, its viability and success as a community-focused approach to tourism development remains contested. Moreover, although a significant literature has emerged on the topic, this is principally concerned with supply-side issues; that is, with policies and processes that seek to engage local communities in tourism development and to optimise the benefits of tourism accruing to them. Conversely, and as suggested in Chapter 3, more limited attention has been paid to demand-side issues. In other words, CBT may also be considered as a form of tourism product that is sought out / experienced by tourists and, as a consequence, the success of CBT is to a great extent dependent (as with all forms of tourism development) on tourists' needs and expectations being met, on tourists enjoying satisfying experiences. Therefore as argued in Chapter 3, it is important to also adopt a consumption perspective on CBT, to explore tourists' images, perceptions and experiences of CBT.

Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to review tourist destination image and perception formation as a conceptual framework for the empirical research in Pai, Thailand discussed in later chapters in this thesis. More specifically, following a review of tourist typologies, the chapter explores the tourism demand process and the factors and processes of destination image and perception formation, focusing in particular on the factors and values that may determine Western tourists' perceptions destinations in Thailand. This is then combined with the concept of CBT as discussed in Chapter 3 to propose a combined supply- and demand-side model of community tourism development.

4.2 Community-based tourism tourists

In Chapter 2, the tourist was described as 'a person who travels temporarily outside of his or her usual environment [usually defined by some distance threshold] for certain qualifying purposes (Weaver and Lawton 2006: 18). Similarly, Theobald (1998: 25) also defines the tourist broadly as 'a person travelling outside of his/her normal routine – either normal living or normal working routine – who spends money'. The principal purposes of travel are typically considered to be leisure and recreation, visiting friends and relatives, and business (Weaver and Lawton 2006), although technical definitions of tourism embrace a more detailed and, perhaps, surprisingly broad range of categories of tourist (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Technical definitions of tourists

To be included in tourism statistics		*Not to be included in tourism statistics*
Category	*Purpose*	*Category*
Tourists:	holidays	Border workers
non-residents	business	Transit passengers
nationals resident	health	Nomads
abroad	study	Refugees
crew members	meetings/missions	Members of armed forces
	VFR	Diplomats
Excursionists:	religion	Temporary immigrants
cruise passengers	sport	Permanent immigrants
day visitors	others	
crews		

Source: Adapted from WTO (1994)

For the purposes of this thesis, however, we are primarily concerned with leisure tourists, that is, those travelling for the purpose of holiday or recreation. Importantly, such leisure tourists comprise two broad groups: international tourists and domestic tourists. Within the literature, particularly in the context of tourism's developmental role, most attention is paid to international tourism. It is usually within a global context that tourism is considered an effective means of achieving development (Telfer and Sharpley 2008), particularly with respect to developing and less developed countries

(for example, UNCTAD 2007), whilst organisations such as the UNWTO and World Travel and Tourism Council are primarily concerned with international tourism. Not only do UNWTO statistics reveal the volume and value of international tourism but also, as one of the world's largest economic sectors, tourism is referred to as an export (i.e international) sector. However, as Sharpley (2009: 2) observes, 'in many countries, the value of domestic tourism [that is, tourists travelling within their country of residence] is far greater than that of incoming international tourism'. Indeed, on a global scale, domestic tourism collectively accounts for an estimated 85% of all tourism activity, in 2007 amounting to around 3.5 billion trips, six times greater than total units international arrivals that year (Bigano *et al.* 2007). Not all countries collate domestic tourism data, whilst definitions of domestic tourism may vary from one country to another. [Also, domestic tourism is by definition of national rather than international interest]. Nevertheless, the importance of domestic tourism is increasingly recognised, hence attracting growing academic attention (Ghimire 2001). Moreover, as considered later in this thesis, domestic tourism in Thailand in particular is a significant part of that country's tourism sector, hence demanding inclusion in the study of CBT in Pai.

As defining the tourist is relevant to place and time, it may be possible to consider who is a tourist in the context of CBT. As previously discussed (Chapter 3), CBT is, in essence, an alternative (to mass) form of tourism development focusing on community participation. Thus, the CBT 'product' can be related to the indigenous culture of the destination and, hence, tourists perceive it as an opportunity to experience and interact with local people more than to just enjoy physical elements of the destination (Beeton 2006). Therefore, a CBT tourist (either international or domestic) may be thought of as a person who travels outside his or her hometown or workplace for the purpose of seeking an experience of and interaction with local communities, including the consumption of indigenous products along with staying at the location for at least one day.

Of course, even within this broad categorisation, tourists differ according to a variety of factors, such as travel preferences (for example, independent travel *versus* package holiday) or motivations. Thus, there is need to categorise tourists according to these factors (Swarbrooke and Horner 2007). Motivation is addressed later in this chapter

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(section 4.4), but the studies of Cohen (1972) and Plog (1977) continue to be most commonly referred to in describing the typologies of tourists.

Cohen (1972), in his seminal work, categorises tourists in four types, namely: (1) the organised mass tourist; (2) the individual mass tourist; (3) the explorer; and (4) the drifter. The four types can be classified into two major groups. *Institutionalised tourists* refer to people who depend on the tourism industry mediators, such as tour operators, travel agents, to provide them with travel products and services. Conversely, *non-institutionalised tourists* are individual travellers who contact or make use of the tourism industry only when necessary (Cooper *et al.* 1998). Underpinning this typology is the concept of the tourist 'environmental bubble'. That is, Cohen's bases his categorisation of tourist on the theory of 'familiarity-strangerhood' (Jafari 2000). According to Cohen (1972), no tourist is able to fully escape the influence of their home environment, their values or behaviour patterns; the travel within an 'environmental bubble' and, although they may seek out new experiences, they also require the security of familiar reminders of home (Cooper *et al*. 1998). However, some tourists are able to escape from this bubble more than others. On the one hand, mass tourists seek familiarity and enjoy the comforts of their 'environmental bubble'; on the other hand, explorers and drifters seek novelty and are able to immerse themselves more in the local culture (Wearing *et al*. 2010).

Plog's (1972, 1974) more broadly categorises tourists into three types, namely *allocentrics*, who are prepared to take risks and are adventure seeking with a preference for the exotic, *psychocentrics*, who are risk averse and hence, seek safety and the familiar, and *mid-centrics*, who fall between the two extremes. France (1997) compares Plog's model to Cohen's (1972) typology. The allocentric tourist may be synonymous with the explorer or drifter, a tourist who is novelty-seeking, preferring unusual places, adventure, a change of pace and excitement (Lee and Crompton 1992; Woodside 2008). Conversely, the mid-centric traveller is likely to be an individual mass tourist who both depends upon the travel industry but is also able to exercise individual choice and act independently, whilst the psychocentric tourist is typically an organised mass tourist, who purchases package holiday in search of familiarity at his destination.

Both Cohen's and Plog's work, and indeed, other proposed typologies of tourists (Cohen 1979; Smith 1989; Wickens 2002), have been criticised for being descriptive, static and theoretical (see Lowyck *et al*. 1992). That is, they are unable to account for variations in an individual tourist's behaviour – a tourist may choose to adopt different roles at different times or in different contexts (Yiannakis and Gibson 1992) – nor for more general transformations in tourism consumption. Nevertheless, they provide a useful foundation for beginning to conceptualise the 'CBT tourist', where elements of allocentrism and novelty-seeking are likely to be in evidence. At the same time, Poon's (1993) widely-cited concept of 'new tourism', which claims there is a shift away from traditional 'mass' tourism to new forms of tourism and tourist, is also of relevance. According to Poon (1993), travel is a novelty, yet the 'old' tourist is less concerned with the destination because for them, the vacation is an escape from work, routine and the stress of urban life. The traditional package holiday to sun-sea-sand destinations offers opportunities for passive recreation. In contrast, the new tourist is more spontaneous and adventurous; he or she expects to experience something different. Vacation travel is viewed as source of fun and also a desire to be different from the crowd (Woodside 2008). Moreover, it has been said that new tourists have more experience, are more educated, more 'green', more independent, more quality-conscious and more difficult to please than the traditional tourist (Cater and Goodall 1992; De Villiers 1996; Raj 2007).

The extent to which the 'new tourist' is a reality remains debateable. Not only does the organised package holiday remain popular in traditional major tourism markets, but also emerging markets, such as China, depend to a great extent on organised travel. Nevertheless, as Ureily (2005) suggests, contemporary tourism and tourist experiences can be viewed within a postmodern conceptual framework; that is, it is no longer possible to generalise about types of tourists and their experiences. Equally, the increasing popularity and usage of the Internet (Buhalis and Law 2008; Karanasios and Burgess 2008), particularly for purchasing travel experiences, has resulted in a significant growth in independent travel and, arguably, 'new' tourism. This can be seen to link to Cohen's typology of non-institutionalised tourists, who are persons travelling to destinations without booking through tourist retailers, but who prefer doing everything themselves including booking through the Internet (Hyde and Lawson 2011). This concept of the independent traveller connects to Cohen's (1972) drifter and, of course, to the backpacker, another significant group in contemporary tourism. Long

recognised and researched within tourism studies (Riley 1988; Hannam and Atelievic 2008), backpackers are defined as 'budget-minded tourists who exhibit a preference for inexpensive accommodation, transport and commodities and longer rather than brief vacations' (Locker-Murphy and Pearce, 1995). Quite evidently, not all independent travellers are backpackers (Hyde and Lawson 2011); however, backpackers are likely to be a key market for CBT.

More generally, another 'typology' of tourist is proposed by Krippendorf (1987), who distinguishes the 'alternative tourist' from the 'mass tourist'. According to Krippendorf (1987: 37), alternative tourists are people 'who try to establish more contact with the local population, try to do without the tourist infrastructure and use the same accommodation and transport facilities as the natives'. Thus, the alternative tourist may seen to be synonymous with the new tourist, as they are considered to be concerned about the future development of the destination ecology / environment and, hence, attempt to travel in harmony with nature and the local cultures (Allen and Brennan 2004). Alternative tourists prefer to have vacations that have a minimal impact on destinations (Fennell 2006) and, hence, equate with what some now refer to as the 'responsible tourist' (Goodwin 2011). Though the existence of the 'alternative' (or 'good' or 'ecotourist') may be questioned (Sharpley 2006a), this is a market segment that destinations, including Thailand, are increasingly attempting to attract (Leksakundilok 2006).

Applying these above typologies to the context of CBT, the CBT tourist can be thought of as embracing three categories, as shown in the Figure 4.1 below. Here, the scope of the CBT tourist comprises mainstream 'mass' tourists, new 'alternative' tourists, and independent-mass tourists. The first category, mass tourists, are likely to consume products and services in CBT destination in a more traditional manner, such as travelling on a package, visiting attractions in a group and staying in resorts in middle-to upper-class accommodation. Western tourists who purchase package tours from their countries are likely to be in this group. Everything has been pre-organised with limited flexibility within the touring programme and, therefore, they may not expect to encounter local people but, rather, to seek out new destinations or experiences within the security of the organised tour. (Cooper *et al*. 1998).

The second category, the new 'alternative' tourists, expect and seek out novelty; they want something more than just relaxation/recreation in general whilst, in particular, experiences resulting from interactions with locals is a specific expectation (Beeton 2006). This group may include backpackers who are looking for something inexpensive, independent travellers who have organised the trip themselves, or green / responsible / 'good' tourists who give precedence to environmental values whilst travelling (Popescu 2008). The final category comprises independent-mass tourists, who are a blend of both the traditional mass and new tourists. This group tends to include high numbers of domestic tourists who adopt more independent behaviour, booking or organising the trip by themselves, especially through the internet (Dale and Oliver 2007). However, their preferences are still in line with those of the mass tourist, such as staying in the middle- or upper-class accommodations or travelling in groups to popular attractions. Nevertheless, their trips are more flexible than those of mass tourists as they are able control their activities, which may also include more interaction with the locals.
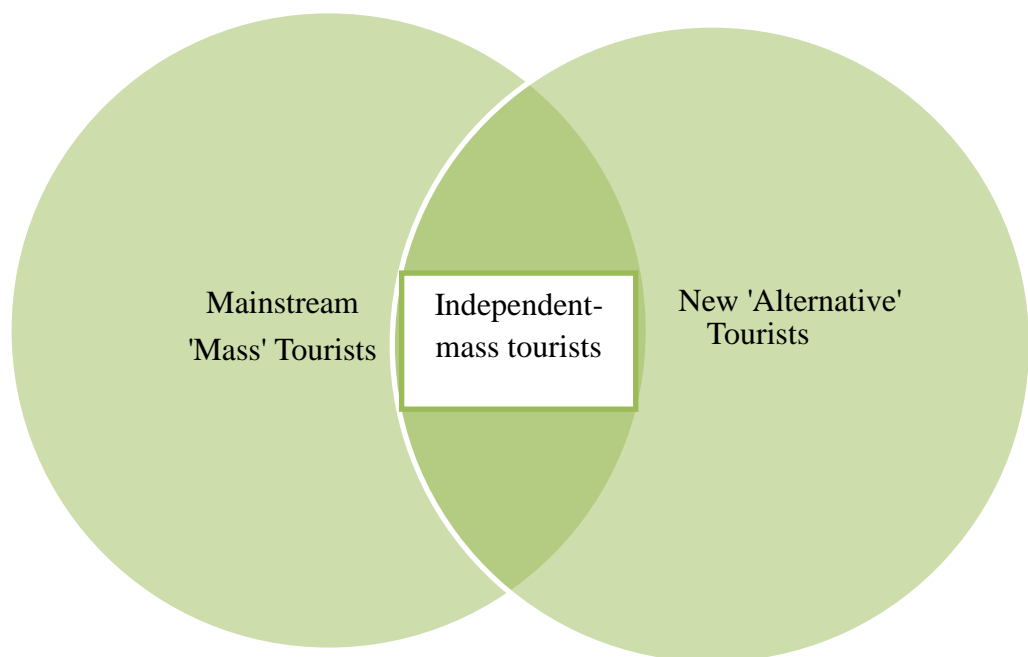
Figure 4.1 The scope of CBT tourists

Typologies of tourists describe the characteristics of tourists and are relevant to understanding the demand of tourism inasmuch as they categorised different tourist roles or behaviour. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is also necessary to review the reasons why they want to travel; that is, tourist motivation.

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4.3 Tourism demand process

Tourism demand is 'the foundation on which all tourism-related business decisions ultimately rest (Song and Witt 2000: 1). The process of tourism demand is concerned with making choices in travelling, that is, why and how tourists decide to participate in tourism, choices which are influenced by a variety of factors which may change over time. Moreover, the demand of tourism is also concerned with how tourists behave themselves (the roles they adopt), what tourism means to them, and why their 'taste' in tourism may change over time (Telfer and Sharpley 2008). Hence, understanding tourism demand is important as it is a starting point for the analysis of how and why tourism develops (Hall and Page 2006). It is also important not to equate demand with motivation; as discussed shortly, the demand for tourism is the outcome of motivation (Pearce 1992; Sharpley 2006b). Such demand, usually measured in terms of visitor numbers / arrivals, may be conceptualised as *effective or actual demand*; conversely, *suppressed demand or potential demand* is the number of people who, for whatever circumstances, are unable to engage in tourism though have the desire to do so, whilst *no demand* refers to people who have no desire to travel (Hall and Page 2006).

Murphy (1985) illustrates the demand process in his 'supply and demand characteristics of tourism', which proposes that demand emanates from a combination of motivations, perceptions, and expectations. Motivations, according to Murphy, can be *physical* (for example, relaxation or medical treatment, as well as the quality of food, drink, and accommodation); *cultural* (the desire to learn about foreign countries and customs); *social* (visits with relatives and friends and business trips); and *fantasy*. Motivations then connect to perceptions, which may be based upon past experiences, individual preferences and information or word-of-mouth from friends and relatives, media, or travel agencies. Finally, the tourist image is formed from perceptions and leads to expectations. Hence, the tourism demand process is a complex model following a number of stages.

Similarly, Sharpley (2006b) proposes a tourism demand process model, which comprises of four factors influencing five stages of the process (Figure 4.2). The four influencing factors are *personal* (socio-economic status, education, values/beliefs, time and family constraints); *external* (travel industry stimuli, destination pull, travel

stimuli/barriers); *social* (family influence, reference groups, social status); and *cultural* (dominance of consumer culture, culture of travel). These factors either separately or collectively interact with five stages of the demand process: (i) felt need or travel desire (including tourist motivation); (ii) information collection and evaluation: (iii) travel decision; (iv) travel preparation/experience; and (v) travel satisfaction evaluation, which in turn feeds back into subsequent demand processes.

Evidently, this and similar models (for example, Gilbert 1991; Goodall 1991; Schmoll 1977) tend to over-simplify a complex, multi-dimensional and often irrational process.

Figure 4.2: The tourism demand process
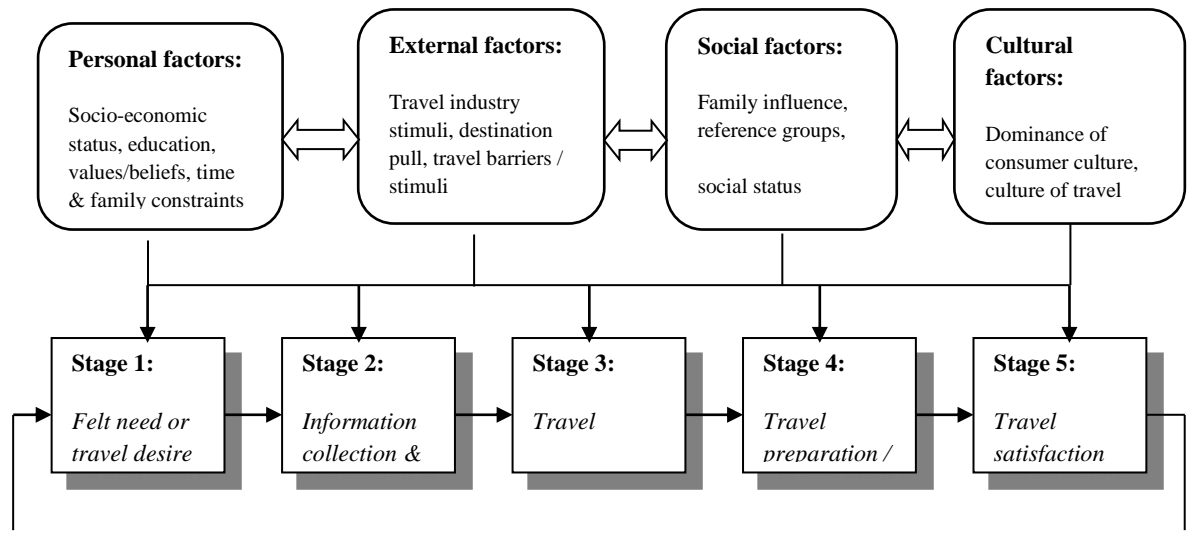
Source: Sharpley (2006b: 54)

As Sharpley (2008: 3-5) notes, 'the demand for tourism is, generally, neither a 'one-off event nor a simple, uni-directional circular process whereby previous travel experiences influence the motivation for , and supplement the information in, the next holiday decision process'. The distinction and direction between stages is not always as clear as suggested, whilst different factors may influence the process as tourists climb their travel career ladder (Pearce and Caltabiano 1983; Pearce 2005). Nevertheless, not only do they provide a framework for exploring the tourism demand process in general, but they highlight the significance of motivation in particular.

Within the tourism demand process, 'the importance of motivation ... is quite obvious. It acts as a trigger that sets off all events in travel' (Parrinello 1993). In other words, it is

motivation that provides the link between a need and action to satisfy that need; it is motivation that translates a need into goal-orientated behaviour. Therefore, therefore a consideration of motivation is vital because it represents the main influence on tourism demand patterns (Gilbert 1991). In the context of this thesis, tourist demand for CBT develops from specific individual needs; subsequently, a community-based destination that best meets those needs may be selected on the basis on the collection of information and evaluation. The actual experience of the will then be evaluated with respect to the extent that needs have been met, such as whether or not tourist was able learn from or interact with local communities or indigenous people.

4.4 Motivation: push and pull factors

As indicated above, demand is the outcome of tourist motivation, and many studies conceptualise tourist motivation in terms of push and pull factors (Bogari *et al.* 2004). Dann (1977) was one of the first to illustrate the importance of push and pull factors as influential forces in the tourism decision-making process. Simply stated, push factors relate to tourist motivation, whilst pull factors are connected with external elements of the tourism demand process; tourists are pushed by their own internal forces (motivation) and pulled by external forces of the destination attributes (Dann 1977).

Dann (1977) develops his concept of tourist motivation giving preference to push motives (Woodside 2008). In particular, he highlights two themes, namely 'anomie' and 'ego-enhancement' as important 'push' travel motives. Anomie represents the wish of tourists to 'get away from it all', to escape from the feeling of isolation in everyday life. In contrast, ego-enhancement is at the level of personal need, the need for social interaction in that people wish to be recognised, to feel better about themselves. The desire to enhance one's ego shares similar aspects with the need to improve or reinvigorate one's body (Dann 1977; Woodside 2008), as it links to the motives of relative status deprivation or prestige, including the need for people to be admired by their friends (Mill and Morrison 1985; Shaw and Williams 2002).

Similarly, Crompton (1979) identifies seven socio-psychological 'push' and two cultural 'pull' motives for travel. The push motives include: the escape from a perceived mundane environment; exploration and evaluation of self; relaxation; prestige;

regression; enhancement of kinship relationships; and, facilitation of social interaction. Conversely, the pull motives embrace novelty and education (Crompton 1979; Pizam and Mansfeld 1999).

Push and pull factors are widely referred to in tourism studies, although some assume them to be both associated with tourist motivation. However, as Pizam *et al*. (1979) argue, 'pull factors, in many cases, do not play any role in motivation since they are just common sense explanations of certain touristic activity' and 'they [pull factors] should be eliminated from the study of true tourism motivation' (Pizam *et al.* 1979: 195) Woodside 2008; 20). Therefore, the following discussion of tourist motivation focuses on push factors, whilst the subsequent section explores pull factors as an introduction to a review of destination image formation.

4.4.1 Tourist motivation as 'push' factors

Each individual has different reasons for do things, with motivation being a major determinant of behaviour (Buchanan and Huczynski 2004). Motivation is defined by Buchanan and Huczynski (2004: 244) as 'the cognitive, decision-making process through which goal-directed behaviour is initiated, energised, and directed and maintained'. In terms of tourism, understanding motivation can explain both why and how people want to travel and, hence, it is fundamental to tourism consumption (Telfer and Sharpley 2008) Consequently if we understand people's motivations, we can influence their behaviour (Buchanan and Huczynski 2004). It should be noted here that tourist motivation is different from travel purpose. For example, visiting relatives may be the purpose of travel, but the underlying motivation for this may be the desire to strengthen relationships or renew a relationship with a former partner (Weaver and Lawton 2006). Thus, tourist motivation is a complex process which may be related to both psychological and social – or intrinsic and extrinsic – factors (Ryan 1997); indeed, there has long been a debate within the tourism literature with respect to the psychological or social nature of motivation (Mannell and Iso-Ahola 1987).

On the one hand, it is argued that 'motivation is a purely psychological concept, not a social one' (Iso-Ahola 1982), and many texts on tourist motivation (e.g. Cooper *et al*. 1993; Page 2007; Weaver and Lawton 2006) draw on Maslow's (1954) widely-cited hierarchy of needs to explain how motivation is developed. Similarly, Pearce's (1988) travel career ladder model, referred to earlier in this chapter, details a hierarchy of

tourist motivations such as seek to satisfy the needs of relaxation, stimulation, personal relationship, self-esteem and development and, finally, self-fulfilment (Pearce 1988; Ryan 1997). Thus, applying Pearce's model to the context of community based-tourism, the basic lower-level needs, beyond simple relaxation, may be the need for a community experience in the form of novelty or external excitement. Once these lower-level needs have been accomplished, the individual will move on to the next level of needs (Buchanan and Huczynski, 2004). These higher-level needs might be the fulfilment of a dream, self-understanding, or an experience of inner peace and harmony, which in the case of CBT may be sought or indeed found through a community experience.

On the other hand, motivation may emanate from external social factors, such as social norms, values or pressures, which are then internalised and become psychological needs. Certainly, many of the recognised motives to participate in tourism are rooted in society or, rather, the need to temporarily escape, have a change of routine or in the need for what Iso-Ahola (1982) refers to as 'avoidance'. In other words, tourist motivation should be considered 'in terms of the (tourist) group of which the person deliberately or otherwise is a member' (Dann 1981: 199). At a broad level, extrinsic motivation may be thought of in functional terms: 'tourism is social therapy, a safety valve keeping the everyday world in good order' (Krippendorf 1986: 525). Equally, it may be driven by the alleged anomic, inauthentic condition of contemporary society; as MacCannell (1989: 3) argues, 'reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles'. Indeed, as discussed shortly, the search for authenticity may be a principal motivation for (Western) CBT tourists (section 4.7.2 below). At the same time, at the level of the individual tourist, a variety of social influences, whether the need to compensate for what is missing (Ryan 1991: 20), or responses to the influences of family, peer groups or others (Moutinho 1987), may be significant motives to participate in tourism.

A more detailed consideration of push factors is beyond the scope of this thesis (see, for example, Dann 1981; Sharpley 2008). The important point is, however, is that motivation determines goal-directed behaviour; it is what translates a need into action. Within tourism, those needs may be best satisfied by specific experiences or destinations and thus, as important as understanding motivation is the requirement to consider the destination image as a 'pull' factor. In other words, destination choice – that is, the choice of a destination or tourism experience that is considered by the tourist

to potentially best meet their needs) may be determined by both *internal* (e.g. images, perceptions, motives, attitudes and beliefs) and *external factors*, such as time, destination attributes, perceived costs of time product, buyer characteristics, and benefit sough. However, a key factor is the image of the destination that 'pulls' the tourist to make a choice (Sonmez and Sirakaya 2002).

4.4.2 Tourism destination image as a 'pull' factor

As conceptualised in Figure 4.2 above, pull factors may be considered to be the external factors that influence tourist destination choices, such as media, information from friends and family, and tourism destination image. In Oppermann's (2000) model of interactions between choice and experience, destination image results from travel experience and drives both destination choice as well as destination loyalty. Destination choice leads to travel experience and, thus, all the factors link together within a contributive cycle.

It has long been recognised that a critical factor when choosing a holiday is the image of the destination (Britton 1979; Mathieson and Wall 1982; Mayo and Jarvie 1981). A tourist receives information from sources that he or she finds credible and on which he or she will act and select a destination (McCartney *et al.* 2008). This information and such sources are mediated by the media, literature, arts and popular culture and will gradually form the tourist's image of a destination (Cohen-Hattab and Kerber 2004). Moreover, destination image not only directly affects demand-side aspects, or tourist behaviour and like tourist behaviour decision making (Hunt 1975; Tasci and Gartner 2007) but is also fundamental to supply-side, marketing-related activities, such as positioning and promotion (Calantone *et al.* 1989; Tasci and Gartner 2007). Therefore, as communities are destinations where tourists visit or spend time, understanding tourists' perceptions (or destination image) of CBT destinations is essential in order to formulate efficient tourism strategies and to develop community-based tourism. In short, it is argued that a clear understanding of travellers' images of a destination is important to developing successful marketing and positioning strategies (Sirakaya *et al.* 2001).

4.4.2.1 Definitions and functions of destination image

Image is defined as 'the mental conception held in common by members of a group and symbolic of a basic attitude and orientation' (Crompton 1979; Sonmez and Sirakaya 2002). More specifically, destination image is recognised as 'the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that a person has of a destination' (Crompton 1979; Tasci and Gartner 2007). Destination images may vary according to situational, political and geographical factors (Andreu *et al.* 2000; Britton 1979; Calantone *et al*. 1989; Crompton 1977; Ehemann 1977; Haahti and Yavas 1983; Kale and Weir 1986; Pearce 1982a; Phelps 1986; Sonmez and Sirakaya 2002; Telisman-Kosuta 1989), it is multidimensional and comprises both symbolic and tangible features (Echtner and Ritchie 1993; MacKay and Fesenmaier 2000). The conceptualisation of destination image embraces both the destination's salient attributes and holistic impressions (Echtner and Ritchie 1991; Tapachai and Waryszak 2000). Destinations with positive images can be expected to prosper while those with less favourable images may never achieve their fullest tourism potential (Fakeye and Crompton 1991; Sirakaya *et al.* 2001).

Destination image and specific destination attributes have been found to influence consumer behaviour variables related to before, during, and after destination visitation (Chen and Hsu 2000; Chen and Kertetter 1999; Court and Lupton 1997; Ross 1993; Schoreder 1996; Tasci and Gartner 2007). Thus, an understanding of destination image formation is crucial.

4.4.2.2 Destination image formation

Destination image is defined as a construction of a mental representation of a destination on the basis of information cues delivered by image formation agents and selected by a person (Alhemoud and Armstrong 1996; Bramwell and Rawding 1996; Court and Lupton 1997; Gartner 1993; Gunn 1972; Tasci and Gartner 2007; Young 1999). Both Gunn (1972) and Gartner (1993) propose models of how guests develop or form their image of a destination.

Gunn (1988) explains the seven stages of destination image formation from the tourist's travel experience, including:

1. Accumulation of mental images about vacation experiences
2. Modification of those images by further information

3. Decision to take a vacation trip

4. Travel to the destination

5. Participation at the destination

6. Return home

7. Modification of images based on the vacation experience

Within these phases, and distinct from the stages in which tourist needs to engage destination themselves, stages 1 and 2 are based on secondary images (Beerli and Martin 2004; Phelps 1986). Drawing on 'dimorphic theory', Gunn (1972) suggests that the first stage is labelled as 'organic images'; that is, visitors hold images of the destination image generated from non-touristic and non-commercial sources. Such sources are not controlled by destination marketers (Tasci and Gartner 2007) and implicitly, they are unbiased (O'Leary and Degan 2005) and may include sources such as the general media (news reports, magazines, books, movies), education (school courses-history and geography books) and the opinions of family/friends (Echtner and Ritchie 2003). Conversely, at stage 2, the tourist draws on more commercial sources of information, such as travel brochures, travel agents and travel guidebooks, collectively promotional images derived from marketing and promotional material (O'Leary and Deegan 2005). Consequently, when the tourist accesses the additional sources of those commercial sources, his or her organic images may be modified. Hence, these two stages are related as organic images may be influenced by outside source or, as they are refrred to, 'induced images' (Echtner and Ritchie 2003). However, according to Gunn's model, stage 7 is fundamantal to image formation. At this stage, destination image is labelled as first-hand experience (Echtner and Ritchie 2003) or the primary image that is formed by actual experience of destination (Beerli and Martin 2004). The final stage is, arguably, the most important as the destination images at this stage tend to be more realistic, complex, and differentiated (Chon 1987; Echtner and Ritche 2003; Murphy and Hodel 1980; Pearce 1982a; Phelps 1986). However, it should be noted that the actual experiences will influence the perceived images depending on the number of visits and their duration including the degree of involvement with the place during the stay.

In the context of this study, the perceived organic and induce images, as secondary sources, can be seen as the pull factors driving tourists' decisions to visit Pai. However

tourists also gained actual experiential images when they engaged with the destination, and these are likely to have influenced perceived images at different levels depending on the length of time spent in Pai and on their degree of involvement with the community and destination. Overall, as actual experiential images can portray more realistic images, not only will this research seek to identify pull factors that brought tourists to Pai, but also to examine those primary images and whether they can be linked to the evidence of CBT in the destination in order to better understanding the recent perceptions from visitors, the demand side as it is the aim of the research.

To understand sources where images are performed, Gartner (1993) expands Gunn's (1972) image typology into a continuum consisting of eight distinct components (McCartney *et al*. 2008). His continuum differs on cost-effectiveness, credibility, and market penetration of the information sources, and includes the following information sources:

Overt induced I: traditional forms of media: televisions, radios, brochures;

Overt induced II : information received or requested from tour operators, wholesalers, and organisations;

Covert induced I: the use of recognisable spokespersons;

Covert induced II: articles, reports, or stories by travel writers who utilise familiarisation tours;

Autonomous agents: independently produced reports, documentaries, movies, and news articles;

Unsolicited organic: unrequested information from individuals who have been to an area or believe they know what exists there;

Solicited organic: information from friends and relatives about what exists at the destinations;

Organic: information acquired based on previous travel to the area.

Although there are many influences on destination image, personal recommendations (word-of-mouth and suggestions from family and friends) are usually mentioned as the most credible sources of information on the destination (McCartney *et al*. 2008; Sussman and Unel 1999). At the same time, direct experience or past experience of the

destination is important because tourists with previous experience tend to search for less information from external sources (Lin *et al.* 2007; Mazursky 1989).

Based on the studies of Gunn (1972) and Gartner (1993), Govers *et al*. (2007) propose a tourism destination image formation model in order to identify elements that have a dynamic influence on how the perceived destination image is formulated in the mind of the consumer and to provide the basis for a detailed deconstruction of the destination image paradigm (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: The model of destination image formation
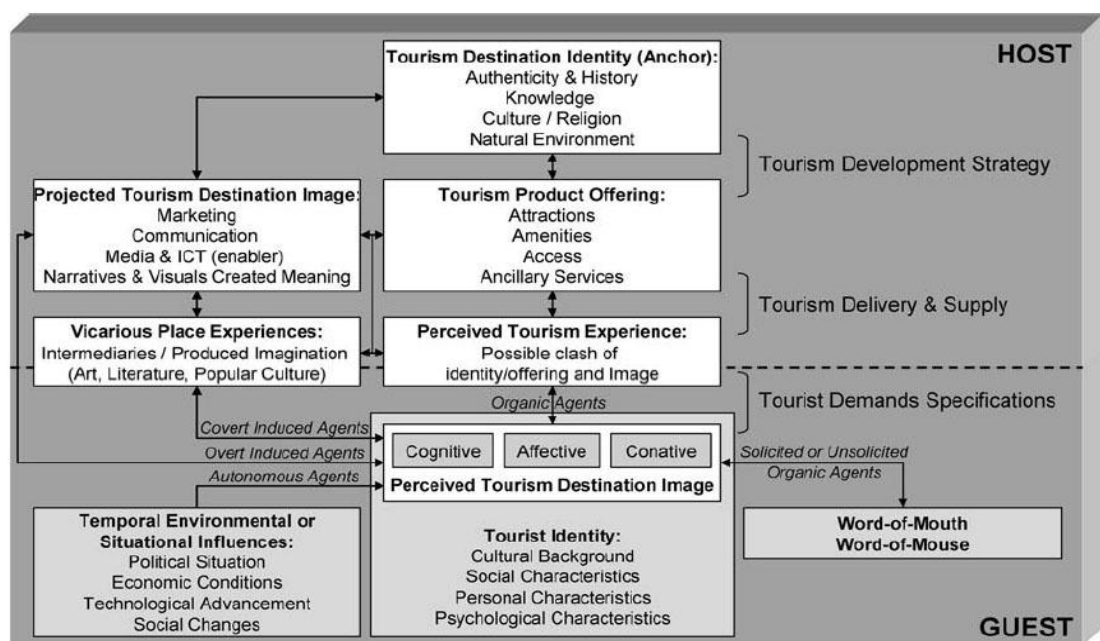
Source: Govers *et al.* (2007)

According to this model, the roles of host are to both provide a tourism development strategy and the delivery and supply of tourism. This can be related to CBT in particular as this tourism development strategy formulates a CBT 'product', commercialising the offer using the identity and the authenticity of place, (staged or real) (MacCannell 1973; Govers *et al.* 2007). This may include the indigenous cultures of community along with destination characteristics, such landscape, attractions, infrastructures and ancillary services in the community (Bonn *et al*. 2005). In this stage, in order to form a perceived tourism experience, planned marketing and communication may create and reinforce information sources through possible destination image creation tools such as media,

advertising, use of the internet (Govers *et al*. 2007) to provide CBT and community information.

At the same time, tourists may draw on various information sources or experiences (Kim and Richardson, 2003; Govers *et al.* 2007), such as arts, literature, or popular culture in the form of motion pictures, TV shows, or music (Cohen-Hattab and Kerber 2004; Govers *et al.* 2007). Moreover, for visitors, the perceptions of CBT may not only emerge or develop from factors that the host offers, but also from their own *tourist identities*: their cultural background, there social, personal and psychological characteristics, and from temporal environmental or situational influences, such as the political situation, economic conditions, technological advancement and social changes. These influences, combined with the word-of- mouth and 'word-of-mouse' and factors offered by the host will finally produce the perceived tourism destination image (Govers *et al.* 2007). Nevertheless, tourism planners should not only be concerned with manipulating the destination image to encourage potential visitors, but should also focus on understanding and harnessing existing images that potential travellers already possess about their destination (Ahmed 1991; Bonn *et al.* 2005; Calantone *et al.* 1989).

4.4.2.3 Limitations

Although image-information is a dynamic process, tourists can create destination images based on their various temporal environmental or situational influences and their identity. Unique destination images are formed depending on tourists' perceptions of the strength of cognitive and affective attributes (Lin *et al*. 2007). Gartner (1993), Pike and Ryan (2004) and Russell and Pratt (1980) indicate that tourists form destination images through a hierarchy of components, starting from cognitive, through affective to conative. The cognitive component consists of the sum of beliefs and knowledge about a destination, mainly focusing on tangible physical attributes (Lin *et al.* 2007; Pike and Ryan 2004), while affective components are the motivation for the tourist's preference for destination selection. This represents the feelings about a destination by adopting a description of an affective quality attribute to environment (Lin *et al.* 2007; Russell and Pratt 1980) The conative component is an action component to formulise the image (Gartner 1993). Moreover, Hanna and Wozniak (2001) argue that the conative or behavioural component is part of these attributes, as it is a person's action tendency or intentions with respect to a destination. Hence, these three components are related to

one another and form the individual destination image which possibly leads to tourist behaviour.

Furthermore, Gartner (1989) and Calantone *et al*. (1989) propose that image perceptions of past visitors could differ across attributes and across country of origin. In consequence, it should be noted that people from different backgrounds and cultural orientations have different image perceptions of destinations (Berlyne 1977; Bonn *et al*. 2005; Britton 1979; Buck 1977; Thurot and Thurot 1983). Bonn *et al*.'s (2005) findings indicate that, despite the technological revolution and the influence of globalisation, differing cultural backgrounds still lead to different image perceptions. For example, international visitors may have higher service image expectations and standards, and they place more importance on environmental factors, more so than domestic visitors (Bonn *et al*. 2005).

4.5 Tourists' perception

The previous discussion was associated with tourist motivation and destination image formation, or the push and pull factors inherent in tourism demand. However, it is also important to consider the notion of tourist perception, because it is through this that tourists develop a picture in their mind (the destination image) from their individual selection, management, and stimuli decoder processes.

4.5.1 Process of tourists' perception

Perception is defined as 'the process by which an individual selects, organises and interprets stimuli into a meaningful and coherent picture of the world; at the same time, an individual's perceptions are based on their personal own needs, values, and expectations' (Schiffman and Kanuk 2000). They are shaped by the physical characteristics of stimuli, the context, and the individual perceiving of the stimuli, thus, a person's past learning, attitudes, personality, self-image and current motivations and emotions shape perception (Lennon *et al*. 2000). Positive perception reinforces the selection of the tourist destination (McLellan and Foushee 1983; Reisinger and Turner 2003), including positive perceptions through destination hosts (Reisinger and Turner 2003). Carinthia's model by the tourist board of Carinthia, Austria, commissioned a research project on the travel behaviour of the residents of the other Austrian provinces

was adapted by Lennon *et al*. (2000) to demonstrate how perceptual influence is related to behavioural intention, to which the driving constructs are represented by external sources or information sources, such as the Internet, news, travel brochures and internal sources or experiences, including word of mouth and previous experience. Reisinger and Turner (2003: 11) classify perceptions in tourism as:

- Perception of other people (for example, tourist perceptions of hosts and host perceptions of tourists)

- Perceptions of one's own (tourists' perceptions of themselves and hosts' perceptions of themselves)
- Perceptions of the perceptions, called meta-perceptions, indicate how others perceive how they are perceived (tourist perceptions of how they are perceived by hosts).

However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is the perceptions of other people, western and domestic tourist perceptions through community-based tourism destination, and the perception of one's own as their perceptions of being responsible tourists that are analysed.

As observed previously in the context of destination image, perception and destination image are unavoidably related to each other as both have an influence on consumer behaviour. Perceptions of a destination image could differ by needs, wants and behaviours depending on market segment, touring experience, motivations and touring style (Obenour *et al*. 2005). As a result, tourists' perceptions toward destination image may vary significantly according to an individual's personal perception process as illustrated in Figure 4.4 below.

Based on Buchanan and Huczynski's (2004) process, 'bottom-up' processing has an influential role in the first step, where, the tourist acquires information of destination as a sensory input. This incoming raw data can be from any source. Subsequently, the individual will select key information about destination which is received from external factors and internal factors. From the process of perception, it is possible to link with push and pull factors at stage two. Selective attention refers to pull factors; the stimulus can be information from friends and relatives, media or literature, while internal factors

are driven from motivational 'push' expectation as it comes from the individual, and comprises learning, personality and motivation.

Consequently, 'top-down' processing is developed. At this stage, perceptual organisation and interpretation interact forming the behavioural response of the tourists towards what they will perceive about destination later. Hence, at this stage, an individual encodes information and has a feedback in attitudes and behaviours towards the destination (Cooper *et al*. 1998). Following this process, selective attention is the

Figure 4.4: Perception process
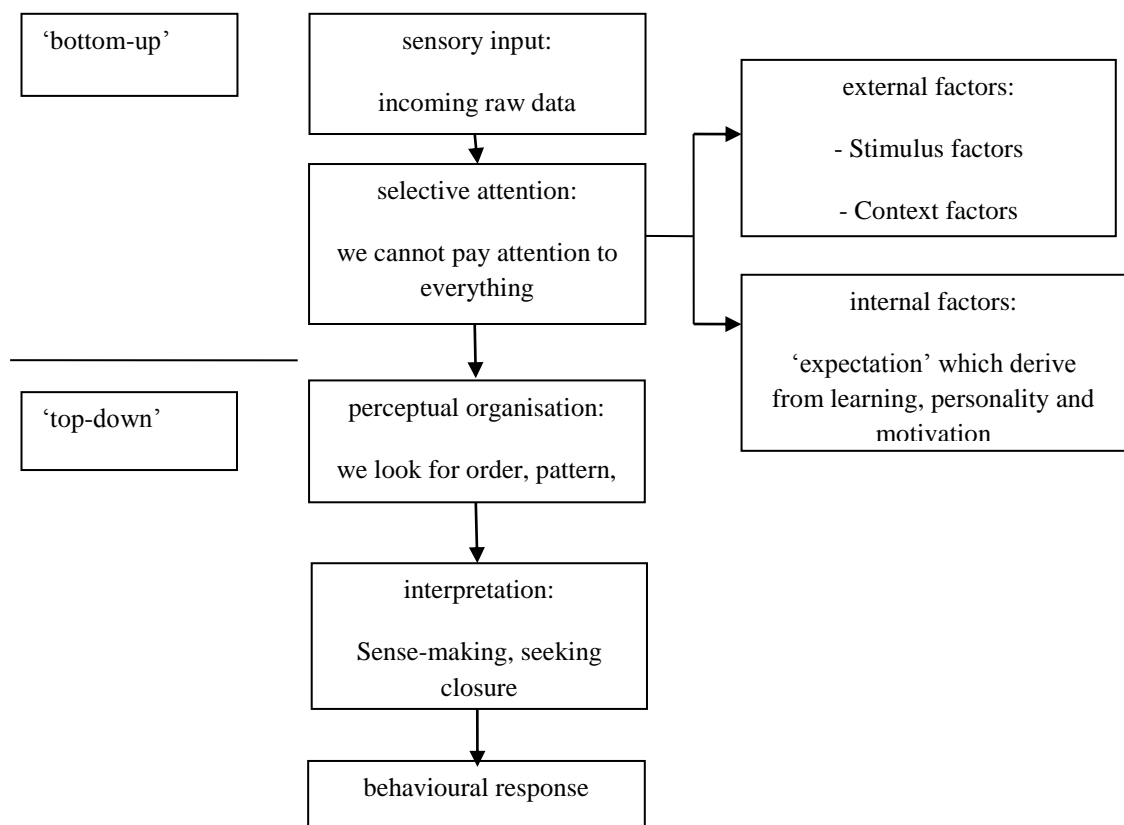
Source: Adapted from Buchanan and Huczynski's (2004) elements in the process of perception and the external and internal factors influencing selective attention.

major factor influencing different tourist perceptions. However, it has been argued that perception can be originated without experience and knowledge of the object or person, unlike attitude development which occurs during the process of learning and acquiring

knowledge (Moutinho 1987; Reisinger and Turner 2003). This means that tourists can develop a perception of a destination prior to visitation (Reisinger and Turner 2003). In other words, perception can be created from the sensory input. After the tourist processes selective attention which they receive from external and internal factors, he or she will look for the meaning and interpret it again to finally generate feedback, which in this context is the perception of the destination. An individual's different perceptions are formed by different external and internal factors forming selective attention (Buchanan and Huczynski 2004).

4.5.2 Limitations of tourist perception: influence of different cultures

As described in the previous section, different external and internal factors are present in forming the selective attention which influences people's different perceptions. In this thesis, which focuses on the different perceptions of community based-tourism held by international and domestic tourists, personal constructs, and different cultures and values should therefore be considered as they impact on different perceptions. Kelly (1955) explains the reason why an individual has his or her own beliefs, values and concepts; people construct their words in their world on an individual basis, so that they personally construct reality or the truth. These beliefs, values and concepts are gained from experiences in learning, socialisation, politics, including cultures and so on. Hence, even people who live in the same country may have different perceptions due to personal life experience.

Culture is defined as '*the set of values, attitudes and beliefs shared by such a group, which sets the standards of behaviour required for continued acceptance and successful participation in that group…it is learned by newcomers from more-experienced predecessors, and members of a culture sharing common experiences and a heritage that establishes and reinforces common values*' (Scarborough 1998). Values, as part of cultures, are significant as they form the basis of perceptions and role behaviour by socialisation (Lanchman *et al.* 1995); people's values motivate their behaviours to act in ways they believe (Rokeach 1973; Scarborough 1998). Hence, it can be assumed that the set of values, attitudes and beliefs performed as 'culture' can, in general, shape the homogenous perceptions and behaviour of the society. In terms of tourists, particularly in the context of Thailand as the context of the empirical research in this thesis, Western

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and domestic tourists are from different backgrounds and different cultures and, therefore, their perceptions towards destinations will be dissimilar.

4.6 National culture as an influence of different perceptions of tourists

As previously discussed, culture is a set of values that influences people within the same society to share values, beliefs and attitudes and behave in the similar ways according to common perceptions. However, culture has different levels which are supra-national, national, professional, organisational and group cultures (Hofestede 1991). According to Traiandis (1989), in terms of national culture, the composition nation is powerful in determining or shaping people's perceptions, dominations, and behaviours, and sharing of ideas such as language, history, shared mass media and market sources.

In order to explore people's perceptions and behaviours in different countries and cultures, many comparative studies have adopted cross-cultural studies into their research (Dann *et al*. 1998). Most draw on Hofstede's (2001) model of national culture, in which he proposes five dimensions of differences within each country:

power distance: the length of hierarchies and the degree of unequal distribution of power that is accepted by members of a society;

uncertainty avoidance: in countries or societies which have strong uncertainty avoidance, the lives of members are structured and rigid as they perceive what is different is dangerous. Conversely, societies which are weak in uncertainty avoidance are seen as being flexible, easy going and open to change;

individualism-collectivism: the tendency of people in countries to take care of themselves and one's family versus the tendency to work together as groups for the collective good;

masculinity-femininity: masculine values predominate versus femininity that shows sensitivity and concern for the weak, including warm personal relationships, others' welfare and the quality of life;

short-term versus long-term orientation: the ability to pursue long-term and general goals, such as persistence and money saving versus short-term gain and advantage such

as fulfilling social obligations and respect for tradition. Table 4.2 demonstrates the levels of cultural dimensions for selected Western countries compared with those in Thailand, the focus of this thesis.

As is evident in Table 4.2, each country has distinctive cultural dimensions. However, it is suggested that the Western countries tend to share the similar aspects of low power

Table: 4.2: Evaluation of selected countries on Hofstede's five value dimensions

	Power distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertain avoidance	Long term orientation
Australia	Low	Very High	High	Medium	Low
Austria	Very Low	Medium	High	High	Low
Denmark	Very Low	High	Very Low	Low	Medium
France	High	High	Medium	Very High	Low
Germany	Low	High	High	High	Low
Ireland	Low	High	High	Low	Medium
Netherlands	Low	High	Very Low	Medium	Medium
Norway	Low	High	Very Low	Medium	Medium
Sweden	Low	High	Very Low	Low	Very Low
United Kingdom	Low	Very high	High	Low	Low
USA	Medium	Very high	High	Medium	Low
Thailand	**High**	**Low**	**Low**	**High**	**Medium**

Source: Hofstede (2001)

distance and high individualistic with low or medium uncertain avoidance (except Austria, France and Germany) and low or medium long-term orientation. On the other hand, Thai culture shares the common aspects of high power distance and collectivism with other Asian countries such China, Japan and Korea, so Asian people are more likely to have similar behaviour or perceptions (Reisinger 2009). Although the primary purpose of Hofstede's national culture model was to explain organisational culture in a business context, it has been used subsequently in many fields, including tourism. There are many studies adapted from Hofstede's model to explain the different behaviours or perceptions of the different nations, in which the five dimensions connected to tourist behaviour are as follows:

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Power Distance: Asian tourists, who are from the higher power distance countries compared with tourists from Western countries, prefer to have shorter trips and tend to have strong dependency relationship between parents and children, managers and employees, teachers and students. On the other hand, western tourists from the low power distance countries are more likely to be independent (Farahani and Mohamed 2012). Moreover, Asian cultures display higher power distance; hence Asian tourists are more likely to perceive themselves in higher regard than their service providers compared to Western cultures. Asian visitors have higher expectation in service performance and, as a result, may be more difficult to please (Manrai and Manrai 2011).

Uncertainty avoidance: tourists who are from the low uncertainty avoidance countries will be more flexible and more accepting of risk factors than tourists from the high uncertainty avoidance. A contrast can be seen between tourists from high uncertainty avoidance who search for destination information from their reliable sources such friends, relatives, state and city travel offices and tourist operators, and low uncertainty avoidance tourists who prefer external sources such travel guides, advertisements on TV and radio (Litvin *et al*. 2004; Reisinger 2009). High uncertainty avoidance tourists also spend more time on trip research, searching for information about the destinations they are travelling to, using different sources of information, traveling on prepaid tours or in larger groups, visiting fewer destinations for shorter durations of time (Farahani and Mohamed 2012).

Individualism versus Collectivism: In general, while 'collectivism' tourists prefer an organised destination and group package tours (similar to Cohen's (1972) institutionalised tourist), individualist tourists are more inclined to search for novelty (Manrai and Manrai 2011). With respect to behaviour, collectivist tourists seem more similar with their shopping behaviour than individualist tourists (Woodside and Anh 2007); the individualist seeks status oriented products to represent their success according to social standards whereas, in contrast, the collectivist tourist may purchase items which confirm the social expectation. For example, Kim and Choi's (1994) research underlines the behaviour of collectivist tourists who concentrate on purchasing environmentally friendly products, hence this group may be considered more co-operative. Conversely, individualists are more concerned with focus on personal goals (Farahani and Mohamed 2012).

Masculinity versus Feminity: People from high masculine countries are more inclined to seek success and achievement, unlike people from lower masculine countries who are more concerned with, for example, quality of life and relationships. In the context of tourism, tourists from high masculine countries express strong reflection when evaluating travel services unlike less masculine cultures who are more loyal (Reisinger 2009).

Long-term versus Short-term Orientation: It is suggested that people from the West are likely to have short-term orientation, with the exception of the Dutch who have medium scores, while East Asians have long-term orientation (Hofstede 2001). Hence, according to de Mooij (2010), East Asian tourists hold values of stability, thrift, tradition and the future respect, as is shown through predominant behaviours such as more concern with spending money on trips than the Western tourists (Farahani and Mohamed 2012).

Even though tourists from different cultures and countries display different behaviours, they normally use the same facilities, visit similar destinations and have common touristsic lifestyles (Telfer and Sharpley 2008; Wall and Mathieson 2006). This may be defined as 'tourist culture', the culture that tourists bring on vacation, which may be influences by their own ideas or the culture of their country (Reisinger and Turner 2003). Wearing *et al.* (2010) further observe that tourist culture consists of tourists' selves, their spaces and experiences. This tourist culture has been widely spread across destinations due to the globalisation of tourism. As a result, tourists tend to have similar patterns of tourism consumption based on Cohen's (1972) different typologies of tourists, including familiar tourist values. Thus, Western tourists arguably share the similar tourist value of searching for' authenticity', the 'tourist gaze', and 'otherness' which are actually by the supra-national culture of the West.

4.7 Influential values on western tourists

4.7.1 Supra-national culture
It has been argued that tourists from the West share the common characteristic, rooted in the Protestant and romantic traditions, of an interest in travelling to developing countries which are exotic and 'authentic' in nature and culture (van Egmond 2007). It has been indicated that although people behave according to their own (national)

cultures, people from many countries and states share a common culture (across national boundaries). This may be referred to as 'supra-national culture', a description that is evident within Christianity, with people from most of Europe, North America and Australasia sharing similar a culture, while others may be based on Confucianism (Brooks 2009). Likewise, Reisinger and Turner (2003) refer to many studies (for example, Horowitz 1985; Jandt 1998; Lustig and Kester 1993; Schneider and Barsoux 1997; Samouvar *et al.* 1998) that explain how a dominant culture can restrict human behaviour and what it retrieves from subculture based on race, ethnicity, geographic region or economic or social class.

People from different races, dissimilar ethnicities 'identified by sharing different colour, language, religion, or some other attribute of common origin' (Horowitz 1985: 41), distinctive geographical regions and economic and social classes tend to have a different set of values and expectations. Nevertheless, they may share a language, history and religion and have common cultural systems. However, although they might share a dominant culture, or supra-national culture, it should be noted that the minor subculture of each country is different in detail. For example, Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Norway and Denmark place a higher value on the feminine than than Great Britain (Hofstede 2001). Van Egmond (2007) argues that religion, social environment, and economics have a significant influence on socialising Western people to hold similar values, especially religious. For example, the Puritan perspective disciplined people to work hard under God in their in lives. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, tourism became the normal activity as a means of taking a break from those routine working lives, in order to seek a pleasure through hedonism (France 1997; Urry 1990). However, the emphasis shifted to seeking novelty, searching for authenticity (Egmond 2007), and many tourists visiting developing countries seeking the 'untouched' and/ or the 'exotic' (Scheyvens 2002). Thus, western tourists with a supra-national culture emanating from Christianity tend to hold similar tourism values, in these terms, searching for authenticity by travelling around the developing countries.

Similarly, the theme of 'otherness' may also be considered in this context. The perceptions of developing countries has been developed since colonialisation and imperialism when the West subordinated aboriginal peoples and analysed the pervasive ethnocentrism of their cultures and their destructive forms of cultural contact when they

were able to dominate those countries (Schwab 1996). The perception of these countries subsequently shifted away from negative to a postive perspective as the native way of life became perceived as exotic, combined with the feelings of genuine, pure and innocent which were missing from Western society (Huggun, 2001). Thus, most Western tourists arguably share the common perceptions of undeveloped countries as an opportunity or quest for authenticity, for something genuine which is shaped from their ethnocentrism. However, it should be noted that searching for authenticity cannot be the sole explanation for all tourist motivation and tourist experience (Wang 2000) as sometimes their motivation and experiences are [upon their] personal rather than shared supra-national culture.

4.7.2 Authenticity and exoticism

Many studies exploring authenticity (for example, Byron and Derre 2008; Kontogeorgopoulos 2003; Leigh *et al.* 2006; van Egmond 2007; Wearing *et al.* 2010) consider the meanings and functions of authenticity within tourism, typically drawing on the work of MacCannell (1973, 1976), Cohen (1979) and Wang (1999, 2000), each of whom adopts a different perspective on the concept. As is evident from Govers *et al.*'s (2007) tourism destination image formation process (See Figure 4.3), authenticity falls within the 'tourism destination identity' and, hence can be considered a key destination attraction. MacCannell (1973) may be thought of as the pioneer in exploring authenticity within the tourism context; it was he who first suggested that the search for authenticity is a principal motivation for tourism, explaining why and how tourists would like to experience the destination (van Egmond 2007). MacCannell's argument is that tourists consume and place a relative degree of value on tourism experiences based on the pursuit of authenticity, authenticity thus providing the context for an aesthetic of tourists' experiences. Furthermore, authenticity also represents an important tool for certain tourists engaging in a quest, or competition, to achieve status and distinction (Kontogeorgupoulos 2003) – though it is important to note that MacCannell goes on to argue that authenticity is staged and, as a consequence, tourists inevitably fail in their pursuit of authentic experiences. Nevertheless [therefore], it is necessary to explore authenticity in the context of community-based tourism as it may represent what tourists are looking for in with respect to sightseeing and experience in CBT destinations.

Although MacCannell's (1973, 1976) work on authenticity is widely referred to, the concept of authenticity remains somewhat ambiguous. Consequently, Wang (2000) proposes three types of authenticity, distinguishing between objective, constructive and existential authenticity (Byron and Derre 2008; Wang 2000). Firstly *Objective authenticity* is centred on the travel experience and on places and cultures (Wearing *et al*. 2010), and refers to the 'genuineness' of places or events experienced by tourists. From this perspective, an authentic experience is one where the tourist experiences something that is 'real' or 'genuine' as opposed to one that has, in MacCannell's (1973) terms, been, 'staged' for tourist consumption (Byron and Derre 2008; MacCannell 1973; Wang 1999). Thus, MacCannell's interpretation of authenticity is based on an object's or experience's degree of originality (Leigh *et al*. 2006). The second perspective on authenticity is Cohen's (1979) *constructive authenticity*, which is similar to objective authenticity but which argues that the authenticity of places or events experienced is a social construction (Cohen 1979; van Egmond 2007). That is, it is argued that authenticity is a quality perceived by individuals which emerges from their own personal experiences (Leigh *et al*. 2006). Things appear authentic not because they are so, but because they are constructed as such in terms of social viewpoints, beliefs perspectives, (van Egmond 2007; Wang 2000). In short, they are believed to be authentic.

However, according to Wang (2000), both perspectives consider only object-related authenticity, implying the existence of a relationship between the culture of the sightseer and the significance of the sight that is visited (Gillen 2001). Thus, Wang (1999) proposes the notion of *existential authenticity*, which is a state of being activated by tourist activities (Byron and Derre 2008; Wang 1999). Such activities allow tourists to 'keep a distance from, or transcend, daily lives' and thereby find their 'true selves' (Kontogeorgopoulos 2003). This term is grounded in postmodernism, which views consumers as actively seeking the staged experience as an extension of the value they place on eclectic and aesthetic enjoyment (Leigh *et al*. 2006; Urry 1990). Thus, authenticity is related to tourists' motivations as it provides self-fulfilment and relaxation but can be perceived in distinctive ways. For example, tourists are mainly driven by a desire for 'real' experiences, be they restful sun-sea-sand vacations, cultural exchanges with the 'other', or authentic, natural and emotional interactions between friends or family members (Kotogeorgopoulos 2003; Wang 1999).

According to Wang (1999), existential authenticity can be sub-divided into two categories, namely, 'nostalgia' and 'romanticism' as a basis for motivating travel. Nostalgia may be associated with childhood, having a sense of greater freedom and spontaneity and being more true to themselves. Thus, people seek to be tourists in order to rekindle those feelings and sense of freedom, even if just symbolically or for a short period. Conversely, Romanticism is concerned with a taste of and passion for landscape and nature which is more often than not suppressed by more rational or logical thinking. It only emerges when the tourist escapes the everyday environment and modern mindset and, hence, tourists seek an idyllic landscape which is possibly part of a collective memory of different people. Thus, such 'romantic' existential authenticity may be relevant to nature, green or rural tourism (Wang 1999).

Exotic is an alternative term to 'authentic' that widely used in the context of developing or Third-World destinations (Sheyvens 2002). For example, Thailand is one of many countries which is considered to be an exotic destination for visitors from the 'West', as for decades tourists have sought to experience cultural authenticity there (Kontogeorgopoulos 2003). Indeed, the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) has made exoticism a central marketing strategy, using 'Thailand - The Most Exotic Country in Asia' as one of its promotional slogans (Cohen 2001; Kontogeorgopoulous 2003). Exotic is associated with authenticity, according to Huggan (2001). In his work *The Post-Colonial Exotic, Marketing the Margins*, he refers to studies by Arac and Ritvo (1991), Fosters (1982), Gallini (1996), Root (1996), Said (1993) and Wasserman (1994) to explain exoticism as it is particularly described in the mode of aesthetic perception; it produces and evokes a sense of otherness at various times and in different places. However, it vacillates between the opposite sides of strangeness and familiarity. In addition, exoticism can be related to imperial power. Hence, it can be assumed that the search for authenticity / the exotic is a key factor in (Western) tourists visiting developing countries; it underpins their search for something different, to find their true selves which they are unable to find in their daily lives, to experience something which they consider as 'real' or, more simply, to experience the 'other'.

4.7.3 The 'other'

Beyond the concept of the search for authenticity and the exotic, Aitchison (2001) argues that there is an 'unsigned colonialist and gendered hegemony' invested in

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tourism promotion of tropical destinations by the West for the West and a consequent feminisation and 'othering' of people and places (Aitchison 2001: White 2007). Western people fantasise about 'otherness', as many tourists visiting developing countries are seeking the 'untouched' and/ or the 'exotic' (Scheyvens 2002). As exotic constitutes mere 'difference and strangeness' (Lindenbaum 2004; White 2007), it might be assumed that the countries in the 'Third World' are conceptualised by the 'West' as the 'other'. Tourists for MacCannell are those who feel alienated by the routine life of highly industrialised/ modernised societies and those who have a persistent quest for authenticity elsewhere (Chan 2006). Cohen (1979) illustrates that many moderns are alienated from their society. His phenomenological typology of tourist experiences specifies the different meanings that the interest in and appreciation of the culture, social life and natural environment of others can have for the individual traveller (Cohen 1979; van Egmond 2007). Mowforth and Munt (2003:73) explain the privileging process of 'othering' in the very quest for authenticity as:

Otherness clearly involves a process of reflection. Other cultures and environments are everything that our cultures and environments are not. Thus, western lifestyles can be denigrated as empty, culturally unfulfilling, materialistic, meaningless, while on the contrary, Third World cultures are bestowed with meaning, richness, simplicity and, of course, authenticity.

The concept of the 'other' or 'otherness' can explain the reason why local people in developing countries may be inferior in Western perceptions as it represents the linkage with ethnocentrism as a belief of Western people in their own cultural superiority; that their customs, traditions, beliefs and behavioural practices are better than those of other cultures (Reisinger and Turner 2003). It can therefore be associated with Said's definition of 'Orientalism', defined as a 'Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient (Mackenzie 1995; Said 1978: 3). This notion of otherness is transmitted by a variety of social practices, such as the media, education, academia, law and government, and hence is part of the social imaginary of everyone of every society (Seaton 2009).

Nevertheless, although otherness has been critiqued as malign way of imaging and representing the culture of developing countries, it does not mean that all Europeans are

unsympathetic to other cultures. Indeed, the fascination of Europeans when they travel or reside as imperial occupants in foreign lands is evident as they can observe the beliefs, values and lifestyles from the picturesque practices of people who are so-called as 'primitive' (Seaton 2009). As a consequence, creating imagery that connects to the aesthetics of consumer markets by contributing 'otherness' (White 2007) is widely used among Third World countries in order to stimulate tourist demand. For example, in Thailand, 'otherness' and 'exotic' are perceived as positive images to promote destination image that could attract western tourists who need to escape from daily lives in their countries (Reisinger and Turner 2003).

4.7.4 Tourist Gaze

In addition, authenticity can be linked to Urry's (1990, 2002) 'tourist gaze', as these concepts imply a relationship between the culture of the sightseer and the significance of the sight that is visited (Gillen 2001). Urry (2002) also introduced the 'Romantic Gaze' which may be linked to the romanticism previously discussed in the context of authenticity. For Urry, it explains the contemporary ways of looking at nature by tourists who have a personal, private and semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze (van Egmond. 2007). Also, the concept of tourist gaze is relevant to 'otherness' as it expresses the curiosity that tourists have about other peoples and places, which is part of tourist motivation for taking holidays. This idea focuses on the seeking out of 'exotic' or 'out of the way' destinations in the Third World, where tourists are seeking encounters with 'the other' (Sheyvens 2002; Urry 1990). There is a great appeal for the 'other' among tourists, indeed, it has been stated that 'for the vast majority of people, otherness makes the destination attractive for consumption by establishing its distinctiveness' (Hall 1998; Sheyvens 2002). However, although tourists are exposed to the same stimuli, they experience the sight in different ways (Gillen 2001), due to different factors as the examined by the tourist destination image formation process. Likewise, the concept of the tourist gaze is useful in explaining the behaviour of Western tourist when they visit developing countries where they can feel the 'otherness', such as in the case of Pai, Thailand.

Moreover, the tourist gaze is also relevant to photography of tourists as the gaze is performed through the camera lens between tourists and the objects of the gaze (Jafari 2000). Photography is a so-called means of memento collection through which tourists

reflect their actions, with time, places, and people (Hsiu-yen Yeah 2009). The evidence suggests that tourists would rather choose the famous landmarks that are familiar or iconic in popular culture are more than often found in guidebooks, postcards, travel brochures and 'National Geographic' than seek out an original or unique location (Jafari 2000). Hence, tourists seek to take photos from the same spots as the famous objects.

Nevertheless, objects of the tourist gaze or photography like landscapes, ethnic groups and nature can be more intrusive when people are the object of the tourist gaze, particularly when tourism impinges on their private lives (Sheyvens 2002; Urry 1990). According to MacCannell (1979), the orientation of the gaze unavoidably leads to an intrusion who other people's lives. In order to balance between such an intrusion and the tourist quest, visited places develop contrived spaces of 'real life' for the visual consumption of the tourists (Chan 2006), namely the 'staged-authenticity' to which MacCannell illustrates the possible effects leading to the cultural degradation of community (van Egmond 2007). As MacCannell's idea suggests, it can be explained in the context of community-based tourism as 'the naturalness of communities, their way of life, their institutions and their culture being bought and sold, with some communities being intentionally planned and constructed for 'consumption' by tourists' (Haywood; 1988; Joppe 1996). Even though the commercialisation of traditional cultural aspects probably makes a tourism destination more attractive, the value of the local people is degraded by the pseudo-culture (Cohen 1988; Lickorish and Jenkins 1997), with potential negative consequences for the local community.

In summary, the major influential values on western tourist perceptions are searching for authenticity and exotic, otherness and tourist gaze and so, in regards to this study, these illustrate potential influences the perception of western tourists towards the Pai community as a developing destination. However, those values may also vary according to individual tourists, depending on their personal background, experience, as well as on external factors.

4.8 Tourism values of the domestic tourist

The previous sections reviewed the potential influences on the values of international tourist visiting Third World countries. For the purpose of this thesis, it is also necessary

to consider the values of domestic tourists; within the context of the 'tourist culture' that frames the behaviour of tourists in a particular destination, local tourists who visit destinations in their countries may perceive their travelling as offering the potential to fulfil their desire / need for authentic experiences, similar to the way in which Western tourists seek authenticity in 'other' places. To support this argument, Cohen (2008) observes that, recently, the behaviour of domestic tourists in Thailand has changed, shifting from a focus on shopping for crafts and antiques and weekend short stays in small local resorts, to visiting more remote destinations which had formally attracted only foreigners, including Pai in Mae Hongson, the case study in this thesis. As discussed later in this thesis, interviews with some of the tourists from Bangkok who had visited Pai before mentioned the main for reason they selected Pai as a tourist destination was because they would like to take a break from their sophisticated lives in Bangkok to enjoy local rustic lifestyles, and the quiet and peacefulness of the location (interview, April 2010).

Hence, it can be suggested that the concept of searching for authenticity that defines the motivation of Western tourists is also of some influence on domestic tourism. That is, Thai domestic tourists may hold similar values and culture of travelling. Conversely, van Egmond's (2007: 142) suggests that in case of domestic tourists, 'visits to rural areas are motivated by the desire to escape crowded and polluted city life and picnic with the family rather than the desire to enjoy nature or get in touch with rural communities'. Similarly, Kaosa-ard *et al*. (2001) argue that domestic tourists in developing countries have only a slight interest in nature and ethnic tourism. Domestic tourists have motives primarily concerned with visiting friends and relatives, religious tourism to sacred sites, small business tourism (Kaosa-ard *et al.* 2001; van Egmond 2007) and pilgrimage (Cohen 2008). Thus, the limited evidence suggests a lack of consensus over the dominant values of domestic tourists in Thailand.

4.9 The connection between tourists' perception, destination image and community-based tourism

As CBT is relevant to the participation of the community and linked to the culture of the indigenous people as previously described, it may be suggested that tourists are drawn to CBT destinations because of the images that attracts them, in this case indigenous

people's cultures and traditions. However, some destinations might offer more than local culture, such as scenery and activities for tourists' relaxation, including the facilities of those tourist attractions such as offered by the destination of Pai, Thailand. However, as suggested earlier in this thesis, studies of tourists' perception of CBT are quite rare. That is, the literature is primarily concerned with the supply side of CBT – that is, the planning, development and management of CBT – with more limited attention paid to developing an understanding of the demand side, of tourists visiting CBT destinations. Moreover, these tourists' perceptions may differ. As reviewed above, Western tourists may have some values that typically define them as 'western tourists' when they travel to developing countries, searching for authenticity and otherness rather than simply for relaxation and sun-sea-sand. At the same time, domestic tourists may be a more demanding group and more difficult to please. Accordingly, if tourists have positive perceptions, it would influence them to make subsequent visits or report positively on their experiences; word-of-mouth being an important source of information for tourists. Therefore, to tailor a plan of CBT development for Western and domestic tourists, it is essential to consider and based it upon such different perceptions.

Hence, the literature review informs a proposed theoretical model for this study (Figure 4.5 below). The model describes an implementation process for community based tourism development in Thailand.

The theoretical model presents the link between the perceptions of international and domestic tourists while they engage with the destination of Pai. Determining push and pull factors motivate them to choose Pai as a destination choice, possibly influenced by the previous destination image they perceived from the sources such word-of-mouth, media and advertising as induced and organic images. Then, when the tourists are in Pai, they may develop other destination images, as well as the perception of CBT as a form of sustainable development. Such a perception may include the community involvement and how they perceive the locals. All of these perceptions then are analysed in a cross-cultural context in order to understand the distinctive perceptions between western and domestic tourists. The links lead to the final outcome as an implementation for CBT in Thailand in the case study of Pai.

Figure 4.5: The conceptual model of the study
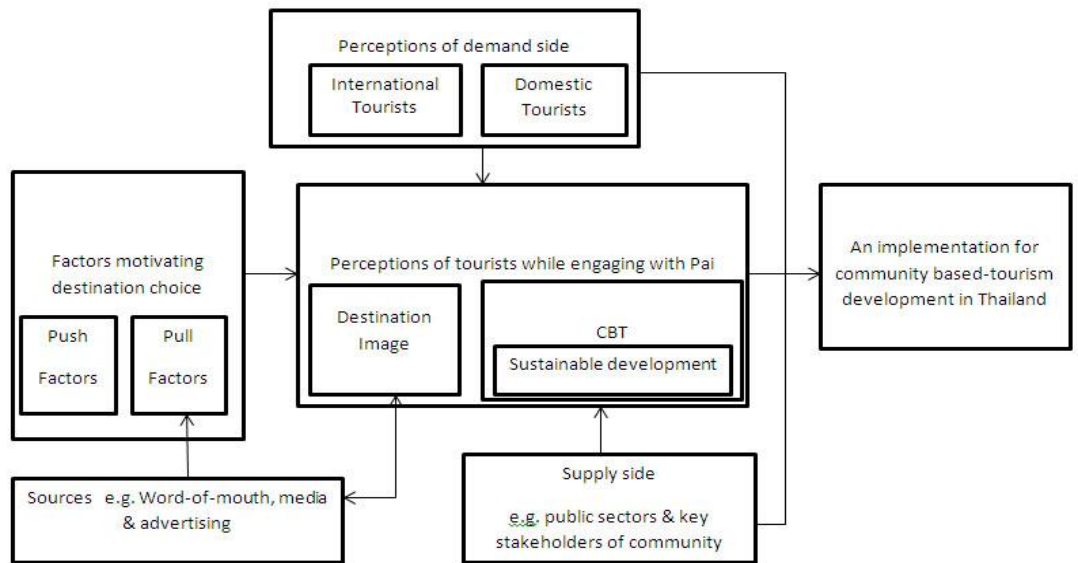
4.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter reveals the link between destination images and tourists' perceptions, beginning with the definitions of tourists and typologies of tourists. Then, the tourist demand process was reviewed in order to understand the motives of tourists and the resulting outcome of such motivations. Push factors were discussed to understand the crucial factors motivating tourists to want to travel, followed by pull factors including the destination image. The destination image was described as the intention of tourists to decide to visit places. This can be formed from many sources, one of the most significant being word-of-mouth from family, friends and relatives. However, it has some limitations such as the tourist identity and also the different aspects of cultures. Studying the process of tourist's perception was then illustrated and revealed some limitations as tourist's perceptions are based upon a personal construct theory, different cultures and values. To some extent it has been shown that the values of international tourists are different to those of the domestic as they tend to hold values in searching for authenticity, the otherness and tourist gaze in developing countries. Meanwhile, domestic tourists are somewhat more demanding and some of them may be influenced by western values such as searching for authenticity. Finally, the link between CBT, destination image and tourists' perceptions is conceptualised within a model of CBT

development, providing a framework the research in the latter part of this thesis. The purpose of the following chapter, therefore, is to introduce tourism in Thailand in general, and Pai as a destination in particular, as the context for the subsequent empirical research.

Chapter 5

The research context: community-based tourism in Pai, Thailand

5.1 Introduction

As considered in the preceding literature review chapters, attention has long been paid to the concept of community-based tourism (CBT) as an approach to sustainable tourism development that not only seeks to engage the local community in tourism development but also to optimise its benefits from tourism. However, although both the opportunities and inherent challenges of CBT are now well-understood from a planning and management perspective, the manner in which CBT and a tourism product is perceived and consumed has been largely overlooked in the literature. Hence, as proposed in Chapter 1, the purpose of this thesis is to identify, compare and critically appraise the differing perceptions of international and domestic tourists of Pai, a CBT destination in Thailand, and the subsequent implications for its future management and development.

A model of CBT development, embracing the demand-side perspective of CBT, was proposed in Chapter 4 as a conceptual framework for the empirical research. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to establish the context for that research. Specifically, it seeks to review the development of CBT in Thailand, firstly by introducing briefly the geography, history and political-economy of the country, focusing in particular on the Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan which provides the contemporary political framework for tourism development and which has been influential in tourism planning. Secondly, it then goes on to review the development of tourism in Thailand before introducing and justifying Pai as the location of the study, in particular its relevance to contemporary issues facing the development of CBT. This also includes an introduction to the structure of local administration in Pai including that relevant to tourism development

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Thus, this chapter aims to provide the foundation for the subsequent chapters that, drawing on empirical research, explores both the supply-side of CBT in Pai from the perspective of local administrative sectors, key stakeholders and locals and, in particular, the perceptions and experiences of both international and domestic visitors to the destination.

5.2 Thailand: an introduction

5.2.1 Geography and environment

Covering an area of 514,000 square kilometres, Thailand is located in the centre of Southeast Asia. It shares borders with four countries: Myanmar in the north and north-west, Laos in the north east, Cambodia in the east, and Malaysia in the South (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Thailand

Lying entirely within the tropics, the country is divided into four distinctive geographical regions (National Identity Board 2000). To the north, Thailand is mountainous – here, the country's highest peak, Doi Inthanon (2595m) is located within the Doi Inthanon National Park, and the area is home to numerous hill tribes that have long been a tourist attraction (Cohen 1989). In the north east, the Korat Plateau is an extensive arid area and one of the poorest regions of the country whilst, conversely, the Central Plains or Chao Phraya River basin (including Bangkok, the capital city), is the richest agricultural and most densely populated region. Finally, to the south, the coastal areas of Peninsular Thailand, bordering the Gulf of Thailand to the east and the Andaman Sea to the west, boast dramatic scenery and beautiful beaches, and are where some of the most popular resorts are located,

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including Phuket and Koh Samui. Away from the metropolitan area around Bangkok the country is predominantly rural and, as a consequence, some 40% of employment is in the agricultural sector.

Thailand has a tropical climate, dominated by warm temperatures and high humidity. The country is influenced by the south-west monsoon. Hence, there are three distinct seasons: the rainy season, typically between the months July and October, the cool season from November through March when the winds blow from the north east; and the hot and dry season from March to July. The country's average temperature ranges between 24 and 38 degrees Celsius, with the most consistent weather being in the South. However, during the hot and dry season, the temperatures in the North and Northeast may reach 40 degrees Celsius; in contrast, during the cool season the temperature can fall as low 10 degrees Celsius at night time in the mountainous areas to the north.

The population of Thailand is approximately 66 million. The majority are Thai, with more than 85% speaking the Thai language or variants of it, although the population is also made up of ethnic Chinese, Indian, Malay, Mon, Khmer, Burmese, and Lao. Other geographic distinctions of the population include a Muslim majority to the south near the Malaysian border and, as noted above, hill tribes which include around 20 different ethnic groups, such as the Hmong, Karen and Lawa, who live in the northern mountains (TAT 2010a). Theravada Buddhism is the major religion in the country, practiced by about 90% of its people, although other main religions are represented including, of course, Islam in the south of the country.

5.2.2 History and politics
According to archaeological evidence, permanent settlements were established in the land today called Thailand as long as 10,000 years ago and it is believed that the Tai, who migrated originally from Southwestern China, were the first indigenous settlers in the region. In ancient times, Thailand was dominated by many empires or kingdoms, such as the Tai during the third and the fourth centuries A.D., Nan-Chao (Tibeto-Burmese stock) in the eighth and the ninth centuries and Dvaravati 'Mon' (Eastern India) during the sixth and ninth centuries. During the Dvaravati period, culture was dominated by mythological and religious influences originating in India, particularly

Hinduism (roughly 1000 to 500 B.C.) and Buddhism (beginning in the sixth century B.C.). Hence, these two religions influence the roots of the Thai people who comprise a predominantly Buddhist civilisation but also retain characteristics of Hindu beliefs (Brown 1996).

Following the decline of Dvaravati by the twelfth centuries, Thailand was ruled by the Khmer empire (present-day Cambodia). However, it is generally considered that the Thai nation was first established in the thirteenth century when the Khmer rulers were overthrown by local chieftains and an independent kingdom established in Sukhothai. The first king, Sri Indraditya and his son Ramkhamhaeng, established a highly developed society in the North and Central regions of Thailand in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The other important independent Thai kingdom at this time was Lanna, based in the northern city of Chiang Mai which, together with the Sukhothai kingdom, formed the first real unity and alliance of the Thai states with the help of King Ramkhamhaeng. After the decline of Sukhothai, the kingdom of Ayutthaya dominated the land from the fourteenth till the seventeenth century, their culture significantly by the previous Khmer and Devaraja political hierarchies; for example, Kings were considered divine beings (Kislenko 2004).

However, these dynasties eventually collapsed as a result of a number of factors, including a Burmese invasion in 1767. Subsequently, a new capital was established as Thon Buri near Bangkok. After a short period (1767-1772), the capital was moved across the Chao Phraya River to the city of Bangkok, when Rama I of the Chakri Dynasty became the first king of a monarchy which has lasted over 700 years up to the present day. The present king is King Rama IX, King Bumibol Adulyadej (1946-present) who is much beloved by the Thai people.

Thailand was ruled as an absolute monarchy until 1932 when, following a bloodless coup, it was transformed into a constitutional monarchy that remains to this day. Thus, the government of the country is quite similar to that of the United Kingdom, in that a Prime Minister serves as head of a parliamentary government and a hereditary Thai monarch functions as the head of state. The widely revered Thai King serves as an influential spiritual leader of the country as well as head of state, but wields no outright political authority. The Thailand Government is formed by a coalition of political

parties headed by a Prime Minister. [While] Thailand has undergone numerous coups d'état since becoming a constitutional monarchy and Thai politics are often a contentious affair, the Thai people tend to be politically active and place a high value on their arguably tenuous democracy.

5.2.3 Thai society

In Thailand, seniority and family relationships are commonly central to every social structure, meaning that 'Thais have strong hierarchies in business and family matters (Hendon 2001; Raoprasert and Islam 2010). This strong hierarchical structure is evident everywhere in society and reflects the inequity among people (Raopraser and Islam 2010). Thailand also has a unique family structure whereby the 'family' encompasses more than a single household, often including grandparents, an aunt or an uncle, and perhaps a cousin or two. In general, it is normal for young newly married couples to live in the home of one set of parents, and it is quite a common duty for grown children to take care of their parents when they become too old. It is also familiar in rural villages for grown children to live nearby and, if they do not move away, their parents' houses belongs to them (Hoare 2004: 158).

Another important aspect of Thai society is religion, which sculptures the Thai way of life and provides a collective focus for the Thai people (Hoare 2004). In particular, Buddhism plays an essential role in the society of Thailand with, as noted above, the vast majority of the Thai population being Buddhists. Evidence suggests that the roots of Buddhism in Thailand lie in the sixth century B.C. and 'it is intricately interwoven with Hinduism, ancient local folklore, and an assortment of gods, demons and monsters, making it a complex but fascinating religion' (Kislenko 2004: 23). There are three major divisions of Buddhism (the Theravada, Mahayana and Vajrayana schools) but Buddhism in Thailand is that of Theravada, which believes in the mono Buddha. The reminiscence of Buddha and his doctrines for Thai people is formed not only through local beliefs, superstitions and folklore, but also through the images of the Buddha that are to be found everywhere. Almost every home, hotel, restaurant, office building and corner store has icons of the Buddha ansd Buddhism is deeply integrated within the hearts and lives of the Thai people (Ibid 2004).

5.2.4 Economy

Between 1985 and 1995, Thailand had the world's fastest growing economy. However, in 1997, high levels of foreign debt put the country into a financial crisis and recession, and the country's currency became the most devalued currency ever (Boraas 2003). Nevertheless, the situation rapidly improved in the early 2000s, largely as a result of the populist policies followed by Thaksin Shinawart's government. This was based upon the promotion of foreign investment and open markets, along with a domestic stimulus programme with targeted poverty reduction at the grassroots level (Nidhiprabha 2006). As a consequence, growth of 7% was achieved in 2003 and, despite the global economic crisis of 2008, the country's economy continues to grow (Department of State 2012).

With a per capita GNI (gross national income) of US$4716, Thailand is classified as an upper-middle income country. In 2010, GDP amounted to US$318.5 billion, having grown at an average of 4.5% per annum during the first decade of the new millennium (World Bank 2012) yet, according to UNDP (2012), the country remains ranked at 103 on the Human Development Index. Selected development indicators are provided in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Thailand: selected indicators

GDP (2010)	US$318.5 billion
Income per capita (2010)	US$4716
Poverty (% living below $1 PPP/day)	10.8
Life expectancy at birth	74.1
Under 5 mortality rate (per 1000 births)	14
Child malnutrition (% of children under 5)	7
Adult (over 15) literacy rate (%)	93.5
Inequality: income Gini coefficient	53.6

Source: UNDP (2012); World Bank (2012)

The agricultural sector has long played a fundamental role in the economy of Thailand. In 1980, agriculture accounted for over 70% of all employment although recent figures suggest that the figure is now around 40%, with agriculture representing around 12% of GDP (Department of State 2012). Nevertheless, the country remains the world's largest

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exporter of rice, accounting for 27% of global rice exports, whilst fish and fish products are also significant export products. Indeed, the Thai economy as a whole is export dependent, with exports representing some 70% of GDP. Much of the export trade has been built on the country's growing industrial sector, textiles, rubber, automobiles, jewelry, and computers/electronic appliances driving the growth in export sales.

Importantly, tourism has also emerged as an important economic sector in Thailand, currently contributing around 7% of GDP. In 2010, the country attracted almost 16 million tourists, generating some $23.4 billion in receipts. It is also a significant source of employment, providing jobs for over 15% of the labour market, whilst is considered an essential means of portraying positive images of the country to the world (Cohen 2008). Therefore, as the following section discusses, it is not surprising that tourism is a fundamental element of Thailand's wider development policy

5.3 Tourism development in Thailand

5.3.1 The evolution of tourism in Thailand

According to Wei Zhang (1997), the evolution of tourism in Thailand was rooted in the 1850s when the Thai kings (Rama IV and V) encouraged international trading in Thailand, the consequence being not only a flow of capital but also a flow of investors, traders and occasional tourists. Also, royal visits round the world made by Thai kings (Rama V, VI and VII) served to enhance Thailand's reputation as a tourist destination. Nevertheless, it is more generally accepted that the origins of tourism development in Thailand lie in the 1960s and the involvement of US military in Vietnam. The country acted as a stop-over en route to Vietnam and, as a consequence, infrastructural developments occurred, including road building and other construction such housing development, whilst hotels and guesthouses also appeared during this period (Ouyyanont 2001). In addition to these infrastructural improvements which greatly facilitated travel throughout the country, another significant development was occurring: the emergence of restaurants, bars, night clubs had commenced in response to the country becoming a 'pleasure-belt' for American soldiers using Thailand as a five-day destination of 'Rest and Recreation' (R&R). This became an important contribution to the growth in the numbers of international tourists between 1966 and 1971 and brought a large amount of revenue from tourists seeking a 'sexual paradise',

as Thailand offered sex services to the soldiers and others (Meyer 1988). However, since then, Thailand's tourism industry has remained tainted with a negative image of its association with the sex industry.

Hence, international tourism to Thailand started to take off from the 1960s and subsequently grew rapidly the end of the 20th century (Cohen 2008). Tourism data for the period 1995- 2010 are presented below in Table 5.2. as is evident from the figures in Table 5.2, not only has international tourism grown consistently (as has domestic tourism), albeit with temporary periods of negative growth reflecting both external (e.g. SARS in 2002) and internal factors, such as political upheaval in 2009, but it has maintained an important role in the Thai economy, contributing around 10% of exports.

Table 5.2: Thailand: tourism indicators 1998-2010

Year	International arrivals (mn)	International receipts (US$bn)	International Receipts as % of exports	Domestic trips (mn)
1998	7.843	5.9	12.07	51.68
1999	8.651	6.7	13.19	53.62
2000	9.579	7.5	12.15	54.74
2001	10.133	7.1	12.32	58.62
2002	10.873	7.9	12.75	61.82
2003	10.082	7.8	11.14	69.36
2004	11.737	9.6	11.45	74.80
2005	11.567	10.6	9.36	79.53
2006	13.822	13.4	10.89	81.49
2007	14.464	16.7	11.37	82.23
2008	14.584	18.2	10.80	n/a
2009	14.150	16.1	10.74	n/a
2010	15.936	20.1	10.27	n/a

Source: compiled by the author

Consequently, and similar to other developing countries, the government has focused on tourism as a means of development (Scheyvens 2002). In order to promote Thailand as a tourist destination, the Tourist Organisation of Thailand (TOT) was established by the

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Thai government in 1960 (Prachuabmoh 1990); this organization was subsequently upgraded and renamed as Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) in 1976 (Wei Zhang 1997). Government policy has embraced tourism since 1977, when it was incorporated into the First Five-Year National Economic and Social Development Plan, or NESDP (1977-81), which sought to increase foreign exchange earnings and to help reduce the national deficit in the balance of trade and payments through the development and promotion tourism promotion. Although it was ultimately unsuccessful in meeting these objectives, this represented the first step of tourism in the national planning (Meyer 1988).

From this early stage of tourism being emphasised as an important force in economic growth, the development of the tourism industry, including both infrastructure and facility construction as well as marketing and promotional activities, focused on promoting modern, mass tourism (Choibamroong 2006). This approach was evident within subsequent NESDPs whilst, from the Second NESDP in particular, TAT adopted a major role in marketing and tourism strategy. However, following the 1992 Earth Summit in Brazil's Rio de Janeiro which established a global framework for sustainable development (Reid 1995), a change in policy occurred within the Eighth NESDP (1997-2001). Specifically, the focus shifted towards alternative means of developing tourism to ensure its sustainability in the long run (Choibamroong 2006). Moreover, the economic crisis of 1997, known as the Tom Yum Goong crisis, further emphasised the need for a change in policy with the adoption into the national plan of the philosophy of 'Sufficiency Economy' advocated by the Thai King. Overall, the plan adopted a grassroots approach, shifting the emphasis of development to focus on people as the centre of development; that is, the traditional top-down approach was changed to a bottom-up one in order to empower locals. At the same time, sustainable development was first introduced and applied to the planning process as a result of concerns over the impact of diluted environmental and natural sources. Consequently, the policy for tourism development moved away from mass tourism towards alternative forms of tourism which addressed environmental issues (Choibamroong 2006).

In addition to this evident transformation in national tourism policy, following the economic crisis in 1997 the Thai government, through TAT, launched the 'Amazing Thailand' campaign in 1998. The purpose of this was to reframe domestic tourism

during the economic downturn into something of a national responsibility (Wilson 2003). The campaign not only tried to reach out to foreign tourists to visit Thailand, promoting the exotic culture of the country as well as offering benefits such tax-free shopping but, through the campaign slogan of 'Thai helps Thai' (Kasian 2002; Wilson 2003), it also appealed to a sense of nationalism in order to encourage domestic visitors to spend more money in their country (Chatkaewnapanon 2006.) The 'Amazing Thailand' campaign proved to be highly successful in promoting the country's image to the world. Indeed, although it was subsequently followed by the 'Unseen Thailand' campaign, the 'Amazing Thailand' campaign arguably remains more widely recognised and remembered (Intarakomalyasut 2001).

During the period of the Eighth NESDP, the Ministry of Tourism and Sport was established in 2001 in order to strengthen tourism development by enhancing the quality of tourism attractions and the standards of service in the country. Furthermore, it provided support and advice to encourage higher standards amongst local tour operators businesses and tour guide operations in order to enhance the economic, social and cultural advantages of sustainable tourism (Ministry of Tourism and Sport 2010a). The policies of the Ministry include the support of a variety of approaches to tourism development, such as agro-tourism, health tourism and eco-tourism, whilst its overall strategy is to target both international visitors and domestic tourist travelling in Thailand and to support of the restoration and promotion of cultural heritage sites as significant tourism attractions (Ministry of Tourism and Sport 2010b). Thus, the activities of the Ministry demonstrate the shift in public sector tourism away from the concentration on international mass tourism and infrastructure construction to a variety of alternative tourism options and the promotion of domestic tourism.

Domestic tourism, then, has been targeted since the success of the 'Amazing Thailand' campaign and, accordingly, the strategy of the Ministry of Tourism and Sport has been to hold large 'Thai tiew Thai' (discovering Thailand) tourism fairs. These have been organised since 2001 with the cooperation of Ministry of Tourism and Sport, TAT, and various tourism associations and travel clubs, as well as international financial institutions, in order to encourage domestic tourism by offering Thais packages of such air-ticket, hotels, restaurants and so on (Energy Policy and Planning Office 2001). According to Cohen (2008), as a consequence, domestic tourists have undoubtedly

changed their behavior from travelling internationally to visiting friends and relatives (VFR), undertaking 'local' pilgrimages and, increasingly, tending to visit 'enclave' destinations that used to be the preserve of international visitors. The case study in this thesis, Pai, is one such example of this trend.

5.3.2 National Tourism Plan 2012-2016

As noted above, increasing global environmental concern that derived from the 1992 Earth Summit and the subsequent widespread adoption of sustainable development as the dominant approach to tourism development (see Chapter 2) has had a significant impact on the tourism industry in Thailand, specifically manifested in the trend towards developing new, alternative forms of tourism, such as health tourism, adventure tourism, and sports tourism. At the same time, in more recent years there has been a need to counteract the negative images of Thailand following both natural crises, such as the Tsunami in 2004 and the flooding in 2011, and ongoing political crises. Collectively, these issues have been embraced in a review of the planning of tourism development in Thailand (Ministry of Tourism and Sport 2011).

In order to support Thailand's tourism sector to adapt to modern challenges, focusing on policies that allow an increase in quality and sustainability as well as being able to compete more effectively with other countries, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution on 17 April 2009 declaring tourism as a National Agenda. Subsequently, a resolution on 21 April 2009 assigned the Ministry of Tourism and Sport to provide a strategic plan for the restoration of tourism. Consequently, the National Tourism Plan 2012-2016 was commissioned by Ministry of Tourism and Sport in 2011, which has the following primary objectives:

- To restore and encourage the growth and sustainability of the tourism sector as well as accelerate the potential creation of income from tourism.

- To develop the tourism in Thailand to be competitive and high quality, as well as enhancing income generation and income distribution along with sustainable development.

Table 5.3 Five strategies of the National Tourism Plan 2012-2016

The Five Strategies of the National Tourism Plan	Brief Principles
The development of the basic structure and facilities for tourism	Development and improvement of logistic systems in order to encourage tourism Development and improvement of facilities for tourism Establishment of transportation networks and link systems through neighbouring countries and regions
The development and restoration of tourism resources for sustainability	Development and improvement of the quality of new tourism attractions Restoration of tourism attractions Improvement of the quality and standard of tourism attractions
The development of products, services and supporting factors of tourism	Creative economy development and tourism- value added Opportunity and motivation creation in order to develop trading and investment in tourism Development of the standard of tourism products and services Risk prevention and security for tourists Improvement of tourism personnel skills and potential in order to be competitive
The assurance formation and tourism promotion	Positive image of tourism creation and publication Tourism promotion in order to generate income from foreign tourists Creation of strong images in order to add value to tourism products Creation of an influx of travelling nationally aimed at domestic tourists
The reinforcement of processes which have the cooperation of governmental sectors, community and local administrative sectors in tourism resource management	Creation and development in administration and management in tourism Encouragement of community participation and local administrative sectors in tourism development

Source: Adapted from Ministry of Tourism and Sport (2011)

The strategic plan applies King Rama IX's concept of 'Sufficient Economy', placing people at the centre of development in order to produce the integrated tourism development which creates income and income distribution by both fair and sustainable means. Moreover, the supporting strategies discussed in the plan include five strategies, as shown in Table 5.3 above.

5.3.3 The connection between the National Tourism Plan and NESDP

The policies inherent in the National Tourism Plan 2012-2016 reflect the principal objectives of the Eighth (1997-2001), Ninth (2002-2006), and Tenth (2007-2011) National Economic and Social Development Plans. Specifically, the Eighth NESDP (1997-2001) was a turning point in terms of the focus of the NESDP and, therefore, it is necessary to illustrate briefly the essence of this plan, particularly as it is of direct relevance to the development of CBT in Thailand.

It was recognised within the Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan that, given the rapid pace of globalisation, the acceleration in the transfer and utilisation of technologies, and also the expanded scale and influence of international markets (NESD Board 1996), there was a need to make changes to the direction of planning proposed in previous plans. In particular, the emphasis shifted towards developing the potential of Thai people to be suited to meeting the opportunities and challenges of the emerging global context. Hence, the Eighth NESDP, initially introduced in 1997 and intended to frame national policy till 2001, follows a long-term vision of Thailand becoming a fully developed country by the year 2020. As such, it was the first step in the transformation of development planning away from the top-down approach practiced by the public sector to a more people-centered development (NESD Board 1996). In summary, the plan focuses on giving opportunities to Thai people in every region, not just the capital city, and encouraging sustainable development in Thailand (NESD Board 1996). The key elements of the plan are concerned with the development of human potential development. Its principle objectives are as follows:

- To foster and develop the potentials of all Thais, in terms of health, physical well-being, vocational skills and ability to adapt to changing and economic conditions.

- To develop a stable society, strengthen family and community, support human development, improve quality of life and promote increasing community participation in national development.

- To promote stable and sustainable economic growth, and to empower the people to play a great role in the development process and receive a fair share of the benefits of growth.

- To utilise, preserve and rehabilitate the environment and natural resources in such a way that they can play a major role in economic and social development and contribute to better quality of life for the Thai people.

- To reform the system of public administration so as to allow greater participation of non-governmental organisations, the private sector, communities and the general public in the process of national development.

(Office of NESD Board 1996: 3).

Based on these objectives, the government introduced a number of development strategies in order to achieve the overall goals of decentralisation and community empowerment. Such strategies include: promoting popular participation in development through the empowerment of community organisations; supporting and expanding community learning networks; promoting the role of the private sector and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in job creation; and, managing development at all levels through cooperative partnership (Office of NESD Board 1996). Through these strategies, the government sought to equalise the quality of lives between urban and rural people by offering educational opportunities and developing skills in work. The strategies also include policies for natural resource conservation within a sustainable approach to development in order to balance the ecosystem (Office of NESD Board 1996). However, during the period of plan, Thailand suffered the 1997 economic crisis. This had a significant impact on Thai society as a whole and, as a consequence, the Eighth plan NESDP was over- shadowed by an accelerated economy restoration plan designed to reduce unemployment and the poverty amongst Thai people (Office of NESD Board 2001).

During this unexpected financial turmoil, the Ninth plan followed the central thrust of the preceding Eighth plan as a people-centred approach, but also introduced the new concept of 'sufficient economy' (Office of NESD Board 2001), referred to earlier in this

chapter, as the guideline for national development and administration starting at the family level, through the community to government level. The principles of this philosophy are based on moderation, reasonableness, self-awareness and knowledge, the overall objective being to encourage living within Buddha's 'middle path' and moderate life (Ketudat 1990). The Ninth plan aimed to resolve the problems resulting from the economic crisis as well as to balance development with respect to people, society, the economy and the environment in order to achieve sustainable development and improve the well-being of the Thai people (Office of NESD Board 2001).

The Tenth plan has the primary vision of a 'Green and Happiness Society' (Office of NESD Board 2006). This plan combines the objectives and policies of both the Eighth and Ninth plans, continuing the drive towards achieving stable and sustainable national development within a holistic people-centred development approach that promotes the philosophy of the 'Sufficiency Economy', whilst enabling that Thai people to live in a more peaceful society (Office of NESD Board 2006).

It is evident, therefore, that these NESDPs are directly related to the National Tourism Plan, as it is concerned with sustainable development with regards to the restoration and management of tourism resources and attractions, whilst at the same time focusing on human development in order to be competitive in the tourism market (Ministry of Tourism and Sport 2011). The plan also links to transportation and facility improvements as detailed in the Eighth NESDP whilst, most significantly, it is of direct relevance to community-based tourism by emphasising community participation (Ministry of Tourism and Sport 2011). In particular, as revealed in the inherent strategies detailed above, the Eighth plan is concerned with community participation, particularly with power distribution as the role of local administrative sectors in tourism management is also stressed. Thus, since 1997, development policy and planning in Thailand in general has emphasised sustainable development with a focus on bottom-up, community-based development, an approach which, as the following section considers, is manifested in tourism policy and planning in particular (Dearden 2002).

5.4 Community-based tourism in Thailand

As reviewed in Chapter 3, CBT is one of the many forms of alternative tourism, such as eco-tourism, sustainable tourism and agritourism (Beeton 1998). In the case of Thailand, the concept of alternative tourism was originally promoted in the 1990s when TAT launched its AnurkPitak Tong Tiew Thai (development coupled with conservation for the protection of Thai tourism) campaign. The purpose of this was to preserve tourist areas, target more quality tourists and persuade them to stay longer; however, it did not achieve the recognition enjoyed by the more successful 'Amazing Thailand' campaign (Leksakundilok 2006). Indeed, although TAT tried to raise the awareness of the need to preserve / protect tourist areas, it was largely unsuccessful in this endeavour and it was only in the 2000s, with the support of academics, NGOs and some tour operators, that attention returned to alternative tourism in Thailand. Specifically, ecotourism, known as 'Kanthongthaio Choeng Anurak' and 'Kanthongthiao Choeng Niwet' (translated as ecotourism) became the primary term of the practice (Leksakundilok 2006), whilst another approach to alternative tourism development that achieved increasing popularity was community-based tourism.

In 2006, Thailand's Community-Based Tourism Institute (CBT-I) was established under the umbrella of the Thailand Research Fund (TRF). Based in Chiang Mai, in northern Thailand, the CBT-I promotes the belief that 'tourism can be a tool for community development. However, for rural tourism to be sustainable, community members must participate in and benefit from tourism development' (CBT-I 2006). Its mission is as follows:

- Facilitate community-based tourism research and development initiatives which strengthen local communities and support sustainable natural resource management;
- Build the capacity of Thai community-based tourism networks to cooperate with the private sector, and to advocate for tourism policy which benefits local communities;
- Facilitate cooperation among stakeholders to support CBT;
- Act as a Thai community based tourism information center; and
- Provide community-based tourism training services.

(CBT-I 2006)

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From CBT-I sources, there are only 16 communities in Thailand that are officially referred to as CBT destination, which perhaps reflects the limitation of CBT in Thailand where there are thought to be more than 1,000 local communities that have the potential to develop CBT. However, the understanding of and research into CBT in Thailand is likely to increase as the CBT-I organises numerous orientations, workshops and activities, whilst other CBT support groups and institutions promote the benefits of CBT to communities and local administrative sectors.

CBT-I (2006) summarises community-based tourism as so-called 'Host Management', interest in which has steadily grown over the last two decades. Positive expectations are held with respect to the potential of tourism development focusing on community participation in environmental resource and destination management and sustainability and which may bring overall benefits to community. Nevertheless, CBT still remains a niche market in Thailand. As with other forms of alternative tourism, in practice it is seen to be failing to conserve the traditions and culture of the local communities (Rojroongsat 2010).

As discussed in preceding sections, development in Thailand since 1960 has been guided by consecutive National Economic and Social Development Plans, each of which focuses on particular developmental issues over a period of five years (Wei Zhang 1997). From the First to the Seventh plan, the focus was primarily on factors such as economic growth, education and health. It was only in the Eighth plan that attention was initially paid to human development by putting people at its centre (Dearden 2002). As a result, the planning of community development was combined with the national development strategies (Office of NESD Board 2001). Therefore, this plan is essential to community-based tourism development in Thailand as it guides the government's role in reinforcing the community by providing educational opportunities and training work skills (Office of NESD Board 1996). Moreover, it is directly related to the planning and management of tourist destinations in Thailand as a sustainable approach towards natural resource management. As the plan is a 'bottom up' approach, it offers more linkages with the local government units (Ministry of Tourism and Sport 2011), such as the municipality, district and sub-district offices, potentially enabling

communities to contribute to planning and requesting financial support, processes which are explored in more in the findings chapter (Chapter 7).

As for the position of the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), it is evident from the organisation's official website that it has had increasing awareness of CBT since 2006. TAT campaigns and activities relevant to CBT were proposed initially by promoting 11 potential communities as CBT destinations (TAT 2006). Following this, every year TAT would conduct activities to reinforce the CBT experiences of domestic tourists by selecting unique community or homestay destinations for promotion (TAT 2010b). Example of activities in selected communities in 2010 examples were as follows: the fisheries homestay in Bo Hin community, the province of Trang: learning the fisherman's way of life and culture as well as understanding how to preserve the destination, Bann Si Kai Nua Community, the province of Nong Khai: the combined experience of two cultures of the Thai and Laos peoples, and finally visiting the Native Horse Conservation Club-Sirindhorn, the province of Ubon Rachathani: the experience of local horse riding skills along with forestry skills concerning the mangrove forest (TAT 2010b).

Thus, attempts have been made to develop CBT in Thailand for more than a decade, although each community has identified or experienced different strengths and problems according to their resources, destination characteristics, and the level of understanding of and commitment to community development amongst local people (Rojroongsat 2010). In this thesis, the extent to which CBT has proved to be successful is explored within the context of Pai, where research is undertaken from both a supply and, in particular, a demand perspective. The results of this research are discussed in Chapter 7.

5.5 Critiques of tourism in Thailand

Thailand is a popular destination for many visitors due to its rich variety of attractions, numerous beach destinations and the warm hospitality of people (van Egmond 2007). Yet the country is also associated with certain negative images, such as crimes and drugs (The Nation 2001). A full consideration of these is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it is important to note that the most dominant negative image is that of Thailand as one of 'sex tourism' destinations (Clift and Carter 2000: 271). This not

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only generates a bad reputation towards the Thailand as a destination in general, but implies an unequal relationship of social degradation in particular, such tourism being defined as 'consisting of people from economically developed nations travelling to underdeveloped countries specifically to purchase the sexual service of local men, women, and children' (Enlore 1989: 36).

As discussed earlier in this chapter, tourism development in Thailand began in the 1960s during the Vietnamese War, laying the foundation for a problem that still persists. As Ryan and Hall (2001: 143) state 'sex tourism continues to be a major tourist attraction and hence a source of foreign currency', Despite the illegality of prostitution in Thailand, some destinations in Thailand, such Pattaya, some areas of Bangkok and Phuket are renowned as centres of sex tourism. Although TAT has tried to restore the image of Thailand and to eradicate of the image of sex tourism, it has proved difficult to do so (Renton 2005). Moreover, this problem seems unavoidable due to elements of the infrastructure of Thailand, as impoverished people can be more vulnerable to being driven into prostitution whilst corruption within the police force leads to secret supporting such underground illegal industries (Renton 2005). Hence, this negative image of Thailand continues to challenge the other more positive images, providing a background against which the development of CBT must be seen.

5.6 Tourism in Pai

Pai is a small district in the province of Mae Hong Son in northern Thailand (Figure 5.2) Covering an area of 2,244.7 square kilometres. It is enhanced with mountains and is neighboured by Myanmar. It is famous for its natural scenery which provides a tranquil atmosphere as well as the variety of community customs and cultures. The dry season is between March and June, the rainy season is June to September and the winter season is between October and February.

The district of Pai has seven sub-districts, namely: Vieng Tai, Vieng Nue, Mae Na Turng, Mae Hee, Toong Yao, Mueng Paeng, and Pong Asa. The populations in Pai, according to a survey by the Ministry of Interior in 2008, totals 29,108 (15,220 male and 13,888 female). 45 per cent of the population comprises minority groups, including Tai Yuan, Tai Yai, Northeast Thai, Chinese Ho, Lisau, Mong, Karen, Lahu (Mooser) and Tai Lue.

Figure 5.2: Location of Pai, northern Thailand

The sub-district municipality of Pai has a surveyed population of 2,210 in total (Figure 5.3). This area has 30 registered guest houses businesses and twice as many illegal / unregistered guest houses.

There are 11 tourist attractions (natural and man-made), 11 pubs and bars and 34 restaurants. Even though tourism development has gradually increased, the approximate annual income of the population of Pai is only 26,002 Thai Baht per person (£520 approximately) (Preecha-anunt 2007); information from the Ministry of Interior reveals that the principal economy activity of Pai people remains agriculture while tending farming and local weaving are secondary activities.

Figure 5.3: Pai Town and Surroundings (Not to Scale)

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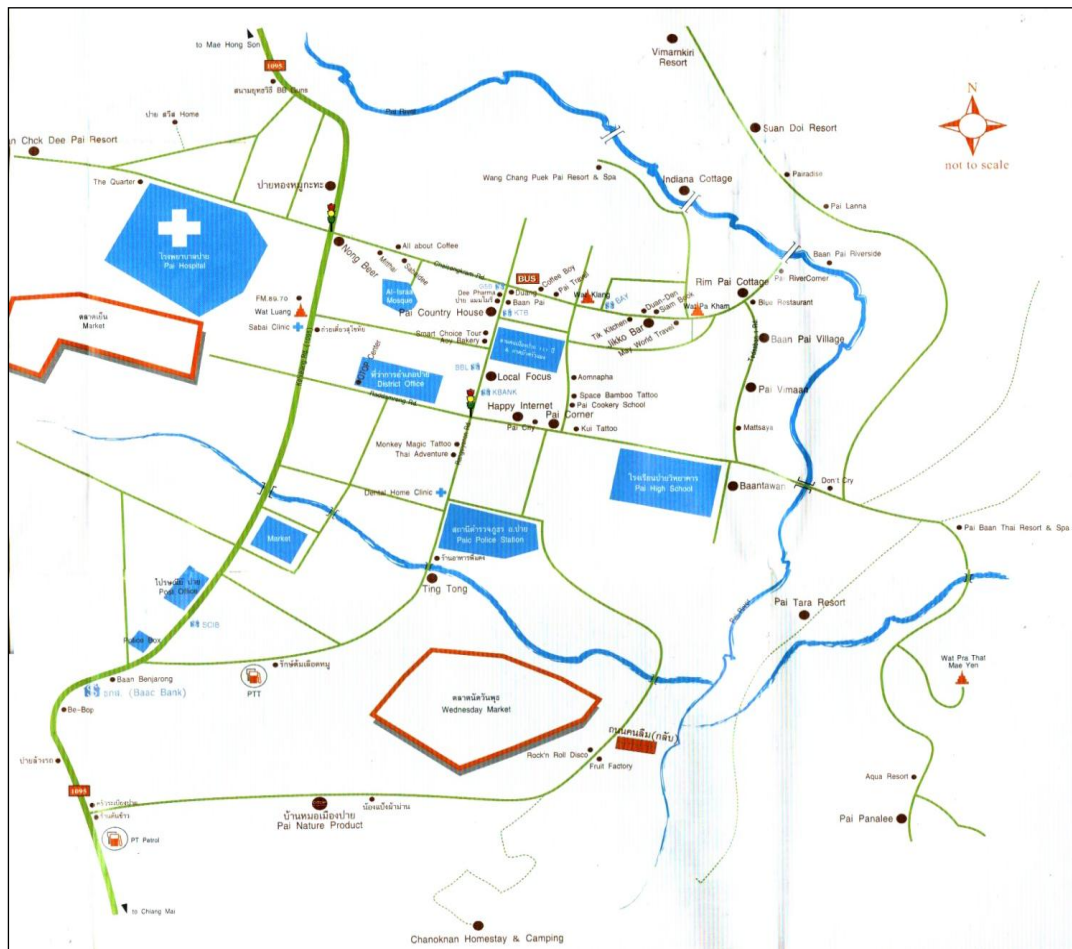
Pai offers a variety of traditional events, including the national traditions of Songkran (Thai New Year, as known as the water festival) and Loykrathong (a festival of lotus shaved krathong floating as a practice of paying respect to the spirit of the waters). There are also spcific events related to ethnic groups. For example, the Tai Yai (the first ethnic group from Myanmar to settle in Pai) have Jong Para (the celebration to mark the end of the Lent season), Gad Lu (the making merit day of Tai Yai) and from the Poi Sang Long or Buad Look Kaew (the ordination of young Shan boys as novice monks) to the Lisau, which is the traditional dance of the group. There is also Pa Ka Yor Karen, which is the ritual of wrist binding of holy thread that the village elders perform for the young in order to bring them good luck in life. Some examples of the traditional and cultural rituals are shown below in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4: Some of the traditional and cultural rituals in Pai

Poi Sang Long , Tai Yai Ritual

Lisau Traditional dance

Ritual of Pa Ka Yor Karen

Gad Lu, Tai Yai Ritual

Source: Slow Style Pai (2011)

Moreover, there is also evidence of Buddhist activities in Pai during important Buddhist days (Bangkok Post 2012). Table 5.4 shows the activities calendar of Pai in 2011 provided by Travel Club, illustrating the numerous traditional and cultural events of Pai which include a variety of Buddhist rituals.

5.6.1 Image and brief background of Pai

Pai is not a destination in Thailand famed for its temples, heritage or beaches; rather, it is a place which is discovered slowly and it becomes 'a place that grows on you' (Cummings *et al.* 2003: 434). Campbell (2002: 22-23) illustrates Pai as a remote area which offers 'charm' and 'languid rhythms' and it is 'a peaceful antidote to the bustle of modern Thailand', while Cohen (2008) refers to perceptions from media, such as 'enchanting' (Theeranon 2003), 'mystic feelings' (Bangkok Post 2003) and 'the town of the three-season mists' (Wattanasukchai 2001) to describe Pai. For tourists, Pai is probably best known or perceived as a place for relaxation, offering as it does tranquil, peaceful and unhurried escape where people can find relaxation from the tension of work (Cunliffe 1996). Some images of Pai are shown in Figure 5.5.

From a geographical perspective, Pai is a small town 'lying in a valley surrounded by mountains; it occupies the western bank of the River Pai, a tributary of the Salween, the river which marks the Thai-Burmese border' (Cohen 2008). It is a district of Province of Mae Hong Son which is located in the North of Thailand. The distinctiveness of Pai lies in its indigenous community. The local people in Pai are derived from Thai Yai or 'Tai' who emigrated from the Shans region of Burma in the 15th century (Charoenchai 2002; Ruengwiset 1999). The Tai have an ancient culture more than a thousand years old. They have their own lilting dialect, their own architectural lifestyles, their own customs and traditions, and their own distinctive cuisine. Because their tradition, culture and values are based on Buddhism, the activities in community are totally related to the norms and values in Buddhism (Charoenchai 2002; Wongthangsawat 1985).

Table 5.4: Activities Calendar of Pai 2011

Month	Date	Activities	Places / organizers
January	31-1	**New Year count down**	Pai Town Centre
	31-1	**Cross year Buddhist prayer: for a good beginning and good life**	Luang Temple
	1	**New Year Tak Batr and Making merits**	In front of Civil Registry Office
	2	**Renew life Lanna Styled ceremony**	Sri Don Chai Temple
	7	**Renew life Lanna Styled ceremony**	SraiKhao Temple
	22-23	**Paka Yor Karen Ritual of wrist binding with holy thread**	Ban Mae Ping and Ban MuangNoi
		Gin Wor Ritual: Lisau Ritual for respecting of ancestor	Lisau Village
	27-29	**Music Festival: Word Reggae at Pai**	Ban Ton Mai Guesthouse
February	6-7	**Poy Gong Lhai: Ritual of Fire Respecting**	Hua Na Temple
	10-17	**Season of love@Pai(Valentines's Festival)**	Civil Registry Office
	6, 14, 20-28	**Poi Tan KhaoYa Koo**: Making merits with red sticky rice (Tai Yai Ritual)	Community in Sub-district Municipality
March	5-7	**The Bathing Ritual Ceremony of Buddha Image**	Klang Temple
	23-27	**Garlic day and OTOP (One tambon/sub-district one product) Event of Pai**	Civil Registry Office and Sub-district Municipality
April	1	**Poi Sang Long**: the ordination of young Shan boys as novice monks (Tai Yai Ritual)	Pakha, Sri Don Chai, MuangSori, and Toong Pong Temples
	13-15	**Songkran Festival** (Water Festival)	Sub-district Municipality of Pai
May	1-31	**Tourism Festival: Pai in Green**	Travel Club
June	4	**The Bathing Ritual Ceremony for the Buddha's foot print and The Ritual of Poi Bok Fai (Firework to respect Buddha)**	Bhra Buddhabatr Temple
July	1-31	**Tourism Festival: Pai in Green**	Travel Club
	1	**A big candle ceremony: Buddhism day**	Sub-district Municipality
	3	**Bicycle Riding and Wai Pra (making merits) in 9 temples**	Cultural Sectors of Pai, Civil Registry Office
August	10-13	**Taking mum out in Pai as Mother's Day**	Travel Club
	13	**Taking mum out to make merits in 3 temples**	Cultural Sectors of Pai, Civil Registry Office
	17-20	**Youth Flea Market**	Pai hospital
September	1-30	**Tan Guay Sa Lak (Lanna Custom): making merit to respect of ancestor**	Sri Don Chai Temple and SraiKhao Temple
	15-21	**Tourism Festival: Pai cultural Street**	Sub-district Municipality
October	29	**Jong pa ra:the celebration to mark the end of the Lent season**	Sub-district Municipality
	27-30	**Gad Lu Ritual: Tai Yai custom of making merit**	Sub-district Municipality
November	1-30	**Putting out Big Candle Ceremony: Buddhism day**	A Variety of Temples
	24-25	**Pai Sport day festival**	Public Health Unit of Pai
	28	**Loy Kra Thong Festival**	Sub-district Municipality
December	1-5	**Taking Dad out in Pai for Fathers Day**	Travel Club
	31	**Count down in ethnic groups style**	Sub-district Municipality and Club of Head of sub-district and head of villages

Source: Translated and applied from Slow Style Pai; accessed on 2nd February 2011;

http://www.slowstylepai.com/pai-directory/pai-all-year-round/

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Figure 5.5: Images of Pai

Source: Fieldwork during August – November 2010

In the past, it was difficult to access to Pai, the journey from the capital taking between three and seven days due to the poor routes along horse or elephant trail (Theenanon 2003). During World War II, a dirt road was built by Japanese to access Burma from Thailand; however it was still difficult to travel to Pai, but members of various hill tribes who moved from Burma into Thailand built their village on the mountains of Pai district, whilst other refugees, for example, the Haw from Chiang Mai, also moved there (Cohen 2008). Cohen (2008) points out how more recently Pai became well-known as a result of the backpacker boom in the 1990s, since when tourism to Pai has grown significantly, the area attracting increasing numbers of both domestic and international tourists.

Thus, in recent years Pai has become a popular destination and, in 2008, it was voted the destination in Thailand that tourists would most like to visit (TAT, 2008). In particular, it has become well-known for the variety of events it hosts, the main example being the annual music festival (see Figure 5.6 below). In addition, an influential movie

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took the location of Pai and promoted it widely; the movie is called 'Pai in Love, and was released on 10th December 2009.

Although Pai has been successful in attracting tourists, there are conflicting issues in this area which mainly concern (i) the over development of Pai, which many people believe is destroying the traditional local culture, and (ii) the extent to which tourism revenue in Pai accrues to outsiders rather than locals (Budhtree 2009). Figure 5.6 illustrates the western impacts to Pai community such as the internet café, 7-11 convenience stores, and westernised buildings.

Figure 5.6: Western impacts on the community of Pai

Source: Fieldwork during August – November 2010

Therefore, Pai was selected as the case study for this thesis for the following three reasons:

1. Location of Pai: Pai is well known and popular amongst both domestic and international tourists for its natural scenery and peaceful community. Indeed, the destination has been praised as a 'peaceful antidote to the bustle of modern Thailand (Gampell 2002: 22; Cohen 2008: 113). Hence, given that this research is concerned with the different perceptions of both international and domestic tourists, Pai represents an appropriate case study to formulate a promotional plan for both groups of tourists. Furthermore, the accessibility of Pai is reflected in its location within the district of Mae Hong Son, which lies between the well-known district of Chiang Mai and the Thai-Myanmar border. This route is popular amongst tourists and has allowed Pai to become an en-route stopover. Another factor relevant to the accessibility of Pai is its links to the various forms of transportation, including air travel, routes for personal cars and frequent shuttle buses. Overall, from the famous scenery and welcoming community to its notable accessibility, it is both an attractive and convenient destination for tourists to visit. Moreover, it is believed that the findings from this study can be adapted to other communities in Thailand which are looking to follow in the footsteps of the increasingly popular location of Pai.

2. Personal contact in Pai: In countries such as Thailand, research may be hindered by a lack of contact or personal access to potential respondents. In the case of this study, the researcher benefited from personal contact through family links with local administrators in Pai, thus reducing difficulties in accessing data, especially in this context from local government respondents. Thus, Pai was also selected on the basis of the investigator's personal connections, which proved to be beneficial in being granted interviews and gaining data from key planners and administrators in Pai, including the Mayor, the Municipal Clerk, and a Pai developer. Without these connections, it would have taken significantly longer to over come the bureaucracy necessary to obtain interviews.

3. CBT in Pai: In the past, prior to becoming a more well-known destination, Pai followed the basic tenets of CBT development. It was primarily the community who received the benefits from visitors, most of whom were international tourists. An

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interview with Mr.Sandot Sukkaew, a Pai local, reveals how community benefit was then evident:

> *The pioneers of Pai were the western backpackers who were fond of nature loving and peaceful life. When they came here, they stayed in locals' huts and left some money like 20-30 Baht in response the kindness of the locals, which is the origin of the guesthouse entrepreneurship.*

It reflects that benefits, even small amounts of money (GBP 5-6) directly accrued to locals. At the same time, there was more community participation; local people were able to express their opinions regarding any projects in Pai and their point of views had been surveyed (Preecha-anunt 2007), which revealed the 'planning for real' method that brought locals together before the planning process began (Fitton and Price 1996). However, since the local guesthouses have been replaced by more convenient accommodation developed by outside investors, the control of and benefits from tourism have increasingly accrued to outside entrepreneurs, whilst the level of community participation has decreased. Hence, Pai represents a good case study in which to investigate the issue of the degradation of community involvement in tourism development.

Moreover, as discussed earlier in this chapter, sustainable development has been adopted into the National Tourism Plan, with five main strategies proposed to work towards the achievement of stated objectives. In particular, the fifth strategy seeks to reinforce the process of co-operation amongst governmental sectors, community and local administrative sectors in tourism resource management, focusing on community participation, involvement of community and local administrative sectors in tourism management. Hence, Pai, as one of the more well-known communities for its popularity amongst both international and domestic tourists, represents an 'ideal' case study for an analysis of the extent to which CBT development follows the Eighth NESDP that aims to empower local people, and the extent to which local participation in and benefits from tourism occur in practice.

5.6.2 Planning system and tourism development in Pai

As previously observed, within the public administration system in Thailand there are three hierarchical levels: Central Government, Regional Government and Local Government. [The top-down approach is applied to Pai]; Figure 5.7 summarises the decentralisation in Pai that is structured from the governance.

Figure 5.7: The structure of decentralisation in Pai
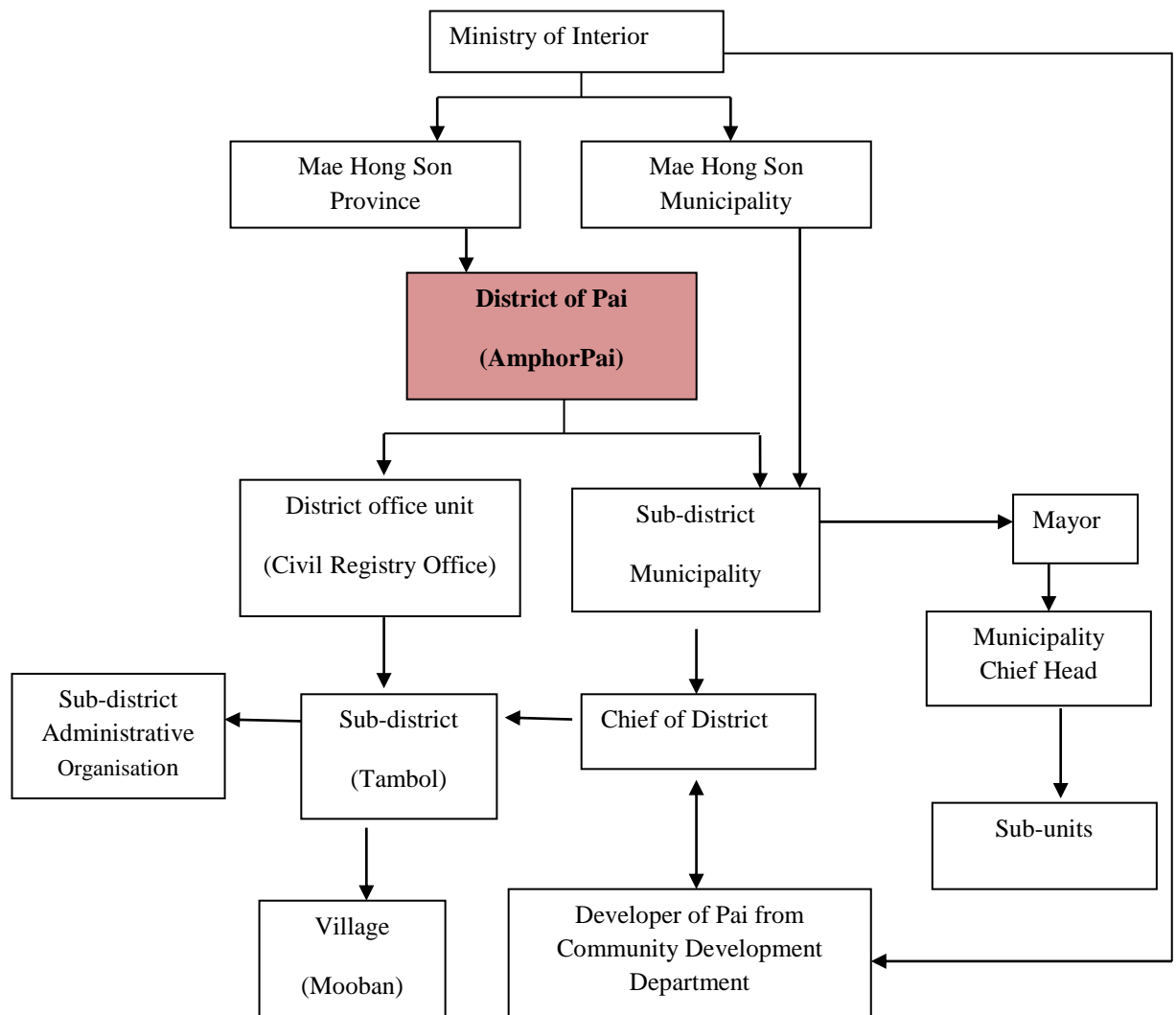
Source: Applied from the official website of Amphor Provincial Administrative Organisation; available on: http://www.tambol.com/district/data2.asp (accessed 02.02.11)

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5.6.2.1 Structure of local administrative organisation in Pai

As can be seen in Figure 5.7, the Ministry of Interior (Central Government) distributes power to Mae Hong Son Province (Regional Government) and to the district of Pai (Local Government) respectively, while the Ministry of Sport and Tourism provides the budget to support tourism activities through the province of Mae Hong Son. However, there are still the complex structures in local government. The two essential units are a district office unit or as known as 'Tee wakarn Amphor' in Thai and the Sub-district Municipality.

According to the official website of Amphor Provincial Administrative Organisation, the District office unit can be described as a civil registry office. In general, each Amphor has to multi-task in keeping a record of the people who live in that district, such as births, deaths or marriage and divorces, and the Chief District Officer is the chief who oversees these. In contrast, the Sub-district Municipality in Pai has a more practical duty, such as planning and implementing plans to support human development in the community, for example, advocating health services, developing labour skills, and addressing issues with respect the environment. The head of the Sub-district Municipality is the Mayor who is voted by the locals, and the Municipal Clerk has the role of implementing work for the Mayor's approval. Other local administrative units are called Tambol (sub-district) which are supervised by the Sub-district Administrative Organisation (SAO), followed by villages, the head chiefs of which are called Kam-nun, who are responsible for the care of their villagers. Furthermore, the person with the most important role in community is the Community Developer, from the Community Development, Ministry of Interior, who basic task is to develop the knowledge and organisation necessary to sustain the community, to determine households' basic needs, and to gather information within villages and districts as a basis for developing living standards.

5.6.2.2 Tourism development in Pai

Figure 5.8 presents the structure of tourism development in Pai. The Ministry of Tourism and Sport has the central role of providing the budget through the province of Mae Hong Son to support the activities and promotion of tourism, similar to the role of the Ministry of Interior which provides budgets for general development and management including infrastructure development and training or education. Finally,

Pai receives these budgets. According to interviews with key informants during the empirical research, it was revealed that sustainable development has been applied for implementation in Pai and the recent target has been to reinforce and sustain traditional cultures.

Figure 5.8: Tourism development in Pai
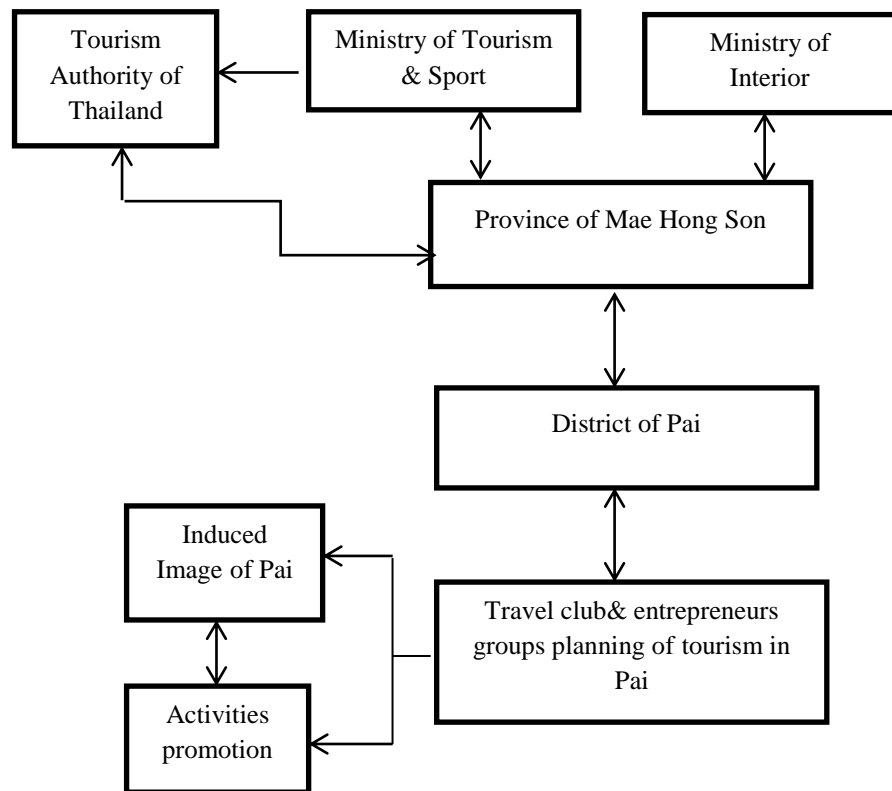
Source: Adapted from the field work interviews and the structure of decentralisation in Pai

In practice, the people in the community and entrepreneurs are key to tourism planning and implementation, while the local administrative organisations have duties only to focus on public utility development to serve tourists and to reinforce or publicise festivals and promotions in Pai. However if there are any requests from entrepreneurs in Pai, the Municipality has to request the budget through Mae Hong Son bureaucracy and the provincial governor must pass the request to the central government for approval. Meanwhile, the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) maintains the role of tourism promotion but its distribution, including budgets, is also based upon Mae Hong Son.

With regards to the community developer, whose duties are indirectly relevant to tourism development, after obtaining necessary information regarding household needs from surveys, the basic plans for each village will be created to address the problems of each family and finally analysed as the community plan. Recently, every village has developed community plans which have been annually updated, including an analysis of strengths, weaknesses, problems and opportunities. These can be related to tourism in particular in identifying key strengths to attract tourists to visit the community.

As stated by the community developer, the strengths of Pai are its resources, landscape and scenery, customs, traditions, and cultures, and also agricultural products including local products from ethnic groups, such as Chinese Yunan, Liso, Karen, Tai Yai and Mong. One of the reasons tourists visit Pai is to explore and experience its way of life because the unique blend of customs and traditions are still in evidence. For example, each tribal village has its unique costumes which are still worn. From the interviews with the key informants, it is clear that planning for tourism follows the tenets of sustainable development, whilst local people as well as entrepreneurs seem to play an important role in the tourism development planning of Pai. Indeed, the opinions of locals are still sought in the development of tourism plans in Pai.

With respect to local community involvement in tourism in Pai, the pillar of tourism planning and development is comprised of (1) the travel club in Pai, called 'Slow travel in Pai' and (2) the entrepreneur group. The travel club is connected with the entrepreneurs group as many of the members of travel club are resort and guesthouse entrepreneurs. According to an interview with Ms.Kob and Mr.Charlie, the leaders of travel club, the travel club has the following objectives:

- To promote sustainable tourism in Pai
- To reinforce local traditions and customs and the conservation of Pai's environment.
- To develop the potential of community and to uphold the rights of and benefits for members of club through events and activities.
- To propose ideas and co-operation with public and private sectors
- To raise money or organise fund raising events to support the objectives of the club.

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-   To be apolitical.

Generally, the club co-operates with the local administrative organisations by proposing ideas and participating with the local government sectors in organising events. Moreover, the club provides news and information to visitors on-line through social networks, such as Facebook or other websites, or directly to visitors who visit the club's office. Their mission, in brief, is about supporting entrepreneurship in Pai and to offer plans to the local administrators and municipality. They offer suggestions to members and provide event calendars for locals to prepare themselves for such events. Hence, it can be summarised that the objectives of travel club are to promote activities in Pai along with the introduction of images for the encouragement of tourists and potential tourists. However the participation of the indigenous people in tourism planning is not visibly obvious. Such issues will be discussed in the following chapter, including the problems and future plans of CBT development.

5.6.3 Homestays and attractions as potential areas of CBT in Pai

Even though the Slow Style Pai from the travel club is at the centre of Pai tourism, other elements of CBT in Thailand refer to homestay and agro-tourism. In other words, homestay itself and activities surrounding it are there to offer an experience for tourists. From this point of view, some of the sub-districts should be able promote themselves as potential destinations with homestay or community-based accommodation which, as a result, would allow each sub-district to act as an individual attraction or identifiable pocket within the larger community of Pai. This will be further addressed in detail in Chapter 7 in relation to the research to the findings. Here however, brief details of homestays and attractions of each sub-district are illustrated to increase the understanding for potential of CBT in Pai.

Sub-district of Mae Na Turng: Most of the area is valleys with water sources and a wildlife conservation area. The main tourist attraction is the Mor Paeng Waterfalls. It has own community accommodation, such as Ban Pai Fah homestay, which offers trekking and rowing activities along with exploring local nature.

Sub-district of Vieng Nue: this area, based on historical evidence, was the beginning of Pai community which was founded more than 500 years ago (Preecha-anunt 2007). It is located approximately three kilometres distant from the municipality. Most of the

people in this area are farmers and have a simple way of life. Other significant attractions include the water source of Pai river.

Sub-district of Mae Hee: Mae Hee has the most plentiful ecosystem in Pai, with natural attractions including hot springs, Huai Nam Dang National Park (the area covers Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son), and Mae Yen Waterfalls. Moreover, Mae Hee is the most important area for CBT as it is the centre of Karen tribe traditions and cultures. Specifically, the area boasts the Mae Ping Karen Royal Folk Arts and Crafts Centre, which is the distribution and demonstration centre of Karen products based principally on Karen weaving. Moreover, there are numerous private houses adapted into registered homestays in Mae Hee, including Pai Mae Yen Homestay, Porn Homestay, Ink Homestay, Rung Homestay, Nampueng Homestay, Jansri Homestay, and Pittalaew Art Gallery.

Sub-district of Thung Yao: This is an area of Tai Yai and has a number of tourist attractions, such as the Pam Bok waterfalls and Pai Canyon. This sub-district has two homestays: the Paina-Paita Gallery, which offers accommodation, local handmade handicrafts and also views of the rice fields; and Ta Come Pai homestay, a traditional organic farm run by a local Yon family who strive to maintain a sustainable and environmentally caring way of life which offers farm life, and sharing knowledge in organic farming.

Sub-district of Vieng Tai: This area is the centre of tourism, and is also referred to as the town centre. Transportation hubs, such as the airport and bus station, are located here, along with numerous accommodation units, restaurants and tourism operators. In this area of town one can walk on foot, and it has a traditional market at noon whilst the night market sells contemporary and creative products. The traditional events are organised in this area. The villages of Lisau and Yunan Chinese are also in Vieng Tai sub-district, albeit lying some 3 to 4.5 from the town centre Those two villages also provide accommodation for visitors.

Sub-district of Mueng Paeng: a small sub-district where Mong, Lisau and Karen peoples live together. Agriculture is quite significant as there are plentiful plantations. There are two rivers around this area, the Pai River and Nam Sa River.

Sub-district of Pong Sa: Like Mueng Paeng, this area has Karen, Mong and Lisau living together. It has plentiful water resources as there are six streams: Nam Sa, Nam Huai Pong Tak, Nam Huai Pang Tong, Nam Khun Huai Due, Nam Huai Bo Som, and Nam Huai Chom Poo.

5.7 Chapter summary

Tourism development in Thailand has been emergent since the 1960s, particularly influenced by the Vietnam War and the presence of the American military. From this time, transportation infrastructure and hotels and guesthouses were constructed. However, it also brought with it a more negative image of Thailand, ten initial presence of the U.S. military subsequently followed by a steadily growing number of international tourists seeking a sexual paradise. The tourism Authority later emerged to develop marketing campaigns to international tourists, the most well-known and successful being 'Amazing Thailand' in 1998. This not only attracted the attention of international visitors, but also that of domestic tourists as it was launched during a time of economic crisis in Thailand. It was successful in convincing Thai people to travel and spend in their own county, consequently leading to domestic tourists becoming major part of the tourist market.

By the late 1990s, the concept of sustainable tourism development was becoming increasingly promoted around the world. Reflecting this, the Thai government redirected tourism policy towards a bottom-up approach and with a more intense focus on local people. This included, of course, looking towards more alternative forms of tourism, such as CBT, as a solution to the perceived problems of mass tourism development.

Pai was selected as the location for the research as it has not only become an increasingly popular amongst tourist as a result of its natural scenery and variety of customs and cultures, but also because it originated as a community-based destination. Destination images, the structure of decentralisation and tourism development in Pai were also briefly discussed and it was shown that community participation is vital in driving tourism business along with the travel club and entrepreneurs.

Having established the context for the research, the following chapter discusses the study's methodology to underpin the consideration of the research outcomes in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 6

Research methodology

6.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, the literature review (Chapters 2 to 4) considered concepts and debates relevant to the central focus of this thesis, underpinning the conceptual model of community-based tourism development proposed in Chapter 4, whilst a background to the location of the study (Pai, Thailand) was provided in the Chapter 5. Collectively, these chapters provide the framework the framework of the empirical research with which the remainder of this thesis is concerned. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to introduce the philosophical underpinnings of the methodology adopted in the thesis, as well as to outline and justify the specific research methods employed to meet the objectives set out in Chapter 1. Hence, the chapter commences with an introduction which reviews the research aims and objectives of the study, followed by a discussion of the research strategy that illustrates the philosophical underpinning, ontological and epistemological perspectives, and the assumptions of the research paradigm. Subsequently, the research design is then discussed. Methods of data analysis are also introduced, as is the concept of cross-cultural analysis that is employed to explore the differing perceptions of international and domestic visitors to Pai.

As introduced in Chapter 1, community tourism development should follow the principles of community participation and sustainable development, the purpose being to optimise the benefits of tourism to local communities. In order to achieve this, it is essential that both a supply and a demand perspective are adopted. In other words, the long-term goals of sustainability within CBT depend on both community participation and the satisfaction of tourists visiting CBT destinations. However, previous research has typically focused on the principles and policies for the development or the supply of CBT from a community or 'supply' perspective; conversely, limited attention has been paid to the opinions or perceptions of tourists who visit such destinations. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to explore the perceptions of visitors to a community-based

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tourism destination (Pai, Thailand), focusing in particular on a cross-cultural comparison of international and domestic visitors and the subsequent implications for its future management and development. Thus, the specific research aim, objectives and questions are as shown in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 Research aim and objectives

Research Aim	To identify, compare and critically appraise the differing perceptions of international and domestic tourists of a community-based tourism (CBT) destination (Pai, Thailand) and the subsequent implications for its future management and development.
Research Objectives	To identify recent destination images of Pai To analyse and contrast the perceptions of international and domestic tourists to Pai To characterise tourists' perceptions of the supply-side approach towards CBT in Pai based upon the analysis of supply-side's attitudes To produce an emergent conceptual model of community based tourism. To define and determine the implications for future community-based tourism development in Thailand and more generally.
Research Questions	(i) What is the understanding of CBT from the perspective of both international and domestic tourists? (ii) What differences exist between the perceptions of CBT amongst the two groups of visitors? (iii) What are the implications for the management and development of such destinations and for sustainable (tourism) development more generally?

In addressing these aims and objectives, the thesis will add an extra dimension to knowledge and understanding of community tourism development in general, and differing cultural perceptions of community tourism in particular.

6.2 Research paradigm and philosophical underpinning

Best (1977: 384) defines research as 'the systematic and objective analysis and recording of controlled observations that may be lead to the development of generalisations, principles, or theories, resulting in prediction and ultimate control of many events that may be consequences or cause of specific activities'. Alternatively,

van Dalen (1973: 532) states that, more generally, 'research is defined by scholars as a careful, critical search for solutions to the problems that plague and puzzle mankind'. Irrespective of definitions or understandings of what research is, however, every researcher has a set of assumptions which direct the approach used to investigate the problem and to seek the answer or 'the truth'. In other words, the starting point for any research is the research paradigm, which may be defined as 'a cluster of beliefs and dictates which for scientists in a particular discipline influence what should be studied, how research should be done and how results should be interpreted' (Bryman and Bell 2007: 25). Kuhn's (1970) seminal book, '*The Structure of Scientific Revolution'* was historically the first work to consider the concept of the research paradigm, speaking of a set of general philosophical assumptions made by researchers working within a distinctive field which derives from the inter-relationship between ontology, or the nature of the world, and epistemology, or how we can understand it (Maxwell 2005).

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), there are three fundamental components that need to be understood when considering a particular research paradigm or 'worldview', which can be briefly explained as follows

Ontological question: what is 'truth' and 'reality', what is 'real' how is it constructed/ understood, what can be known about it?
Epistemological question: What is the potential of the would-be knower to understand what can be known; is there an objective entity to grasp 'truth' or 'reality'?
Methodological question: how can the knower discover whatever he or she believes can be known? By which means will the would-be knower become the knower, what constraints or knowing capacity will shape the path to an understanding of 'truth' or 'reality'?

Thus, to acquire the worldview research, these three components need to be reviewed in order to understand the context underpinning the research. These worldviews are shaped by the past experiences of researchers whose individual beliefs will normally lead to quantitative, qualitative or mixed-method approaches in their research (Cresswell 2009). When conducting research, epistemology, or the nature of knowledge, is essential because it focuses on ways of knowing and learning about the social world. In other words, epistemology is concerned with what knowledge is, how it is acquired and the

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truth or adequacy of acquired knowledge; it is concerned with the nature of relationship between the knower and the known (Denscombe 2002; Fuchs and Weiermair 2003). Thus, it focuses on questions such as: 'how can we know about reality and what is the basis of our knowledge?' (Ritchie and Lewis 2003: 13). Within the research paradigm, the researcher's 'basic set of beliefs that guides action (Denzin and Lincoln 2003; Guba 1990; 17), the epistemological view is contained within the ontological and methodological approaches of the researcher to formulate the framework of the research (Denzin and Lincoln 2003). In practical terms, epistemology involves both ontology and methodology, as ontology is related to the philosophy of reality; epistemology reflects how we come to know that reality while methodology describes the particular practices used to attain knowledge of it (Krauss 2005). Implicitly, therefore, the researcher adopts an appropriate paradigm which supports his/her epistemological, ontological and methodological assumptions.

Research paradigms are commonly characterised under a number of different headings, including positivism, post-positivism, interpretivism, critical theory, feminism, post-modernism and chaos theory (Jennings 2001). According to Lincoln and Guba (1990), the four dominant paradigms are positivism, post-positivism, critical theory and constructivism. With respect to this thesis, and as considered in the following sections research in this thesis, the research is based on an interpretive paradigm as well as a relativist ontology, a constructivist epistemology and a qualitative methodology.

6.2.1 Assumption on the research paradigm
As re-stated in the introduction to the chapter, the specific aim of this research is to explore the perceptions of the tourists with respect to the CBT destination of Pai, Thailand, focusing in particular on a cross-cultural comparison of international and domestic visitors. Consequently, the thesis seeks to conceptualise the implications for the future management and development of Pai, including the identification of positive destination images which may be used to attract more tourists in the future. Hence, this research is relevant to people inasmuch as it is concerned with identifying the different perceptions amongst suppliers (key informants, local people and entrepreneurs) and consumers (tourists) in general, and between domestic and international tourists – with different cultural backgrounds – in particular. Thus, as a qualitative strategy is 'a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals

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or groups ascribe to a social or human problem' (Cresswell, 2009: 4) or, in effect, concerned with words rather than numbers, it is the most appropriate strategy to employ in this research. Gubrium and Holstein (1997) describe four traditions of qualitative research, namely: a focus on the social interaction between people; a focus on the intrinsic experience; the search for understanding of how social order is created through talk and interaction; and, a focus on 'method talk' (Bryman and Bell 2007; also Gubrium and Holstein 1995). Hence, this approach is adapted in the research as it facilitates the understanding of individual or human problems through the underlying the method of talking, such as interviews, in order to generate richer and more detailed information than would otherwise be obtainable though other methods, such as quantitative surveys. Therefore, in relation to the research paradigm, the research seeks to explore the nature of CBT knowledge which is individually constructed (the ontological perspective), and to interpret tourists' perceptions of CBT (epistemological perspective). Thus, the qualitative approach is conducted to acquire these (methodological perspective), in order to contribute to the research paradigm.

To achieve the research objectives, qualitative methods of enquiry, specifically interviews, will be used in order to identify the perceptions of both international and domestic tourists. As the research aims to explore different tourists' perceptions of community-based tourism and destination images, both interpretivism and constructivism are linked to this study in order to interpret and understand these different perceptions.

6.2.2 Interpretivism and constructivism paradigms: links to the qualitative approach

6.2.2.1 Interpretivism

The role of qualitative methods in seeking and providing explanations is widely recognised within the different epistemological approaches (Giddens 1984; Layder 1993; Lofland and Lofland 1995; Miles and Huberman 1994; Ritchie and Lewis 2003). Qualitative research was originally defined and historically based within the objective reality positivist paradigm when qualitative researchers aimed to do 'good' positivist research within less rigorous methods and procedures, by broadening the extent to which the research could be measured, controlled and verified within this paradigm

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(Denzin and Lincoln 2003). Positivism was based on natural sciences, so the basis of qualitative research was to reinforce the utilisation of the methods applied in the natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond (Bryman and Bell 2007). However, positivism adopts a rational, scientific perspective in that it quantitatively measures independent facts about a single reality (Healy and Perry 2000; Krauss 2005). In other words, this paradigm retains an objectivism, which holds that meaningful reality exists as such apart from the operation of any consciousness (Crotty 1998). At the same time, positivists believe in empiricism and, thus, deductive reasoning is used to postulate theories that can be tested (Krauss 2005). Conversely, qualitative research embraces a set of interpretive activities utilising multi-methodologies, such as interviews and life stories, personal experience, or case studies (Denzin and Lincoln 2003). Moreover, these characteristics express the perspective of the people being studied with their viewing of events, action, norms, values, and so on. Thus an interpretation of what is going on in terms of understanding the society as a whole and the meaning it holds for the participants is conveyed by the overall interpretation that qualitative researchers reach from the collected data and the patterns within it (Bryman 2004). This links qualitative research more to the multiple subjective interpretation of reality from the interpretivist paradigm (often combined with social constructivism; see Cresswell 2009, see also Mertens 1998) rather than to the single objective reality presented in the positivist paradigm.

Interpretivism is 'a strategy [required] that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action (Bryman and Bell 2007: 19). It focuses on the explanation of human behaviour based on the Max Weber's *Verstehen* approach, which is described as 'science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at a causal explanation of its cause and effects (Bryman and Bell 2007: 18, see also Weber 1947). Unlike positivism, interpretivism believes that there is no single truth; rather, there are multiple interpretive knowledges (Denzin and Lincoln 2003), and the qualitative researcher believes that the truth is not discovered but constructed by human beings (Crotty 1998). Therefore, qualitative research is based on 'a relativistic, constructivist ontology that posits that there is no objective reality' (Krauss 2005).

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In relation to ontological and epistemological assumptions, Mack (2010) proposed the following model of interpretivist ontology and epistemology shown in Table 6.2 below:

Table 6.2: Interpretivist ontology and epitisemology

Ontological Assumptions	Epistemological Assumptions
Reality is directly constructed based on individual interpretation and is subjective	Knowledge is gained through a strategy that 'respects the differences between people and the objects of natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action' (Bryman 2002)
People interpret and make their own meaning of events	
Events are distinctive and cannot be generalized	Knowledge is gained inductively to create a theory
There are multiple perspectives on one incident	Knowledge arises from particular situations and is not reducible to simplistic interpretation
Causation in social sciences is determined by interpreted meaning and symbols	Knowledge is gained through personal experience

Source: Mack (2010)

As stated in Table 6.3, knowledge is gained through personal experience. Hence as constructivism is, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2003), one of the four major interpretive paradigms and one that adopts and interpretivist methodology. The following section reviews briefly the constructivism research paradigm.

6.2.2.2 Constructivism

Airasian and Walsh (1997) define constructivism as 'a theory that describes how learners come to know. Learners come to know by constructing knowledge when existing beliefs and past experiences encounter new ideas or situations. Their assumption is that knowledge is not an accumulation of facts in a subject area but an ever changing understanding.' However, it was Kelly (1955) who first introduced the personal construct theory, looking at the way in which people construct their world based on an individual basis, thereby establishing a personally constructed reality or truth. There are two primary constructivist approaches. The first focuses on individual personal constructions whilst the second focuses on mutually shared meanings that influence social constructions (Williamson 2006).

With respect to research methodology, it is argued that the constructivist paradigm is best suited when the research concerns human activity (Guba and Lincoln 1998). Hence, as the aim of this study is to reveal the perceptions of tourists, constructivism is an appropriate paradigm to explain why individual tourists hold distinctive perceptions of CBT in general and specific destination images in particular. Moreover, a constructivist approach is relevant to individual personal constructions and to understanding why, conversely, domestic tourists have a common perception, as briefly discussed in the literature review. In short, in order to discover the 'truth' constructed by tourists, the research is undertaken within a constructivism research paradigm that adopts a hermeneutical (interpretation) approach (Guba and Lincoln 1998), which is concerned with the interpretation of meaning and understanding (Gray 2004). Moreover, constructivism also frames the data analysis, inasmuch as a constructed knowledge emerges from the cross-cultural analysis of international and domestic tourists, as well as from the meanings of the outcomes of research amongst, on the one hand, tourism 'suppliers', such as local government, the local community and entrepreneurs, and, on the other hand, from tourists as consumers of CBT tourism in Pai.

6.3 Research design

Bryman and Bell (2007) define research design as 'a framework for the collection and analysis of data. A choice of research design reflects decisions about the priority being given to a range of dimensions of the research process.' Following Bryman and Bell's (2007) concept, the research design for this study follows the interpretivist paradigm. As previously discussed, constructivism and interpretivism are used to understand and interpret human perceptions as personal experience, whilst a qualitative strategy is employed to collect data and inductive reasoning to underpin the process of contributing to a potential model of CBT in Thailand.

In order to investigate the case study of community based-tourism in Pai, the researcher made te decison to stay in Pai to conduct the fieldwork for four months between August and November 2010. This would cover both the low season (rainy season from July to mid-October) and the high season (starts in the last week of October to late January- when mists cover the town area and the weather cools down to between approximately 2 to 10 degrees Celsius). Staying at the location of Pai for four months not only helped the

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researcher to critically investigate the case study but also to identify the target groups of each season to be integrated into the plan proposal for CBT management.

In the results, the differences between high season and low season are as follows. In the high season, the majority of tourists are domestic, who travel to escape the heat of the cities and to stay in Pai for few days (mostly weekend) by using personal cars as the transportation. They tend to stay at resorts drawn by the cooler weather and the misty scenery of high season. There are also a number of events and festivals organised in high season, such as the annual raggae outdoor concert, the Loy Krathong festival, and thecounting down event on New Years Eve, including hill-tribe styled celebration. On the other hand, the low season, which covers the dry and rainy seasons from late February to the beginning of October, is when Pai becomes a destination for international tourists, particularly backpackers who preferred staying during low season due to the low cost of accommodations. Activities during this season are various and relevant to traditional and cultural events, including hill-tribe performances and agricultural perspectives (The calendar of events in Pai is provided in Chapter 5). Overall, tourists who seek to expereince the community tend to visit Pai in low season although some cultural events related to the hill-tribes occur in the high season, so tourists who visit Pai at that time may also want to expereince the cultures of the community. Therefore, to better understand the differences, both non-participant observation and interviews will be conducted in this research strategy.

The non-participant observation, inductive approach and case study method are described as follows, while qualitative methods and data collection are discussed later in this chapter.

6.3.1 Non-participant observation

In the fieldwork, a method of observation was adopted in order to gain further understanding of the case of CBT and to gather naturally occurring or 'live' data from the case location rather than relying on secondary information (Cohen *et al.* 2007). Ferrante (2011) suggests the benefits of observation which include: (1) studying behaviour as it occurs, (2) learning information that cannot be survey easily, and (3) acquiring the viewpoint of the persons under observation. There are two patterns of observation, participant and non-participant. However, in this study data was to be

principally collected by other means, specifically through interviews (Bryman and Bell 2007). Therefore, this research adopts non-participant observation, an approach in which the researcher observes study participants without interacting with them (Ferrante 2011).

The reason that the researcher used non-participant observation rather than participant observation was due to the limited involvement from the locals who were shy and quiet in nature and saw the researcher as just another tourist or stranger. Consequently, conversations between the researcher and locals tended to be general and simplistic, focusing on topics such as weather, places or activities within Pai. In contrast, conservations with the headman of the village or the leader of entrepreneurs later became samples of interviews. Another difficulty arose from the language barrier as some of the natives could not speak standard Thai whilst the researcher could not speak Northern Thai. Further limits on tourist-local relations are also noted as the majority of domestic tourists engaged with Pai for just a limited time as well as displaying their preference for privacy. Wit respect to international tourists, although invitations to join in or interact were extended to the researcher, the safety considerations of the lone female researcher would take precedence despite this. Non-participant observation overall was therefore the appropriate approach as the researcher was still able to observe the behaviours of both the supply and demand sides in relation to the situation of CBT in Pai.

However, certain weaknesses inherent in observation include a difficulty in drawing conclusions, possible observer bias and a lack of validity of the data as it is presented from the perspective of the researcher (Brain 2000). Thus, the researcher also used semi-structured interviews to investigate the perceptions of the supply-side and the demand-side towards CBT issues along with Pai brochure-content analysis to identify the recent themes of destination image that have influenced tourists' destination choices as an inductive approach.

6.3.2 Inductive approach

In all research, there are two major epistemological approaches: deduction and induction. As summarised by Babbie (2007), Bernard (2011) and Hatch (2002), deductive research begins with theories (derived from common sense, from observation, or from the literature) and hypotheses derived from theories, then moves on to data

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collection, observations which either confirm or falsify the hypothesis and, finally, the revision of theory. In contrast, inductive research is more concerned with the search for patterns of meaning in the data so that general statements about the phenomena under investigation can be made. Thus, inductive research commences with the observations, proceeding to the search for patterns in what the researcher has observed before theory or new frameworks can be finally established.

Similar to the ways that the deductive strategy is associated with quantitative research, inductive strategy is associated with qualitative research in a sense that the hypothesis is drawn out of the collected data by the researcher. However it should be noted that the association with this strategy is better thought of as tendency rather than solid distinction as qualitative research either may not generate a theory as an outcome or theory may be used as a background to begin (Bryman and Bell 2007). In this research, as it is based on qualitative research, the inductive approach is adopted to formulise the appropriate implications of CBT in Thailand based on the correlation of local peoples' and tourists' perceptions. Thus, the first stage of the research commences with three forms of data collection: interviews with suppliers, brochure content analysis and interviews with the tourists.

Interviews with the suppliers involved two phases with the local administration and the local stakeholders. These interviews were part of an inductive strategy to formulate an understanding from various supply sources of the current situation in Pai concerning CBT, including its planning, weaknesses and community participation.

Brochure content analysis was a stage used in order to find out the destination image of Pai, this process was primarily inductive, allowing the themes and categories to emerge from the data collected by the researcher, the recognised themes and patterns would attribute to an understanding of the current destination image of Pai published by tour operators.

Interviews with the tourists were conducted to understand the perceptions of international and domestic tourists towards CBT within the destination to assess any positive and/or negative destination images of Pai and their awareness of CBT in general. This was done with an inductive strategy in mind as to allow the similarities

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and differences of international and domestic tourists concerning CBT within the destination to emerge, along with any themes, patterns or understanding of a relation to the supply side and/or the destination image of the brochure analysis.

This research is important as this thesis aims to gain an understanding of tourist perceptions of CBT that may hold subsequent implications for its future management and development, this inductive approach in obtaining information from the supply side both with interviews and brochure analysis along with that from the demand side of international and domestic tourists may portray a broader understanding of the current development and perception of CBT in Pai. It may also expose weaknesses, positive patterns and supply and demand relations concerning CBT previously unrecognised, allowing for their potential consideration towards CBT development in the future.

6.3.3 Case study

Few studies have been undertaken into community-based tourism in Thailand, particularly with the objective of seeking to propose an appropriate conceptualisation of community-based tourism development. Hence a case study approach is adopted to meet the research objectives. A case study is defined as 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin 2003: 13). The use of a case study is recommended when 'how or why questions are being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control (Yin 2003: 9). Stake (1984) explains that there exist three main types of case studies: (i) the intrinsic case study, in which that the research intends to better understand the recent situation of particular case; (ii) the instrumental case study, where the issue examined then contributes to ideas or theories; and (iii) the collective case study, from which comparative cases provide the opportunity to learn more about the phenomenon, population or general condition (Punch 2005; Stake 1994). Case studies are used extensively in tourism research as they have the advantage of being suitable for both the more quantitative hypothetico-deductive and the holistic-inductive paradigms of tourism research, demonstrating a flexibility not evident in many alternative research modes (Jenkins 2001). A case study (Pai, Thailand) is employed in this research in order to better understand a particular case of CBT development, as well as to contribute to conceptual knowledge and understanding of CBT more generally.

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6.4 Qualitative research methods

According to Silverman (1993), the terms 'methodology' and 'method' have different meanings, although they are often used interchangeably. Silverman (1993) differentiates between the two terms, explaining that 'methodology' refers to a typical procedure when studying a research topic, while 'method' is a specific technique for collecting data. Qualitative research emphasises the human investigation of social interaction between people (Guba and Lincoln 1998) by using 'method talk' (Bryman and Bell 2007). Thus, qualitative methodology employs specific methods to conduct research, such as interviews, focus-groups or observation. In this study, apart from the case study, the major methods used are brochure-content analysis and semi-structured interviews. The details are discussed in the following section on data collection.

6.5 Data collection

The research collected uses both primary and secondary data as a means of obtaining in depth information, as follows.

6.5.1 Primary data: Semi-structured interviews

The principal method of data collection employed in this thesis is through interviews which follow the qualitative concept of 'method talk' and the interpretivist paradigm to interpret the data in order to identify the individual perceptions of community-based tourism in Pai, Thailand. Specifically, in-depth interviews are also applied in this research as the method for data collection. This basically involves data elicitation from a small number of respondents in order to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, programme or situation (Boyce and Neale 2006), which may also include personal feelings and images along with their perceptions of others (Gubrium and Holstein 2001). Although the in-depth interview offers a number of benefits, it also has a number of limitations. The advantages and disadvantages of in-depth interviews are summarised in Table 6.3, based on the work of Boyce and Neale (2006), Bryman and Bell (2007), Kumar (2005) and Ritchie and Lewis (2007):

Table 6.3: In-depth interviews: advantages and disadvantages

Advantages of in-depth interviews	Disadvantages of in-depth interviews
The investigator should obtain much richer and detailed data than from other methods e.g. attitudes, opinions and perceptions from follow-up questions to retrieve a deeper and fuller understanding of the respondent's meaning. As it is unstructured, not only is the participant able to talk freely when answering questions, it is also flexible if the interviewer wants to change the content of questions e.g. the words used or question order, correct some mistakes immediately or even skip the questions that make the respondents uncomfortable. It is easy to analyse data as the possible responses are already categorised.	Bias tendency from both investigator and interviewees The researcher should design an efficient data collection plan as it takes longer to evaluate the interview itself, and to undertake transcription and outcome analysis. The interviewer must be well versed in interviewing techniques in order to retrieve as much detailed and rich data from interviewees possible without making the respondents uncomfortable or uninterested in questions. Results cannot be universal as they are from a small or selected sample; they cannot represent the majority.

Source: Adapted from Boyce and Neale (2006), Bryman and Bell (2007), Kumar (2005) and Ritchie and Lewis (2007)

The in-depth interview is appropriate to this research, the aim of which is to elicit individual ideas and perceptions with respect to both the supply of and demand for community-based tourism. However, was it is important for the purpose of this research to ensure as far as possible the validity of the outcomes, a balance was sought between the depth and number of interviews. Hence, the interviews are to an extent semi-structured, based around an established schedule of questions, but adapted to be in-depth, thereby allowing a degree of flexibility. Thus, on the one hand, respondents have no obligation to express opinions; on the other hand, they have the opportunity to provide responses that may be 'off topic', thereby revealing latent or unexpected themes. To facilitate this, questions are still open-ended, beginning with 'how' or 'why' in order to enhance the possibility of broader answers. Also, considering the limitations of the in-depth interview, interviews were conducted with an appropriate number of key informants, following the practice of 'data triangulation' as data affirmation by cross-checking (Bryman and Bell 2007). At the practical level, where possible interviews were digitally recorded (see section 6.6.2 below) in order to ensure that that no change

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to the form of the data would occur; that is, to ensure accuracy of data recording (Ritchie and Lewis 2007).

As interviews were the principal method of data collection, appropriate ethical considerations were taken in to account. All the interviewees were provided with information regarding the research process, in particular confirming the anonymity of responses and that the data was to be used for its study only, and all respondents were asked to sign consent forms. Moreover, the researcher ensured that no questions would be asked that could result in physical, emotional, psychological or any other harm to interviews (Klenke 2008).

The primary data collection for this research was undertaken in three phases. As considered in more detail below, Phase 1 involved in-depth interviews with three key informants from local government, the purpose of this being to explore the administrative structures and processes within which tourism is managed / developed in Pai, hence providing a knowledge framework within which the principal research question can be addressed. Phase 2 involved interviews with eight local people involved in tourism in Pai in order to elicit an 'industry' perspective on tourism development in Pai whilst Phase 3, addressing the principal aim of this thesis, involved interviews with a total of 50 tourists (25 international tourists and 25 domestic tourists).

6.5.1.1 Data collection: the supply perspective

As noted above, Phase 1 involved semi-structured interviews with representatives from the local administration of Pai, the purpose being to identify and understand the plans and practices of community-based tourism development in the study area. Relevant secondary data, such as policy documents and statistical data, were also collected at this stage. These interview findings underpin Phase 2 of the research. Again utilising semi-structured interviews, this stage focuses on key tourism stakeholders in the general community development of Pai, including local merchandisers, tavern or small hotel owners, local tourism agencies and relevant members of the local community. The purpose of the interviews at Phase 2 members was to identify, for example, the extent of local participation in community tourism development and the potential/ actual barriers to community tourism development experienced by members of the local

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community, and whether they follow or divert from the plans and policies devised by the local administration.

To conduct interviews with the key informants from the local administrative organisation, contact was first made by telephone to ask if there was any possibility for the interview to go ahead, providing potential respondents with open-ended questions for their consideration. Thereafter, if they agreed to participate in the interview, an appropriate appointment time was arranged. In order to interview key stakeholders amongst the local (tourism) community, the researcher asked local government informants for the name and contact details of locals holding key roles; consequently, four appropriate respondents were identified who hold active roles within the entrepreneur club, the travel club, a homestay and the village. Other members of the local community involved in tourism locals were randomly approached. All respondents in Phase 1 and 2 were provided with a sheet providing a review of the interview questions in order to ensure they were comfortable with those questions. On average, interviews, which were conducted in each respondent's place of work, lasted between 30 minutes and one hour. The questions posed in the interviews were based on key themes identified within the literature review, and are summarised in Table 6.4 below. As is evident from Table 6.4, four key themes can be identified, namely: tourism development; perceptions of community-based tourism; the extent of local participation in community tourism and issues and problems along with suggestions and future plans.

Table 6.4: Schedule of questions for supply-side in-depth interviews undertaken during the field study in Pai, August-November 2010

Local government key informants	Locals and key stakeholders
(1) Could you tell me about the range of abilities of the local administration of Pai with respect to tourism development?	(1) What do you understand community based-tourism to be?
(2) What are the processes and methods of tourism planning and management in Pai?	(2) Have you ever had any role in community participation? And how?
(3) What do you understand community based-tourism to be?	(3) Are you satisfied with past and present tourism development in Pai?
(4) How do local people get involved in those processes of tourism planning and management?	(4) What are the problems of community participation in tourism planning and management?
(5) Are there any roles for community participation in tourism planning and management in Pai?	(5) In your opinion, who should solve these problems and how could the degree of community participation in tourism planning and management be improved?
(6) What are the problems facing community participation in tourism planning and management?	(6) Do you have any suggestions for the future community-based tourism development in Pai?
(7) What are the future plans for community-based tourism development in Pai?	

6.5.1.2 Data collection: the demand perspective / sampling

At Phase 3, purposive sampling was employed. In adopting purposive sampling, the researcher aimed to obtain the best 'quality' data to meet the objectives of study by interviewing people who willingly share their opinions about the research topic (Kumar 2005: 179). As the interviews were to be in-depth, samples were limited to approximately 25 international tourists and 25 domestic tourists. Respondents were approached on a random basis by screening from their appearances and nationality. Specifically targeted groups were 'Western' tourists (Europe, Northern America and Australia / New Zealand) and Thai domestic tourists, the latter excluding local people. If initial questions revealed that respondents were not part of the desired sample, they were thanked and excused allowing the researcher to continue looking for the next respondent. If the respondent was of a targeted nationality and was willing to participate in the research, his or her perceptions of community-based tourism were discussed and, subject to their agreement, recorded. For Western tourists, the interviews were conducted in English (for this reason, European tourists approached who did not speak English were not included in the sample) while Thai tourists were interviewed in Thai, the native language of the researcher. Their responses were subsequently translated into English. Drawing on the outcomes of the interviews, a comparative analysis of the

perceptions of international and domestic tourists is made and balanced against the perceptions of local tourism suppliers

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As the objectives of this research are to reveal and analyse the perspectives of both the 'suppliers' of CBT in Pai and tourists who consume the Pai tourism 'product', the samples are in two groups. The sample of suppliers included three key informants at Phase 1, namely: the mayor of Pai (Mr. Somporn Chawalit), the town's municipal clerk (Mr. Chetachai Srichuchart), and the community developer (Mr. Somnuk Boonying), and at Phase 2, eight members of the local tourism community. Embracing people from a variety of professions and roles in the community, this sample included the leader of entrepreneur groups of community, the chief of the travel club in Pai, and an indigenous local involved in organic and homestay tourism.

[As already stated the demand-side sample comprised a total of 50 tourists: 25 international tourists and 25 domestic tourists.] The demographic and' tripographic' characteristics of the samples were as follows: The interviews polled on average older respondents; the mean age of the sample of international tourists was 27.6 years old. There were more males (72%) than females (28%). The nationalities of the 25 international interviewees were: 5 American, 5 British, 4 Australian, 3 Swedish, 2 Dutch, 2 German, 1 Austrian, 1 French, 1 Irish, and 1 Norwegian. Of the 25 international respondents, 15 (60%) spoke English as their mother tongue, whilst the remainder did not but were still happy and able to conduct the interviews in English. The majority of international visitors, 18(72%) were either students or graduates whilst, of the remainder, three were businessmen, three were unemployed, and one was a writer. For domestic tourists, the mean age of sample was 28.6 years old, and it was split almost equally between males 13(52%) and females 12 (48%). Bangkok was the hometown of most of those interviewed (21, or 84%) while two were from Chiang Mai, one from Leoy and one from Samutr Prakran. The domestic interviewees had a range of occupations: just over half (52%) were involved with banking, business or industry managers, while the remainder had a variety of occupations, including students, a lawyer and a musician.

Table 6.5: Schedule of questions for tourists in-depth interviews undertake during the field study in Pai, August-November 2010

Major theme under investigation	Questions	Purpose of question
Characteristics of tourists	*Can you briefly tell me about your choice of accommodation and transportation preference? And for how long do you plan to stay here?*	To identify the choices of accommodation and transportation preference of tourists and to evaluate the average of length of stay in Pai.
	What was the source of information used in planning this trip?	To identify the most useful source of information used by tourists in planning for the trip. Also, to identify the extent to which word-of-mouth is the most useful source Sussman & Unel 1999; McCartney *et al.* 2008), as well as past experience (Mazursky 1989; Beeri and Martin 2004; Lin *et al.* 2007).
Push and pull factors in choosing to visit Pai	*What factors influenced your destination choice? Any motivations or reasons to choose Pai?*	To identify their motives and the dominant factors that led to the choice of Pai as a tourist destination, as the destination image is essential for making destinations' choices (Sirikaya *et al.* 2001)
Perception of Pai	*Now you are already engaged with the destination, how do you perceive Pai?*	To find out if additional / alternative destination images are generated during the trip (negative and / or positive) that might be addressed in future marketing of Pai.
Perception of CBT in Pai	*What is your perception of community based-tourism?*	Expected to explore tourists' perception of CBT, from their understanding of CBT to the perception of community participation as the essence of CBT (Scheyvens 2002). Also, to identify tourists' perceptions of the situation of CBT in Pai in particular
	Have you perceived any participation in tourism on the part of local people? And have you engaged with / become involved with locals?	
	How can you have a role or any responsibility for CBT?	
	Do you think tourists in Pai can be considered as responsible tourists? E.g. are tourists aware of problems in Pai and want to make it better?	
	How do you perceive the supply-side of CBT development, such sustainable development campaigns & eco-guidance, slow style travel, the approach of attracting number of tourists (between concert and events and cultural and traditional festivals), locals benefit conservation, and facilities improvement?	
Suggestion for CBT development in Pai	*Do you have any other suggestions for community-based tourism development in Pai?*	To elecit further suggestions or ideas from tourists.

In order to meet the objectives of the research (exploring the perceptions of both international and domestic tourists – and distinctions between the two groups – with respect to community tourism in Pai), a schedule of questions was developed from the

key themes to emerge from the literature review. Details of questions, the themes they investigate and their purpose are summarised in Table 6.5 above.

All of these open-ended questions used a technique of follow-up questions, for example, 'why' and 'how' in order to obtain as much detail as possible, to expand answers and to generalise some ideas from interviewee responses.

6.5.2 Secondary data

Secondary data is the general data collected by governments, research institutions and in some cases, agencies, providing the researcher with readily available resources to examine factors such as the characteristics of populations, statistics or particular hypotheses (Vartanian 2011). Secondary data is important in order to establish a context in which primary data is collected, analysed and reported (Patzer 1995). It also provides information that complements and that, in some cases, would not be available from the primary data set (Vartanian 2011).

In this study, secondary data is collected from the relevant sources, primarily documents published by the government, such as the National Economic and Social Development Plans, tourism statistics, and tourism development plans for Pai. This secondary data not only provides a better understanding of the study area and context, but it also contributes to the construction of question schedules for in-depth interviews. It should be noted that some of the secondary data drawn on for this research was available only in Thai. These documents were translated into English by the researcher prior to use in order to conduct the research effortlessly and are easily to draw to themes coding.

6.6 Data analysis

In this research, two forms of qualitative data analysis are employed, namely, brochure content analysis and thematic analysis. Content analysis is discussed in the following section whilst NVivo, a software programme designed to facilitate the collection, coding, processing and organisation of data, is subsequently considered in section 6.6.2.

6.6.1 Brochure-content analysis

Qualitative content analysis is one of a number of qualitative approaches that address some of the strength of quantitative approaches to data analysis (Zhang and Wildermuth 2009). Qualitative content analysis is variously defined. For example, Hsieh and Shannon (2005: 1278) describe it as 'a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns', whilst Mayring (2002: 2) defines content analysis as 'an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytic rules and step by step models, without rash quantification. Content analysis was first defined and used as a quantitative approach by Krippendorff (1969: 103) as it is 'the use of a replicable and valid method for making specific inferences from text to other states or properties of its source'. However, it was later adapted as a qualitative approach known as ethnography content analysis by Altheidein (Bryman and Bell 2007), in which the aims are conceptualisation, data collection and interpretation, with non-rigid data presentation because at the heart of qualitative data analysis is the discovery the themes (Ryan and Bernard 2009).

The process of qualitative content analysis focuses on an integrated view of speech/texts and their specific contexts by counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that possibly are obvious or latent in a particular text. It is an approach to research that enables the understanding of a social reality in a subjective but scientific manner (Zhang and Wildermuth 2009). For tourists, information has a potential influence on the choice of holiday destination and such information can be formed or presented in such a way as to attract tourist interest. For example, both text and pictures are used in different forms of presentation, such as flyers, brochures, catalogues, guides and tourist maps, posters and billboards, or advertisements in the press (Iordache 2010). With respect to brochures, expectations of quality and value for money were established to perform 'a product substitute' role (Dann 1996b; Middleton 1995; Tomtitchong and Goodwin 2008) and, as part of this study, a content analysis is undertaken of brochures published by the tour operators offering Pai as a destination. The purpose of this analysis is to explore the manner in which Pai is presented to tourists, how this potentially influences their perceptions and destination image of Pai and, consequently, how it influences tourist flows. The

outcome of the analysis will also provide an additional focus of questioning in the subsequent in-depth interviews.

Sampling for the content analysis was based upon a selection of brochures published in English by tour operators offering trips to Pai. A total of 25 brochures were collected and analysed, representing the majority of destination images of Pai. The data taken from the brochures was then transformed into written text from which the unit of analysis was defined as any words, phrases or body of text relevant to destination image. Defining the coding unit is a fundamental decision to make at this stage (Weber 1990). All the text was coded through the software NVivo, this software was also used to process the word frequency of the brochures text adopting the word repetition method of Ryan and Bernard (2009) in order to develop the categories of destination image, this can be viewed by references from the NVivo programme. The categorisation process was done inductively, allowing categories to emerge from the data. These categories were then defined as to remain as internally homogenous and externally heterogeneous as possible (Lincoln and Guba 1985). The main two categories that emerged from the coding scheme were the attributes and the emotions connected to the portrayed destination image of Pai. The attributes were further broken down into the categories of scenery, attractions, activities, quality accommodations, cultures, good weather, a backpackers town and warmth and hospitality. The conclusions from the coded and catergorised data were then drawn, along with any emerging patterns concerning the information the destination image of Pai provided the by tour operators. Furthermore, this information was utilised in identifying any relationship with the data of the demand side, comparing the similarities and differences of the data collected from the tourist interviewees on the destination image.

6.6.2 Thematic analysis

Regarding the interview data analysis, it was initially intended to digitally record all the 48 interviews. However, some of the American tourists who were willing to be interviewed did not wish their opinions to be the recorded. Therefore, in these cases, rather than recording the interview, note-taking was employed as the method of data collection. All other interviews that were recorded were subsequently transcribed. Analysis was then conducted of the rich / detailed data obtained from respondents from both the supply and demand sides. NVivo software was used in order to prevent

potential mistakes made by manual coding and to assure the validity by using the principles of thematic analysis. At this stage, data was input and coded by the researcher. NVivo represents the accuracy of the quantity of the samples and illustrates the themes of the research.

Thematic analysis is 'a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, frequently if goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic' (Braun and Clarke 2006). This approach involves the frequency of the occurrence of certain incidents, words and phrases in order to illustrate a research theme (Bryman and Bell 2007). The data analysis of this research adopted the phases of thematic analysis as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) – see Table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Process and stages of thematic analysis in this research

Stage	Description of the process	Process of data analysis
1.Familiarising yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.	This stage, digital files from digital tape recorder and notes were transcribed. Data from supply side was first retrieved as it contained small numbers. Then the researcher re-read the data and made some notes which cannot be coded e.g. range of abilities of local administrative key informants, which was the description about duties.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.	This phase involved the researcher looking at the answers of interviewees to each question and manually coding by underlining and highlighting important or interesting words or phrases, using coloured markers, into categories. For example, using yellow marker highlighted positive answers while the pink one for the negative answer.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.	After coding was complete, then began the process of code comparison and grouping into different categories by organising on paper. Then the researcher sought to extend the possible relevant themes from those organized codes.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.	This stage was an attempt to find out the relevant themes and construct links between them. Developing and using a thematic map to guide the researcher towards potential structures of the themes. For example, creating a map to link the codes of perceptions of community-based tourism between local government and locals to contribute the theme of community-based tourism in the perception of supply side.
5. Defining and naming Themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.	This phase is relevant to the previous step, the structure of themes was provided including the sub-themes. After themes and sub-themes were explicit, the analysis based on the constructive knowledge of the researcher gained from the knowledge of collecting data was used and the results present in the latter chapters.

Source: Adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006)

Following the process summarised in Table 6.7, the data was coded and categorised to generate themes, using NVivo to organise, code, and retrieve the information. According to the official website of QSR international, the creator of the NVivo software, this approach is the qualitative research software created to manage, shape complicated data to form structured information. As the software provides functions for classifying, sorting and arranging information, the word frequency function of NVivo was therefore used to illustrate data retrieved from tourists. As the data collection from the interviews with tourists was rich, complex and detailed, NVivo facilitated the organization of such data and its analysis in order more valid and reliable. The Code In Vivo function adopted the prominent idea of thematic analysis by 'generating initial codes' to find out the answers from the respondents manually coded by underlining and highlighting important or interesting words or phrases into categories the researcher creates for groups.

Figure 6.1 Example screenshot of NVivo software used
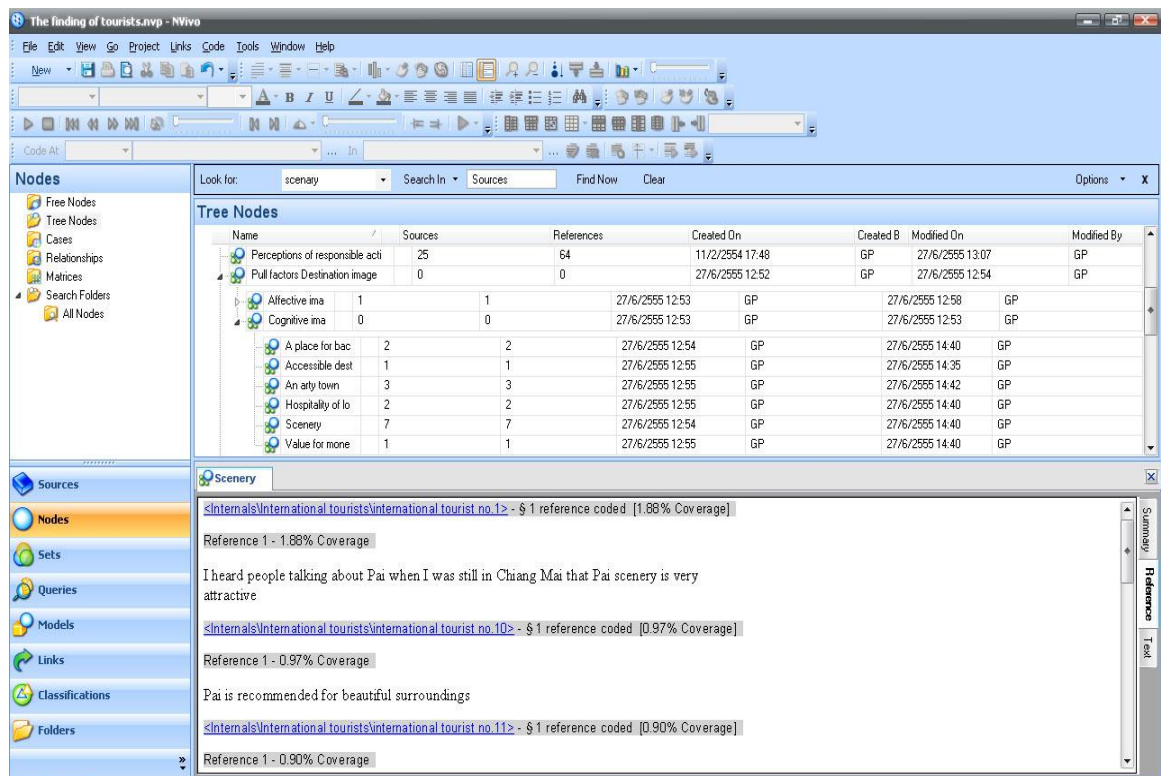
Source: Adapted by the author

The NVivo software efficiently and effectively provides a means by which the researcher can quickly illustrate and organise their coded data, identifying the quantity of respondents and themes along with the frequency of samples. Figure 6.1 displays a

screen shot of the NVivo software the researcher used; it also shows how coded data can be easily presented and navigated by the researcher including the exploration of themes through a hierarchal system known as the 'Tree Node', beginning with a single theme branching off into multiple themes. In other words, it helps the researcher not to miss out on relevant coded data and provide a more structured and comprehensive process compared to more traditional thematic analysis.

Having used the NVivo programme, the brief summary of this software usage strategy for this research analysis is as described in the following:

The stage of data processing by NVivo began with file creation, where the user created samples files of 50 tourists, grouped them into 2 major files as international and domestic tourists, both in English, so they are more accessible to code data. Subsequently, each file was input with data obtained from the interviews, this data was then coded into the 'Tree Node' section in which themes were inductively established beginning with primary themes then branching off into secondary themes and so on, allowing the themes to emerge from the interview data. After using the programme to group the codes from each tourist, the node would represent all themes the researcher established through coding and grouping by the quantity of the samples in each theme as well.

The data analysis and coding within the NVivo programme will be presented in the tourists and interpretative analysis section of the findings chapter, where the resulting data will be discussed in detail and conclusions will be drawn.

6.6.3 Cross-cultural Research

Following the thematic analysis, the next stage of the research to meet the objectives of thesis is to undertake a cross-cultural study to compare the distinctive perceptions of international and domestic tourists of CBT in Pai. Cross-cultural studies are a form of comparative research that focuses on people's behavior and belief systems in different societies, especially different countries (Dann *et al*. 1988). Most studies undertaking cross-cultural research are based on Geert Hofstede's work on national culture (1986, 1991, 1993, 2001). In his theory of cultural dimensions, Hofstede highlights the importance of national culture on the values, beliefs and, ultimately, the behaviours of

people in the same society, and how these cultural dimensions may distinguish the members of one national group from those of another (Hofstede 1991).

To apply a cross-cultural approach within this study, Hofstede's model was initially applied to the case study in order to understand how his five aspects of culture, as described previously in Chapter 4, might influence each national culture amongst the different nationalities in the sample for this research (See 6.5.1.2 above). Through different studies the researcher establishes a background knowledge of the cross-cultural comparison of the differing perceptions of western and domestic (Thai) tourists towards CBT. These studies include: the consumer behaviours of Asian, European and North American Consumers (Woodside and Ahn, 2007), loyalty and travel satisfaction (Crotts and Erdmann, 2000), and tourists behaviours of four nationalities (Pizam and Sussmann, 1995). This study will amount to the cross-cultural analysis of international and domestic tourist perceptions of CBT and to the proposal for future planning of CBT development and the implications of tourist perception within it, which will be featured in the concluding chapter.

6.7 Reliability of the research

In any research project it is important to demonstrate the validity and reliability of the research. However, as validity and reliability fall essentially within the positivist paradigm (Zhang and Wildermuth 2009), Guba and Lincoln (1985) recommend that, from an interpretivist perspective, in order to explore the trustworthiness of the research attention should be focused on a consideration of the credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of the research. These four major points are adopted into the research in this thesis, as follows:

Credibility is 'the adequate representation of the constructions of the social world under study' (Bradley 1993: 436). The researcher must take steps to verify that their findings are accurate and are supported by the data (Pitney and Parker 2009). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest a set of steps to improve the credibility of qualitative analysis, as follows: prolonged checking, persistent observation, triangulation, negative case analysis, checking interpretations against raw data, peer debriefing, and member checking.

In this study, triangulation is employed to enhance the credibility, involving the use of more than one method or source of data so that findings maybe cross-checked. The process of triangulation can be achieved in four different ways: through data, methods, investigator and theory triangulations (Brymand and Bell 2007). In this research, data and methods triangulations are used. Specifically, from the suppliers' perspective, data triangulation is employed through the interviews with local government representatives (the mayor, the municipal clerk and the community developer) in order to affirm the data from secondary sources. Additionally, the interviews with eight stakeholders amongst the local community explored the same supply issues, thereby contributing to the credibility and validity of the outcomes.

The other form based on triangulation is data triangulation. This was employed to validate the destination images of Pai by drawing on two methods. Firstly, brochure content analysis was used to identify key themes, which were then validated collecting data from tourists' interviews.

Transferability refers to the ability of the research findings to be transferred to other contexts (William and Parker 2009). Zhang and Wildermuth (2009) argue that it is not the task of the researcher to provide a perspective of transferability; however, the researcher should provide sufficiently rich data sets and description to enable other researchers, as far as possible, to make judgments about the results' transferability to different contexts. Here, the research design and implementation are described in detail, whilst the findings are considered in detail in order to assure that transferability is possible.

Dependability refers to 'somewhat like reliability in that other people need to be able to follow the procedures and decision trail of the original investigator to understand how the findings were obtained; documentation of all steps is thus crucial' (Contento 2011 : 333). Therefore, the raw memos and notes of researcher's decision process are provided by NVivo for potential review. NVivo software is used to contribute the audit trail in order to maintain the researcher's personal memos and reflections about the topic and thematic coding. This includes photos from fieldwork, transcripts from interviews and field notes so that these trails can be auditable by the reviewers or audiences.

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Confirmability refers to objectivity and is somehow bound with dependability as it is auditable approach (Guba and Lincoln 1989). It refers to 'the extent to which the characteristics of the data, as posited by the researcher, can be confirmed by others who read or review the research results' (Bradley 1993: 437). Similar to dependability, the researcher keeps notes, interview records, interview transcript and other documents as audit trial to allow for examination if necessary.

6.8 Chapter summary

This chapter illustrates in detail the research process that was undertaken for this study. The interpretivist and constructivist paradigms are discussed as the linkage to the qualitative research which based on a case study approach, involve inductive methods. Qualitative data analysis is conducted though a brochure content analysis to identify produced destination images of Pai and thematic analysis to illustrate themes from the studies of CBT in Pai, including the perceptions of both suppliers and tourists. NVivo is used as the essential tool to organise, code, and present categories of themes. Cross-cultural research is explained by adapting Hofestede's national culture dimensions to understand and subsequently analyse the different perceptions between western and domestic tourists. Finally, the trustworthiness and credibility of research are also described to assure its reliability.

Having reviewed the methodology, findings of this study are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 7

Findings, analysis and discussion

7.1 Introduction

The empirical data presented in this chapter is derived from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data are the outcome of the interviews undertaken during the empirical research, involving interviews with stakeholders involved in the supply of tourism in the Pai and with both international and domestic tourists visiting the area. Secondary data has been collected from tourism journals, articles and selected books. Moreover, this research also obtained data of destination image that stakeholders and tour operators conveying the message through the brochure-contenet analysis.

When tourists wish to engage with a destination, their motivations for travelling there can be varied, such as relaxation or novelty seeking. However, as discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis, such factors are particular to individual tourists themselves – arguably, there are as many forms of tourism motivation as there are tourists themselves – whilst so-called 'pull' factors, such as the images they hold of destinations, how they perceive them and if they feel attracted to those destinations (specifically in relation to their needs or expectations), may be a significant influence on destination choice. Moreover, their perceptions of the 'supply side' in particular, such as the attractions and facilities on offer and the warmth and hospitality of the indigenous people, may also influence tourists' perceptions of destinations.

Pai, in northern Thailand, is a destination that in the past used to be best known as a 'backpacker enclave', the majority of its visitors being western backpacking tourists. In more recent years, however, it has become popular amongst Thai domestic tourists too. Therefore, as justified in the preceding chapter, its attraction to both international and domestic visitors, as well as its origins as a community-based destination, make Pai an appropriate case study for this research. This chapter reveals the outcomes of the empirical research in Pai and considers the differing perceptions of the destination amongst international and domestic visitors, specifically their perceptions of Pai as a

CBT destination. First, however, the chapter commences by exploring the outcomes of research into the supply of tourism in Pai, followed by the results of a brochure content analysis that provides a framework for the consideration and cross-cultural analysis of visitors' perceptions of the destination.

7.2 The context of tourism development in Pai

7.2.1 Defining tourism in Pai: from the findings

In the literare review at the beginning of this thesis, definitions for tourism were provided primarily from the perspective that tourism is a social phenomenon and an economic endeavor. Using the findings of primary and secondary data taken from non-participant observation and interviews this section will determine whether or not these definitions are accurate or relevant in relation to the case study of the destination of Pai, Thailand. This will not only serve as a general overview for the findings chapter but will also act as a linkage between the broader (even global) ideas of tourism development as seen in Chapter 2 and the actual ground research results and practices of general tourism leading more specifically to CBT. Using data collected from both the supply side and demand side, the following sections will first discuss tourism in Pai in terms of being a social phenomenon and, secondly, as an economic endeavor.

Social Phenomenon: This thesis considered that tourism can be defined as a social phenomenon as it focuses on people and the mass movement of goods, people, capital and culture (Sharpley 2011). Aspects of the tourism system (Farrell and Twinning-Ward 2004; Leiper 1990; Mill and Morrison 1998) were also explored as research into both the supply and demand components of tourism revealed relevant data of the tourist generating regions, the destination region (Pai) and the transition region in between as well as the surrounding and supporting tourism infrastructure. This large peaceful movement of people (Lett 1989), resources, wealth, culture and information increasingly places tourism significantly within a mobility framework (Hall 2005). In the case of Pai, this social phenomenon can also be attributed to the advancement of communication technologies and social media as Pai has appeared as the setting for several popular Thai films, such as 'The Letter', 'Rakjung' and 'Happy Birthday' and is further made known to the world via recent forms of 'word of mouth' and photo uploads through social networks. It has been noted that Pai has been popular for

backpackers in particular due to its supply of low budget accommodation and value for money and that, over recent years, it has also drawn increasing numbers of domestic tourists. Both of these aspects have led to an increase in the accessibility of Pai including the facilitation of an airport, improved roads, low cost buses and motorcycle rental to further increase tourist mobility. The brochure content analysis revealed that a brochure produced by TAT in conjunction with local entrepreneurs set out to increase ease of access and mobility by including maps, lists of activities and attractions and included local businesses and accommodation. Indeed, many international tourists agreed in the interviews that Pai's ease of access was evident. Technical terms and underlying parameters of tourist and the activity of tourism were discussed, such as length of stay or reasons for travel. In the context of Pai, such technicalities were varied and mixed such as discussed in Chapter 4, where three main types of tourist that visit Pai were classed as: Mainstream 'Mass' Tourists, New 'Alternative' Tourists and, in between, Independent-mass Tourists. From interviews and observations, it was evident that the majority of Alternative Tourists were international travellers including backpackers staying for longer time periods whereas the majority of domestic visitors could be classed as Independent-mass tourists staying for shorter periods of time. Many tourists travelled to Pai for different reasons, expectations and experiences. Thus, placing further technical distinctions on tourism and tourists in Pai would prove fruitless as it is without set social practices, distinct rules, times and spaces (Urry 1994). Conceptually, the social phenomenon of tourism was also discussed as a form of leisure or as a means to achieve pleasure or satisfaction (Batta 2000; Roberts 2004; Turner and Ash 1975). The research conducted indeed showed that a limited number of tourists came to Pai seeking fun and enjoyment but rather than being drawn by purely hedonistic purposes, its visitors came to find adventure, alternative experiences, personal growth, engagement with locals (Beeton 1998), and to reward themselves from work or taking advantage of their freedom and opportunities, perhaps strengthening the idea that tourism is indeed a 'social victory' (Krippendorf 1986). This will be expanded more in the part of motivation of push factor 'motivation in the section of 7.5.

Economic Endeavour: As reviewed in Chapter 2, tourism can be defined as an economic strategy or endeavor that invests in the growth of wealth, infrastructure, transport and communication technologies (Ivars Baidal 2004). This would seem the case for Pai as not only has accessibility increased through improved roads and the

building of Pai airport in 2007 but also the increase in facilities and businesses, such as spas, resorts and accommodations is also evident, again highlighting the point that tourism represents big business (Krippendorf 1986). The increased influx of domestic tourists, drawing investment from outsider entrepreneurs, may also reflect the growing importance and acknowledgement of domestic tourism following the 2001 campaign 'Thai helps Thai' as mentioned in Chapter 5. International tourists from developed nations or even domestic tourist from urban regions increasingly demand the exotic and untouched, especially in LDCs, which is why tourism is such a major component within their development policy and planning (Scheyvens 2002; Reid 2003), yet at times it may also be the only option available (Brown 1998: 59). In accordance with Thailand's Eight National Social and Economic Plan (Chapter 5), incentives have been included within Pai to ensure locals make the most of their local tourist economy through Community Product Learning projects and opportunities to trade locally unique merchandise to tourist. These schemes are fully addressed throughout this chapter. However, higher levels of economic generation does not necessarily mean higher equality (Willis 2005) and, in the case of Pai, it was estimated that almost 80% of the tourism business and facilities are owned by and benefit only outside investors and entrepreneurs. Given the lack of wealth distribution within Pai at a local level, it is evidently recognisable that tourism is big business (Krippendorf 1986), yet it is limiting to define tourism as merely a profit driven endeavor as the various data revealed tourism development strategies aimed at destination growth and local well-being.

7.2.2 Tourism development in Pai

Alongside the relevance of examining the findings in relation to the definition of tourism is the relationship between the findings from the case study of Pai and definitions of tourism development and its governing paradigms as considered in the literature review. From the tourist interviews, supply side interviews and brochure content analysis, this section will first determine the levels to which tourism development in the destination of Pai is focused towards economic growth and peoples' well-being.

7.2.2.1 Tourism development in Pai for economic growth

As discussed within the literature review, the potential for the economic growth of the tourism sector to contribute to national economies has appealed to governments, which

have included it as an integral component within their economic strategies (Williams and Shaw 1991; Oppermann and Chon 1997). Pai had previous budgets for infrastructure and accessibility to the destination approved by the central government when it became a destination for investment by outside entrepreneurs, reflecting support for its tourism development at a national level. However, in contrast, during an interview with Pai's Mayor in 2010, it was revealed that the destination region suffers from limited funding to support and improve tourism development in Pai and budget requests to the government are often not approved. This was also confirmed by other supply side interviews, including entrepreneurs who have in recent times used their own finances to fund tourism promotion due to the lack of governmental support.

Chapter 2 also mentioned how an increase in investment towards tourism development would stimulate local market competition (Schubert *et al*. 2011). Pai has indeed had such investment from entrepreneurs and business owners leading to an increase in its tourism market with the number of activities, accommodation, attractions and other facilitators of the tourist experience. However the local market competition is largely dominated by outside individuals and the growing presence of global corporations such as 7-11 within the small town of Pai. According to the community developer, Mr. Somnuek Boonying, the local people face an inherent disadvantage when it comes to competing within the local market of the destination due to their shy nature, agricultural background and lack of business/trading knowledge. Local incentives and training have been introduced such as the OTOP policies which are discussed later in this chapter.

Tourism development is also an attractive form of development for creating employment opportunities, whilst increased capital and related production that facilitates tourism may be of great benefit to locals along with the other associated benefits from economic growth (Keller 1987; Sen 1994). In the case of Pai, this development has presented opportunities to both locals and outsiders. However, with farmers selling their land for the construction of resorts, a lot of the agriculturally skilled Pai people have been left unemployed and at a disadvantage concerning tourism development. Previously mentioned was the use of free infrastructures and natural resources of the destination as an advantage to tourism development, including low start-up costs compared to other sectors (Sharpley 2009). One of Pai's greatest strengths is its geographic location, in particular its scenic mountainous surroundings, its rural

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and green setting, its somewhat hidden and untouched position and cool weather, all of which were evidently pointed out from both the tourist interviews and the brochure content analysis. Other natural or non-tourist attractions hold great appeal and advantages for tourism development and are made use of in Pai including its river, waterfalls, hot springs, temples and ethnic tribes. This abundance in natural infrastructure and attractions has drawn increasing numbers of tourists to visit and investors to develop resorts, spas, accommodation and so on. However, as the research reveals, this also leads to a draining of natural resources, deforestation and pollution. This drew criticism from a number of tourists whilst members of the supply side in particular addressed issues of water shortages and future plans to pump water out of the river as the rubbish left by tourist.

7.2.2.2 Tourism Development in Pai for People's Well-being

Economic growth does not necessarily mean development, nor does development mean progress (Goulet 1992). Hence, it is important to look at tourism development from a more holistic perspective on social change, focusing on peoples basic needs, freedom and self-reliance (Hettne 1995), and at the findings assessing the 'human capital' of Pai's tourism development (Todaro and Smith 2006).

This focus on people's well-being is present within Thailand's Eighth National Social and Economic Plan as reviewed in Chapter 5, particularly with respect to relevance to the development of CBT in Pai. Local tourism development planning follows the 2003 United Nations principles of local culture preservation and respect, the improvement of sanitation and healthcare for locals. However some of this 'good change' (Thomas 2000), or development, is often western centered or influenced, leading to the degradation of local Pai culture. In the tourists' interviews, some criticism of this cultural clash and dilution was in evidence; whilst some enjoyed the fact that they had access to bars, cafes, burger bars, others from the supply side were critical of the rise of western architecture, see the detail in section 7.7.1 CBT as a product.

As mentioned previously, certain schemes and training is currently being undertaken to ensure that locals are granted sustenance, self-esteem and freedom of choice from tourism development within Pai (Sen 1999: Todaro and Smith 2006:21), more of which will be discussed in detail further into the findings chapter.

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7.2.3 The evolution of tourism development in regards to the destination of Pai

The increased number of tourists to Pai has affected the rate, methods and way of thinking towards tourism development within the destination. Paradigms of development are addressed in Chapter 2 concerning the evolution of development theory. As the development theories of modernisation, dependency, neo-liberalism, and alternative development were explored in relation to the emergence of CBT more generally, it is important to focus on whether or not Pai has followed notable paradigm shifts concerning its own tourism development towards CBT. Moreover, this section will assess whether tourism in Pai reflects the different aspects and attributes of the development paradigms previously covered in the literature review. By identifying these elements within Pai's tourism development, a broader picture can be created as to how previous development methods and thinking affect the current CBT situation in Pai.

7.2.3.1 Modernisation

Modernisation encouraged Keynesian policies of economics and called upon governmental intervention and investment to establish a strong economy, specifically recommending investment in a growth pole (Murad 1962). Tourism was positively perceived as such a growth pole, a panacea which brings incomes, employment and development (Bond and Ladman 1972; Lea 1988). The consequences are the improvement of transportation, facilities and other development. In the case of Pai, since it has become more well-known among domestic visitors, numerous changes have occurred in facilities and transportation, such as Pai airport which was built in 2007, road improvement and the abundance of resorts and accommodations. This was due to the mass mobility of people, especially the increased number of domestic tourists. Pai then became a new destination for outsider entrepreneurs to launch and invest in their businesses, planning and concern for only economic growth, the budget from the central government to improve infrastructure in Pai was approved. Hence, Pai became more accessible and offered more varied accommodations and service providers. In general, the influences of capitalism and globalisation have driven the changes in Pai, including a fading of the uniqueness of Pai as a destination choice.

7.2.3.2 Dependency

According to Dos Santos (1970), Frank (1996), Telfer (2002) and Todaro (1997), the perspective of dependency criticises modernisation in that it actually portrays a situation

that allows developed countries to exploit the resources of the developing ones via the aid of financial lending programmes and was regarded as the new colonialism (Mowforth and Munt 1998). It also identifies the issues of poverty around the world that still remain despite the promises of the modernisation era. Pai itself can be linked to this perspective as many native people sold their lands to the outsider entrepreneurs to build resorts or tourism service providers, with the consequence that the benefits that used to accrue to locals have gone to the outsider entrepreneurs or elite groups instead, which is representative of the control from outsiders who exploit the benefits from the locals. Furthermore, dependency can refer to the cultural dependent position (Blaikie 2000; Ryan and Gu 2009), that the influx of international tourists may affect the degree to which the planning and policy of tourism development reflects outer/western ideals (Erisman 1989). For Pai, given the massive influx of international tourists, the evidence of western cultures is notably present, such as bars or cafés with English menus, playing English music and serving international food. For example, hamburgers, steak or fish and chips are readily available cuisines. This westernisation has also influenced the architectural style of new buildings constructed in Pai. There is also a western influence concerning the planning of local administrators through such events as the annual reggae outdoor concerts that represents more western tastes. Moreover, it is notable that locals, especially the lives of the new generation, are heavily influenced by western ideals and trends including styles of dress, which have changed from traditional dresses to western patterns and styles. This situation links to negative effect from tourism development as long-term damage to cultural traditions and the erosion of cultural values (UN 2003).

7.2.3.3 Economic neoliberalism

Concerning the paradigm of economic neoliberalism, it has free-market economic ideals based on the theories Adam Smith (Willis 2005), rejecting governmental intervention as it was perceived as a problem restricting the growth of the market (Lal 1985). Hence, through these ideals had manifested and promoted various policies including the structural adjustment lending programmes (SALPs), privatisation, deregulation, free trade and market-based development (Harvey 2005; Jamal and Robinson 2009; Slater 2002). Neo-liberalism can be linked to the situation in Pai as deregulation allowed for outside investment and entrepreneurs to develop in Pai, which leads to the vanishing of local business as they are outcompeted. Recently, without any governement regulation,

the benefits have accrued to the outsiders who are keener in doing business compared to locals and have more funding to invest in building accommodations or entrepreneur projects. The local stores also feel the effect from this, as there are 3 branches of 7-11, the global business that cover every corner of the small town, the consequence is that local stores gradually closed down as they cannot compete to the bigger contestants.

Consequently, from the economic growth emphasis of those three paradigms, not only has the area experienced a large number of incoming investors seeking to profit from tourism, but also there has been an increase in the development of attractions and facilities which has caused extensive deforestation, whilst the traditional and unique culture, has been challenged, if not replaced by the globalisation / westernisation of culture to which local residents have struggled to adapt. It reflects that tourism development from economic growth influences the negative impacts to community.

Moreover, according to the Mayor, whose hometown is Pai, this problem has been exacerbated by the fact that there had been no planning for the rapid influx of tourists and the development of facilities to meet their needs. Consequently, the area has seen the development of western-style buildings, degrading the uniqueness of Pai, as well as increased pollution and, as previously mentioned, the socio-economic problems faced by many locals who sold their land to the outsider investors and subsequently became unemployed. As the Mayor observed:

> *There is no support from central government or any public sectors as they did not see the importance of tourism. So, there is no sustainability, no organisation, and no plans for tourism at all. The subsequent impacts occurred when Pai had become well known; a large number of entrepreneurs from outside came here to invest, Pai then became a completely capitalist system. Everything is replaced with money. Land has changed hands, a lot of resorts and guesthouse have been built up because there is no law to control this. The traditional architecture has been lost and their symbols replaced with European styles. Many locals sold their lands to the outsiders to build up the resorts and guesthouses, so many farms were gone. In the past, there was the agricultural society but now it's not here anymore and the way of life has changed a lot.*

From the situation of the rapid growth of tourism development in Pai without plan, it also effected community structure change (UN 2003). Locals who used to work in agricultural field, needs to adjust themselves to be part of the scenic spot. However, one of the most significant factors contributing to these problems is the character of the people of Pai who, by nature, adopt a shy attitude and who do not take easily to commercialisation. They are unable to compete with professional entrepreneurs or traders, outsiders who were typically come from big cities; rather, they prefer to work in agriculture, which produces only small a profit compared to what the entrepreneurs earn from tourism. Even when they want to sell local products in the main street for tourists in Pai, there is, according to the Mayor, a 'street mafia presence' which denies local people the ability to sell their products as they have done in the past, prior to the rise in Pai's popularity. Yet, this is a problem that the local government has been unable to do anything about.

From tourism development in the paradigm of dependency and neoliberalism, the rising number of western-style buildings as well as convenience stores is another reality that is contrary to the reinforcement and conservation of culture and tradition. Despite the planning and the inclusion of many folk arts events, the noticeably western- influenced buildings and the increasing number of city-based convenience stores has been damaging to the traditional character of Pai, transforming it from a small and peaceful rural town tone that has become, from observations and quite evidently to any visitor, a commercial and overcrowded one. Interview respondents criticised the development of tourism, not only for the continual construction of resorts areas that are degrading the scenery of Pai but also for the consequential deforestation. For example, the amount of land in the Pai area that is forested fell from 88% in 2006 to 69% in 2009, the main reason the increasing number of resorts being built and the demand for both land and wood (Neawna News 2009). This, in turn, has had a significant impact on bio-diversity whilst the continual increase in tourism facilities and amenities is contributing to a growing problem of water shortages in the community. Indeed, Mr. Sandot, a permaculture homestay owner and a member of the indigenous population is critical of how this issue will affect the ecosystem in the future:

> *Many villages have problems of water shortage. Normally, we have a problem about this in the summer, but now we still have to distribute water to*

entrepreneurs, who need large amounts of water to nurture their resorts. The future plan is to pump water from the river to meet this demand, which will cause problems to the ecosystem in the future.

The problems caused by rapid tourism development in Pai in recent years reflect that development solely focused on economic growth did not bring benefits to the community. Sustainable development principles were adapted for the planning in Pai as alternative development focusing more on conservation and well-being within its planning.

7.2.3.4 Alternative development

The last development paradigm is that of alternative development that emerged as an answer to the questions of increasing poverty, illiteracy and poor sanitation (Streeten 1977) despite increased economic growth. Hence, the scope of development became the new paradigm that focused on people's well-being instead, and was critically concerned with environmental issues as well. At the same time, sustainable emerged due to the concern of overconsumption and degradation of the environment from overpopulation (McCormick 1995). Hence, sustainable development refers to 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs' (WCED 1987: 43). According to the interrelation with alternative development from shared principles, the context of sustainable development is blended with alternative tourism which influences the principles of many new forms of alternative tourism, such as eco-tourism, agro-tourism, indigenous tourism, and CBT (Beeton 1998). According to the Mayor, Mr.Somporn Chawalit, Pai has implemented the policies of sustainable development to the administrators in recent times to address these negative factors. The emphasis is on environmental concern along with traditional and cultural reinforcement. Therefore, it ensures that the planner foresees such problems and consequences from the previous paradigms which consider only the gains from economic growth. However, although the evolution of tourism illustrates how Pai came to implement sustainable development within its development planning, in practice, the barriers are still visible and are linked to the problems facing CBT in Pai which will described more in the next section.

7.3 Community-based tourism and sustainable development in Pai

The previous section described the evidence for emergence of alternative development within Pai and its tourism development planning which adopts the principles of sustainable development. In this part, the context for the need, rise and establishment of sustainable tourism development and community-based tourism in Pai are provided, starting with sustainable development.

7.3.1 Sustainable development in Pai

The emergence of sustainable development stems from the concern of environmental depletion from overpopulation (McCormick 1995), in which its main principles concern bottom-up forms of development, with a higher priority for the preservation of the ecosystem (Ingram *et al*. 1995) along with people-centric principles (Kirkby *et al.* 1995; France 1997). It has dramatically increased in public awareness and development policy since the publishing of the Brundtland Report in 1987. Its basic principles focus on three dimensions (which were later called 'triple bottom line'), embracing the core values of economic and human development and the objectives of environmental sustainability (Sharpley 2009). This triple bottom line has been widely used adapted in a variety of contexts including the UN's (2003) principles of sustainable development which in summary are aimed towards improving people's quality of life and that encourage increased benefits to locals, the preservation of the natural environment, and respecting and preserving indigenous cultures.

At the community level, sustainable development principles may be presented in through decentralisation, allowing local council to hold authority over decision making which reflects the broadening range of the roles and responsibilities encouraged from a local level (UN 2003). Governments may play an important role in tourism development in general, and in CBT development in particular, by planning and implementing strategies for community involvement in tourism (Scheyvens 2002). This may often involve a 'top-down' structure of governance, from the national level to the regional and, finally, to the local level, the scope of work at each level being different but associated. Pai, the location of this research, is a district of the Province of Mae Hong Son in northern Thailand (see Figure 5.3, Chapter 5). It is considered a local level of government, and is administered by the Sub-District Municipality which is concerned with, amongst other things: the provision of basic infrastructures for people in the

district of Pai; local development; the appropriate distribution of resources; conservation measures; and, the co-ordination and implementation of policies that come down from the regional level. Pai also has another sector of local administration, Sub-District Administrative Organisations, but these are more limited in scope, with responsibility for smaller areas such as the sub-district, or Tambol, and villages (Mooban).

The head of Sub-District Municipality is the Mayor, at the time of this research Mr.Somporn Chawalit (2010-present). The Mayor holds the duty: of (i) concern for local community in the area of Sub-District Municipality; (ii) enhancing the standard of living of local people; (iii) managing and developing the environment in the area of Sub-District Municipality; (iv) encouraging local traditions and cultures; (v) promoting awareness of safety for the community; and (vi) administrate tasks that reflect the policies of the government and the council of Sub-District Municipality (Interview with the Mayor, Somporn Chawalit- 20 August 2010).

Considering the structure above, it is revealed that local level planning is followed by local development, allocation of resources, conservation measures, co-ordination and implementation of policies (Baud-Bovy and Lawson 1998). The Mayor's increased duties represent a decentralisation from the government allowing local people in destinations to make decisions themselves. In this case, the local council can decide and draft the plan for community that promotes the local traditions and culture which Beeton (1998) suggests by promoting cultural festivals and special events to reach potential tourists, illustrating a substantial participation of local council as well as improvement of infrastructures and services such as public footpaths, public toilets, or convention centres.

Moreover, the Mayor's duties are directly associated to the core of the Eighth National Social and Economic Plan as reviewed in Chapter 5, particularly with respect to relevance to the development of CBT. Thus, the following section explores the extent to which tourism in Pai reflects the central tenets of the Eighth Plan in general, and the extent to which it focuses on benefiting and bringing improvements to the local community in particular; in short, it considers the sustainability of tourism development in Pai.

The detail of planning in Pai, according to the interview with the Mayor, the development of sustainable tourism is a fundamental planning objective in the destination, implemented alongside other plans such as the improvement of facilities, the provision of health benefits and education for local people. At the core of this plan is the encouragement of the traditional customs and cultures of Pai's indigenous people and the ethnic groups; as noted in Chapter 5, the local population includes a variety of hill-tribes, such as Chinese Yunan, Liso, Karen, Tai Yai and Mong, whose unique culture is a major attraction to tourists. The plan also focuses on reinforcing the 'green' message, raising environmental awareness amongst both the local community and tourists though, for example, utilising billboard signage to encourage recycling behavior and the use of fabric bags using to reduce global warming problems. Hence, local tourism planning in Pai follows the UN's (2003) principles that focus on respect for and the preservation of indigenous culture, the conservation of natural habitats and ecosystems and improving healthcare and sanitation for locals.

The community developer, Mr. Somnuek Boonying also stated how the local administration supports the Community Product Learning Centre which, through education and training, seeks to strengthen the local community's agricultural life. It also provides education in specific skills, particularly the marketing of local products such as food, drinks and herbs, to be distributed in the market packaged and promoted under the Mae Hong Son brand. The objective here is to encourage the community to produce its own products following one of the government's policies, 'OTOP' (One Tambon One Product – that is, one sub-district, one product), which the government believes can contribute to the improvement of the standard of living of local people. Thus, indigenous people and ethnic groups in Pai have a direct role in producing local goods and handicrafts as souvenirs for tourists. However, according to Mr. Boonying, indigenous people are not keen on merchandising, which places them at a disadvantage compared to outsiders who come into Pai to trade. Consequently, during the high season (October-January), the local administration manages the street located in front of the district office unit to give the opportunity to local people to sell only their products; it is called 'Pai Cultural Street' where not only are genuine local products sold, but also the shops are decorated in the traditional Pai style.

This support for the production and marketing of local products undoubtedly reflects, in a specific manner, the objectives of the Eighth National Social and Economic Plan, the focus of which is on human development and the improvement of peoples' quality of life. The training provided by the Community Product Learning Centre supports the development of employment and income opportunities for local people through the production and sale of small local products. Equally, it also represents one element of community tourism, in as much as community-made products, such as Karen sarongs, or locally produced coarse rice and condensed liquor, become souvenirs of Pai that attract tourists. Overall, this may reflect not only the improvement in local skillsets (UN 2003) but also a form of community empowerment. Following the dimensions of empowering community by Scheyvens (2002), the psychological dimension recognises the enhancement of self-esteem for community members to achieve outside recognition from the uniqueness and value of their culture, natural resources and traditional knowledge. In this case, the planner encourages indigenous people by providing skills and distribution techniques to sell their unique products to outsiders so that they may have their own benefits, careers and incomes.

However, at the same time it is evident that the implementation of sustainable tourism in Pai is, as Pigram (1994) argues more generally, 'a utopian ideal, of no practical consequence'. In other words, in practice, given the IUCN's (1991) principle of a 'long-term future focus', sustainable development in Pai seems to remain a distant objective. That is, in order to increase the number of tourists visiting Pai, the mayor and the planners have implemented a number of short-term initiatives, such as an annual outdoor concert which provides tourists with the opportunity to experience reggae and ska music amongst the beautiful scenery of mountains. Hence, not only is the style of music played at the concert an 'external' form of culture being imposed on Pai but, at a more practical level, it results in significant noise pollution for the local community. Moreover, large amounts of waste are left by tourists around the location of the concert, impacting negatively on the local bio-diversity systems with the potential prolonged problems in the future. Indeed, the headman of a village in Pai commented on the pollution resulting more generally from the influx of tourists and, in particular, the increased amount of waste in Pai:

The litter is around the town, especially in the high season. Also, as you can see that there are a lot of motorbikes in Pai from tourists' use and it is even worse in the high season. Pai has more pollution in these recent years, not just only from too many vehicles, but also from waste, loud noise at night, and so on.

Not only environmental problems that was stated, the initial results of the research also suggest that the benefits of this growth in tourism have accrued to only a few groups of stakeholders, including the organisers of events, not the local indigenous people. Indeed, not only is the local community largely excluded from the benefits of organised events and concerts in particular, but more generally the majority of benefits from tourism accrue not to the indigenous population but, rather, to entrepreneurs who are mainly outside the area. Indeed, the research revealed that almost 80% of tourism related businesses in Pai, including accommodation providers, cafés / restaurants, and tour operators, are owned and operated by incoming entrepreneurs. It is a reflection of the elite domination within the structural limitations (Tosun 2002), that dominant national and local elite groups sometimes intentionally keep residents in an inferior position (de Kadt 1979; Haywood 1988; Timothy 2002), as was previously described in the paradigm of dependency in that local people were exploited to benefit outsiders. Conversely, while the majority of local people normally work in the agricultural sector, some work only part-time as employees of these entrepreneurs. In fact, some members of the local community are worse off than they might have been, having sold their property, land or farm to outsiders. Consequently, they no longer possess land to farm, but also they have no alternative employment / source of income as their previous work experience is solely agriculturally based. The evident is from one of indigenous entreprenuer:

The majority of benefits accrue to the outsider entrepreneurs more than locals and the outsiders take control of 80% of service providers in Pai.

Moreover, the issue of the rise of westernised resorts in Pai and their diluting effect on the uniqueness of Pai, remains as the public sector is unable to do much to address this issue. As the Mayor criticised, being able to develop a tourist resort depends on good connections because the final approval can only come from higher levels of government

and, as good connections and 'big man' system influence the bureaucracy structure, the local public sector cannot control the approval process for construction:

> *There is no organised urban plan; traditional buildings are rebuilt as a western-styled building without any permission from us but from someone above us, as the 'big man' system is all about connections with certain individuals. When we can't control construction approval, the widespread building of facilities causes many environmental problems.*

Generally, this reflects the failure to work towards the achievement of sustainable development in Pai. Although the aim of the Eighth Plan is to promote the idea of a 'bottom-up' approach to planning and development, in reality what continues to occur is 'top-down' management based upon the intervention of connections and the influential people. The local council who seems to hold authority as the duties previously stated, in practice their decision making power is limited if not non-existent. Therefore, revealing the lack of power and self-governance as well as the limitation of empowerment at the local level. Thus, even though the mayor was elected by local people, and plans for tourism are proposed as 'bottom up', the actual power to approve such plans belongs to bodies at a higher level in the governance structure.

Overall, considering the situation in Pai as described above, sustainable development is still challenged due to limited evidence of local community benefit, environmental concern in practice, and limited evidence of bottom-up approach and long-term considerations. Sustainable tourism development is also, of course, concerned with community participation as one of its main principles, whilst this research focuses specifically on CBT. By definition, the involvement of the local community is a fundamental element of CBT and therefore, the following section considers the extent to which such involvement is perceived and experienced in Pai.

7.3.2 Understandings of CBT and community participation in Pai
The concept of CBT was reviewed at length in Chapter 3, and can be summarised as an approach to tourism development tourism that focuses on empowering local people (Scheyvens 2002), which is basically the process that grants the power for commissions (Skyes 1987) such make decisions (Craig and Mayo 1995). More specifically, CBT

seeks the participation of local people in tourism in order to optimise the long-term well being of local communities and to encourage the conservation of local resources through long term planning for a more sustainable tourism sector (Choi and Sirakaya 2005; Hall 1996).

However, the concept of CBT is often criticised for its idealism because, in practice, community groups tend not become involved in the participatory processes that are introduced by government or external citizens and local people rarely make any decisions in regards to the community (Joppe 1996). This means that there is little if not no evidence to suggest the presence of empowerment at the local level, with residents having limited authorisation in decision making. This also links to the failure of decision making by the local council that should be made to restrict benefits to locals, for example, the alienated buildings that was previously discussed, but in practice, the connection of the outsider entrepreneurs with the regional level has more influence. In other word, it may say outsider entrepreneurs are actually the power controller of community.   More generally, Tosun (2000) also points out the main barriers to the successful implementation of CBT are: limitations at the *operational level* – that is, a lack of co-ordination and information; *structural limitations*, such as the high cost of community participation, elite domination, the lack of professionals, expertise, an appropriate legal system, trained human resources, financial resources and so on; and *cultural limitations*, or the limited capacity of poor people and low levels of awareness amongst the local community (Tosun 2000).

From the interviews with stakeholders in tourism in Pai (those involved in the supply of tourism services and experiences), it became evident that although most of them understood the concept of CBT as it relates to community involvement and participation in tourism, particularly through running the homestay, and that that locals should participate and co-operate to conserve benefits for the community. However, when considering the level of community participation in tourism in Pai, the research revealed that CBT faces the same problems as discussed above, particularly with respect to limited co-operation and participation. Drawing on the barriers to CBT proposed by Tosun (2000), the limitations to CBT in Pai, are summarised below in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Limitations to CBT in Pai
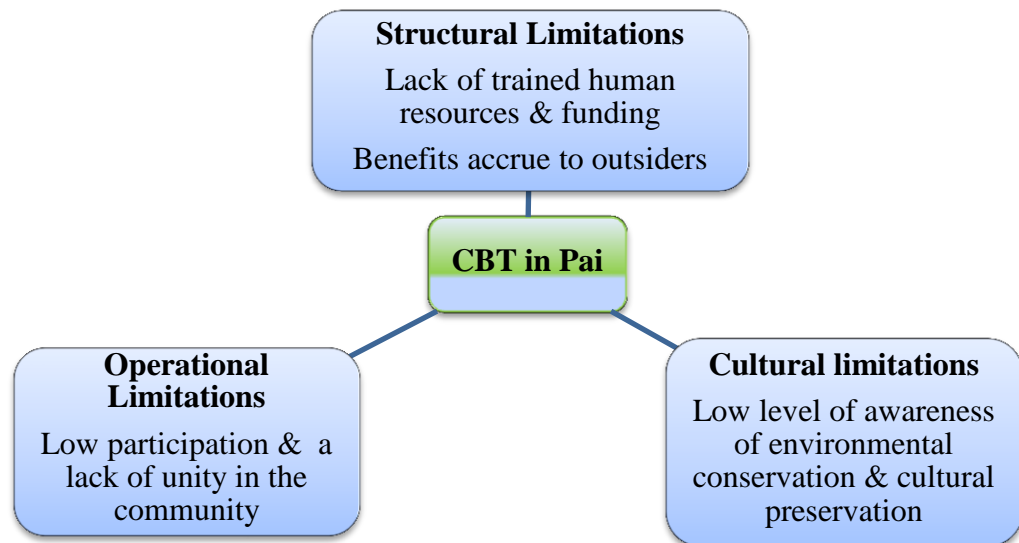
There are three major formal groups of participants in tourism in Pai:

Entrepreneurs in Pai project; the objective of which is to extend the high season, which normally lasts about 4 months, in order to increase the number of tourists that visit Pai during the low season more. Tourists tend to visit Pai only during high season due to Thai tourist behaviours and a liking for the cooler climate; however, it is possible to travel to Pai at any time of the year.

Travel club in Pai (Slow Travel in Pai); the co-operation among entrepreneurs and the new generation of Pai, a group with more modern ideas and a mix of both capitalist and conservationist ideals, including the introduction of slow travel to encourage sustainable tourism in protecting culture, heritage and environment of Pai.

Conservative group; mainly comprising of a few older members of the Pai community

The first and second groups are actually interlinked as most of members of travel club are entrepreneurs, the majority of whom are outsiders. Conversely, the last group, according to Mr. Sandot (the local permaculture homestay owner), is comprised of the older members of the Pai community, locals that preferred to maintain Pai in the ways of the past through previous roles as spokespersons or as active citizens for the

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community, which according to HM Government (2005), it can be one of the key elements to develop empowerment in community, apart from strengthen community and public bodies that Pai has no clear evidences of. This, however later failed due to the lack of numbers, interaction and participation from the community. Indigenous people tend to hold more distinctive ideas and identify themeselves with the individual pockets of community. In other words, they are more concerned with their own group in each sub-district rather than with the whole community of Pai. Thus, there is little evidence of collaborative tourism planning and development amongst people from different sub-districts.

From this point, when considering the definition of community provided by Harvorson and Speirling (2008) as 'a group of people who perceive themselves as having common interest and, thus, a common identity or self-understanding', or indeed community being based on ethnicity, religion, class or politics (Delanty 2007), it can be said that locals in Pai hold more distinctive ideas (of community) within their individual pockets in the destination region. Therefore it can also be said that they then lack sufficient shared interests and common identity to be a defined as whole community, or perhaps even the foundation to becoming a community. Pai already offers signs hinting the reason for limited community participation and empowerment which are the fundamental within CBT development.

The actual controller of community is then entrepreneurs. With regards to contributing to tourism planning in Pai, the main input is provided by the travel club who most of them are entrepreneurs themselves. Although they attempt to encourage residents to involve with tourism planning and development, the failure in gathering local people's is clearly stated:

> *Since 2003, there were surveys among representatives from every age group, scholars, and important people from different roles in the public and private sectors, asking for opinions and promoting tourism in Pai towards sustainable development. However, even there were discussion on stages on four or five occasions, including discussions on urban planning, these initiatives failed as there was no active citizens.* (Somporn Chawalit, Mayor)

It is hard to gather the help of people from each sub-district as they don't have the feeling of unity of Pai; they are only concerned about their sub-district, not the whole district of Pai…people who are from the district with no famous attractions feel isolated because they are not part of tourism. …Even when there are various home-stay homes in many sub-districts, they won't help out as they think of themselves as rivals not friends in business, they do not even provide information to travel club to promote for them.
(Ms. Kob, Travel Club)

The failure of citizen participation is also caused by various divisions amongst ethnic groups, similar to the issue from locals identifying with individual pockets of the Pai community as previously discussed. Each group has distinctive belief that they belong to such groups more than being citizens of Pai, resulting in a lack of mutual awareness and a weakness of unity (Preecha-anunt 2007). Moreover, the influences of capitalism and globalisation are possibly causing the newer generations of Pai people to overlook the community's unique traditions and old customs and with the drive of modernity, they do not want to engage with the conservative group.

It is evident from the interviews that only traditional, cultural or Buddhist events bring locals together, encouraging participation and help amongst different ethnic groups. For example, according to Mr. Tarn Krapinwiton, owner of a tourism resort and one of the leaders of the entrepreneur groups in Pai:

Recently there has been cooperation but it is between entrepreneurs. There is hardly any participation with local people because they insist they have to earn a living, they have no time for involvement without money. However, if there is a more traditional, cultural or Buddhist event, the locals and ethnic groups are willing to participate and help. So, it can be assumed that the folk art festival can bring unity in Pai

Hence, the best way to encourage indigenous people to become involved with tourism in Pai is through religious or cultural events, something which tourism planners in Pai

might adapt to the benefit of the variety of ethnic groups representing distinctive folk arts and cultures.

Therefore, the situation in Pai illustrates the limitations of CBT at the operational level, revealing a level of participation commensurate with the degree of Tokenism or, within Arnstein's (1969) model, Placation (see Table 3.1) and the material incentives level of France's (1998) model (Table 3.2). The characteristic of this degree of community participation is that locals contribute resources to tourism but hold no stakeholding or advising role; decision making remains with the power holders. In the case of Pai, residents' involvement in tourism is primarily limited to cultural or religious events; they have no power or right to negotiate or to contribute to decision making processes. Conversely, according to the municipal clerk, it is the entrepreneurs, most of whom are outsiders, that hold the key to the planning, pushing promotions and decision making in regards to tourism development in Pai. Consequently it is often the case that the local priorities and benefits are often overshadowed by those of the entrepreneurs.

As for structural limitations (Figure 7.1), Pai suffers from a lack of trained human resources, as previously noted, the rapid development of Pai as a tourist destination from the early 2000s onwards occurred without significant preparation or planning. As a consequence, the benefits of tourism accrue to just a few groups of stakeholders, such as incoming entrepreneurs, highlighting an aspect of elite domination, whilst the local community has been unable to take advantage of the opportunities offered by tourism. lack of funding is another barrier in Pai. During the interviews, the mayor referred to the limited budget the district receives from the central government to support and promote development in Pai, as well as the loss of the unpaid tax from illegal accommodation units. Receiving the requested development budget still depends upon the discretion of central government, and frequently such budget requests fail to receive approval. This causes a degree of dissatisfaction amongst tourism entrepreneurs; in interviews, they mentioned the lack of encouragement and support from the local government, meaning that they have to utilise their own financial resources for promotional activities because local government is unable to fund such activities. This problem is relevant to national planning that is overly top-down, whilst the local officials lack the capacity and resources to effectively implement tourism plans and to regulate development (Scheyvens 2002).

As summarised in Figure 7.1, cultural limitations to CBT development refer to a low level of awareness of environmental conservation and cultural preservation needs, manifested in individuals who place profit before a concern for the local physical and cultural environment and consequential well-being of the local community. From the research, it became evident that a number of problems and even some local resentment towards the entrepreneurs have arisen as a result of their resorts causing water shortages for the local community and for creating western-style modern developments to attract tourists without showing concern for the longer term attraction of the destination based on its culture, heritage and charm.

All the factors mentioned, including the influence of a governmental top-down bureaucracy and individual outsider interest of entrepreneurs, may not be the only contributors to the cultural decline of the destination area, the lack of involvement, interest and empowerment of locals also being a factor. Furthermore, at the local level, there is evidence of apathy, a lack of awareness, which this is a major problem (Beeton 1998), along with the low number of influential roles held by local people in the Pai community and division amongst the indigenous peoples who rarely join in and cooperate within mutual activities. This may be a result of the rapid change of agricultural areas to scenic tourist spots, with the influx of tourists and outsider entrepreneurs to destination along with the gradual development, residents in Pai who previously lived quiet and simple lives in the originally small-scale town find difficulty adjusting due to the limited time to adapt to such sudden changes. When it comes to participating within matters of tourism, many locals may not feel sufficiently informed and therefore feeling unwilling or incapable to become involved (Timothy 2002; Timothy and Wall 1997). Such was expressed several times by public sectors and locals themselves about the quiet characteristics or shy nature of residents and not being keen on doing business, as well as the lack of active citizens to inform them what to do to, which in turn lowers their chances for opportunity and restrict their benefits.

It could be summarised that CBT development in Pai does not follow the principles or, rather, the ideals discussed in Chapter 3, problems addressed such as the community being largely apathetic, having lack of understanding of the planning process and representation in decision making can be seen (Jenkins 1993), alongside the neglected

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participation of residents, careful incremental development and the cooperation/collaboration with government and other sectors (Timothy *et al*. 2003).

7.3.3 Suggestions for CBT development in Pai from the supply perspective

From the data collected from interviews with tourism stakeholders in Pai, it was identified that the most crucial defect of CBT in the destination is the lack of participation amongst the local community and, consequently, the potential benefits of tourism being enjoyed primarily by outsiders. This situation is underpinned by a number of factors, including the absence of local policies or plans for tourism and the seemingly unregulated opportunist actions of incoming entrepreneurs during a period when tourism in Pai was growing rapidly. As a consequence, the local community was unable to cope effectively with the influx of tourists whilst the actions of entrepreneurs served only their own short-term interests and benefits without concern for the needs of the indigenous population. At the same time, most local people themselves were lacking in appropriate skills and investment funds necessary to engage in the tourism sector, whilst their tradition of simple and peaceful lives defined by distinctive ethnic groupings also resulted in a lack of co-ordination and some disunity in Pai. Thus, a number of barriers need to be overcome for the effective development of CBT in Pai. The following section considers suggestions for the future development of tourism that emerged from the research that attempts to bring up the co-operation and empowerment for residents.

7.3.3.1 The push for community participation and raising awareness of cultural conservation to encourage local pride

As suggested above, the principal challenge facing the development of CBT in Pai is the evident lack of community participation. Interestingly, interviews amongst tourism stakeholders in Pai revealed support for the idea that the solution to the identified problems lies in more active co-operation amongst the local community. For example, one homestay entrepreneur suggested that:

> *Locals need to be a part of movement and call for their rights, especially, water shortages will be the big problem in the future, and residents should act and do something*. (Mr.Sandot, homestay entrepreneur)

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Scheyvens (2002) suggests that, from a social perspective, the improvement of the locals' balance from more community cohesion, whilst from a psychological perspective, the enhancement of self-esteem for community members due to outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, natural resources and traditional knowledge can partially assess their extent of empowerment. It is recognised that for such active co-operation to occur, and for the community to speak 'with one voice', there needs to be involvement from the whole community. In other words, a greater number of local people need to participate as this would prove more effective in encouraging both present and future generations in protecting local culture and heritage. Hence, the respondents suggested that an appropriate way for CBT to be developed in Pai to meet the needs of the local community is to raise awareness of and stimulate pride in their home town; that is, a sense of community belonging and cherishment is an essential foundation for community development. The influences of capitalism and globalisation have driven the changes in Pai, including a fading of the uniqueness of Pai as a destination choice. Therefore, to reinforce local awareness of the significance of the problem as well as harnessing the area's strengths, a sense of responsibility and community cohesion needs to be established. In this context, the community developer referred to the duty of local administrators, as follows:

> *Encourage local people to acknowledge themselves and their problems, holding discussions between the representatives and locals to sort the problems out in order to sustain the community. Also, urban growth is blended with other learning. The current issue is trying to educate communities to sell their way of life to appeal to a number of tourists. So, many local people realise that, to sustain their community and also to be able to market themselves from their customs and traditions, they should not sell their lands to outsiders and investors. Therefore, once local people in each village are aware of their strength, the communities are sustainable.* (Mr. Somnuek, community developer of Pai)

However, planning to raise awareness may be difficult, especially if targeting younger people who show more affinity towards the influx of western influences and the increasing globalization encouraging both cultural dependency and cultural limitation. One potential solution would be to gradually educate young people, within schools and

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public domain more generally, with regards to the significance of the problems and to encourage conservation, thereby, helping to foster a sense of pride in their home environment and the establishment of 'heritage protection' and local 'conservation' movements. Consequently, the more pride and appreciation people have of their home environment, the more power, enthusiasm and responsibility the community will have and the more benefits they will share and receive.

7.3.3.2 Long term considerations

Long-term planning is one of the principles of sustainable development (IUCN 1991) as it ensures that the planning for the needs of recent generations will not jeopardise the needs of future generation. With respect to sustainable tourism development, interviews with both administrators and other local tourism stakeholders revealed an understanding of the need for long-term planning. In other words, many local people commented on the focus amongst entrepreneurs and others on short-term goals and benefits, such as increasing the number of visitors to Pai to engage in outdoor activities and attending organised events, such as the concerts referred to earlier in this chapter. This short-term focus on increasing the volume of tourism, as opposed to the quality of tourism based on the traditional culture and character of the area, is seen by many as the cause of the extensive deforestation, pollution and water shortages discussed previously.

Some of the local stakeholders interviewed suggested that, similar to Haywood's (1988) 'planning for real' method, a survey to identify the community's needs and to elicit local people's opinions would be a good idea before the implementation of any plans or before any new construction is undertaken. However, others argue that this is unlikely to lead to change as they consider that entrepreneurs are still primarily concerned about personal benefits rather than mutual ones. Nevertheless, the need for a 'long term' focus is suggested:

> *Long term consideration would be good at every level of the supply side; even the household survey is the good idea. However, I personally don't think that outsider investors would do as the residents wish because business is business... but they should realise that, in the future, the residents and the descendants of Pai will be affected by the irresponsibility of the outside entrepreneurs,*

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especially by the problems of pollution. So, it would be good if the future of the environment is considered by the tourism sector (Mr. Chai, local entrepreneur)

Alongside the acknowledgement from the supply side of the need for long term planning towards local awareness, enthusiasm and community pride, the concern for environmental pollution, water shortages and cultural degradation also must be addressed in the long term. Although doubts are reflected towards the involvement or consideration of outside investors in taking responsibility to address local issues it must also be considered that such environmental and social degradation may hold consequences for the tourist destination as well as their business investments. Hence, if tourism suppliers and stakeholders of Pai become more aware of the compromising, negative effects of short term planning and co-operated towards the benefits of more responsible long term planning, the destination's residential and business issues concerning tourism development could be addressed simultaneously. This awareness would not only be concentrated on the environmental but also the cultural conservation of the community, encouraging co-operation and participation between the supply side and locals to safeguard and promote Pai as a tourist destination. Therefore, as the findings reveal that the indigenous people participate mostly within the traditional, folk arts and Buddhist events, it is important that planning be built upon this local enthusiasm for these events as to cultivate aspects of Pai's cultural heritage and its promotion as a CBT destination.

7.3.3.3 The improvement of skills, infrastructure and facilities

From the perspective of tourism stakeholders, there is the belief that improving Pai as a destination will be of great benefit to the community, as the town would be able to compete more effectively with other destinations. Pai undoubtedly possesses strong attributes; its traditional culture, abundant scenery, a variety of natural and built attractions, and regular organised events are its key selling points, whilst its destination image could be reinforced by the readiness of trained staff and friendly hospitality on the part of local people. However, as argued by some respondents, there is a problem in that insufficient indigenous people possess appropriate business skills in tourism and hospitality, or handicraft, language and other necessary skills. Therefore, it was suggested that the government could focus on teaching indigenous individuals on aspects of tourism to promote and retain their culture. Raising the potential for locals to

be empowered, as they improve skillsets for employment that may raise their quality of living (UN 2003) which would tend to increase income per household in the community (Scheyvens 2002). Similarly, the respondents referred to problems with basic infrastructure, especially power outages and water shortages, that the sub-district municipality, which has the duty of basic infrastructure provision, needs to address.

7.3.3.4 The awareness of responsible tourists

Another suggestion from the supply-side of tourism in Pai concerns the responsibility of tourists in the destination, which is one of the significant challenges facing sustainable tourism development. That is, there is limited evidence recognising an increase in amount of responsible tourist behaivour based on environmental concerns (Sharpley 2006a), as most of tourists seek relaxation, fun, escape and entertainment rather than work on their part (McKercher 1993), that is, in the environmental issue a number of respondents complained about tourists causing negative impacts, such as damaging attractions, contributing to pollution or behaving inappropriately, for example:

> *Many tourists just take good memories back but are not aware of ruining attractions. Many natural attractions and resources are ruined.* (Mr.Somnuek, the community developer)

> *The litter is all around the town, especially in the high season. Also, as you can see, there are a lot of motorbikes in Pai that tourists use and it is even worse in the high season. In recent years Pai has more pollution, not just only from too many vehicles, but also from waste, loud noise at night, and so on.* (Mr.Chaianan, the headman of village)

Therefore, some stakeholders suggested that there is a need to focus on tourist behavior, as it is believed that tourists should be more responsible towards the destination and to local people's ways of life. This perception of problems being caused by tourists is addressed later in this chapter, as during interviews with international and domestic tourists this issue was raised to explore the extent to which they considered such a problem exists and, if so, what remedies they might propose.

These issues and suggestions emerging from interviews with tourism stakeholders tend to reflect the challenges or barriers to CBT that are discussed in the literature. Thus, in the context of this case study, these outcomes are not unsurprising. However, as suggested earlier in this thesis, the role of tourists, as consumers of the CBT 'product', are of equal significance to the successful development of CBT. In other words, the principal objective of this thesis is to consider the perceptions and understanding of CBT from the perspective of tourists themselves, not only to identify how these may differ from the views and perceptions of tourism stakeholders in Pai, but also to provide a basis for how CBT might be more appropriately implemented. Therefore, in the following sections, the outcomes of interviews with the two groups of tourists (international and domestic) are discussed and compared. Firstly, however, the outcomes of the brochure content analysis, identifying how the image of Pai is presented and created in tourism promotional material, is considered as a reference point for the subsequent analysis of the destination images held by tourists themselves.

7.4 Destination image of Pai from brochure-content analysis

The tourist brochure has long been recognised as a powerful tool in tourism marketing (Holloway and Plant 1992; Pritchard and Morgan 1995). More specifically, it has long been argued that 'there seems little reason to doubt that, for many people, tourist brochures… play a major role in forming their images' (Dilley 1986). In short, the brochure, as a source of both factual information and destination images, has an essential influence on the choice of holiday destination made by the tourist (Iordache 2010), as the commercial and promotional images made by tour operators and tourism organisation (O'Leary and Deegan 2005), brochure can influence the destination image formation as previously discussed in Chapter 4. Thus, in the specific case of Pai, the words (text) and pictures (images) in existing brochures in a sense perform the role of a tour operator, delivering an expectation and image of the destination to potential visitors.

For the brochure content analysis undertaken as part of this study, the 2010 edition of 25 tourist brochures were collected. Three were produced by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) while the remainders were collected from tour operators and hotels in Pai. It should be noted that six brochures were produced in English, so in order to

analyse the text from brochures produced in Thai, the textual data was firstly translated into English. Two of the brochures from TAT promote all cities in Mae Hong Son province, so only the data referring specifically to Pai was collated an analysed from these. Another brochure was produced by TAT along with entrepreneurs in Pai; this provided a map and details of activities, attractions, restaurants, and accommodations in the area. The rest of the brochures were produced by tour operators and accommodation providers in Pai; some of these also included information on activities and attractions in the Pai area. Each brochure was studied and the data is classified into subgroups by NVivo adopting the principle functions of word frequency and of content analysis.

The key identified words that might influence tourists can be classified from the results into three major groups, namely, scenery, attractions and activities. Key words also identify other attributes of the destination, such as culture, quality accommodation, warmth and hospitality, good weather, and a backpacker town, whilst Pai is also emotively described as a place of escape - a romantic place, an exotic place and a fun place. The findings reveal that the majority of brochures describe the scenery of Pai by mentioning mountains and countryside the most and using words to describe Pai as a place of retreat or escape (18/25 and 15/25 respectively). The details of key words are shown in Table 7.1.

From the results, it is evident that the dominant image presented is that of scenery, with 'mountains' and 'countryside or rustic' being most frequently used to describe the followed by 'mists'. The brochures also describe the more famous attractions of Pai, including the Pai river as the principal attraction, followed by the hot springs, Pai bridge, the temples (such as Klang Temple, Nam Hu Temple and Mae Yen Temple), and the waterfalls. The ethnic villages (Chinese Yunan and hill tribe villages) and the National Park are also attractions highlighted in the brochures, though less frequently.

The activities tourists can participate in around Pai were also indicated in brochures. Adventure was the most frequently used word (7/25), the activities covered including rafting, elephant riding, rock climbing, motor biking or mountain biking, and trekking. The words of 'exotic' and 'fun' were also used in some brochures. Rafting was the

Table 7.1: The results of brochure content analysis of Pai brochures

		Key word	Word Count
Attributes	Scenery	Mountains	18
		Countryside or Rustic	15
		Mists	4
	Attractions	Pai River	10
		Hot Springs	8
		Pai Bridge	8
		Temples	8
		Waterfalls	8
		Ethnic Villages	6
		National Park	6
	Activities	Adventure	7
		Rafting	5
		Relaxation	5
		Trekking	3
		Agro activities	2
		Postcard writing	2
		Health activities	1
		Pilgrim activities	1
	Quality Accommodations		7
	Cultures		5
	Good Weather		4
	A Backpackers town		2
	Warmth and Hospitality		2
Emotions	A place for retreat		12
	An authentic place		9
	A fun place		3

second mentioned activity (5/25), followed by relaxation (4/25) and trekking (3/25) to the hill tribe villages. Agro activities which involve learning how to produce rice step-by-step from planting to harvesting, and organic farming were mentioned (2/25), as was postcard writing (2/25).

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Only one brochure provided a health tour by using 'health' concerns as a selling point, adding activities such as herbal massage and yoga, while another described a pilgrim tour, visiting Buddhist temples in and around Pai.

Unsurprisingly, the brochures collected from accommodation providers focused on the quality of accommodation (7/25), using words such as 'comfortable', 'exclusive', 'warm' or 'hospitality', 'impressive', 'stylish', 'perfect', and 'marvelous' to attract tourists to stay in Pai. Some of these brochures also used other words related to Pa, such as the view of mountains, rustic environment and a place for retreat.

Again unsurprisingly, given the number of ethnic groups living in the Pai area, various cultures were also described in the brochures (5/25), so that the Chinese Yunnan Centre, the hill tribe villages and Thai Lanna culture (the Thai Northern culture) are mentioned to appeal as a tourist experience.

Another selling point emphasised in the brochures as good weather (4/25); the key words were 'good', 'breathable' and 'pure' air offered by the location of Pai, suggesting that not only is the weather more agreeable but also that the clean country air is more than desirable. Only two brochures referred to the numbers of backpackers in Pai; this may reflect the fact as Pai is already successful in attracting large numbers of backpackers and that a positive attempt is being made to attract other types of tourists to the area.

The least mentioned words used to describe the attributes of Pai were the warmth and hospitality of the locals by using such words as 'warmth and hospitality' and 'friendly'. Such qualities are evident in Pai yet highlighting them in a brochure may not prove to be enough of a unique selling point to draw in tourists to the destination. Conversely, with the regards to emotions, the words 'relaxation' and 'tranquility' were most often used in the brochures (12/25), presenting Pai as a place to retreat to. Some brochures stated that 'it was a getaway from big cities', whilst others used key words to suggest a place offering authenticity (9/25), such as 'nostalgia', 'romance' or 'romantic', 'honeymoon', and 'privacy for couples'. The words 'exotic' and a 'fun place' (3/25) were used in connection with adventure activities.

Of course, most of brochures presented pictures / images to augment the written text in order to encapsulate the visitor experience of Pai. The most frequently used images were views of the mountains (20/25), followed by images the rustic scenery (15/25), and then the attractions of Pai, such as the temples, hot springs and waterfalls. Rafting and spa massages were the more noticeable activities in Pai as a lot of brochures attached pictures of these two opportunities (12/25 and 6/25 respectively). Every brochure from accommodation providers inevitably offered pictures of their facilities to represent the quality and style of accommodation (7/25). A few brochures included images of the hill tribe (2/25) and some brochures provided area maps or city maps for prospective tourists (5/25).

From these results of the content analysis, it is evident that TAT, along with local tour operators and entrepreneurs, attempt to attract tourists by the focusing primarily on messages describing the natural scenery of Pai, emphasising the appeal of the mountains, the countryside and (perhaps romantically) the mist. The textual messages engage emotionally with images, suggesting Pai as a natural sanctuary and a place offering the authenticity of the 'green' and natural settings of the mountains. As for a place of retreat, the messages in the brochures offer 'relaxation', with most of them using words such as either 'spa' or 'massages', whilst some also provide pictures of outdoor baths or massages along with those the scenery. Hence, the image created in the brochures reflects a combination of 'relaxation', 'wellness' and, perhaps, luxury or 'self-indulgence', as visitors can be pampered in an imagined place such as the blue water or the green landscape whilst circulating the space wearing white robes (Foley 2010). Moreover, the relationship between the scenery and the notion of authenticity is a message which generates ideas of the 'romance' and 'nostalgia' of Wang's (2000) existential authenticity; tourists can enjoy the space of natural landscape whilst some might be reminded of their childhood. Such images of the countryside and the rural life stimulate feelings of or yearnings for a simpler life that may appeal to tourists from cities or built up urban areas seeking to involve themselves in such a destination and to get away from a more hectic lifestyle in search of a feeling of fulfillment.

Other messages in brochures present the attractions and activities on offer in Pai, thereby appealing to tourists who would like to engage with many such activities. Thus, the brochures create an image of Pai as a place that can fulfill a variety of needs and

demands. Tourists who are seeking fun and the exotic might wish to engage in adventurous activities, such as rafting, trekking or motor biking. Conversely, those visitors seeking a more peaceful, 'laid back' experience can spend time enjoying the spas and massages, whilst those tourists seeking a more spiritual experience (Sharpley and Jepson 2011) or a pilgrimage can undertake temple visits or engage in other spiritually appealing opportunities.

Other activities illustrated in brochures include opportunities such as agro tourism, postcard writing, health activities and pilgrim activities. For agro tourism, tour operators inform visitors about this alternative form of tourism that visitors can enjoy, a form of 'green' tourism centred on activities based on the local agricultural life to attract tourists, this appealing to those interested in farming and countryside lifestyles where they can observe and join in with real farmers and work on a real farm.

Postcard writing is an activity of particular potential appeal to domestic tourists as it is a feature of Thai culture to send postcards to friends, family or relatives. Moreover, this activity reflects the significant influence of the movies 'The Letter' and 'Rukjung', both filmed in Pai, in which the writing of postcards and waiting for letters become romanticised and popularised through a number of scenes in the movies scenes. Thus, this message conveyed by the brochures reminds tourists who have seen these movies, establishes a connection and opportunity to engage with the real location and, perhaps, to take on an imagined role within one of the movies.

The message of health activities, such as healthy spa and massage and yoga experiences, attempts to appeal to tourists who are concerned about their health, or who seek relaxation and 'ego-enhancement' through such forms of wellness tourism. The focus on health reflects one element of Thailand's 2004 tourism development plan, termed 'medical tourism'. In this plan, the former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatr expected Thailand to become the most popular medical hub in Asia (Cohen 2006) and, as a consequence, the provision of health-related activities is common in Thailand in general, and in Pai in particular.
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 The images of pilgrim activity in the brochures reflects the characteristic of domestic tourists who adhere to Buddhism, even during their holidays. It is their belief that

'making merit' will be a good way for Buddhists, usually by making an offering, visiting or praying to monks and temples. Pai's temples and religious festivals offer both such religious and cultural appeal.

The other five themes included in the brochures revealed focused on the quality of accommodation, culture, good weather, a backpacker town, and warmth and hospitality.

- *Quality accommodation*: some brochures emphasised tranquillity and relaxation, with the accommodations providing clean, cosy and modern facilities. However, the messages also refer to the scenic context and surrounding environment, encouraging tourists to envisage being amidst the mountains and countryside views.

- *Culture*: given the variety of ethnic groups living in Pai, it is not surprising that culture is a strong selling point in the brochures. Consequently, cultural activities are linked to the attraction of hill tribe villages and trekking, with ethnic groups becoming an object for tourist gaze (Urry 1990). However, it is likely that tourists experience MacCannell's (1973) staged authenticity, when they gaze upon the hill tribe villages and the way of life of ethnic groups presented as 'real' for tourist consumption.

- *Good weather*: The messages of good weather are not only descriptive of the local climate, but also reveal the behavioral trends of domestic tourists, as cool weather is an important factor for Thai travellers. Given the country's tropical climate, Thai visitors are enthusiastic to travel during winter months when Pai offers more agreeable weather, which is the reason why this time is Pai's peak season.

- *Backpackers*: According to the brochures, Pai is still promoted as a 'backpacker enclave' that provides low budget accommodation and a location that still offers an authentic, alternative tourist experience. Although backpackers remain a target group for Pai, however, the brochures convey the message that the destination has become mainstream. This being the case, its appeal for backpackers may dwindle.

- *Warmth and hospitality*: through their text and images, the brochures convey a message of warmth and hospitality on the part of local people. Thus, within the brochures, local people are significant factor that can attract tourists; the promise

of good hosts inspire a sense of confidence in the service and hospitality they will receive (Yamashita 2008).

To summarise this section, then, the tourist brochures of Pai convey many messages embracing a variety of themes. However, the dominant images created are of beautiful, natural and green scenery that provides a peaceful, relaxing setting for their visit, perhaps stimulating a sense of existential authenticity of romance and nostalgia. Within this setting, however, a variety of attractions and activities are on offer, some of which, such as postcard writing, are of relevance and interest only to domestic tourists, whilst the messages of pilgrimage and good weather are also likely to appeal more to domestic visitors. The brochures also promote Pai as a place of wellness, on opportunities to be pampered by spa and massage activities as well as enjoying modern accommodation. Cultural activities are also in evidence but, other than some attention paid to 'warmth and hospitality', it is interesting to note that an image of Pai as a community-focused tourism destination is not conveyed by the brochures – the strongest themes are undoubtedly 'escape' and 'ego-enhancement'.

7.5 Push factors of tourists visiting Pai

Before tourism consumption occurs, tourists initially experience intrinsic motivations; they feel the need or desire to travel (Sharpley 2006b), or are motivated to engage in travel. Typically, tourist motivation is mainly related to the need to escape a mundane environment and the need to enrich one's relationships and ego (Crompton 1979; Dann 1977), factors which were clearly evident in the messages conveyed in tourist brochures of Pai as discussed in the preceding section. Once individual motivations have become manifested, goal-oriented behaviour follows. That is, the tourist engages in the tourism demand process, which includes the collection and evaluation of information, the travel decision (where and when to go), travel preparation / experience and, finally, travel satisfaction evaluation (Sharpley 2006b). Thus, demand is influenced by the destination image that the tourist individually creates of each location based on past experience, individual preferences, word-of-mouth from friends and family or media sources, from which the perception of the destination is created, finally leading to the expectations of destination (Murphy 1985). As considered in Chapter 4, the first step in this process,

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motivation, is often referred to in terms the of push factors. The following section discusses the push factors of international tourists in Pai as revealed by the research.

7.5.1 Push factors of international tourists

As was illustrated in Chapter 5, since the 1980's Pai has been a popular destination for backpackers, being referred to by Cohen (2006) as a 'backpacker enclave'. However, in more recent years Pai has become more well-known amongst domestic Thai tourists and, as a result, there has been an increase in the number of luxury or boutique hotels / resorts rather than small, low-cost guesthouses. Moreover, from the results of the brochure content analysis (section 7.3 above), it is evident that some brochures also provide information in English, the implication being that they will provide international tourists, particularly organised, higher-value tourists, a 'destination image' to draw them towards visiting Pai. Indeed, the brochure analysis would suggest that mass or organised tourists are the main target interest for tour operators in Pai. Nevertheless, before either backpackers or organised mass tourists visit Pai, their decision to visit the area will reflect their original motivations. Thus, this section is now concerned with international tourists' push factors, as identified in the research.

In the case of western tourists visiting Pai, it is likely that their individual motivations are well established, as are their formed images not only of Pai but also of Thailand more generally as their point of entry and host country. When asked about their image of Thailand as a destination, a variety of words were mentioned by respondents to describe their image of the country, including: 'sun, sand, and sea'; 'Thai food'; 'authentic'; 'exotic'; 'fun'; ' hospitality'; and 'budget'. Collectively, these represent attributes that pull tourists towards Thailand. At the same time, however, a number of respondents used words which reflect a more negative image of Thailand, such as 'sex', 'drugs' and 'crimes'. These negative images may represent a significant determinant to tourists considering visiting the country, an issue that is considered in more detail in the next chapter.

Of the 25 respondents forming the sample of international tourists, the great majority were either backpacker or budget tourists who had visited a number of other destinations in Thailand, and not just Pai. Although it is more likely that Pai continues

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to appeal primarily to such international budget tourists rather than organised / package tourists, their predominance in the sample also reflects the fact that the research was undertaken during Pai's low season (March to Mid October). The duration of their stay in Pai varied from approximately one week to 6 months. From the research, five themes emerged with regards to international tourists' motivations to visit Pai. These were novelty seeking, relaxation/escape, interaction with hosts, personal growth and personal enjoyment, as shown in Table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2: Push factors as travel motivation of international tourists

	Themes	**Sources from international tourists**
Push factors	Novelty seeking	12
	Relaxation/Escape	7
	Interaction with Host	3
	Personal growth	2
	Personal enjoyment	1

These findings concur with Dann's (1977) and Crompton's (1979) push and pull motivations of tourists. Most of the international tourists visit Pai for novelty seeking or relaxation / escape. According to Cohen (1972), no tourists is able to fully escape the influence of their home environment in that they need the security of familiar reminders of home (Cooper *et al*. 1998). However, some tourists are able to escape beyond that environment bubble, seeking novelty which often requires them to immerse themselves more in the local cultures (Wearing *et al*. 2010). While the more traditional express the feeling to 'get away from it all' of anomies, to escape from the feeling of isolation in everyday life (Dann 1977), or it can be taking a break from their routine working lives, in order to seek a pleasure through hedonism (France 1997; Urry 1990). Within these two themes, Western tourist respondents referred to seeking 'different' and 'new' places, as well as the desire to learn about 'culture'. For example:

> *The main reason I decided to travel to here is because I wanted to explore different cultures and new places and learn more about the world*. (American tourist, 23 years old)

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…The reason we have come here is because we need something exotic, a kind of adventure trip. We wanted to try something different, experience foreign places, to live and travel rough I guess. (British tourist, 25 years old).

Following the theme of relaxation and escape, some respondents clearly indicated that they needed to escape from work or city living:

Work for a long time, just need a holiday to relax. (British tourist, 62 years old)

Just need some time to treat myself. (Dutch tourist, 37years old)

Relaxation or escape can be seen as a search for intrinsic reward (Beeton 2006; Iso-Aloha 1982); indeed, most of the tourists interviewed who referred to the theme of relaxation and escape mentioned their regular routine or daily work and how they think of the holiday as a reward. However, the motivation to escape is not always associated with being a reward of hard work. Rather, it may reflect a period of 'time out', escaping from 'something' at home, such as personal issues. Moreover, the findings reflected other intrinsic motivations related to Crompton's (1979) socio-psychological push factors, particularly with respect to the facilitation of social interaction. Some international respondents mentioned a desire for interaction with local people, not simply as a form of novelty seeking but by establishing relationships with them; they wanted to become involved with local people and to learn about what they perceived to be a more genuine way of life.

Actually, I would like to learn and experience real Thai culture, customs and traditions. After searching information from the internet, I found that the homestay was the best way for me to go. My friends also went to Pai a few years ago and talked about here all the time so I had to discover that for myself. (American tourist, 26 years old)

Experiencing the local lifestyles would be nice…to learn the Thai people's way of life. (British tourist, 24 years old)

The theme of personal growth mirrors Crompton's notions of exploration and evolution of self as potential socio-psychological push factors. Some respondents stated that travelling somewhere new by themselves encouraged them to make decisions on their own as well as teaching them more about the world:

> *My friend and I made a decision that we want to try something different and do something adventurous. like backpacking…backpacking is cool because we can get more experiences than just usual tourists because we need to manage the budget we saved up and it's time to make our own decisions without parent guides, so it should be cool experience* (French tourist, 21 years old)

> *I want to improve myself like staying in rural places for a while to live simple life and to grow up* (Dutch tourist, 26 years old)

The final theme amongst identified push factors was personal enjoyment, the liberated pursuit of pleasure which reflects the anticipation of the tourist as like that of a child (Jafari 2000). Thus, one tourist who had this motivation referred to a desire to 'have fun' and 'enjoy':

> *I'm travelling with my friend, so our goal is to have fun and enjoy everything here, we want an adventure, that would be really cool* (American tourist, 25 years old)

Although the research revealed five dominant motivational push factors amongst international tourists to Pai, it is not only such push factors, of course, that contribute to the decision to visit the destination. That is, the image of a destination is also relevant in deciding whether or not it will meet the needs and expectations derived from an individual's motivation. Tourists' destination images as a pull factor that emerged from the research are considered shortly but, given that one aim of this thesis is to compare the experiences and perceptions of international and domestic tourists in Pai, the next section discusses that latter group's push factors as revealed in interviews.

7.5.2 Push factors of domestic tourists

In contrast to international visitors, most domestic tourists stated that they are more likely to visit Pai during the high season (end of October to January) due to the cooler climate and their preference for a milder temperature. During low season, they are most likely to visit Pai during a public holiday. From the non-participant observation and interviews, the characteristics of domestic tourists, most of whom come from Bangkok or other large cities, are similar in that they all come in Pai just for a short period of time and they prefer to staying in resorts than guesthouses. Thai tourists revealed that they tend to avoid the low season because of the weather; they feel like they cannot do many activities in Pai because of both increased in rainfall and higher temperatures during the low season.

According to the results, the push factors of domestic tourists differ in significance from international visitors inasmuch as a majority indicated that the main factor motivating their trip was relaxation or escape, followed by social bonding and novelty seeking (see Table 7.3)

Table 7.3: Push factors as travel motivation of domestic tourists

	Themes	**Sources from international tourists**
Push factors	Relaxation/Escape	13
	Social bonding	7
	Novelty seeking	5

Similar to international tourists, most of the domestic respondents who visit Pai motivated by the need for relaxation mentioned a desire to escape from work. However, many of the domestic tourists also referred to positive aspects of the destination, such as how they would like to experience quality accommodation and restaurants; they claim that, as it was their holiday, everything should be good and they should be able to a treat to themselves as a reward for their work. For example:

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My motivation is all about to relax and sleep somewhere beautiful because I have a tight work schedule and it's hard to find times to relax. (Tourist from Bangkok, 28 years old)

The motivation to travel in the country is to get away from everything and to be able to spend some time not working at all. It's also about what to see, where to go and where to eat. Definitely, the luxury hotel where I have a maid setting up stuff for me, everybody needs this once in a year and it's like a reward for me. (Tourist from Bangkok, 30 years old)

Social bonding was also mentioned by domestic visitors as they want to spend time with family, friends and partners during their vacations. Their stated wish for such social bonding is in line with the enhancement of kinship, relationships and facilitation of social interaction (Crompton 1979) which Murphy (1985) positions as a social aspect in his concept of motivations driving tourism demand. Furthermore, some domestic tourists mentioned 'visiting friends and relatives' (VFR) as their motivation. However, according to Weaver and Lawton (2006), VFR is not a motivation but a purpose of travel purpose, reflecting an intrinsic need or motivation for social bonding. This idea also follows the types of domestic tourists who visit rural areas with motives that concerns visiting friends and relatives (Kaosa-ard et al. 2011) and spending time with family rather than to enjoy nature or get in touch with local communities (van Egmond 2007). As respondents stated:

My motivation is mainly to have a vacation with friends, camping and partying. So, to have fun with friends is the idea of travelling here. (Tourist from Bangkok, 25 years old)

To spend time with family…we normally have a trip together once in a year during public holiday weekend. (Tourist from Bangkok, 21 years old)

The last theme retrieved from the findings is novelty seeking, which some domestic tourists referred to as exploring new places they had not been to before, and learning new things as a benefit. Moreover, some domestic tourists explained how they wanted to have a new experience of travelling, such as backpacking as, for them, it is a novel

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experience. Domestic tourists seeking novelty stated:

> *...to see the world. I like to go to new places and see new things...to experience the older culture of the North* (Tourist from Bangkok, 34 years old)

> *I just want to go to explore somewhere I have never been and experience something new* (Tourist from Bangkok, 29 years old)

Although this theme of motivation seems new for domestic tourists who normally travel for business, spending time with family (Kaosa-ard et al. 2001; van Egmond 2007) and pilgrimage (Cohen 2008), this is supportive of what Cohen (2008) mentioned about the changing direction of domestic tourists who prefer visiting more remote destinations which had previously attracted only foreigners.

Hence, besides the differences, the findings reveal that the motivations of international and domestic tourists as push factors towards Pai share the mutual themes of relaxation, escape and novelty seeking. These common denominators appear despite the fact that the tourist identity has individual motivations influenced by cultural background and also social, personal, and psychological characteristics (Gover *et al*. 2007). Moreover as mentioned previously in chapter 4, the notion of a supra-national culture may influence motivation, such as western tourists that share mutual cultures (Brook 2009), similar to domestic tourists who share a national culture. The results thereby reflect shared aspirations, desires and motivations to travel between Western tourists from many countries, and the domestic Thai tourists. This may further the case that the rise of global transformation has led to tourists having similar patterns of travelling such as using the same facilities, visiting similar destinations and behaving in common lifestyles (Wall and Mathieson 2006; Telfer and Sharpley 2008), highlighting that is, the so-called 'tourist culture'. These similarities between international and domestic tourists and indeed this tourist culture in general, are not only revealed through the push factors but also expressed distinctly through shared pull factors.

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7.6 Pull factors of tourists visiting Pai

In Chapter 4, destination images and tourists perceptions were discussed and explained. In particular, the connection between the two was discussed, as was the importance of destination images as a pull factor influencing tourist destination choices. In short, the appeal of a destination is, inevitably, a critical when choosing a holiday (Britton 1979). As considered in Chapter 4, destination image comprises three components, namely: the cognitive image (the physical attributes of a destination); the affective image (feelings and emotions about a destination; and the conative image (the behavioural intention of tourists relevant to a tourism site) (Gartner 1993). Based on these different components, of the outcome of the research amongst international and domestic tourists and from the respondents statements destination images were categorised into two major groups of cognitive and affective images. The conative image emerges as a combination of the results of the cognitive stage and the affective images (Gartner 1993), representing the overall evaluation of the brand that determines the actions and behaviour of the tourist (Cai 2002). These components were examined within the tourist pull factors.

7.6.1 Pull factors of international tourists

From the research findings, destination image pull factors attracting international tourists to Pai were identified as follows. Their cognitive images were revealed as: scenery; a place for backpackers; an accessible destination; value for money; and, hospitality of local people. Conversely, their affective images of Pai were, in order of priority: a place for retreat; an authentic place; and, a fun place. The frequency of these responses is presented in Table 7.4.

From Table 7.4, it is evident that congruence exists between the destination images held by international tourists and the key image themes that emerged from the preceding brochure content analysis (see section 7.4 above). In particular, scenery and a place for retreat were the dominant image both to emerge from the content analysis and from international tourists responses, whilst other images relevant to the information from brochures are a place for backpackers, an authentic place, hospitality of local people, and a fun place respectively. Therefore, it may be concluded that the messages conveyed by TAT and tour operators in their brochures promoting Pai are appropriate and likely to match potential visitors' expectations. From the responses in interviews, it

became evident that the tourists' destination image is formed by both secondary images (organic images, promotional images and induced images) and some of them mentioned the primary images (actual experience/ experiential images) from previous trips (Gunn 1988) as pull factor to revisit destination. Respondents referred to sources of information (induced images) such as word-of-mouth (organic images- unbiased information), the media and movies (promotional images- from destination marketers or tour operators), whilst some also mentioned that their image of the destination was informed by previous travel to the area (actual experiences/ experiential images). These information sources, following Gartner's (1993) continuum consisting of eight distinct components (McCarnet *et al.* 2008), there are notable three distinct components mentioned by tourists which are *over induced I* – traditional forms of media such brochures; *cover induced II*; articles and stories by travel writers who utilise familiarisation tours such travel guidebooks; autonomous agents – independently produced reports, such as movies and personal online articles and blogs; *solicited organic*- information from friends and relatives (word-of-mouth); and *organic*-information acquired based on previous travel to the area.

Table 7.4: international tourists' cognitive and affective images of Pai

	Themes	**Sources from international tourists**
Pull factors: cognitive images of destination	Scenery	11
	A place for backpackers	8
	Value for money	5
	Accessible destination	4
	An arty town	3
	Hospitality of locals	2
Pull factors: affective images of destination	A place for retreat	11
	An authentic place	3
	A fun place	1

The themes influencing the international tourists to Pai as shown in Table 7.4 are now each considered in more detail.

Scenery

During the interviews, international tourist respondents frequently referred to the main image / attraction of Pai in terms of the scenery of the mountains and other natural attractions, such as the hot springs, the waterfall, and Pai canyon. The scenery can be linked as a compelling factor for both relaxation and novelty seeking. As previously mentioned in the contents analysis, the image presented of a green, natural location reinforces the image of Pai as a place for relaxation, whilst additional components, such as the spa or massages, augment this image with the sense of wellness (Foley 2010). Thus the scenery is an image component that may induce visitors to feel 'laid back' or relaxed. While novelty seeking, international tourists can have new and different experiences in the landscape of Pai, even if their home environment is similarly rural, for it is the opportunity for novel activities based on the natural resources of Pai, such as river rafting, soaking in hot springs soaking or cliff hiking, represent conative behaviours which provide a novel experience for western tourists.

A place for backpackers

A commonly held image of Pai amongst international tourists is that it is a place for backpackers. The principal sources of information generating such an image were identified as the popular websites for independent tourists, such Lonely Planet and TripAdvisor, which promote Pai as a popular destination for backpackers given the abundance of low cost accommodation, restaurants and food stalls. From observations during the field work for this research, the popularity of Pai amongst western backpackers and younger tourists was clear although, as noted earlier, the research was undertaken during the low season when the price of accommodation is reduced to maintain numbers of tourists.

Value for money

The significance of value for money may make a destination more competitive than or distinctive from others (Kozak and Balogu 2011). Many respondents mentioned that Pai offers value for money, particularly compared with other areas and destinations. For them, it was the location's appeal and attractions combined with factors such the abundance of budget accommodations, the variety of activities to engage in, and the perceived warmth of hospitality that enhanced their sense of value for money.

Accessible destination

Accessibility is another factor that is appeals to tourists; if a destination is too difficult to access and there is limited choice of transportation, tourists may choose alternative, more accessible destinations. Most of international tourists interviewed agreed that Pai is easy to access with the availability of direct flights from Chiang Mai, car hire and public bus. However, even though there are a variety of transportation choices, most of international tourists preferred to travel by public bus due to its low cost.

An arty town

Some of the international tourists who were drawn to Pai for novelty referred to their image of it as an 'arty' town for foodies, musicians and art lovers. They suggested that they had heard that Pai was a 'little town' with a lot of arty or creative people there, offering the opportunity to satisfy their desire to discover new cultural or craft products or more generally to immerse themselves in an artistic atmosphere.

Hospitality of locals

The international respondents also referred to Pai's reputation for the friendliness of the indigenous people. This image, as discussed earlier in brochure content analysis, will establish the feeling amongst tourists of comfort and confidence, the hospitality of local people making them feel both welcome and, perhaps, important. This theme is associated with tourists who want to interact with local people, for an image of the hospitality of people as a pull factor is the first step towards engaging in interaction with indigenous people. However, in practice, the hospitality of local people is not sufficient for tourists to immerse themselves in the indigenous population, an issue that is discussed later in the context of respondents' perceptions of CBT in Pai.

A place for retreat

The respondents referred to this theme because there they hold an image of Pai as offering a 'tranquil' and 'quiet' atmosphere which, along with the attractive scenery, encourages a sense of relaxation. The respondents also mentioned 'retreat' activities, such as visiting the spa, getting a massage, chilling out, as well as just doing nothing. This theme also links to the international tourists who are motivated by the need for relaxation or escape from their working lives.

An authentic place

The image of Pai as an authentic place represents a pull factor from the perspectives of western visitors than can be divided into 'staged authenticity' and' existential authenticity'. On the one hand, trekking to visit hill tribe villages is a popular activity perceived by international tourists as offering the novel, authentic experiences that they are seeking. However, MacCannell (1973) would described such an activity as a commodified, staged authenticity, as the hill tribe people are gazed and photographed by tourists as objects. They 'perform' for tourists for the money it brings to the community. On the other hand, some of the respondents referred to Pai as an 'authentic place', a rural place with which they want to engage and to experience, to appreciate simple values for self-growth. In this sense, the perceived authenticity of Pai is commensurate with Wang's (2000) notion of existential authenticity. This may explain that why tourists actively seek the opportunity to live in the natural, green and rustic atmosphere and the 'simple life' they find in the agricultural are outside the town.

A fun place

Just one respondent referred to Pai as a fun place. He spoke about the variety of activities in Pai, along with the many western-style clubs, bars and cafes which provide tourists with the opportunity for tourists to enjoy themselves and meet new (though implicitly other western) people.

7.6.2 Pull factors of domestic tourists

Similar to the responses from international tourists, the majority of domestic visitors cited scenery as the dominant pull factor scenery in terms of their cognitive images, whilst the weather, its image as a trendy place and a place for retreat were also mentioned frequently. Some of them referred the actual experiences from the previous trip as pull factors. The themes to emerge from interviews with domestic tourists are summarised in Table 7.5 below.

Table 7.5: Domestic tourists' cognitive and affective images

	Themes	Sources from domestic tourists
Pull factors: cognitive images of destination	Scenery	15
	Weather	13
	A place for backpackers	2
	An arty town	2
	Hospitality of locals	1
Pull factors: affective images of destination	A trendy place	11
	A place for retreat	7
	An authentic place	3

Scenery

Most of the domestic tourists interviewed referred to the scenery of Pai in the same way as the international tourists did, holding strong perceptions of an attractive green landscape. However, they mention that there is something more to Pai, highlighting the mist that sometimes covers the mountains, something that is rare to find in other destinations in Thailand. Hence, a lot of domestic visitors refer to this as an important pull factor although the mists tend to occur only when winter transforms into the rainy season. Hence, if it is a significant pull factor for domestic tourists, this is the reason why domestic visitors prefer travelling to Pai during the winter.

Weather

Related to the above discussion of the significance of scenery, domestic respondents also referred to the pleasing and cool weather of Pai during the winter season. This is a significant pull factor as it is difficult to find somewhere with cool temperatures in Thailand, So, the combination of the cool weather and the beautiful scenery becomes a powerful tourism product to attract domestic visitors.

A place for backpackers

A number of domestic tourists referred to their image of Pai as a place for backpackers as a pull factor, because they wanted to have the experience of travelling like backpackers. In other words, Pai's reputation and image as a popular backpacker

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enclaves is, perhaps rather curiously, a pull factor for domestic visitors although at a more practical level, the low budget accommodation on offer in Pai was also mentioned .

An arty town

Pai is seen as an arty town as much by domestic tourists as by international tourists, with the availability of numerous craft selling products from Pai screened t-shirts to postcards, the latter being an important element of the domestic tourist experience as explained previously. From the interviews with domestic tourists, Pai being seen as arty reflects a cognitive image of the town, whilst the conative factor relates to activities such as writing postcards to send home back home or taking photos around the town. Also as previously mentioned, Pai has also the location for some well-known Thai romantic movies, further contributing to its image as an arty amongst visitors who are fans of the big screen.

Hospitality of locals

Just one domestic tourist suggested that the hospitality of locals is the pull factor; from hearsay the local people were considered to be nice and friendly.

A trendy place

Most domestic tourists referred to the image of Pai as a trendy place that many people, especially from Bangkok, the capital city, visit. Thus, it is the popularity of Pai as a tourist destination, its image as a place to see, that motivates other Thai people to go there. This image of Pai, according to respondents, evolves from word-of-mouth or word of mouse *(*Gover *et al*. 2007), the latter being of particular influence on destination choice. That is, travel websites, such like Blue Planet, Pantip.com and TrekkingThai.com are popular amongst tourists in Thailand, whilst the social networking site 'Facebook' was also referred to by domestic tourists in the interviews as a place to read about the real experiences and, hence, a reliable and informative source of images of Pai. Moreover, as in the previous section (an arty town), the use of Pai as the setting of some romantic Thai movies may also have contributed to it becoming seen as a trendy amongst domestic tourists.

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A place for retreat

Similar to the international tourists, domestic respondents also have an image of Pai as a place for retreat with its attractive scenery and supportive features offering a feeling of relaxation. Hence, they stated that Pai is good place for escape and retreat.

An authentic place

For some of domestic respondents, Pai was seen as an authentic place, thus mirroring one of the pull factors for international tourists. Referring to the variety of cultures and ethinic groups in Pai, many domestic tourists indicated that they are attracted by the opportunity for novelty through visiting the hill-tribe villages and the Chinese Yunan villages in search of the new experiences. At the same time, however, some respondents suggested that Pai offers lush countryside, producing a feeling that makes them closer to nature, certainly more so than in their routine lives, especially with the picturesque scenery of bungalows or wooden houses set amongst the green hills.

From the above discussion of both the push and pull factors that motivate tourists' destination choices, it is evident that the pull factors of international and domestic tourists, as revealed by the interviews, both tend to be similar. For example, for both groups, scenery is the dominant cognitive image, although domestic tourists include the mountain mists within this image. Similarly, both groups identified 'a place for backpackers' and 'an arty town' as strong images, albeit for different reasons. Nevertheless, the results of this element of the research reveal that congruence exists between the findings of the brochure content analysis and the stated images held by both groups of tourists; that is, the images of Pai held by tourists are similar to those projected in the brochures that promote the destination, suggesting that TAT and local accommodation providers and tour operators should be successful in meeting tourists expectations.

However, it should be noted that, to form destination images, there are factors influencing the different perceptions that tourist have. The different backgrounds of culture that people hold shape different perceptions of destination (Berlyne 1977; Bonn *et al.* 2005; Britton 1979; Buck 1977; Thurot and Thurot 1983), along with the individual tourists' social, personal and psychological characteristics (Govers *et al.* 2007). Figure 4.4 shows that the perception process through which people create

perception begins with sensory input to their selective attention; what they want to remember is based on their different internal factors which links to Govers *et al.*' (2007) tourist identity that has 'expectation' which derive from learning, personality and motivation (Buchanan and Huczynski 2004), along with external factors. In this case, it may be sources of information that can motivate them in what they select to perceive those destination images.

Consequently tourists have different perceptions of destination as pull factors, although they may originate from the same background such as domestic tourists. The broader picture is that international and domestic tourists also have different pull factors, which demonstrate the distinctiveness of international visitors' pull factors, that is, value for money in destination. This reason may be due to the fact that they have to fly across the country, so they have to be assured that the destination offers as much as they hope to expect, such as activities, and authenticity that western tourists are searching for (MacCanell 1973). On the other hand, domestic tourists referred pull factors of Pai as the weather and a trendy place as different themes, it may reflects that domestic tourists visit Pai due to escape from the heat, thus it is not surprising why they choose to visit Pai in high season, whilst the supportive reason is as the trend of popularity of destination with the suggestion from friends, that can motivate them as external factors to visit Pai.

Nevertheless, in neither the brochure analysis nor in the interviews with international and domestic tourists did evidence emerge of an image of Pai as a CBT destination. Thus, even though the international tourist group in particular had an image of warm hospitality as a foundation for interaction with local people, this may be of limited relevance to community tourism.

7.7 Perceptions of community-based tourism in Pai

Given that the individual has a distinctive perception process based on internal (individuals themselves) and external factors, including stimulus and context factors (Buchanan and Huczynski 2004) which were previously discussed in the perspective of pull factors in section 7.6, these can be linked to different perception of CBT in Pai as well. That is, from distinctive individual backgrounds of culture and different contexts

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between the supply-side and demand side. From a supply perspective, CBT broadly implies the participation of the community in tourism development in order to optimise the benefits of tourism to the community (see Chapter 3). Conversely, as proposed in Chapter 3, from the demand perspective – that is, from the perspective of tourists themselves – CBT may be thought of as a specific tourism product or experience, an experience based upon and engagement with the local culture and heritage of indigenous people in the community. Thus, in this study, these two perspectives are brought together to explore tourists' perceptions of CBT in Pai. As will be revealed, the findings indicate that both international and domestic tourists have limited understanding of the concept of CBT; indeed, many of them had never heard of the concept. However, when made aware of the concept of CBT, some respondents pointed out that it should be addressed concerning two themes, namely: (i) the community as an attraction for tourists based on their culture and tradition and (ii), the participation of the community in running tourism businesses Hence, it is from these two perspectives, that is, as a product for tourists and as community participation, that the exploration of tourists' perceptions of CBT is now discussed.

7.7.1 CBT as a product

In Chapter 3, CBT as a product was considered by drawing on Smith's (1994) concept of the tourism product consisting of: the physical plant; services; hospitality; freedom of choice; and involvement. From the interviews conducted with both international and domestic tourists, it was revealed that both groups had similar ideas with respect to CBT in Pai as a product. The outcomes of this element of the research are as follows:

Physical plant from the perspective of international tourists

The physical plant of the destination, according to Smith (1994), includes the site, its natural resources or other elements of the physical environment, as well as facilities, the weather and infrastructure. Given that the specific focus of this study is on CBT, the heritage and culture of indigenous people are also, for the purposes of this research, considered to be included in 'plant'. The results disclose that most of the international tourists interviewed have a positive perception of the physical plant in Pai. They refer to the attractive scenery and attractions, a rich culture and heritage, agreeable weather, an accessible destination and good infrastructure. The scenery and attractions of Pai are the attributes that international tourists found the most impressive. They spontaneously

mentioned that the green landscape of the mountains are attractive and arouse their feelings of relaxation because the surroundings look tranquil and peaceful and suitable for a retreat:

> *It's a small but nice town, pretty quiet. So, I'd recommended for chilling out and relaxing*. (American visitor, 23 years old)

Furthermore, some respondents referred to the weather of Pai as being pleasant with fresh air, enhancing the natural feeling of Pai along with its image of being close to nature. This, in turn, stimulated an authentic feeling of romance and nostalgia amongst some tourists. Moreover, and as previously noted, some international visitors referred to Pai as an arty town amidst the inspirational scenery, being picturesque with an abundance of creative of handicraft shops and cafes.

The respondents' perceptions of the culture and heritage of the indigenous people are various, with both the richness of local communities' heritage and their multi-ethnicity being recognised. Some international tourists were impressed by the preservation of existing customs and traditions of the indigenous peoples, as expressed by their wearing of traditional dress representing the pride each group in its traditions and way of life:

> *I am impressed with the welcoming hospitality and the simple, gentle lives of people. The ethnic people are very nice and down to earth. They look happy with their simple way of living. I heard that there are many tribes here. I really liked that they still dress in traditional handmade clothes. Every evening, I also go to the market to buy ingredients to cook at the guesthouse and everything is quite cheap. People are nice here, nice vibe in general, the place seems to have a good heart...* (Australian visitor, 24 years old)

> *I really like the local market in the morning because you can do what the locals do, live a different way, which is quite humble and easy-going. Some of the different values and customs of locals really appeal to me*. (British visitor, 21 years old)

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Given that there are a variety of groups of local Thai people living in Pai, along with ethnic groups and foreigners, Pai offers multiple cultures which some tourists refer to in their destination image. Respondents perceived Pai to be multi-cultural because there is a blending of ethnic groups, local Thai and Western people. Yet a unique quality of Pai exists in that, despite this variety of people living within the small town area, the community appears to be peaceful with, from observation at least, no obvious problem of division or intolerance. There is evidence of the influence of the Chan and Lanna (Northern Thai) culture around the town centre of Pai while other hill tribe villages that welcome visitors to experience their lives are out of town. These villages are Lisu village in district of Viang Tai, Santichol village (Yunan Chinese) village in the district of Viang Tai and Karen Mae Ping Village Center for Arts and Crafts house in the district of Mae Hee.

With regards to the surrounding area of Pai, western tourists described the novel experience as 'unforgettable', 'worthwhile' and 'valued', as some of them experienced by observing the lifestyles of the hill tribes or even staying at the hill tribe lodges and experiencing traditional performances, meals and simplistic lodge dwellings. For example, such experiences are described as follows:

> *I really have had a good experience of visiting Lisu village in Pai because it's just an unforgettable trip…they are amazing and have such unique and beautiful lifestyles and I finally joined the circle dance with them which was so cool.* (Dutch tourist, 26 years old).

> *Totally worthwhile experience with the native tribe here, was extraordinary, really loved to see something so different from home and get involved as well.* (Irish tourist, 23 years old).

Another positive aspect of Pai, according to some respondents, is that it is a safe destination; they perceived it to be safe and, in comparison to larger cities, with little crime. Indeed, some tourist observed that people left their belongings, such as keys on their motorbike, without fear of theft. This may reflect the scale of the town; it is very small, people know each other in the community and they look after each other. The safety of a destination is important factor that can encourage or discourage tourists to

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visit, because tourists can be more comfortable and enjoy a destination more it they feel safe there.

Therefore, the results demonstrate that Pai may fulfill the expectations of western tourists who seek authenticity, not only commodified staged authenticity, but also the authenticity that emerges from visitors' perception of Pai as a place for a retreat and nostalgia. However, a small number of international tourists were disappointed with what they considered to be the dilution of culture; they stated that they felt Pai had grown too much, with an excessive abundance of western-style building and convenience stores:

> *I think it is quite funny and a shame in some ways that there are many new buildings which don't really fit to the location*. (British visitor, 24 years old)

Interestingly, there are a lot of buildings in Pai, the design of which is inspired by western styles. It is evident that these have been designed to appeal to domestic tourists and to become attractions for the Thai tourist market. For example, the Coffee in Love Café, has become 'a must' see for domestic tourists. At the same time, it conflicts with the natural scenery and traditional architecture of Pai, whilst competing with the destination image held by many western tourists. Similarly, Pai offers three branches of 7-11s, three locations with ATM machines, and two of internet cafés. Even though these provide a good level of facilities and services for tourists, some are critical of the excessive development and abundance of modern, western buildings in a small traditional town such as Pai.

Another negative perception of Pai is with respect to infrastructure. Although most visitors agree that the facilities in Pai are good, a few tourists suggested that the amenities should be upgraded, such as the electricity system and water system which, in the rainy season, often suffering problems of power cuts and no running water. The rainy season itself is another problem that caused dissatisfaction, as a few respondents mentioned that it is difficult to travel around Pai due to the non-asphalt road becoming flooded and the difficulty in visiting certain attractions.

Physical plant from the perspective of domestic tourists

Compared with international tourists' impressions of most of the physical plant in Pai, such as the scenery, the attractions, the weather, local cultures, and the heritage of indigenous people, in some ways domestic tourists perceive Pai differently.

In the interviews, domestic visitors, who are mostly from Bangkok, indicated that Pai appeals to them because of the scenery, its atmosphere and good weather, something which they can rarely experience at home, or even in closer northern cities like Chiang Mai. As some respondents pointed out, Chiang Mai is crowded and busy just like Bangkok. However, despite the pleasing scenery and attractions for relaxation, some domestic tourists from the nearby city of Chiang Mai indicated that they prefer Pai as a short visit destination, whilst most of the remainder who are from Bangkok agreed that tourists who want to visit Pai for relaxation should spend more time there, staying at least a couple of nights due to the long journey, especially if driven. Hence, some domestic tourists suggested that Pai is a 'visit only-once' destination unlike the other destinations in Thailand that are well known for relaxation, such as Hua-Hin, Pattaya, and Khao Yai, all of which are closer to Bangkok and, hence, tourists can spend a weekend there and go back to work. The evidence to support this theme can be seen in the following:

> *I think Pai is alright but it's kind of difficult to travel to from Bangkok, such a long journey. Just to relax here? I believe people can relax in many places, and if it's nearer or easier to go, why not going to others like HuaHin, Pattaya or Khao Yai?* (Tourist from Bangkok, 25 years old)

> *Pai is very nice to visit but a tourist may need to plan a holiday longer than two nights because driving here is quite tiring from the long trip*. (Tourist from Bangkok, 29 years old)

Not only is access to Pai difficult for many tourists given the long journey to get there, particularly from Bangkok, but also some domestic tourists complained about the lack of local public transport. The various attractions of Pai are quite distant from each other and, for people who do not have private cars, the only other alternative is to rent a car or motor bike which some of them do not want to.

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Nevertheless, most of the domestic tourists interviewed were impressed with Pai and indicated that they would like to recommend Pai to others to visit. Some mentioned that Pai gave them a nostalgic feeling when outside of the town; the area still offers plentiful forests and farms, with non-asphalt road. Hence, it reminds some tourists of the missing memory of their childhood in rural towns in Thailand before moving to work in big cities, such as like Bangkok:

> *Pai reminds me of my childhood and I loved hanging around the morning market to see the way of life of the locals, they are still simple, easy-going and naïve, which make me think of my grand mum and granddad who raised me up. So, it's good to be here with the friendly people and such a good atmosphere* (Tourist from Leoy, 27 years old)

> *Pai is also has breathable air, the agricultural areas are another charm of Pai for the tourists who are from civilised towns because you can feel the simple life around here, a kind of nostalgic feeling*. (Tourist from Samut Prakarn, 55 years old)

With regards to the culture and heritage of the indigenous people, domestic tourists acknowledged the variety of ethnic groups along with the native Thai, Muslim and western people who are mainly backpackers and foreign entrepreneurs. Thus, the multi-cultural character of the small town was mentioned as many respondents felt it was good that the diversity of ethnicity does not cause any problems. However, although many respondents regarded the existing culture and heritage of the local people as another strong element of the 'physical plant' of Pai, similar to western tourists' perceptions, few of them expressed the idea of sharing their experience with local people. Moreover, some mentioned that it is a pseudo-culture, as the tour operator attempts to point tourists towards photo spot of Pai which are only created for tourists, such as the Chinese Yunan community or the art town. Furthermore, instead of the locals engaging with the area, it is the outsiders:

> *The town is between the line of city and the countryside. It's like many people prefer rural lives here, but others don't want it, they need more development. So,*

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maybe this is the charm of Pai, that many traditional and cultural customs still existed in the western development. However, I see Pai offers a staged culture, for example, the Chinese-Yunnan community is actually quite new and it's obvious that it was just built there a few years ago, and was built for the commercial reasons like to be another tourist attraction. (Tourist from Bangkok, 26 years old)

I think Pai is beautiful but some parts seem artificial or fake. Many places look new and created for tourists needs like something to take photos with but somehow, the inner city of Pai seems strange, mixed ideas, people can go about new age trends like coffee cafés, gallery arts, or artists gift shops. And people around there are not the locals, they are outsiders, everything seems manufactured to me now. I mean, some tourists might like this and think that it's cool and unique and Pai is an arty town to visit with the green mountains, but for me it's just another commercial town. (Tourist from Bangkok, 24 years old)

However, one domestic tourist who stayed at the homestay in Pai disagreed with the issue that Pai is an artificial town and unauthentic place. She argued that it depends on times, areas or activities tourists want to participate, stating that beyond the centre of town Pai is still an authentic place of culture, where indigenous people still live a simple life:

Actually, Pai offers tourists the rich traditions and cultures as we can see from many communities of ethnic minorities which are out of the town; they still dress in traditional clothes, live in the traditional one-storey wooden house, and agriculture is still their major work. However, I feel most of visitors only visit around the town and go to see famous scenery attractions, but for me spending only a short time cannot allow the full experience of Pai. (Tourist from Bangkok, 21 years old)

To summarise respondents impressions of the physical plant of Pai, international and domestic tourists perceive Pai in similar ways, including the attractive scenery and main attractions, the breathable air and cool weather, as a place of safety and strong in culture with the various heritages of indigenous people as well as an authentic place that offers the 'romance' and 'nostalgia' of existential authenticity (Wang 2000). However,

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western tourists sense a feeling of authenticity in Pai more so than domestic tourists, from both an existential and staged authenticity perspective. Moreover, while some western tourists referred to Pai as a destination to visit repeatedly, most domestic tourists, even though having had a good experience of Pai, also referred to the difficulty of its accessibility due to the long journey. This latter group indicated that it is a destination they would visit just once but would still recommend others to visit, meaning that Pai enjoys a good reputation on the basis of its plant. Nevertheless, according to Smith (1994), the tourism product comprises other factors, including service, hospitality, freedom of choice and involvement. These are considered in the following sections.

Service and hospitality

According to the data generated from interviews with tourism stakeholders, Pai has an excess of accommodation. There are approximately 300 accommodation units in the area, consisting of hotels, resorts, guesthouses, bungalows, and homestays. Other services provided in Pai include motor bike renting, touring business, restaurants, spas and massages, and launderettes. Most visitors interviewed were satisfied with their accommodation and the other services in Pai, though a small number of domestic tourists complained about the poor quality of accommodation that did not meet their expectations. The words of 'good', 'reasonable price' and 'hospitality' were mentioned by the majority of the respondents. Hence, this should establish a positively strong image of tourist services in Pai. At the same time, respondents from both the international and domestic groups mentioned that they found local people in Pai to be warm and friendly, possessing good hospitality skills, and that they touched by their simple lives.

Freedom of choice

Even though some tourists described Pai as having a 'doing nothing, chill out vibe', it has still been referred to in relation to offering a variety of activities. The activities visitors participate in can be classified into five groups, namely:

rest and relaxation: the words of this group included 'laid back', 'relax' and, 'chilling out';

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recreational actions: these activities included taking photos, visiting temples, enjoying eating, riding elephants, and rafting;

social participation: meeting new people;

environmental enthusiasm: trekking, learning genuine local life; and,

sightseeing and exploration: exploring Pai, visiting natural scenes and attractions, and visiting nearby destination.

Hence, an international tourist seeking personal enjoyment is able to fulfill this desire as Pai has a variety of activities and forms of entertainment available. The wants of the domestic tourist are also catered for including the groups they often travel in, as it is customary for the domestic Thai tourist to travel with their friends, family or partner, Pai offers activities and facilities to suit the needs of such groups and individuals alike.

However, although international and domestic tourists often participate in similar activities in Pai, it should be noted that most domestic tourists spend most of their time within Pai centre and their duration of their stay is on average two nights. There are also activities that only domestic tourists referred to in interviews: those of pilgrimage and shopping. With pilgrimage, tourists visit temples in Pai and 'waipra' pay respect to sacred items (images of Buddha) an auspicious thing within Buddhism. While shopping, domestic visitors refer to buying artistic crafts as for themselves, such as screen-printed t-shirts. They stated that it these remind them of their trip to Pai or are bought as souvenirs for friends, though the most popular activity is the writing and sending of postcards from Pai.

According to the respondents, Pai offers a variety of choices in accommodation and accessible transportation. Most international tourists prefer stay at guesthouses and homestays, while domestic tourists prefer resorts. The most popular transportation access to Pai for domestic visitors is private car while public bus is the most favoured by international tourists. Though Pai can be travelled to in every season, domestic tourists prefer the winter (high) season due to the cooler weather.

Involvement

Very few domestic tourists indicated that it would be of benefit them to learn about local people's way of life. Indeed, from a practical point of view, given their typically

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short length of stay, domestic involvement with locals would be limited. The form of involvement is likely to be host-guest interaction based on general conversations between host and visitors, focusing on topics such as the weather or destination guidance. Nevertheless, some domestic tourists referred to involvement as attending community events, especially Buddhist events such Tak Bat in the morning with locals. Hence, Buddhist events are essential to increase the interaction and involvement between the community and domestic visitor, even if just for a short period of time. Furthermore, most domestic tourists expressed the view that, as their trips are more inclined to be seen as a reward for hard work and as time to spend with family, friends or partners, being immersed with the community by staying at community accommodation or homestays to involve themselves with indigenous people is not a priority. Domestic Thai tourists prefer not to partake in the activities, learning or participation involved with the homestay lodging, preferring instead to experience good service, being catered for and relaxation. Moreover, it was also stated that the homestay lodging holds a limited capacity for the amount of tourists that can stay there, to some extent putting off domestic tourist groups, another reason as to why this accommodation market is more often occupied by international tourists. Amongst all domestic tourists interviewed, only one respondent sought novelty and learning through a homestay experience.

In contrast, even though international tourists spend more time in Pai, staying in homestays or other community accommodation, they found it is difficult to interact with or engage with local people because of both the language barrier and the shy-natured characteristic of the locals. Hence, involvement with locals tends to be in the form of customer and service provider, not of more substantial or meaningful contact or other involvement. For example:

> *Well, to be honest, due to my time limit here I haven't really seen much involvement between the tourists and the locals unless its small talk with people like staff or services but it would be only about general stuff like weather, activities or the recommending of something.* (Irish tourist, 23 years)

> *There are a variety of ethnic groups, I went to visit just two villages; Chinese-Yunnan and Karen. Their way of lives is very simple, and I like them although I*

did not contact with them that much because they are very shy and I don't have
time as well. But the good hospitality is one of the reasons I came back here."
(Tourist from Bangkok, 31 years old)

However, one of respondents who stayed at a homestay indicated that he wanted to learn about local people's way of life and to immerse himself in the genuine life of the indigenous people. He claimed that he actually learned from and interacted with locals:

I feel like I am learning a lot from the Tacome Pai homestay, I feel better to
actually work alongside and connect with the locals, like knowing how the locals
lived in the past and to not just see but experience. In this time, I guess I have
been a lot more familiar with the locals more than ordinary tourists...you get to
know about their problems, and do what you can. (American visitor, 26 years old)

Despite this positive review of tourist and resident interaction, others in particular had noted that Pai did not fulfill the motivations of tourists who sought some form of experience of engagement or interaction with the local people. Further criticism was directed at the Pai's dilution of culture that it was moving away from a more unique traditional setting towards a bland modern one with its growing development. Others commented on the difficulty and distance of travelling to Pai as a further negative quality. Contrary to these criticisms, the majority tourists had a positive perception of Pai, as it possess attractive attributes of good service and warm hospitality along with a variety of choice. Some international tourists also mentioned that they learned a lot from the trip, experiencing personal-growth and becoming able to manage themselves more independently while travelling away from home.

This brief understanding of CBT in Pai as a product is shown in a Figure 7.2. However, as this study focuses on tourists' perceptions CBT, the idea of community participation and community tourism planning will now be considered from the perspective of tourists.

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Figure 7.2 Conceptualisation of CBT in Pai as a product
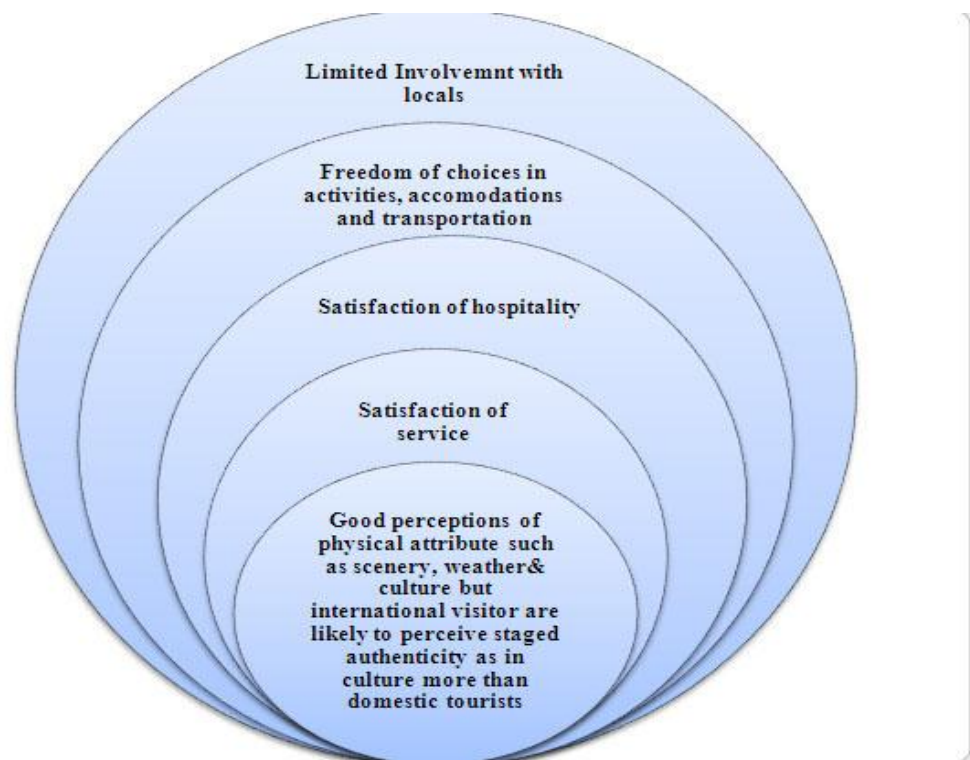
7.7.2 Tourists' perceptions of community in regards to tourism

In this section, the expressed opinions of tourists regarding the involvement of the community within tourism is considered, the purpose being to gauge their perceptions of the level of community participation, the potential roles or responsibilities of the tourist themselves during their time in Pai, and their perception of the tourism sector's promotional campaigns. It should be noted that, from the findings, it is evident that international and domestic tourists do not differ much in this respect. Therefore, the perceptions of both groups of regarding the involvement of the community in tourism are discussed together.

7.7.2.1 Perception of community participation and the potential role of the tourist

Most respondents commented similarly that it is difficult for tourists to develop opinions and thoughts about local people's participation in tourism and the benefits they might receive from doing so because, given the usually short period of time spent in Pai, it is difficult to witness or acknowledge any occurrence of participation on the part of

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the community. Moreover, some respondents also remarked that it is not a usual topic of conversation between tourists and locals as they are not acquaintances.

> *I think it is hard to see how the locals benefit or get involved really because we're here just for a very brief trip, it would probably need more time to see something like that, maybe a month or more.* (British tourist, 62 years old)

> *I think it is difficult for any tourist to answer this as we have no time to know the situation in Pai and it's not a normal topic to talk about for locals with just anybody who they just met up with.* (Tourist from Samut Prakarn, 55 years old)

However, some respondents did note that they had seen good participation between locals; that is, they had seen see some involvement and help within the community as the locals seemed to help each other:

> *People are nice and friendly, and I think they might have good participation as they seem to be easygoing here and help each other out and the most stuff I like is that you can have your own space though you are in different country but you feel similar to home.* (German visitor, 29 years old)

> *People in Pai are very nice and friendly, good sign of a good community, like you can see from the travel club that there is cooperation and organising and from this I believe tourists will like it here.* (Visitor from Bangkok, 24 years old)

Although tourists did not perceive there to be much community participation towards tourism in Pai, they still expressed opinions in support of the development of CBT. When asking the tourists to consider their own potential role or responsibility within CBT, their responses were varied and grouped into three main themes: respect of local's way of life, avoidance of polluting or lowering their impact, and local product support and purchase. Most of the tourists mentioned that the tourists themselves should respect the traditions of the host, for example, not to cause disruption to their rituals, festivals or traditional ways. Others discussed possible attempts to cause as little damage possible avoiding negative impacts and pollution to the destination area. Some tourists considered that their goals should be more than just only self-enjoyment, also acknowledging what benefits the residents. Furthermore tourists voiced support for the

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purchase of local products as some of respondents agreed it would produce some income for the members of the community.

The majority of the respondents expressed the view that tourists themselves are not aware of such problems, and even those are aware may still believe their visit will make little or no impact with respect pollution in the destination. Furthermore, some respondents from the international tourists group stated that there were limitation to the extent to which it as possible to act responsibly; they considered that, as they typically stay as guests in Pai for only a few days, it was not their problems nor responsibility and should be allowed to have fun. For example:

> *I think in practice, tourists are not aware of this, they seem to look for fun more because they might think they're here for only a few days, this is not their problem, it's the host's problem*. (Austrian tourist, 25 years old)

Moreover, one international tourist respondent stated that the problem should first be considered from by the local tourism industry before placing expectations on tourist behaviour. For example, although tourists are often accused of causing noise pollution, the problem could be addressed by appropriate action on the part of local businesses:

> *This is a very interesting topic, tourists are always blamed about this but tourists come and go. Tourists might not act in a proper manner, they might do something in contrast to the behaviors of the Thai people but on the other hand, do the hosts show them the way of respect that they expect to be treated, are they being a good example? If you think drunken tourists will make Pai noisy and terrible, then why allow nightclubs or bars open till late? I don't think there is a real problem but it's good to discuss it*. (American tourist, 30 years old)

Hence, although some tourists know in principle that they should act responsibly tourists, in practice, they do not always do so. Indeed, perhaps reflecting a more general ambivalent attitude towards the environment, some respondents suggest that the environmental problems resulting from tourism development in Pai are the responsibility of the tourism industry, not of tourists themselves.

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7.7.2.2 The perspectives of policies and plans to develop CBT

As discussed previously in section 7.3 that explores tourism planning and development in Pai from the industry / supply-side perspective, policies and plans do exist to develop CBT in the area by focusing on sustainable development in general and on promoting environmental awareness in particular. Specifically, policies focus on promoting cultural and traditional events, increasing tourist numbers through the organisation of events such as concerts, film festivals, and Valentine's events, as well as improving tourism facilities. Hence, during the interviews, tourists were asked about their perceptions of these plans.

From the results, it is apparent that some tourists were aware of the policy for sustainable development, specifically through 'eco messages' in accommodation facilities and other businesses and from the public campaign. With regards to advice such as to 'reduce, reuse, recycle', both international and domestic tourists reported that the accommodation facilities they stayed at did promote this message and that they responded b, for example, reusing towels or put recyclable garbage into appropriate bins. However, regarding public campaigns, it was noticed that only domestic tourists are addressed, the reason being that the messages in the campaigns are presented only in the national language of Thai, Thus, such efforts were criticised as they would not attract the interest of international tourists.

> *There's actually very little evidence of any attempt to improve public eco-awareness, I don't see any posters or signs to prevent littering or polluting the area.* (American tourist, 24 years old)

> *I've seen some billboards signage such 'let's reduce global warming by using fabric bags', however, those are only in Thai, so how will visiting foreigners notice this*? (Tourist from SamutPrakarn, 55 years old)

Referring to the mayor's interview, given the variety of ethnic groups living in Pai the opportunity exists to promote more cultural and traditional events, including Buddhist events to attract and appeal to domestic visitors. However, the mayor also stated that the local public sector had tried to increase visitor numbers by organising events such as annual concerts, film festivals and so on. Some respondents agreed with this plan,

considering that it would increase the number of tourists, particularly younger and' new age' tourists, though they also felt that it would not beneficial in for the long term. Moreover, one respondent pointed out that the concerts may attract domestic tourists due to the difference from of other cultural festivals in the North of Thailand.

> *Pai will lose the number of those new age tourists but more cultural tourists will come here. Anyway, the fact is if there are limits of cultural tourists in every country, but if you can do this, it is better in the long term.* (American tourist, 30 years old)

> *I believe ska or reggae concerts should reach them more than traditional folk performances as they might feel they should be similar to other festivals in the North of Thailand.* (Tourist from Bangkok, 25 years old)

Conversely, a majority of respondents disagreed with the promotion of events as a long-term consideration, suggesting that they would result in the cost of negative impacts such as pollution and environmental problems. Thus, replacing these with more cultural and traditional festivals was seen to be the better option as they would attract cultural tourists and Thais who enjoy such festivals:

> *I really don't think a concert is the good idea, it'll really make a big impact on this community, and not for the better. Pai is popular without any concerts, so I don't think it will affect the number tourists that much. Also, the current ways are better because tourists can explore the traditions which you don't really see nowadays. If it was just for the locals that would be ok but concerts may draw too many tourists and all sorts to the area.* (British visitor, 24 years old)

> *No, I strongly disagree with concerts setting here, it changes the good atmosphere of Pai and it's not fit for Pai which is peaceful. I think it's better to promote the traditional festivals because Thais always love the festivals, anyhow they will come here.* (Visitor from Bangkok, 31 years old)

According to the interview with the community developer, the public sector has plans and policies to improve the standard of living of indigenous people through business

training, local product branding, the reservation of areas for local people and ethnic groups to sell their products, and raising community's awareness and local pride. All tourists interviewed agreed with these plans; they saw these as an effective means of ensuring that benefits go to the local people, whilst some tourists suggested that, as the products are unique, they should attract tourists:

> *Well, a big fair should be good idea. The bigger it is, the more attractions for people looking to buy stuff, and see what's there and also enjoy themselves. Basically they do their own thing, they can sell their own stuff, it'll be something to attract people.* (British visitor, 24 years old)

> *It is good if locals and ethnic minorities could get benefits from the plan as they can get both career and income which the products can possibly be the trademark of Pai.* (visitor from Leoy, 27 years old).

Finally, the public sector aims to develop facilities and the infrastructure in Pai, including the electricity system, the water system and disposal management. Although most respondents agreed with these plans, they were satisfied with the current facilities, whilst some considered that there were already enough facilities in Pai, perhaps already too many , such as convenience stores and internet cafés. The therefore disagreed with further development in Pai:

> *More facilities improvement would be a bit of a disappointment because they are pretty much influenced by the West, like convenience stores, restaurants and night clubs. They are good to offer to tourists, but maybe for some people who want quieter lives, it is too much.* (German tourist, 26 years old)

> *They are growing as the size of the town. Many unnecessary things were built to serve tourists from major cities, for examples, internet café and coffee café. So, maybe more facilities improvement was unnecessary.* (Tourist from Chiang Mai, 32 years old)

For those respondents that supported the upgrading of facilities, the priority was those factors that had previously been mentioned as part of the negative image of Pai, such as the electricity system, the water system and intra-public transportation.

7.7.2.3 Suggestions for CBT development

In the interviews, tourists were also asked for suggestion to promote CBT development in Pai. Responses included: *construction control*: control the development western-style buildings, the reason being that these dilute the traditional charm of Pai; *cultural and traditional festival development and promotion*: the strength of Pai lies in its variety of ethnic groups, so the encouragement of their traditions and cultures will sustain their heritages; *education of tourists' awareness*: noticeable campaigns and eco-guidance should be attached to city maps in order to gain tourists' attentions to the advantages of acting responsibly in Pai; *intra-site transportation provide for air pollution reduction*: some domestic tourists suggested that intra-site –transportation should be provided, such as shuttle buses, as a means of reducing air pollution including number of cars in high season; *the unity of community*: some tourists suggested that the best way to develop CBT is through the unity of community because tourists come and go but if there is strong participation amongst locals it should be efficient by knowing what is good for the community; *funding support from the government*: the government has an important role in supporting CBT – some respondents suggested that the government should provide funding and internships for local people to develop the community and create income and careers for locals; *homestay and agro-tourism promotion*: as it is difficult to experience traditional life in Pai, it was suggested that the promotion of homestay / agro-tourism could be a selling point for some tourists; and, *limiting tourist numbers*: some tourists suggested that Pai should restrict the numbers of tourists because the town is not big enough to serve the needs of thousands of tourists in the high season. However, it should be noted that most of these suggestion were made by domestic tourists; conversely, most western tourists chose not make suggestion in this context.

7.8 Cross-cultural analysis of different tourists' perceptions of CBT in Pai

The results of the research discussed above highlight international and domestic tourists' perceptions with respect to push factors (motivations), pull factors (destination image), CBT as a product and the community itself, and suggestions for CBT development in Pai. In this section, the uniqueness of this study is highlighted in the attempt to demonstrate, within a cross-cultural analysis framework, how the distinctive cultures of western and domestic societies influence the different perceptions of CBT.

7.8.1 Push factors of tourists

In Chapter 4, it was suggested that even though tourists come from different places they share something in common, including similarities in motivations. For example, both international and domestic tourists may engage in tourism to seek relaxation/escape or to have novel experiences. However, distinctions may exist with respect to motivation. As was noted in Chapter 4, western tourists see themselves in more of an individualistic sense, they have more motivation to interact with locals, and to fulfill self-growth and self-enjoyment. Conversely, domestic tourists perceive themselves to be more within a collectivist mindset; one of their stated motivations is towards social relationships, as they are more likely to spend time with family, friends or partners. Indeed, in this study, this motivation was referred to more frequently than novelty seeking in the destination. Hence, an idealism of collectivism in reflected in Thai tourists' behaviour, with a preference for 'group' relationships demonstrated within tourism. International tourists, however, represent themselves strongly as individualistic, self-concerned and responding to motives such as personal-growth and personal-enjoyment, without making reference to other family members or groups.

7.8.2 Pull factors of tourists

The results reveal no significant differences between the two visitors groups; that is, they perceive the appeal of Pai in very similar ways: scenery, a place for backpackers, an arty town, the hospitality of people, a place for retreat and an authentic place. The main difference to emerge from the research was that 'the value for money' and 'a fun place' was referred to frequently by international tourists, whereas 'good weather' and 'a trendy place' were commonly stated by domestic visitors. However, the sources of

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information used for planning the trip were different. Although electronic sources had an influence on both of groups, domestic tourists, being of high uncertainty avoidance, tend to refer to reliable sources such as friends or relatives. In particular, they rely on social networking websites, such as Facebook or Thai tourism forums, as they may feel it is safe for them to believe or follow the advice of their personal and online friends who share and contribute their experiences towards the tourism website forums. The destination image of 'a trendy place' had started among domestic tourists as they perceive Pai to be a destination that everybody around them visits; it reflects the connection to high uncertainty avoidance, that people in the society are not likely to take risks but rather follow the behaviour of the group. On the other hand, although western visitors use sources of information such travel websites, travel guide books such as Lonely Planet, are preferred whilst sources such as friends and family have less influence on western tourists' travels.

7.8.3 Perceptions of CBT

The findings of the research divide the tourists' perceptions of CBT in Pai into two sections, as a product and as a community with regards to tourism (including community participation and development and plans by the local industry). The perception of CBT as a product, adapting Smith's (1994) concept, reveals that there are different perceptions between international and domestic tourists, as follows:

In terms of the physical attributes of Pai, international and domestic tourists share common perceptions towards the attractive scenery and agreeable weather. However, there are different perceptions of CBT, which shows that western tourists seem to perceive authenticity in Pai more than domestic tourists. The words western tourists use to explain their fulfilment from Pai are 'unforgettable', 'worthwhile', and 'valued in the perspectives of locals' way of life'. They perceive that the community in Pai offers the opportunity for rare experiences which they have almost forgotten in the familiarity of the individualistic society in which people predominantly care about themselves and their contemporary family life (Hofstede 2001). Hence, when international tourists engage in the romanticism they have lost, it brings forth a feeling of nostalgia in relation to their own lives. These kinds of perceptions, combined with the contributions from a supra-national culture, contributes to their perception that that the culture and way of

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life of undeveloped countries are something authentic and untouched which can be rarely experienced in their daily lives. This is evidenced by the following quote:

There is a certain romanticism to the way of life of the hill tribes in Pai. Back in the UK, we have communities most of which seem to be fading or dwindling away, but Thailand still has pockets of authentic communities which we no longer have. (British Tourist, 62 years old)

In contrast, domestic tourists, as a more collectivist group, are in most provinces in Thailand (though less so in larger cities) from communities which still live a community life blended with agriculture and a strong family structure. Hence, the perception of local life of Pai community tends to be less of an appeal amongst the Thai tourists as they can find this kind of experience in other destinations and, often, in their day-to-day life. The physical attributes of Pai that attract domestic tourists blend between the weather and scenery with other offers of existential authenticity, though only a few tourists mentioned this.

In terms of hospitality, there are no significant differences between the two different groups of visitors; both express positive perceptions towards the hospitality of the host. Moreover, in terms of service, most international and domestic tourists perceive that the level of service is good and acceptable, although a few domestic tourists made complaints about the poor quality of accommodation facilities which did not meet their expectations. This reflects the high power distance of domestic visitors who see themselves of higher position and with higher standards towards service providers proving difficult to please.

With regards to freedom of choice, the findings illustrate distinctive choices between international and domestic tourists. Though both groups share common activities, it is evident that domestic tourists prefer engaging in activities around the town centre, which may be explained simply by the fact that they tend to stay in the destination for a relatively short period of time, usually no more than two nights. Their behavior further indicates the high uncertainty avoidance of Thai people who visit fewer destinations and for shorter durations of time compared to tourists from lower uncertainty avoidance countries. Moreover, it demonstrates that domestic visitors from a collectivist influence

are likely to take part in certain activities, such as souvenir shopping and postcard writing, more so than international tourists as are concerned with other people who are in their daily lives, such as members of their family, friends and colleagues. Thus, they express this concern through souvenirs or writing postcards.

Other differences between the perceptions of international and domestic tourists include those concerning the accommodation and transportation preferences. Domestic tourists who have a long-term orientation and high uncertainty avoidance prefer staying at more recognised resorts, as some of them tend to hold the belief that their holiday is a reward away from working hard, so they should stay in the good places offering good service. Moreover, recognised resorts offer potentially lower risk of dissatisfaction when planning such trips. This is similar with the transportation preferences as, with high uncertainty avoidance, driving to Pai in their own car is the most favoured choice amongst domestic visitors, as they acknowledge the long journey and convenience of having a car to drive to different attractions in Pai. Furthermore, this proves necessary as several attractions are some distance from Pai itself and they perceive the public bus to be a waste of time due the journey length and irregular schedules and stops. Contrary to this, western tourists, being of a lower uncertainty avoidance and of a low to medium short-term orientation, agree to take certain risks in choices and selections more than Thai visitors, as they prefer to stay in inexpensive hostels without prior booking. They also travel to Pai by public bus, they engage in more activities, visiting more destinations outside of the town and they stay in Pai longer.

The final perception of CBT as a product is the aspect of involvement. The findings revealed that there is limited interaction with the locals from both groups. However, the international tourists do express their motivations towards this theme more so than the domestic tourists, which may be linked to the previous discussion of how individualistic perspectives are more inclined to be novelty seeking. In these terms, the individualist maintains a longing to immerse themselves within the community.

In terms of the perceptions of the community with respect to tourism itself and suggestions for CBT in Pai, the results revealed little difference between either group of respondents. Both groups hold similar concerns towards the responsibility of tourists regarding their influence on destinations, to respect the community and to decrease their

impact on or damage to destination. However, a small number of western tourists also stated that they hold no responsibility concerning the destination due to the limited duration of their stay, and that the community itself should provide the resolutions. This reflects aspects from individualistic tourists who prioritise their needs above others, unlike the more collectivist mindset of the domestic tourists who are more concerned with demonstrating their responsibility, evidenced by their proposed suggestions for CBT developments in Pai. This concept follows that people from collectivism tend to be more involved in recycling products and co-operation with destination more (Farahani and Mohamed 2012; Kim and Choi 1994).

Table 7.6: A brief comparison of different tourists' perception of CBT based on Hofstede's (2001) national culture model

Western tourists	Domestic tourists
Low or very low power distance: They are likely not to complain much from service provider as they perceive the equality between both sides and they are easier to pleasure	**High power distance**: This group perceive themselves of a higher standing to service provider from the aspect of hierarchy of service provider and service customer. Thus, they tend to make more complaints, with higher standards and difficult to please
Individualism: They make decisions by themselves and more for themselves or recent families. They fantasise/romanticise the aspects of the authentic, simple way of life, community, probably due to a loss of influence within a more individualistic society a feeling of nostalgia is experienced less concern towards being responsible tourists	**Collectivism**: Relationships in groups are important, as is group travelling such as with family, friends or couples, along with activities includes buying souvenirs or writing postcards for others. Moreover, they show more concern or interest towards community from the suggestions provided concerning development Possibly more accustomed to a collectivist mindset as domestic tourists focus less on the way of life of the community in Pai to provide their tourist experience They are more concerned more about being responsible tourists from suggestions they provide to CBT.
Low or medium uncertainty avoidance Western tourists agree to take more risk from alternative sources of planning including accommodation and transportation preference (staying at guesthouse and taking public bus) Their duration of trip is more flexible and more inclined to visit the attractions.	**High uncertainty avoidance** Domestic tourists rarely to take risk, basing trips on reliable sources in planning such as friends and relatives, including accommodation and transportation preference (staying at resort and driving personal car) Their behaviour to the destination is due the limited time of stay tending to visit less attractions (mostly around the town centre)
Short or medium - term orientation Being flexible, no strict plan dominates the trip	**Medium long-term orientation** They plan more on how to spend money on the trip, in most cases domestic tourists prefer to stay at recognising resorts as to reward themselves

It should be noted that the masculinity has not been linked to any aspects within this research. The cross-cultural elements between western and domestic tourists' perceptions of CBT in Pai can be compiled into a brief comparison of their distinctive perceptions, as shown in Table 7.6 above.

7.9 Discussion of the research

In this thesis, the concept of CBT in Pai, Thailand, is considered from a variety of perspectives although, crucially, different tourists' perceptions of CBT are explored, as are issues relating to the industry or supply-side, such as the roles and involvement of the local public sector, entrepreneurs and indigenous people.

According to the findings of the empirical research findings, its principal reason for lack of evidence of CBT in Pai is the lack of community participation. According to Tosun (2000), this is a widely experienced problem facing the development of CBT. Within the tourism sector in Pai, the power lies with entrepreneurs, some 80% of which are from outside the Pai area, and it is to them that the majority of benefits from tourism flow. Even though the local public sector has made attempts to encourage some kind of benefit to the community, this has proved difficult as it has been a long period of time since any local interaction has been in evidence, whilst most of the indigenous people appear to be apathetic towards any participation in tourism. Furthermore, although the Slow Style Pai Travel Club encourages and promotes cultural events and traditional performances, indigenous people nevertheless need to be more active within the community; the majority of the members in the travel club are incoming entrepreneurs whose objectives may primarily concern commercial gain and business profit rather than understanding and supporting the needs of the community with respect to preserving traditional culture. According to the community developer, socialisation is the proposed way forward. This aims to stimulate local pride and encourage enthusiasm to participate, and is the process of educating locals to understand the situations facing Pai and encourage appreciation of its uniqueness. This could also foster a new generation of local people who are more aware of CBT, particularly if such issues were to be engaged within schools. In summary, despite the focus on sustainable, community-based development in national policies and plans, from the supply-side,

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industry perspective, currently there is little evidence of engagement in or support for CBT in Pai.

Given this lack of evidence of or commitment to CBT within the tourism sector in Pai, it is perhaps not surprising that, as this research has revealed, tourists in Pai have limited awareness or perceptions of community involvement in tourism in the area. This is important to note as engaging in the trip is the most effective method for creating a positive destination image for revisits or recommendations (Pike and Ryan 2004). From the perspective of tourists, the findings show there are very few differing views amongst international and domestic tourists regarding Pai as a destination in general and CBT development in particular. With respect to CBT, tourists' views were grouped into two major themes: 'local people are the key element of the tourism business in community' and the 'community itself is the attraction of destination'. However, it should be noted that around a quarter of all tourist respondents had only a limited grasp of the meaning of CBT whilst the majority had never heard of CBT concept. Thus, it is immediately evident that the need exists for the tourism authorities in Thailand to take into consideration how to promote the concept of CBT for tourist understanding.

In contrast to definitions of CBT provided by CBT-I Thailand, tourists did not recognise CBT as homestay or rural tourism. However, tourists have more understanding of CBT from the perspective of the culture and heritage of the indigenous people in the community (Telfer and Sharpley 2008). Indeed, as previously suggested, culture and heritage is relevant to Smith's (1994) concept of the tourism representing one element of the 'physical plant' that motivates tourists' experiences. As one of the major objectives of this thesis is a comparison between international and domestic tourists' perceptions of CBT in Pai, the different perceptions of the culture and heritage of the Pai community, along with other physical plant, are presented as follows.

Western visitors, or those who are referred to in this study as international tourists, demonstrate significant appreciation of the cultural and heritage aspects of Pai which serve their motivations for novelty seeking. They perceive the culture of the various ethnic groups of Pai as rare and unique, driving them towards a worthwhile experience. The manner in which these Western tourists perceive the community can be explained by the concept of otherness. In Chapter 4, which reviewed destination images and

tourists' perceptions, it was discussed that, sharing the broad characteristic of having a European Christian background, they consequently have shared common beliefs and foundation of values which represents a supra-national culture that directs the mutual culture of people from the West (Brooks 2009). One outcome is that orientalism is a heritage of this culture, with the perceptions of countries from the South as inferior.

However, from the perception of international tourists, far from disparaging or looking down on developing countries, tourism provided the opportunity to appreciate and understand the way of life of people from the South. Western tourists perceive the culture, heritage and lifestyles of countries from the South to be defined by its meaning, richness, simplicity and authenticity. For this reason, many western visitors visit developing countries in general, and places such as Pai in particular, in order to be indulged with the exotic or/and untouched experience (Scheyvens 2002).

In the case of Pai, the results of the research reveal that the principal motivation amongst Western tourists is novelty seeking. International visitors seek to experience a way of life that they feel is exotic; that is, distinctive from routines that are more materialistic and meaningless (Mowforth and Munt 2003; White 2007). Hence, they seek to experience the simple life, including unique cultures and heritages reflecting an experience that Seaton (2009) refers to as 'primitive'. Consequently, western tourists perceive Pai as an authentic place for its culture and ceremonies. This may be linked to MacCannell's (1989) concept that modern western society is in general inauthentic and that the tourist becomes a something of a pilgrim in search of the authentic (MacCannell 1973). However MacCannell (1989) also recognises that most, if not all of tourism has become a form of staged authenticity and that the tourists 'quest for authenticity, is doomed to failure' (MacCannell 1989: 106). This may suggest that the international tourists who perceived Pai to be authentic were only experiencing the front stage/staged setting compared to the backstage /real setting of the destination of Pai and its community, which the tourist may or may not have recognised (Cohen 1979; Goffman 1959; MacCannell 1989). Even though the cultural events and ceremonies of the Pai community present a form of staged authenticity, this front stage/backstage dichotomy may not be an appropriate determinant of the authentic tourist experience nor the tourist recognition of these settings, as it is the variety and total sum of interactions with the setting and people that may fulfill individual tourists expectations of an authentic

experience (Pearce and Moscardo 1986; Sharpley 2008). Moreover, western tourists also perceived Pai as an authentic place from the simple way of life from the native people and the attractive attribute of green scenery and the abundance of agricultural areas in a romantic and nostalgic sense making tourists feel laid back and fulfiling the escape from their daily lives, in these terms, Wang (2000) explains such as existential authenticity. However it must be also noted that the tourist's knowledge or understanding of authenticity and indeed staged authenticity was limited, thus no direct criticism was drawn towards the side effects of the dilution of the human pride of the natives (MacCannell, 1973), nor to them being seen as objects for photography or learning through the tourist gaze (Urry 2002).

Hence, from a combination of individual motivations and the sculpture of orientalism, most international tourists perceive Pai as a place that offers authenticity and the retreat of body and mind from the more sophisticated and complex life in the cities to a simpler way of life, unique cultures and heritages which provides them with a different experience. These perceptions may be driven by the pull factors of Pai, the scenery, a place for retreat and an authentic place, showing that these elements of destination image really do influence the destination choice. Moreover, the findings also reveal that whether international tourists are backpackers or mainstream tourists, they perceive Pai as an authentic place but their choices are different. Their perceptions of Pai are more in-depth and interactive compared to the mainstream domestic tourists who consider the location as a new and upcoming place for retreat. This may be representative of the fact that the international visitors are from different origins of culture, and given the lense of orientalism, they may br more inclined to perceive authenticity.

Domestic tourists are increasingly being considered the new target market for Pai, perceiving Pai to be a recreational destination that they can escape to and where they can spend time with family, friends or their partners, particularly during the winter high season. That is, the dominant pull factor is that Pai is seen to be a trendy place; the mild weather is also referred to many domestic visitors, but the feeling of novelty seeking is rarely mentioned. Some of them refer to it as a new place to go exploring, but in practice, their exploration mostly consists of the staying within the community and within the town centre to take photos in the scenes they have seen before in the movies, brochures or other media. The perception of Pai for domestic tourists is close to that of a

'package' destination, as their interviews convey similar activities and similar patterns what they do (such as visiting attractions, including making merit at temples, buying creative t-shirts of Pai to wear or sending postcards from Pai, walking around town and relaxing at their accommodation). How they perceive Pai might be influenced by the limited time that they are able to stay in the destination, typically for only a short period during the weekend or a public holiday weekend as most of them work in daily life.

Hence, for domestic tourists, to experience the community is not about seeking the authenticity but just escaping from the cities and work routines. Most of them prefer to stay in comfortable resorts as some make reference to rewarding themselves for hard work. It reflects the cross-cultural distinction between the west to the east as the motivation of tourists is to escape and idea of travelling is the reward, which has changed the behaviour of domestic tourists who, in the past, travelled into the country for reasons of VFR, business and pilgrimage (Cohen, 2008). Moreover, to support this argument, only a few domestic visitors perceive Pai as authentic place of nostalgia and of existential authenticity; plentiful agricultural areas and easy-going people remind people who work in the cities of their childhood in countryside. Another distinction from the Western tourists is the evidence that few domestic tourists criticise the commodification and pseudo-culture in Pai that results in the staged authenticity that culture and heritage becomes the object and product to reach tourists (MacCannell 1973). Hence, it can be summarised from the results that the cross-cultural concepts of international tourists shape their acknowledgement of Pai as an authentic tourism destination but these concepts are less noticeable, even overlooked considering the perception of domestic tourists that Pai is more than any a place for retreat, featuring other predominant activities such as relaxation, shopping and pilgrimage.

Therefore, the difference between international and domestic tourists' perceptions of CBT in Pai can be conceptualised, as shown in Figure 7.3 below.

Figure 7.3: Conceptual model of different international and domestic tourists' perceptions of CBT in Pai

| International tourists | Domestic tourists |

Novelty seeking
Relaxation/Escape
Interactions with locals

Relaxation/Escape
Social relationship
Novelty seeking

Motivations
as
Pushfactors

Destination
Images as
pull factors

Such as W-O-M,
brochures, and
media

Value for
money

A fun place

Shared destination images
Scenery
A place for backpackers
An arty town

Weather
A trendy place

Pai as Destination choice

Satisfaction of
physical
plants, services
and
hospitality,
limited
involvement
with locals and
a variety of

**International
tourists'
perceptions:**

An authentic
place

Perceptions of CBT in Pai

Limited perceptions of
Benefits of community
and the participationof

**Domestic
tourists'
perceptions:**

A place of for
retreat

Supply-side
operators

Satisfied experiences of Pai

The results of the research reveal that the majority of international and domestic tourists have positive views of the people of the place and recognise good hospitality from local people and their way of life. However, to get in touch and communicate with locals seems to be difficult due to the limitations of the visit and the reticence or shy nature of locals. With regards to the subject of CBT in Pai, tourists commented that it was

difficult for tourists to be part of it as they were there for too short a period of time to know if there is any effective co-operation within the community, though a small number tourists did perceive that the people of Pai do participate as a community as they helped and showed concerned about each other. Nevertheless, tourists seemed to be aware of problems in Pai. For example, they know how to be responsible tourists, to make a low impact to the destination, respecting the local people's way of life and showing a long-term consideration for the community. Most of them also supported the idea of traditional and cultural sustainability through promoting festivals or traditional events more so than concerts, which result in numerous negative impacts to locals. In practice, however, most tourists still commented that it is rare for them to honour their responsibilities.

In summary, Pai offers a good experience to most tourists with its culture and heritage, its hospitality, attractive scenery and a variety of attraction choices. Although tourists have limited perceptions of CBT in Pai, some still consider themselves to be responsible in terms of their interaction with the destination and suggest a variety of recommendations, such as the encouragement of traditional and cultural events, the education of tourists' awareness and the unity of community. Such suggestions will be applied to the potential plans for CBT development in Pai proposed in the next chapter.

7.8 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an analysis of the primary data collated from interviews, in combination with data from secondary sources. The results are divided in to three parts; the outcomes of interviews with stakeholders involved in the supply of tourism in Pai; the brochure-content analysis; and the outcomes of interviews with the demand side, that is, international and domestic tourists. From the supply-side, it reveals the reasons why CBT in Pai is not in evidence, the major barrier being the limited participation from indigenous people. With regards to the brochure-content analysis, the chapter outlines the analysis of destination images of Pai such as scenery, an authentic place and a fun place. In the section focusing on the demand side, the push factors of international and domestic tourists visiting Pai are revealed. These are found to be distinctive but they also shared with respect to escape/relaxation and novelty seeking. Similar to the brochure content analysis, the pull factors involve scenery, a place for retreat, an authentic place, and so on. The major finding of the study is that international and

domestic tourists do not display a great deal of difference in their perceptions of community participation and interaction with locals, as they both refer to a 'limited' perception. However, when the community is perceived as a product, it is illustrated in the discussion that international tourist, who may be influenced from the sculpture of orientalism, have a more authentic experience than domestic tourists. However, the results show the influence of authenticity to few domestic tourists. Tourists also make recommendations for CBT development which are included in the next chapter, in which conclusions are in terms of conceptualising CBT development solutions.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The results of the previous chapters contribute to potentially far-reaching strategic and practical conclusions concerning the process of CBT planning in Thailand, the objective being to optimise the benefits from tourism and minimise the impacts on the local community whilst meeting the needs of both international and domestic tourists. As the results of the research demonstrate, despite the broader context of community-focused planning policies in Thailand, there is little evidence of the effective implementation of CBT in Pai. However, as revealed in tourists' perceptions, Pai still offers positive products and services, including the authenticity of the local community, especially to international visitors. Hence, a strategic CBT plan can be proposed to relate to macro-level policymaking, planning and promotion for CBT, whilst a distinctive micro plan for Pai, relevant to product development, visitor management and marketing (van Egmond 2007), can also be proposed.

Hence, the purpose of this chapter is to summarise the research, exploring connections with the key themes highlighted in the literature review and, in particular, the extent to which aims and objectives of the research have been met. The conceptual model proposed in Chapter 4 will be addressed in relation to the needs of community and tourists, and suggestions for future work are proposed.

8.2 Research aim, objectives and questions

The significance of this study, as detailed in Chapter 1, can be summarised as follows: CBT is an alternative form of tourism development which is considered to be a suitable development fit for many destinations, particularly in less developed countries. It is conceptualised as an approach to tourism that focuses on bringing benefits to the community but, argued in this thesis, the positioning and marketing of CBT also needs to understand and take into account the needs of the tourist. Hence, the overall purpose of this research was to identify the differing perceptions of international and domestic

tourists to CBT in Pai as a basis for considering tourism planning and management implications in the destination. The primary aim and objectives of the research as detailed in Chapter 1 are provided in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Research aim and objectives

Research Aim	To identify, compare and critically appraise the differing perceptions of international and domestic tourists of a community-based tourism (CBT) destination [Pai, Thailand] and the subsequent implications for its future management and development.
Research Objectives	To find out the recent destination images of Pai
	To analyse and contrast the perceptions of international and domestic tourists to Pai
	To characterise tourists' perceptions of the supply-side approach towards CBT in Pai based upon the analysis of supply-side's attitudes
	To produce an emergent conceptual model of community based tourism.
	To define and determine the implications for future community-based tourism development in Thailand and more generally.
Research Questions	What is the understanding of CBT in the perspectives of international and domestic tourists?
	What differences existed between the perceptions of amongst the two groups of visitors?
	What are the implications for the management and development of such destinations and for sustainable (tourism) development more generally?

This research has succeeded in identifying, comparing and appraising the different perceptions of western and domestic tourists of CBT, as discussed in Chapter 7. Here, it was revealed that, in the case study destination, the number of CBT tourists is quite limited as only a few tourists indicated their motivations to be those of immersing themselves within the community. Indeed, the majority of domestic predominantly seek relaxation from their visits. Perhaps unsurprisingly, knowledge of CBT was also discovered to be limited, although some tourists demonstrated their understanding that it is relevant to community participation and the indigenous community culture. Nevertheless, half of all respondents did not know about or have any concept of CBT at all.

In relation to perceptions of Pai, both groups of tourists participating in the research displayed distinctive perceptions of a community in Pai as a CBT product such as the

way of life, culture and tradition. In particular, international tourists appear more likely to interact with indigenous people and also perceive the authenticity of the destination more than domestic tourists. Similarly, the tourists' motivations differed in as much as the majority of international tourists are likely to seek out novelty rather than a place to escape or relax, motives that were dominant amongst domestic tourists. Furthermore, national culture can explain the framework of cross-cultural traits that are manifested in international visitors tending to have more individual motivations, such as personal-growth and personal-enjoyment, while domestic visitors overall spend more time with family, friends and partners with more collectivist motives.

The two groups of respondents also have different preferences for accommodation, reflecting the perspective of low/medium and high uncertainty avoidance. That is, as international tourists are more willing to take risks, to be flexible and to travel to more attractions than domestic visitors who rarely take any risks concerning their journey, with a preference for recognised accommodation, visiting well-known attractions and travelling by private cars. Nevertheless, in other areas, like destination image, services, hospitality and involvement with locals, both groups show similarities inasmuch as they shared common perceptions of the destination images of Pai, with the destination's physical attributes, such scenery, being referred to most frequently. In addition, good hospitality and limited involvement with local people were mentioned frequently by both although, in term of services, domestic tourists complained more than international visitors. The differing perceptions of both groups can be integrated into the conceptual model for CBT development and implications of CBT in the future, as considered later in this chapter (section of 8.7.3).This is to meet the needs of international and domestic groups as well as to benefit the community.

8.3 Contribution to methodological knowledge

In Chapter 6, Methodology, it was demonstrated that, owing to the research focusing primarily on tourists' perceptions, the theoretical foundation of this research was based on Interpretivism and Constructivism. Constructivism is the knowledge of understanding of how people learn and construct knowledge from existing beliefs and past experiences when encountering new ideas or situations. In this research, tourists have constructed their knowledge from national cultures, whilst supra-national culture

has had an influence on sculpturing Western people to share common perceptions and behaviours. Hence, Western and domestic tourists have distinctive perceptions based on different constructed knowledge. Moreover, the research was undertaken within a framework of interpretivism in order to understand the meaning of the perceptions described by individuals or groups during interviews. The summary of the research paradigm of this study can be briefly summarised as the acquisition of the nature of CBT knowledge which the individual constructs (ontological perspective), as well as to interpret what and how tourists' perceive CBT to be (epistemological perspective). This was followed by a qualitative approach, in this case in-depth interviews which were conducted to acquire this (methodological perspective), in order to contribute to the research paradigm.

The methodology of in-depth interviews was utilised in order to acquire tourists' perceptions as well as to understand recent issues in Pai from the supply-side perspective. The interviews commenced from the supply-side, respondents comprising representatives of the local administrative sector, entrepreneurs and local stakeholders, the purpose being to acquire primary data of not only the structure of tourism development in Pai, but also the opinions of stakeholders regarding CBT development in Pai. The next stage involved finding a linkage between responses from the supply-side interviews to correlate with the tourists' question before conducting interviews with tourists. After receiving the raw data from the respondents, data from the interviews of both supply-side and domestic tourists were translated into English. This data including the translations was then transcribed using NVivo to create the files of the supply-side (local administrator, stakeholders and entrepreneur and residents) and demand side (international and domestic tourists), which was then coded and grouped within a thematic analysis. It was when key themes emerged, the data analysis began. The last part was the data analysis included a cross-cultural comparison of tourists' different perceptions.

8.4 Recommendations for managers of CBT

According to van Egmond (2007), the initial focus of planning for CBT should embrace the consideration of the meaning of economic benefits for community and to such benefits should accrue within the community, the appropriate types of tourists (markets)

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who will bring such benefit to the community, and the possible implications of attracting those types of tourists.

In this research, the economic benefits from tourism in Pai range from income and cash flow to the opportunities for employment. However, the direction of flow of economic benefits has been criticised, as the main people to benefit economically from tourism are the outside/incoming entrepreneurs rather than the indigenous people. The findings also reveal three categories of CBT tourists in Pai, namely, cultural tourists, agro tourists and mainstream tourists. Thus, the following recommendations build on the findings and implications of the research, and focus on the management of and means of reinforcing benefits to the indigenous people.

8.4.1 Integrated plan for international and domestic tourists

The findings of the research suggest three forms of experience of CBT in Pai: existential authenticity of a simple way of life of community; indigenous culture as staged authenticity; and relaxation. It was revealed that international tourists were more likely to perceive the authenticity of local culture and way of life than domestic tourists, the latter preferring the experience of relaxation. Although the first two forms of experience (authenticity and indigenous culture) may be considered of greater relevance to CBT more than the third (relaxation), it must be recognised that, in Pai, the bigger spender is the mainstream tourist who prefers to stay in recognised resorts. Conversely, it is likely to be (lower spending) backpackers who seek a 'CBT product' in the form of authenticity and culture backpackers, but they typically stay in hostels and other budget accommodation, much of which is either illegal or unregistered. Nevertheless, plans designed to enhance cash flow to the community should focus on all three experience types.

The results of the research demonstrate that the mainstream tourists predominantly comprise of domestic tourists, but also some international visitors, who prefer to visit Pai during high season due to the good weather. Thus, the tourism operator promotion plan depicting the destination images should include the beautiful scenery of mountains with the mists as the selling point. However, this group holds a high uncertainty avoidance; they tend to be the group which is more difficult to please and therefore the

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service provider, especially with regards to accommodation, needs to maintain high standards of quality to meet this group's expectations. During the high season, events or activities are prioritised yet these can be augmented by traditional and cultural events, such as Jong Para, Gad Lu Ritual and Gin Wor Ritual. However, consideration should be given to cancelling outdoor concerts or Yee Peng events (floating lanterns, large balloons that are normally used in Loy Kra Thong festival) as several local people complained that these cause pollution at the destination. Moreover, most tourists interviewed were opposed to this kind of event, despite the enjoyment from few tourists.

Planning for low-uncertainty avoidance tourists who seek to experience the culture of Pai should, in principle, be relatively simple given that the area benefits from numerous cultural resources, including a variety of ethnic groups and monthly traditional and cultural events. This group of tourist types should be concentrated on as they seek indigenous culture and Pai has the potential to offer various experiences of the cultural heritage of ethnic villages as well as traditional events held every month. However, it is essential that more advertising and, in particular, publishing an activities calendar of Pai in English, is undertaken to reach international tourists for, as the research demonstrates, these tourists focus more on novelty seeking than do domestic tourists. However, currently the calendar is only available in Thai which, from the research, is not the correct target market.

The international tourists according to sought experience to emerge from the research comprises those tourists who prefer to stay outside of the town, to learn about the local people's way of life which primarily is agricultural/organic activities such as farming, cooking or weaving. They are likely to stay in huts or homestays to learn new experiences. Therefore, Pai has significant potential to exploit this opportunity as there are many homestays in the sub-districts of Pai as well as accommodation with ethnic groups. This tourist group is linked to the cultural group as some tourists are backpackers who have the flexibility to extend their trips and stay anywhere. They also share the motives of novelty seeking in the community in Pai.

8.4.2 Traditional and cultural preservation
As suggested by respondents from the tourism sector in Pai (supply-side), traditional and cultural events, including Buddhist events, are the best way to encourage

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community participation along with tourists who seek to experience the cultures of the indigenous people of Pai. Indeed, as can be seem from the calendar of events (Chapter 5), there is a considerable focus on the organisation of such events by the local tourism sector. However, the tourism authorities should seek ways of encouraging participation amongst the younger generation of Pai in these events. For example, schools in Pai could encourage students to participate in parades or traditional performances that need to be practiced to create local pride and strengthen their sense of Pai identity. This will also indirectly help the next generation to cherish their community and want to protect their benefits into the future.

Meanwhile, the local administrative sectors should encourage unity amongst the community to share the identity of Pai as a whole identity as, in recent times, local people have begun to associate themselves more with the sub-community of the sub-districts. Efforts should be made by representatives of the local administrative sector to encourage members of the community to realise that tourists are visiting Pai because it is Pai, not only because of one sub-district. A monthly meeting should be arranged to survey the representative of each sub-district about event organising or other development plans to assure the Pai community as a whole are benefiting.

8.4.3 Community benefit

Agriculture remains the primary employment amongst local people as much of the tourism sector is controlled by entrepreneurs to whom most tourism income accrues. However, Pai produces important industrial crops, including brown rice and soya beans, as well as the handicraft products of the Karen tribe. Hence, local administrators should position brown rice, garlic, and soya resources as the district product through marketing plans by targeting healthy organic consumers. Moreover, the local administrative sector should expand Pai's cultural street, currently restricted to indigenous people selling their products just once a week, to be included in traditional and cultural events to increase product distribution. Moreover, local people need to be educated in how to add value to their products through presentation and packaging. Thus, not only may more benefits flow to indigenous people, but also these local products should also be targeted at domestic tourists market as they are likely to buy more as the results of the research reveal their empathy and interest in aiding local people.

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Moreover, indigenous people can be trained and educated in tourism services as they are likely to be the part time employees of the tourism operators. The skills of service and communication in basic English should be taught as both domestic and international tourists should be the target of CBT development in Pai.

8.4.4 Education and promotion

Pai has a variety of physical attributes on which to base CBT promotion, particularly its numerous homestays and community accommodation. However, not only do relatively few tourists use these types of accommodation, but also the results of the research revealed that tourists have limited knowledge of CBT and, implicitly, limited interest in engaging in it. Whilst the supply-side focuses more on the mainstream tourism, there is limited management of CBT with a lack of co-operation between sub-districts to provide successful collaborative planning of CBT in Pai. Therefore, the CBT manager needs to plan to educate the indigenous people in each of sub-district to identify the common benefits of CBT in order to encourage them to participate in CBT planning and management in the future. Moreover, the promotion and education of CBT is needed to increase numbers of tourists. In this approach, the travel club of Pai may be the mediating channel to provide information in Thai and English.

8.4.5 Site management

8.4.5.1 Town planning

Many locals and tourists commented about the urban sprawl of Pai. However, from observations during the fieldwork, outside the town centre of Pai there are still plentiful natural resources and green spaces with rough roads. Therefore, it is evident that the need exists for town planning, in particular to control the size of the town to prevent excessive future growth. Such planning should include the regulation of the structure and architectural style of buildings, particularly as there is evidence of too many western-style buildings which have contributed to the cultural dilution of Pai. Therefore, restricted or conservation areas, such as cultural heritage areas including the hill tribe villages and historical buildings, and natural preservation areas including the natural attractions such as waterfalls, hot springs and river, should be created. In these restricted area, permission to build the new accommodation should be strictly regulated as it will damage area's environment and appeal more.

8.4.5.2 The management of local transportation during high season

It was suggested by domestic tourists that 'intra-transportation' was a good idea as none currently is provided and Pai it is too far to access the different attractions of Pai on foot. Only two forms of transportations are available: rented motorbikes and rented cars. However, many domestic tourists do not want to take the risk of hiring motorbikes as they complained about the danger from the rough roads and the difficulty of riding in the rain. Hence, if Pai can provide intra-transportation perhaps just during weekends (Friday to Sunday), such as a hop-on hop-off bus that is available in many tourists areas, it is likely that the amount of pollution from the numerous private cars of domestic tourists as well as traffic congestion during high season will be reduced. Moreover, it could provide income to locals as drivers but the intra-transportation idea needs to be managed by the local administrative sector, not entrepreneurs, in order to assure the benefits are distributed to the community. The central government may support this by providing funding for the intra-transportation.

8.4.6 Tourist management

According to the findings, most tourists do not associate themselves with being responsible for the condition of the destination, although domestic tourists referred to their responsibility towards the local community more so than international tourists. Efforts to raise awareness of tourists to environmental responsibility should be made along with public campaigns available in Thai and English; currently, there is only an environmentally focused campaign in Thai. Codes of conduct are generally used to encourage tourists to behave more responsibly, hence they should be provided at attraction areas to increase awareness. Furthermore, awareness may be raised by including information on how to be a 'responsible in the tourist city map as most of tourists will have one for free and it is easy to find around the town centre. Various slogans could be put onto the tourist city map such as 'Sustainability like Pai give it a try', 'The future of Pai belongs in your hands' and 'Keep Pai a dream, keep it clean'.

8.4.7 Bottom-up structure reinforcement

From the results, it is revealed that even though there is a local administrative sector which has its own power to make decisions, when it comes to larger scale issues, such as funding requests or construction approvals, the final decision remains with national bodies, such as the Ministry of Tourism and Sport and the Ministry of Interior.

Although it is difficult to revise the whole structure at the national scale, a bottom-up structure should be possible to achieve through surveying the opinions of the community in any new plan or project as they live within the community. The representative of the local administrative sectors should be from the locality in order to promote the community's needs and represent what community wants. Pai currently has a mayor who is native to Pai; yet the mayor at the time of the fieldwork research was conducted had only been recently elected and in this position for a duration of four months meaning that it was too early to determine whether representation of the community had improved.

In Table 8.2 below, the recommendations proposed above are linked to the National Tourism Plan discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 8.2 Linkage of proposed recommendations to National Tourism Plan

The Five Strategies of National Tourism Plan	Linkage of Proposed Recommendations to Brief Principles
The development of the basic structure and facilities for tourism	The intra-transportation during high season as the development of facilities for tourists.
The development and restoration of tourism resources for sustainability	Site management and traditions and culture preservation are suggested in order to develop and improve the quality of new tourism attractions of CBT, which the results represent tourists expectation of cultural and agricultural ways of life. Hence, the plan should be bound with sustainable aspects.
The development of products, services and supporting factors of tourism	Local product development and positioning is recommended as creative economy development and tourism- value added. Training indigenous people in business, marketing, service as well as communication in English for the improvement of tourism personnel's skills and potential in order to be effective in a competitive market.
The assurance formation and tourism reinforcement	The positive destination images are promoted to attract tourists visit destination. CBT education and promotion is to create more perception in order to add value to tourism products There is an integrated plan covering the expectation from international and domestic tourists, hence it should receive income from foreign tourists and also create an influx of traveling inbound. The recommendations also provide the information awareness increase for tourists in order to manage tourists more efficiently.
The reinforcement of process which has the co-operation of governmental sectors, community and local administrative sectors in tourism resource management	Bottom-up structure reinforcement is suggested in order to create more efficient development in administration and management in tourism Identity and local pride creation and traditional and cultural events reinforcement are suggested to encourage the community participation.

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From all aspects of the proposed strategies, it is not only an integrated plan but it expresses a collaborative approach for the community engaging the local administrative sector, entrepreneurs and indigenous people. CBT would not been successful without the participation of all members of the community. From the point of view of the researcher, it is not too late for the communities in the environs of Pai, outside the developed town centre, to maintain their existing lifestyles. However, it would require not only strict mutual co-operation amongst all of the community to think of Pai in the long-term, but also the continuation of agriculture as it is the main source of employment for most local people. It provides jobs in the off season and continues to be a source of income. Moreover, every plan needs to be assessed annually, and this should include a survey of local people's opinions, as they live in the community where such plans would have an impact.

From a marketing perspective, the community may be considered a kind of product and, therefore, should be considered within the marketing mix of product, price, place and promotion should be considered (Kotler 2009).

As a product, it is the community itself, its physical environment, its people and cultures that can be sold to tourists; more specifically it is the experience of the destination community that the tourist consumes and the services that experience is dependent on as in tourism the product is intangible. As CBT involves the participation of the community and their involvement in the planning of tourism development, the product therefore has to an extent a degree of autonomy, involved in the placement and development strategies of itself. This would suggest that, if the community was more aware of their own potential as a product and through CBT their ability to shape that product in order to benefit themselves, the potential for participation and co-operation would increase.

As for the price, this aspect generated positive responses amongst international tourists; value for money was perceived as one of the more positive destination images while they engaged with Pai. The price is important because it affects demand; more tourists will be encouraged to experience Pai and its community if it is associated with good value. However with CBT the price or rather the amount of wealth tourists bring into the destination's economy is not completely profit driven in a competitive sense but is

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rather geared towards benefiting the community, directly or indirectly. This balance of price management and awareness of tourism demand has been successfully implemented in the destination of Pai as reflected by the price changes from high season (predominant with domestic tourists) and decreased in low season (predominant with international tourists).

Following this is the place. As the community is the product, it is inextricably linked to the destination yet the wider context of how the product is made convenient/accessible for the consumer should also be considered. The findings revealed that the two main ways international tourists visited Pai was through packages bought either from their country of origin or within Thailand. Both, however, were mainly accessed independently through the internet. More built up areas close to Pai, such as the city of Chiang Mai offers frequent shuttle buses for tourist to easily access Pai making the CBT product more attainable for the tourist/consumer. However, complaints of Pai's accessibility should also be noted as its scenic and peaceful mountainous location made for a long and arduous journey for some tourists. Keeping in mind these factors outside Pai affecting its convenience and accessibility, the main place the CBT product is consumed is within the destination. As the product is intangible, its place and its 'distribution' points are to an extent also intangible with the tourist experience of the destination community being largely based on the individual's perception. The places within the destination where this experience is consumed are varied from the hill tribe walk, religious events to the travel club and homestay lodges with tourist guide maps provided as a further convenience.

Finally, promotion; that is, all methods of communication providing information about the CBT product including the offers, attractions, activities and accommodations available to the tourist. As mentioned previously, the product is essentially the tourist's experience of the destination community and the services that facilitate that therefore its promotion is broad and varied. From the data gathered, it is notable that the majority of international tourists were informed of Pai and its CBT product via the internet and travel websites whereas the domestic tourist became aware through online social networks and word of mouth of friends and family. A variety of brochures and other forms of advertisements for tourists were abundant in the areas outside Pai, such as Chiang Mai. Within Pai, the Travel Club and tourist accommodations provided the

majority of promotional information, such as brochures, maps and guide services. Despite the substantial presence of both traditional and electronic promotional sources focusing on Pai as a tourist destination, there remains a lack of focus on the CBT product in particular. As the brochure-content analysis revealed that the concentration of communication was directed more towards the beautiful scenery, if tourists became more aware of CBT and the community as a tourism product then they may increasingly recognise and appreciate their own experience of this as a consumer. Moreover, as the frist perceptions for international tourists is Thailand and some of them refered the negative image of Thailand for sex industry, crimes, and drugs in chapter 7. Hence, the government and planners should actually resolve this problem as it was sticked to image of Thailand for dacades and that may not motivate international tourists not to visit the destination.

8.5 Conceptual and strategic framework for CBT

From the research, recommendations and the model of the comparison of different tourists' perceptions in Chapter 7, a conceptual and strategic framework for CBT is proposed, as shown in the Figure 8.1.

The framework indicates that the proposed collaborative management strategies plan needs to be connected with the National Tourism Plan in order to reflect its principles. Moreover, this would be necessary to secure funding for development, which would be provided by the Ministry of Tourism and Sport. The strategies in the process of implementation and marketing then follow, the marketing of CBT aiming to create induced images of destinations. As revealed in Chapter 4, destination images are an essential factor in tourists' decision making. Thus, information about CBT, promoting indigenous culture and traditional ways of life, is needed to attract CBT Tourists. CBT tourists can be the alternative group who seek culture or existential authenticity as previously discussed; however, mainstream tourists are still focused on as they also have a perception of activities based on indigenous cultures in the destination. After tourists engage with the community, they have the perceptions including tourists' experiences which mainly are authenticity and relaxation. The outcome of their perceptions can be monitored back to the collaborative management strategies, as to assess the efficiency of the conceptual model of the CBT development plan. If the

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tourists' perceptions show negative feedback, then some tourism strategies may need to be revised in order to satisfy tourists' needs. The community's opinions are also essential; all the plans should be surveyed by the community to assure confidence that it optimises benefits while minimising negative consequences for the community and destination.

Figure 8.1: Conceptual Model of CBT Development Plan
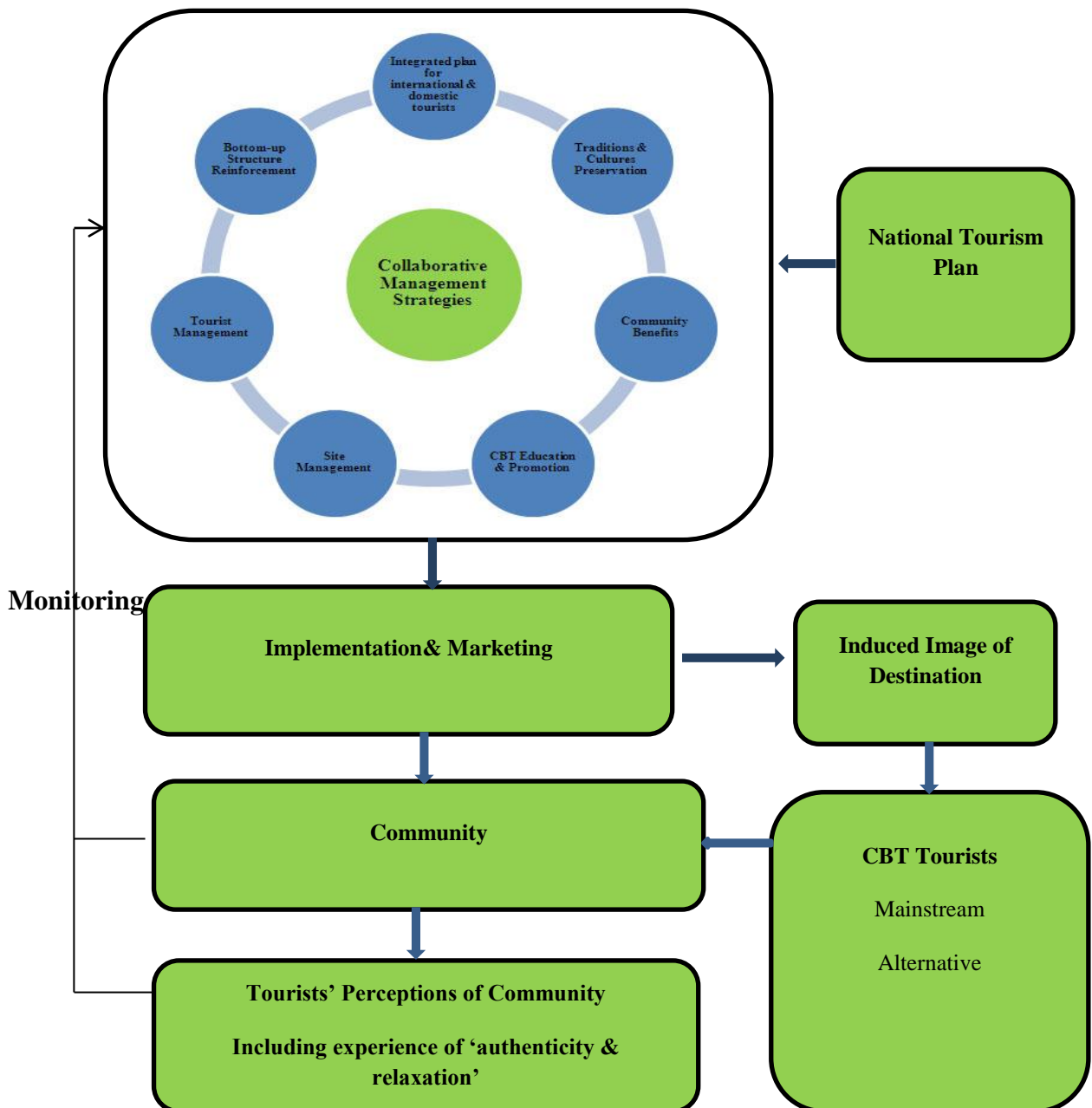
8.6 Contribution of this research

The results derived from this research may help CBT managers better design and develop strategies to enhance the community's benefits from tourism, whilst meeting the needs of both international and domestic tourists.

CBT remains a new concept for many countries, including Thailand where, as previously observed (Chapter 5), there are currently only sixteen CBT destinations described on the website of CBT-I. Therefore, this research proposes plans for the development of CBT in Thailand, suggesting solutions to some of the problems faced by Pai, a destination that was initially developed around the principles of CBT. However, as this research has revealed, not only was the ton unable to maintain a community focus in tourism as it rapidly became more popular but also, somewhat surprisingly, no specific tourism plan had been produced. Hence, this research can possibly be adapted to other CBT destinations which are likely to become more popular amongst mainstream tourists, such as Chiang Kan in the province of Leoy, Pua in the province of Nan, and other such CBT destinations.

8.7 Limitations of this research

To have acquired more complete and rich data and to have gained an even deeper understanding of the processes and tensions inherent in tourism development in Pai, it would have been necessary to spend more time there – perhaps up to a year. This would have enabled the researcher, for example, to conduct further interviews and to engage in ethnographic study by staying within each sub-district for a month each to immerse herself within the community. More specifically, the ability to speak or translate other languages, such as Dutch, Germany, or French would have been a significant advantage in expanding the scope of research amongst international tourists. However, given both time and financial constraints, this research was restricted to a period of just four months during the low and high season, using just English as the mediating language to conduct interviews with international tourists. Therefore, the outcomes of these may be limited by a lack of fluency and full expression on the part of some respondents. Nevertheless, it is believed that that the research undertaken, augmented by the interviews with local stakeholders and the brochure content analysis, were sufficient to achieve the immediate objectives of this thesis.

A further limitation relates to the cross-cultural study. Although there are numerous tourism studies based on Hofstede's concept of national culture, these have been criticised as they are unable to address all aspects of tourist behaviour (Farahani and Mohamed 2012). For example, Hofstede's model is unable to account for tourists' motivations, lifestyle, demographics, and so on (Pizam 1999). Therefore, to study tourists' differing perceptions in greater depth, perhaps more factors needed to be considered. However, this research is limited to exploring the different perceptions of tourists at a national level, whilst western tourists may also be influenced by a supra-national culture.

8.8 Recommendations for future research

As this study has looked primarily at CBT from the perspective of it being a product, it may be interesting to see if this research is repeatable or adaptable for similar CBT destinations not only within Thailand but also considering other ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) members. This would not only involve researching product variation and appeal of different CBT destinations but also observing the product market at a regional level and whether competition for tourist demand between these destinations may affect their ability and primary purpose to benefit their destination community. This would take into account the supra-national identity or presence amongst South East Asian nations as well as a cross-cultural comparison of the CBT demand by international and domestic tourists.

Other proposals for future study may further build upon this research such as the relationship between CBT and destination development, looking at whether or not the increased development of a destination may compromise the viability of the CBT as a product. Moreover, if the CBT product is the tourist experience and interaction with the community, is it possible to safeguard the community from being dissolved due to overdevelopment, urbanisation and so on, and ensure that the benefits of CBT are evident. This may bring in a further debate to ask whether or not CBT is truly sustainable and if the community will eventually outgrow their destination product with increased development, cultural dilution or decrease in tourist demand for it.

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APPENDIX 1: LETTER OF CONSENT

Dear Sir/Madam

Thank you for your cooperation within this interview as part of my doctoral studies: A Comparative Analysis of International and Domestic Tourists' Perceptions of Community Based-Tourism (CBT): The Case of Pai, Thailand at School of Sport, Tourism and The Outdoors, University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom.

All information collected about you will be kept strictly confidential, subject to legal limitations. All information will be stored in locked filing cabinets and access to computer files will be by password only. Data generated in the course of the study will be retained in accordance with University of Central Lancashire's policy of Academic Integrity and kept securely in paper or electronic form.

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APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE REPRESENTATIVE FROM LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT OF PAI

Background Information

Name	
Position	
Date and Time	

Questions

1. Could you tell me about the range of abilities of the local administration of Pai with respect to tourism development?

2. What are the processes and methods of tourism planning and management in Pai?

3. What do you understand community based-tourism to be?

4. How do local people get involved in those processes of tourism planning and management?

5. Are there any roles for community participation in tourism planning and management in Pai?

6. What are the problems facing community participation in tourism planning and management?

7. What are the future plans for community-based tourism development in Pai?

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS GUIDE FOR LOCALS AND KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Background Information

Name	
Career/Position	
Date and Time	

Questions

1. What do you understand community based-tourism to be?

2. Have you ever had any role in community participation? And how?

3. Are you satisfied with past and present tourism development in Pai?

4. What are the problems of community participation in tourism planning and management?

5. In your opinion, who should solve these problems and how could the degree of community participation in tourism planning and management be improved?

6. Do you have any suggestions for the future community-based tourism development in Pai?

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS GUIDE FOR INTERNATIONAL TOURISTS

Section 1: Background Information

Gender	
Area of Residence	
Age	
Occupation	
Date and Time	

Section 2: Characteristics of tourists?

1. Can you briefly tell me about your choice of accommodation and transportation preference? And for how long do you plan to stay here?
2. What was the source of information used in planning this trip?

Section 3: Push and pull factors in choosing Thailand and Pai

1. What images of Thailand influenced your destination choice?
2. What factors influenced your destination choice? Any motivations or reasons to choose Pai?

Section 4: Perception of Pai

1. Now you are already engaged with the destination? How do you perceive Pai?

Section 5: Perception of CBT in Pai

1. What is your perception of community based-tourism?
2. Have you perceived any participation in tourism on the part of local people? And have you engaged with / become involved with locals?
3. How can you have a role or any responsibility for CBT?
4. Do you think tourists in Pai can be considered as responsible tourists? E.g. are tourists aware of problems in Pai and want to make it better?
5. How do you perceive the supply-side of CBT development, such sustainable development campaigns & eco-guidance, slow style travel, the approach of attracting number of tourists (between concert and events and cultural and traditional festivals), locals benefit conservation, and facilities improvement?

Section 6: Suggestion for CBT development in Pai

1. Do you have any other suggestions for community-based tourism development in Pai?

Section 1: Background Information

Gender	
Hometown/Residence	
Age	
Occupation	
Date and Time	

Section 2: Characteristics of tourists?

1. Can you briefly tell me about your choice of accommodation and transportation preference? And for how long do you plan to stay here?
2. What was the source of information used in planning this trip?

Section 3: Push and pull factors in choosing Pai

1. What factors influenced your destination choice? Any motivations or reasons to choose Pai?

Section 4: Perception of Pai

1. Now you are already engaged with the destination? How do you perceive Pai?

Section 5: Perception of CBT in Pai

1. What is your perception of community based-tourism?
2. Have you perceived any participation in tourism on the part of local people? And have you engaged with / become involved with locals?
3. How can you have a role or any responsibility for CBT?
4. Do you think tourists in Pai can be considered as responsible tourists? E.g. are tourists aware of problems in Pai and want to make it better?
5. How do you perceive the supply-side of CBT development, such sustainable development campaigns and eco-guidance, slow style travel, the approach of attracting number of tourists (between concert and events and cultural and traditional festivals), locals benefit conservation, and facilities improvement?

Section 6: Suggestion for CBT development in Pai

1. Do you have any other suggestions for community-based tourism development in Pai?

Name of the interviewee	Mr. Sandot Sukkaew
Occupation	Local owner of TacomePai homestay
Date	21 August 2010
Interview Location	TacomePai homestay

Interviewer: I would like to start with basic question like what is the uniqueness of Pai?

Interviewee: The uniqueness of Pai was originally was that materialism and Capitalism didn't have any influence on Pai. The pioneers of Pai were the western backpackers who were fond of nature loving and peaceful life. When they came here, they stayed in locals' huts and left some money like 20-30 Baht in response the kindness of the locals, which is the origin of the guesthouse entrepreneurship. However at that time, we could not avoid the fact that some of them visited Pai because it was easy to get drugs as Pai is near the border of Thailand and Myanmar.

After that, before the boom of Thai tourists, the second pioneers were the conservative ones, who were tourist guides from Chiang Mai, who later found out about the charm of Pai, then later settled down here. Then word-of-mouth was the biggest cause in convincing some artists from Bangkok or major cities in their founding of small industries like cafes, guesthouses, or art galleries within the location. So, Pai had changed at that time, the number of domestic tourists had gradually increased, from small guesthouses to small resorts and finally luxury resorts. The image of Pai for natural and peaceful seeking tourists has changed to in trend scene for domestic tourists' spots. Then, it comes to the problem of the influx of domestic tourists, without proper planning. Many outsiders have come here to invest and launch their businesses but have not thought about the origins of Pai. Now, it is very ridiculous that a lot of western building styles; houses with chimneys or European lantern posts are the famous tourists spots. For domestic tourists, visiting Pai is just for taking photos with kilometer stone and the scene around coffee in love café, this is pretty obvious if you search the internet for Thai behaviours here. In contrast, the western tourists are fond of agricultural style. So, they have completely different behaviours.

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Interviewer: Wow, it is quite detailed information. I would like to ask you as the scope of community based-tourism more. What do you understand community-based tourism to be?

Interviewee: Well, it is supposed to be the community involvement in tourism business.

Interviewer: Have you ever had any role in community participation? And how?

Interviewee: Yes, Pai used to have on-stage discussion and I used to attend them. Unfortunately, there is no strong movement, this activity finally failed. Also, any custom events which can promote old and traditional way of life of Pai people, I willingly join, within key position or just a spectator. For example, in "Don-tree-ka-wee-chao-na" (Music, poem, and farmer), I have a role to convince people from ethnic groups to join. However, there are two main participations which are

  1.1)   Pai tourism club; the co-operation among entrepreneurs and the new generation of Pai, so the idea of this group will be quite modern and depends on capitalism more than conservatism.

  1.2)   Conservative group; Mainly held by a few older members of the Pai community.

However, as I mentioned, there is a lack of strong movement from Pai people because the nature of locals is very peaceful. For example, Bann-pa-kham sub-district, which is located on the Pai walking street used to be the large community of Tai-Yai, nevertheless, recently as I asked the headman of that sub-district…there is no meeting among locals for a while because many of them moved away to other places due to noise pollution from the influx of tourists.

Interviewer: what about participation among homestays entrepreneurs?

Interviewee:…There is no participation between homestay in Pai. At this moment, there are 3 homestays, however, it depends on the style of each owner.

Interviewer: Are you satisfied with the previous and present tourism development in Pai?

Interviewee: It depends on which issues. I am satisfied that the local administrators publicise about homestay as it represents the rural and simple lifestyle of Pai people for those seeking for the authenticity. Also, for the locals, in general, they sorted out common locals problems, for example, public health and education. However, there are a few things I think, regarding tourism development in Pai that need to be improved… The local administrators or municipality officers cannot see the real problem. Actually, before tourism reinforcement, they should have integrated plans like educating locals. But in practice, they just reinforce Pai by organising film festivals, inviting pop stars to join or holding events like wedding ceremony on Valentine's day. This is senseless as many places can organise this. Pai has the selling point as a natural scene, the more they organize ridiculous events, the more it damages the destination. Government should reinforce community, to sell their identity or custom life e.g. traditional building like bamboo hut of locals can make profit by serving tourists. However, it doesn't mean creating some pseudo-events like hill-tribe dancing or hill-tribe dressing to sell products, because those are not the authentic way of life and it won't sustainable. Only few people can make profits from this.

The interviewer: Please indicate issues that are problems for tourism development in Pai

Interviewee: it will be a very big problem in future because all business here expect only domestic tourists as they can afford many things, however, many of Thai tourists are not sustainable tourists because they come here only once as it is in trend and will not come back due to remoteness. Then second thing is 80% of entrepreneurs are the outsider, so they are not aware of environment and community despite them being the selling point of Pai. They consider only about the construction of buildings to make profit in high season, but are not concern about low season or any impact to community as they are outsiders. They have no idea what Pai was like in the past, the simple life of Pai is gradually gone, at this moment only morning market remains as a reminder mark of the past.

Moreover, those outsiders are very influential, in the past, anyone could sell anything on the walking street, so did the locals, they sold products or food in high season and went away to cultivate in low season. However, in low season, the outsider market vendors came and settled down there, so there is no more place for local vendors. And the government cannot do anything about this as the outsider vendors claim that Pai was lively in low season because of them while the locals were gone.

Interviewer: What about environmental problem, any idea of that?

Interviewee: Important issue is the limit of water in Pai; many villages have problem in water shortage. Normally, we have problem about this in summer, and now still have to distribute water to entrepreneurs, who needs a large number of water to nurture their resorts. The future plan is to pump water from the river to meet this demand, which will cause problems to the ecosystem in the future.

Interviewer: In your opinion, who should solve these problems and what should be done to improve the degree of community participation in tourism planning and management?

Interviewee: Everybody; locals, government, entrepreneurs and also tourists need to understand the situation in Pai..environmental issue. Everyone needs to be aware of this, the government needs to educate people and force tourists to follow the regulations. Entrepreneurs should not consider about making profits only. And locals need to come out and call for their rights.

Interviewer: Do you have any suggestion about tourism development in Pai?

Interviewee: Two comments are…not just only raising awareness of environmental issue, but also the government should do it too, for example, controlling any event would that could cause any damage to Pai. Locals, we, need to be a part of movement and call for the rights, especially, water shortages will be the big problem in the future, and residents should act and do something.

APPENDIX 7: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT OF DEMAND SIDE

Type of tourist	International tourist
Demographic of interviewee	Male, Irish, 23 years old, Graduate
Date	13 September 2010
Location	Pai Canyon

Interviewer: Can you briefly tell me about your choice of accommodation and transportation preference? And for how long do you plan to stay here?

The interviewee: I took a bus from Chiang Mai which is convenient because it's direct. ...I've been in Pai for a week now and will see the story, I'm in the guesthouse where I have to share the bathroom with other tourists but the price is grand.

Interviewer: What was the source of information used in planning this trip?

Interviewee: Guidebooks and websites

Interviewer: What images of Thailand influenced your destination choice?

Interviewee: I've always heard that Thailand is a good spot to go. Paradise beach and the good place for the diving. Its really cheap over here too, a lot cheaper than I expected. I was fairly worried that the heat and the tropical climate was going to be tough for me but I coping alright with that..

Interviewer: What factors influenced your destination choice? Any motivations or reasons to choose Pai?

Interviewee: Well, many backpackers come here because it's cheap and to relax, its very chilled out. I've been here since March, so kind of know many people around here and just want to stay over for Loy Kratong day here and see what it's like when Thai tourists coming and then will move to another town. Its pretty interesting here.

Interviewer: Now you are already engaged in the destination, how do you perceive Pai?
Interviewee: It's a big town full of backpackers, students or graduates from many countries but not Thais. It's great place to relax still, you can take many courses if you like but cheaper than in Bangkok or Chiang Mai, for examples, Thai boxing, tattoo artist, cooking. There are a plenty of cheap guesthouses every corner of the town so you're never short of somewhere to stay. I don't think there's much for the community here, at least maybe not anymore, its more for tourists now.

Interviewer: So, any idea about community based-tourism? What is your perception of community based-tourism?

Interviewee: That's a tough question... I 'm guessing that it's where communities do there own tourism things rather than rich companies or the government.

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Interviewer: Have you perceived any participation in tourism on the part of local people? And have you engaged with / become involved with locals?

Interviewee: Well, to be honest, due to my time limit here I haven't really seen much involvement between the tourists and the locals unless its small talk with people like staff or services but it would be only about general stuff like weather, activitiew or the recommending of something.

Interviewer: How can you have a role or any responsibility for CBT?

Interviewee: Well, travel to certain places or accommodating tourists or creating an industry where visitors will pay to come can actually save fledging towns where there are no money or jobs. I believe tourists still hold a responsibility not to damage anything or mess up things for the locals, after all this is their home and we are their guests if you think about it.

Interviewer: Do you think tourists in Pai can be considered as responsible tourists? E.g. are tourists aware of problems in Pai and want to make it better?

Interviewee: I think we all know about how to behave when you're abroad and being like a good tourist, respecting the host, help to preserve the areas culture and prospersity, and so on. However, like in Pai, there are a lot of young backpackers which I think pretty much of them are just here for the fun but that's what travelling about too.

Interviewer: How do you perceive the supply-side of CBT development, such sustainable development campaigns & eco-guidance, slow style travel, the approach of attracting number of tourists (between concert and events and cultural and traditional festivals), locals benefit conservation, and facilities improvement?

Interviewee: Not quite sure, but for me I like to see festive folk arts soak in a bit of the native culture I suppose.

Interviewer: Do you have any other suggestions for community-based tourism development in Pai?

Interviewee: ...no comment