

POVERTY REDUCTION AND TOURISM IN
BULON ISLAND
SATUN PROVINCE THAILAND

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POVERTY REDUCTION AND TOURISM IN
BULON ISLAND
SATUN PROVINCE THAILAND

By
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ABSTRACT

This research aims to evaluate the use of tourism as a tool for poverty reduction in Bulon Island, Satun Province, Thailand. It focuses on local people's perceptions of poverty and how tourism may be used to improve their livelihoods. It also critically evaluates the barriers to local people to participating in the tourism industry and how these may be overcome.

An interpretive paradigm supported by the use of qualitative methods including semi-structured interviews, participant observation and focus groups has been adopted. Thirty-six local people participated in the research and two focus groups were conducted. The collected data was evaluated through thematic analysis to categorise the emergent key themes.

The research findings are subsequently presented according to three main themes that emerged from the data. The first is local peoples' perceptions of poverty focus on their ability to be self-sufficient rather than defining poverty solely as a measure of deficient income. Secondly, it is evident that local people benefit from tourism in terms of employment opportunities, which are important for supplementing work in the seasonal fishing industry. The creation of employment opportunities and an opportunity to earn income especially have direct benefits for local women, making them more independent and empowering them. The final

thematic finding identifies the barriers to local participation in tourism, which centre upon deficiencies in financial, human and social capital. Recommendations are subsequently made on how to overcome these barriers and enhance the use of tourism for poverty reduction and alleviation in Bulon. Actions include capacity building and the establishment and strengthening of stakeholder partnerships.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Bedfordshire.

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

Name of candidate:

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Date:

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the overall research study, which is Bulon Island, Satun Province, Thailand, together with an introduction to the research area, the context, rationale and significance of the research, its aim and objectives and the organisation of the thesis.

1.2 Rationale and significance

In many developing countries (including Thailand), tourism is one of the fastest growing and major economic activities supporting the economy. Tourism has the potential to enhance opportunities for the poor, especially for the small-scale economy in a local community (UNWTO, 2012). UNWTO and many other literatures have agreed tourism has the potential and means for poverty reduction, promoting and protecting local nature and culture and, more importantly, for creating equality between genders (UNWTO, 2012; Ashley, Roe & Goodwin, 2000).

Since the mid-1980s, the focus of sustainable tourism has been on ensuring tourism does not prove ruinous effects on the environment and local culture. For example, eco-tourism and community tourism have become the focus among many tourism scholars and are of interest to decision makers (Ashley, Roe & Goodwin, 2000). However, little interest exists in the full range of impacts tourism has on rural livelihoods and current practices fail to consider tourism as a means of poverty reduction. However, at the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000, the UN stated poverty reduction is to be one of the most urgent tasks in responding to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which ended in 2015, and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) will continue. In order to achieve the MDGs, the UNWTO presented the concept of Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT), which is defined as tourism that generates net benefit for the poor (Ashley et al., 2001) and Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) (see Chapter Three), which also places focus on poverty reduction. In 2007, UNWTO recognised tourism as a key tool in poverty reduction and sustainable development. Since then, the

UNWTO has placed poverty reduction at the centre of its sustainable tourism agenda, as evident in UNWTO publications (e.g. UNWTO, 2011). After the MDGs ended in 2015, new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were presented, having poverty reduction still at the centre. Tourism continues to be seen as a tool to achieve the goals because it can create direct economic benefits for the poor in terms of generating wages. Additionally, it generates indirect benefits in terms of the development of livelihoods, natural resources, physical infrastructure development and funds for investment in health, education and other assets, all of which can contribute to poverty reduction.

The main concept of this research concerns relationships between poverty reduction and tourism development, as well as identifying the barriers to local people participating in tourism, in order to make recommendations for tackling poverty. Bulon Island is one of the King's projects in the Chaiphathana Foundation, in which Her Royal Highness, Princess Sirindhorn, helped eight people who were suffering illness and unable to afford repeated treatment. HRH Princess Sirindhorn initiated collaboration with the Prince of Songkla University to undertake research on community up-lift for the island. Developing Bulon Island is not easy because the island is located far from the mainland, which means third parties can only access the island by boat in certain seasons. In these circumstances, Bulon Island needs to be developed in a sustainable way, whilst also retaining the identity of the local people. Poverty in Bulon Island, using both monetary and non-monetary measurements, is reflected in unacceptable income levels and a lack of basic service indicators, including access to healthcare, education and good drinking-water. The researcher was motivated by a number of factors to inquire into the link between tourism and poverty reduction for Bulon Island. Available data shows that poverty is widespread on Bulon Island, with the majority of the population being described as poor (Research for Community Development by Community Participation at Bulon Don and Bulon Lay Islands, 2012). The limited availability of poverty indicators shows that the well-being of the population should be improved through substantial government investment to enhance basic services and livelihood opportunities.

1.3 Study Site

This research focusses on the role of tourism in poverty reduction on Bulon Island or Koh Bulon Don. The Bulon Island community in Satun Province represents a traditional fishing community situated within Phetra Island's National Park in Moo 3, Paknam Subdistrict, La-ngu District, Satun Province, being located about 22 km from Pakbara Harbour. Only two islands, Bulon Don Island and Bulon Lay Island, are inhabited and are situated six kilometres from each other. The population of Bulon is 158 families (Satun, 2016). The inhabitants, who are mostly Muslim, have been in the area for more than a hundred years and have minimal experience in community development, having used traditional fishing equipment to make a living after receiving only basic education and suffering a lack of basic commodities, such as electricity and drinking-water. Families are medium-sized and almost all their income is from fishing; however, they are also able to make a living by providing services to resorts. They often cannot make ends meet as their incomes are only sufficient for expenses; consequently, these people are often in debt to lenders or wholesaling fish buyers.

Bulon Island has a tropical monsoon climate that is affected by the north-east (dry) and south-west (wet) monsoons. The rainy season runs from May to October, which is when the south-west monsoons bring rain from the Indian Ocean; however, the climate is suitable for tourism during the dry season, November to April, when the north-east monsoon prevails. The hottest time of the year is March and April, when the monsoon winds change direction.

Figure 1.1: Bulon Island Map and Satun province

Source: Adapted from Google map [online] accessed 16 October 2016



1.4 Research aims and objectives

The aim of this research is to evaluate the use of tourism as a tool for poverty reduction in Bulon Island, Satun Province, Thailand. To achieve this aim, three principal objectives have been formulated:

1. To evaluate how tourism may be used as a tool for poverty reduction on Bulon Island.
2. To investigate the local community's perceptions of how tourism can be used to improve their livelihoods and wellbeing and
3. To identify barriers to local people participating in the tourism industry.

1.5 General information about the research area (Bulon Island)

Bulon Lay is the largest of the islands and consists of small communities. Most people living on this island claim their ancestors settled there a long time ago, before the island was declared to be under the control of Moo Koh Petra National Park. Bulon Lay has become a tourist centre because of its thirteen bungalows, one of which belongs to the school, as well as the restaurants selling food for tourists. On the south side of this island, the beautiful coral reefs attract tourists for diving activities. There are also many beaches around the island, such as Pan-Sand beach, Nah-Rong Rien Beach, Lamson Beach, Ao Muong Beach, Ao Phang Nga Yai Beach and Ao Phang Nga Lek Beach. Moreover, tourists can find other varied activities, such as bird-watching, beach activities and camping etc.

Bulon Don is under the control of Moo Koh Petra National Park and it is considered a small island, similar in size to Bulon Lay. This island has approximately 300 fishermen, who were the first settlers, as fishery was the main industry when this group of people first arrived on this island. The charm of this island can be seen from its traditional fishermen's lifestyle, art and performances, such as the Rongneng dance, Ba Nha dance and Srilatmananggabao, which is a performance of martial art. However, there are few resorts or facilities for tourists on the island.

1.5.1 Climate

The islands are located in a tropical zone that experiences rain all year long. The monsoon season begins with showers and heavy rains starting in May, finishing

around the end of October. Summer is relatively short (March–April), during which a change of monsoon season takes place, from Northeast monsoon to Southwest monsoon and bringing different weather conditions. The weather has a direct impact on living creatures in the sea. For example, the amount of fish caught decreases during the time the Bandaya wind blows because the sea wind leads to unclear water, whereas the east wind makes the sea water clearer.

1.5.2 Transportation

Travelling to Koh Bulon during monsoon season can be very difficult, particularly during the south-west monsoon season (May–October), as there are likely to be strong winds with high waves that can reach nearly four metres. At the time of monsoons and high waves, people on Bulon Island might not be able to communicate with the mainland; moreover, food can be delivered only by air. During the high season (November–April), there are no high waves and the sea is much calmer, which makes travel by boat very convenient. There are two piers that tourists can use, which are Pakbara Pier and another one near Tae-Pan Cape or Maemai. However, speedboats run from Pakbara Pier to the island during the tourism season.

1.5.3 Geography and housing

The island has a steep limestone formation and there is very little flat land. The inhabitants have built houses on the flat land along the beach or the valley and their houses are scattered around the bay, the hill and the beach, which are convenient for fishing. Compound houses are not found and the raised houses are built from locally-sourced materials, including bamboo and other types of wood, with roofs made from sewn coconut tree leaves. Its location and the relatively quiet tourist industry have meant the natural resources of the island have remained abundant and appealing. From the north to south sides of the island, along the white sand beach, pine trees are kept as a protective wall to protect both small fishing boats (traditional fishing) and commercial boats from the wind; therefore, many boats are moored near these pine trees.

1.5.4 Careers

The majority of people in Bulon Island are fishermen, who own small boats known as *Hua-Tong* or long-tail boats. Fishing tools are composed of crab seine, bamboo fish traps, squid network traps and floating seine. People on the island also operate businesses but locals do not manage payments well and they cannot save much money. Moreover, their annual gross income is limited to about 20,000 baht (£400).

1.5.5 Public Health

Healthcare on Bulon Island is rather poor, due to transportation problems. The poor healthcare service is a major problem in the islands and local women have sometimes delivered their babies on the way to the hospital. Having interviewed Bulon's locals, it is found that most have requested the establishment of a healthcare centre. Another issue for Bulon Island is waste disposal because people discard their trash around their houses and do not try seek better ways to dispose of it. There is also a problem of water-logging at the back of their community, although a village headman is currently addressing community cleanliness.

1.5.6 Lifestyle and folk wisdom

Local lives depend on natural resources and locals make their living using folk wisdom crystallised over many years. Most men on Bulon Lay and Bulon Don become fishermen because men take responsibility for their family by making the living, whereas women take care of household chores and repair fishery tools. Sometimes, the women also have work, such as seeking oysters that are known as *Teen-Ted* that can be found on rocks. Removing the oysters from the rocks needs a special tool similar to a hammer, with a head made from sharp metal, which enables oyster shells to be easily cracked out. The action of cracking out the oyster shells is sometimes called *Toi-Hoy*, which is translated as 'punching the shell'. Oysters are considered expensive, as they are difficult and time-consuming to find. Locals plant various kinds of vegetables in their gardens for their own consumption but these edibles need especial protection because goats might also eat them.

Searching for fish is known in the local language as *Tam-Gaan-Lay* and is usually the men's responsibility, using crab seine, crab network traps, bamboo fish traps, fish hooks etc. Seafood is consumed within local families and any surplus is sold at Bara pier, Bor-Jed-Look pier or resorts on Bulon Lay Island; however, any creatures that cannot be eaten or used in other ways are returned to the sea. Fish populations have reduced from the effect of big ships fishing near the shore. The number of coral reefs and other sea animals has also diminished; moreover, the use of large seines by the big ships causes considerable damage to fishermen's tools. As the number of sea creatures has reduced, locals in Koh Bulon have changed their jobs and take part in tourism businesses to gain improved income for their family.

Setting the crab seine is popular during the monsoon season, which runs from mid-June until September and fishermen are able to catch more crabs compared to other periods. In October, the number of crabs decreases as it is nearly the end of monsoon season. Fishermen will set the crab seine three to four days after the waning moon begins because the water is relatively calm and the seine is less likely to collect trash or get tangled. The seine is put out every day at 9 am and picked up by noon, when any crabs caught will be taken to the shore. Thirteen to fourteen days after the waning moon, all of the seines are drawn in because the seawater becomes very turbulent. The seines, which can be used for about six weeks, need to be covered by stone in case the fishermen want to leave them in the water; after that, they need to be changed for new ones. There are different sizes of seine, starting from three to four inches long. Apart from catching crabs using the seine, locals also like to use fishing lures consisting of dead fish parts. In order to catch squid, fishermen will use its eggs as bait because squid like to eat their fresh eggs. Catching squid using a network trap can take place all year round. After putting a squid network trap in the sea for a while, it needs to be checked for any shipworms attaching to it that have to be scraped out, as squids will not be easily caught if shipworms are around the network trap.

Catching fish with a bamboo fish trap takes place from the end of October until March. The monsoon season begins around the end of April; therefore, it is not a

good time for fishermen to start putting out fish network traps and they use this time to repair or make fishing tools. The weather is the key factor for fishermen when searching for fish and they can predict the weather based on their experiences. Their daily income is about 500–1500 baht (£ 10-30).

Folk wisdom medicines, are taught from one generation to another, are very important for those living in rural areas and the sea cucumber or *gaa-maad* is accepted as the best medicine for healing. The *gaa-maad* can be found in sea water around two metres deep near the shore. Searching for the sea cucumber is very popular 14-15 days after the waning moon because they are at the right size, which is five to seven inches long. To make this medicine, the *gaa-maad* is boiled and people then drink the water to heal wounds after operations or when giving birth. The water used after boiling the *gaa-maad* can be applied to wounds and people eat dry *gaa-maad* to relieve symptoms of various illnesses, such as tuberculosis and cancer. Oils taken from *gaa-maad* can be applied to alleviate muscle pain and *gaa-maad* can be fermented with rice whisky and mixed with five-month-old honey in order to cure other diseases. In the past, villagers have exported *gaa-maad* to Langkawi Island, where *gaa-maad* is used to make ointments. The number of *gaa-maads* has reduced due to the high demand and, although fishermen like to sell them, they are also aware that *gaa-maads* should be conserved.

1.5.7 Land ownership

Most inhabitants own plots of land for housing. Seventy-five percent own less than one *rai* (unit of area equal to 1,600 square metres) and 11.3% own 10-15 *rai* of land. Mostly, ownership is confined to locals, although some plots of land are owned by outsiders who have built resorts and restaurants on the island. The locals have inherited their ownership, having originally bought some plots of land from the old family who claimed the ownership of big plots of land on the island more than a hundred years ago. Some bought the land from the previous title deed owners. However, the Bulon Island community faces the same problems that other coastal communities have faced since inhabitants have resided on plots of land that are legally public property. In 1984, the Department of National Parks,

Wildlife and Plant Conservation announced that this area would become a national park area for Phetra Islands. For this reason, the inhabitants can only build houses to live in and they are not permitted to expand their houses or make use of the land for agricultural purposes. The only exception is Pan Sand Resort, which has a legal title deed. The owner of this resort purchased the land from an inhabitant many years ago and began construction of the resort, having run the business since 1990. There are many reasons for many plots of land having been sold to outsiders. The natural resources on Bulon Island include many rare wild animals; moreover, the beaches are beautiful and the water is clear and people staying there will have privacy. Outsiders have bought more than half of the plots of land where the locals used to stay in Muang Bay, Khwai Tok Cape and Phangka Yai Bay near the hill on which the mobile 'phone tower is situated. The beaches on Bulon Don Island, from the west side to Bulon Don Island Mosque and on the beaches on the north side are also included. These plots of land were bought to build resorts in the future and the original inhabitants have no other ownership of any land; although their livelihood does not depend on the use of land, they do need the land for housing. The sale of land to investors may affect the livelihood of Bulon Island inhabitants and might result in the loss of their land for making a living or for housing in the future.

1.6 Poverty Assessment in Bulon Island

Reducing poverty is one of the four pillars of the Tenth National Economic and Social Development Plan¹ (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board website, accessed on 15 November 2012). In the Eleventh National Economic and Social Development Plan (2012–2016), poverty remained one of the four pillars and the following statements are taken from it in relation to poverty reduction.

¹ http://www.nesdb.go.th/nesdb_en/ewt_w3c/ewt_dl_link.php?nid=4165

“Thai society will become a better place, characterized by harmony and the well-being of its people, where inequality is decreased, the number of people beneath the poverty line is reduced and the Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perception Index scores at least 5.0.”

The Royal Thai Government (RTG) has declared poverty reduction as the Nation’s Agenda and has set a goal to combat poverty (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, accessed on 15 November 2012).

This section discusses poverty in Bulon Island with emphasis on both monetary and non-monetary measurement of poverty. The non-monetary dimension of poverty in Bulon Island is reflected by the lack of basic service indicators, including access to healthcare, education and good quality drinking water, as is described in the next section.

a) *Health*: Bulon Island is one of the King’s projects in the Chaiphathana Foundation, in which Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn helped eight unwell people. HRH Princess Maha Sirindhorn initiated collaboration with the Prince of Songkla University for research on community up-lift for the Island because Bulon Island lacks a healthcare centre and people have difficulty accessing medical care. The Prince of Songkla University researched many areas, including healthcare development, education, energy, the environment and sustainable tourism.

b) *Education*: There are two primary schools on the Island (one on Bulon Don and the other on Bulon Lay). The number of people matriculating from school is very low² (Satun Province Governor’s Office website, accessed 15 November 2012).

c) *Water*: Water resources are a big issue for an island. Local people facing lacking of water in the dry season Table 1.1 presents the facilities and resorts for Bulon Island, one of which is water.

² <http://www.satun.go.th/>

Table 1.1: Facilities and Resorts on Bulon Island

	<i>Facilities</i>	<i>Bulon Don Island</i>	<i>Bulon Lay Island</i>
1	Mosque	1	1
2	Primary school	1	1
3	Lagoon	-	1
4	Piped water	1	
5	Reservoir	1	-
6	Roads	1 street	2 streets
7	Resort	-	12

Source: Adopted from Research for Community Development by Community Participation at Bulon Don and Bulon Lay Islands (2012)

Bulon Island has one lagoon, which is the main water resource on the island. Research into Community Development by Community Participation at Bulon Don and Bulon Lay Islands, undertaken by the Faculty of Science and Technology, Prince of Songkla University, noted that the majority of people have no access to a regular water supply. The piped water supply in the island is very old and does not supply the whole island.

d) *Employment:* 93% of the population of Bulon Island have jobs related to fishing³ and the remainder work as labourers, temporary workers or in the tourism industry (Satun Province Governor's Office website, accessed 15 November 2012). The economy could be described as an immediate-return system in which production occurs daily without special advanced labour; therefore, what is gathered during the day is eaten in the evening, with hardly any setting aside of resources for future use. Planning or saving for the future is not common and poverty makes it difficult for many poor fishermen to purchase new and legally-permitted fishing tools.

³ <http://123.242.184.177/satun/91000/index.php/satun-profile/briefing-province>

Table 1.2: Household Income on Bulon Island

<i>Income Source</i>	<i>Baht/month/family</i>
1.1 Fishery	6000, £120 * £1 =50 THB
1.2 Labour/Tourism	6000, £120
1.3 Other Sources/Buying and selling	6000, £120

Source: Adopted from Research for Community Development by Community Participation at Bulon Don and Bulon Lay Islands (2012)

Table 1.2 shows the household incomes for Bulon Island related to fishing, labouring and temporary work in the tourism industry. Fishermen on Bulon Island also face the problem of seasonality, whereas temporary work in the tourism sector is available in the period November–April because this is the only suitable time for travel in this area. After they finish fishing.

1.7 Tourism Development in Bulon Island

While the local economy remains heavily dependent on fishing, especially during the monsoon season, tourism has become the next most important occupation and the primary source of income in the dry season. The development of tourism in the area started with the establishment of the Tarutao National Park, which is not far from Bulon Island. The first resort in Tarutao National Park was opened in 1984 by the village headman's family and comprised seven houses and a shared bathroom. From the development of Tatutao and Lipi Island, tourists became aware of Bulon Island; therefore, the first stage for tourism on Bulon Island is a one-day visit in which tourists take a long-tail boat to the island and travel back to Talutao or Lipi in the evening.

Tourism in Bulon Island is very new and the map illustrated in Figure 1.2 shows there are few tourist accommodations, which are only on Bulon Lay Island. Bulon is rich in natural resources, such as white sandy beaches and snorkelling is the main activity on the island; there is no nightlife. The island attracts people who are looking for peace; moreover, the island has no ATMs and there are no places to exchange cash. Tourists on Bulon Island can observe the Urak Lawoi's

traditional way of life. There are no resorts or tourist accommodations in Bulon Don Island and most tourists only travel from Bulon Lay to Bulon Don for a day trip.

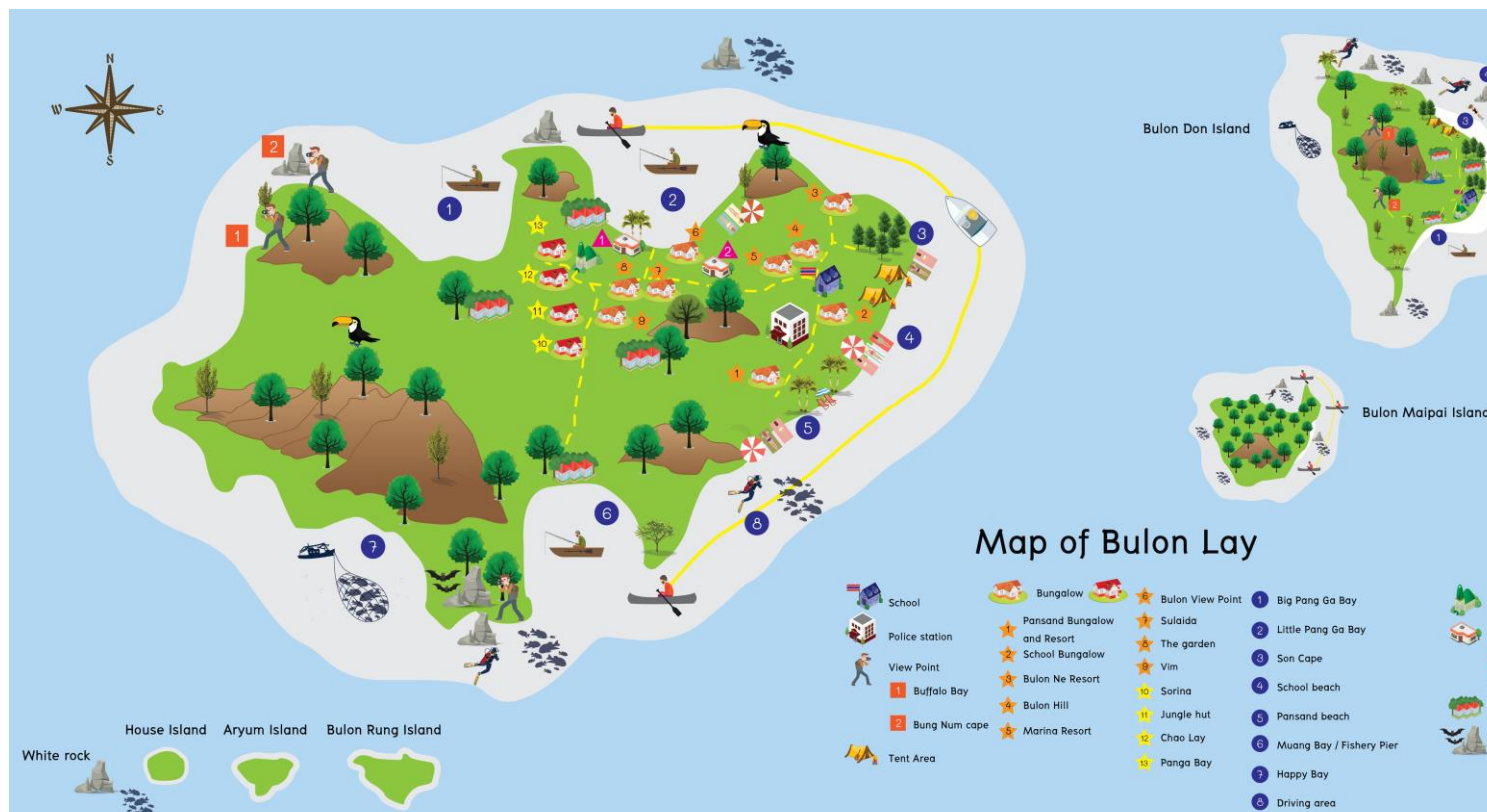


Figure 1.2: Tourism Map of Bulon Island (author's own work)

1.7.1 Tourism activities

Folk wisdom learning activities. This activity is aimed at tourists experiencing the simple lifestyle of a local community that is dependent on the sea. Tourists learn about the life of a Bulon Don and Bulon Lay Island fisherman. Obviously, foreigners will have the opportunity to learn Bulon's traditional ways of life within the community of Bulon Don Island. Apart from sightseeing tours to different islands, other activities provide more knowledge and direct experiences for tourists, such as fishing from a boat, producing fishing tools and making food. These activities not only provide new cultural perspectives but also bring great experiences to foreign tourists.

Jungle Trekking. The jungles on the three islands of Bulon Island are rainforests. There is a variety of plants and animals and the majority of the land in Bulon Maipai Island still retains its natural atmosphere. It is under the control of Moo Koh Petra National Park and there are no communities situated in this island, which is one of the reasons the forest and its natural trail are still intact. However, there is one natural route but it needs good communication and management. There are communities in Bulon Lae and Bulon Don Island and some parts of the land have been changed for planting; these areas are considered well preserved and natural. Nowadays, the Faculty of Science, Songkla Nakalin University, takes care of the development of the natural trails, as well as any advertising and communication.

Bird-Watching. This is one of the most popular activities for eco-tourists and nature lovers. Bulon Lae and Bulon Maipai Island both have areas of tropical rainforest covered with big trees so that both the green and oriental-pied hornbill can nest there, although usually only the oriental-pied hornbill bird can be seen. There are many spots for bird-watching in Bulon Lay Island, such as Pang Nga Noi Beach and Pang Nga Yai Beach, where other birds can be found, including the collared kingfisher, sea-eagle, brahminky kite and the pacific reef egret. Around the area of Son Cape and along the walking trail into the jungle, the oriental-pied hornbill, black-naped oriole, pied imperial pigeon and other birds in the same

species of brown-throated sunbirds, are easily found. There are two bird-watching spots in Bulon Maipai Island, one in the national park and another along the jungle track. Here, tourists are able to see different types of birds and animals, such as the nicobar pigeon, pied imperial pigeon and the island flying fox (a large bat). The nicobar pigeon is nearly extinct and this kind of bird can now only be seen on the Andaman Sea Islands.

Camping. This is attractive for tourists who prefer serenity and wish to get close to nature. There are three potential places in Bulon Island enabling this type of activity and having unique atmospheres making them suitable for tourists seeking more privacy and quietness and with an interest in nature. Bulon Maipai Island is ideal for tourists seeking solitude; alternatively, those who want to learn about the community and its people can enjoy staying in Bulon Don Island. However, camping should be controlled by means of camping zones being managed. Moreover, regulations or protocols should be in place for tourists to follow in order to lessen any direct impact on communities and societies in this area.

Fishing. Fishing is suitable for those seeking to fish using the folk wisdom systems of the Bulon people by gaining direct experiences of this activity. Koh Sam and Koh Ta-Ma are well-known for this activity.

Snorkelling. Snorkelling can have a direct impact on coral reefs but it is otherwise similar to bird-watching, trekking and wildlife-watching. Ideal areas for snorkelling include Hin-Kao, Hin-Pae, Pan-Sand Beach, Koh Ar-Yum and Na-Ao Sea Beach, on the east side of Bulon Maipai island and the north side of Ta-Rah Beach. Spectacular coral reefs exist in each snorkelling spot, attracting tourists to Bulon. Table coral, staghorn coral, mountain coral and many kinds of scleractinian remain intact and some spots contain corals that have recovered from human damage (coral reef bleaching). A special aspect making Bulon Island a well-known place is as a habitat for dendronephthya, or seven-colour corals, which can be seen near the Hin-Kao area.

1.8 Thesis outline

The thesis is divided into seven chapters (see Figure 1.3).

Chapter One presents an introduction to the thesis, including the rationale and significance of the research, introduction to the study site (including a map of the island), the research aim and objectives and the thesis organisation.

Chapters Two and Three consist of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks of the research and analysis of relevant literature reviews. *Chapter Two* focuses on the definitions and meaning of poverty, as defined by different literature. It provides understanding of different meanings of poverty defined by different literatures and the poverty situation in Thailand is also included. *Chapter Three* presents perspectives of alternative tourism by introducing pro-poor tourism and ST-EP and how tourism can be used in poverty reduction; MDGS and the new agenda SDGs are also presented in this chapter

Chapter Four shows the methodology used in this research, including justifications and assumptions for the chosen interpretive paradigm, sample and sampling techniques, research reflexivity, research process, data analysis and triangulation of this research.

Chapter Five presents the main findings of what poverty means to local people by answering the research objective of local perceptions of poverty. *Chapter Six* shows how tourism benefits local people in Bulon, as well as barriers to local participation in tourism.

Chapter Seven presents discussion of the research findings and presents recommendations for tourism development in Bulon, limitations of this research and suggestions for future research.

Figure 1.3: Thesis outline

Introduction to the thesis

- Chapter one : Introduction to the research

Literature Review

- Chapter two : Understanding Poverty
- Chapter three : Tourism and Poverty Reduction

Research Methodology

- Chapter four : Research methodology

Research finding and Conclusion

- Chapter five : Conceptualisation of Poverty by Local people
- Chapter six : Understating how tourism may benefit local people
- Chapter seven : Discussion of finding and conclusion

CHAPTER TWO: Understanding of Poverty

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents understandings and interpretations of poverty identified from different sources of literature as a means of establishing a theoretical framework. It considers the measurement and interpretative analyses of poverty and linkages between poverty and tourism.

2.2 Understanding Poverty

Development agencies and government and non-governmental organisations, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs), have stated that poverty is a global problem (World Bank, 2009). They also agree that poverty is one of the central challenges in today's global economy and that reducing poverty is both morally necessary and crucial for a stable world. Poverty has demonstrable effects on living standards, opportunity, and morbidity and mortality; the weak and vulnerable bear the worst impacts of poverty (Flaherty et al., 2004).

Poverty has different aspects and meanings according to cultures and nations; accordingly, when analysing poverty in any given situation, the definition of poverty needs to be clarified (Holden, 2013; Jamieson et al., 2004). Development of appropriate measures to assess poverty reduction have been introduced (Akindola, 2009). Establishing what we mean by 'poverty' concept has been a long debate since the beginning of human civilization (Misturelli & Heffernan, 2010) and it appeared scholars defined poverty based on their own backgrounds and beliefs (Feyerabend, 2010). Regarding international platforms and national governments, the definition of poverty mostly cited by literature and frequently used is from the World Bank, which defines poor people as those with an income of less than \$1.90 per day (World Bank, 2016). This definition is related to the physical deprivation caused by scarce income and materials that are essential for life. Nevertheless, several studies have proposed that poverty should not only be defined based on income or material deprivation but also based on social deprivation.

Poverty can be conceptualized into two models, which are physiological deprivation and social deprivation; these two concepts for understanding poverty are described in the following section.

2.3 Physiological Model of Deprivation

According to Ruggeri Laderchi et al. (2003) and Lipton (1997), the physiological model of deprivation is based on the income and consumption approach and the basic human needs approach. Poverty definitions using this concept underline the importance of basic physical needs and the threshold segregating the poor from those who are not.

2.3.1 The Income/Consumption Approach

The income/consumption approach identifies an individual as poor if their income is below the poverty line (UNDP, 1997: 16). The ‘poverty line’ can be comprehended as the amount of income sufficient only for acquiring a limited amount of food.

In this approach, both income and consumption underlie well-being and need fulfilment. This approach emphasizes the monetary unit representing the adequate meeting of needs to which the poverty line refers. The poverty line is an important benchmark in evaluating the proportion of population that can be described as ‘poor’, as mentioned by Lanjouw (1999), who proposes two methods for calculating the poverty line: the ‘food-energy’ method and the ‘food-share’ method. The first method uses the minimum consumption of energy taken from food to estimate adequate calorie intake. The latter method uses minimum expenditure on food purchased and consumed by the poor. Taken together, these methods define the poor as people whose income or consumption power is below the poverty line (see section 2.6.1).

2.3.2 Basic Human Need Approach (BHN)

This approach mainly focuses on people's belongings and standard of living; that is, food and water, social security and education. The BHN approach is one of the main methods used for measuring absolute poverty. Streeten (1987) said that the BHN approach differs from income/consumption in three distinct ways:

- i) BNH is fundamentally related to the set of basic needs, which include personal properties, services, food, water and other achievements, such as education;
- ii) It describes the relevant aspects of well-being being based on needs other than income/consumption;
- iii) It provides a level of adequacy based on each of the necessities, merchandises or services, instead of food energy and adequacy, as the basis for identifying the income/consumption poverty line.

It appears that although both approaches in the Physiological Model of Deprivation encompass the basic needs for life, their pitfall is the exclusion of the environment; factors such as society, culture, and politics inevitably affect the lives of those in the community. The Social Deprivation Model was therefore established to include social interactions as a measure for poverty, as described in the next section.

2.4 The Social Deprivation Model

Social deprivation is also recognised as a significant typology of poverty, challenging the physiological model by recognising poverty as more than a pure measurement of income or consumption and failing to fulfil basic human needs. Poverty, according to the Social Deprivation Model, is explained below in terms of social exclusion and participation.

2.4.1 Human Poverty Approach

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) presented the human poverty approach in its Human Development Report (HDR) in 1996, defining 'measures of human deprivation in addition to human development' (McKinley,

2006: 1). The concept of human development in the HDR (1996) presented a range of issues, such as political choices, socio-economics, a proper living standard and a healthy and long lifespan, knowledge, freedom, democracy and human security. The human poverty approach can be likened to the work of Amartya Sen, in which she defined the conceptual framework of poverty. In this work, poverty can be described as the lack of access to certain basic abilities allowing an individual to function as a citizen of society. Sen (1999) proposed the concept of poverty in the sense that poverty should encompass basic capabilities essential for the 'functioning' of people. Sen explains basic capabilities as something a person may value doing or being, including literacy and life expectancy. According to Sen (1999), development should be viewed in terms of expansion of human capabilities. He also emphasised that the major cause of poverty is low income, which leads to deprivation of a person's capability (Sen, 1999: 87).

The HDR in 1996 also explains deprivation as characterised by a lack of basic human capabilities; for example, inadequate shelter, clothing and healthcare that increase morbidity, lack of education to ensure literacy, physical abilities and the inability to participate in societal life. The HDR in 1997 conceptualised poverty from the human development viewpoint as 'denial of opportunities and choices most basic for human development' (UNDP, 1997: 5). This can be explained as the essentials for a healthy, long and creative life and enjoyment of a decent standard of living, freedom, self-esteem and respect for others.

In summary, the human approach shifts from conceptualising poverty in terms of income to placing a focus on functioning. Poverty is viewed as a lack of access to opportunities and choices that reduces human capabilities, such as education and having a voice within political decision-making. A lack of access to educational opportunities is a factor particularly likely to cause a poverty cycle within which successive generations fall into a poverty trap.

2.4.2 Social Exclusion Approach

‘Social exclusion’ is a term applied to people who may not necessarily be defined as income/consumption poor, but remain excluded from mainstream society. The social exclusion concept is credited to Rene Lenoir, French Secretary of State for Social Action in the 1974 government. Lenoir used the social exclusion approach to refer to people not in any social insurance scheme and were therefore considered social misfits (Laderchi et al., 2003). Lenoir then categorised socially-excluded people as including the aged, drug users, suicidal people, the mentally and physically handicapped and delinquents (Saith, 2001). This concept of social exclusion has been expanded to include the long-term and recurrently unemployed, as well as those with unstable social relationships (Saith, 2001).

Shaffer (2008) regarded the social exclusion approach as being linked to the ideas of relative deprivation advanced by the British sociologist Peter Townsend. People are described as being somewhat deprived if they cannot sufficiently obtain conditions of life that include factors allowing them to contribute and participate in relationships with society. If these people lack or are denied the fundamentals to such conditions of life, they will not be able to fulfil their social expectations and they may be categorized as poor (Townsend, 1999). Moreover, social exclusion is multi-dimensional since the HDR in 1997 declared that the social exclusion concept was being introduced into literature on poverty to investigate the conditions of those who are not income-poor, but who are excluded from mainstream society (UNDP, 1997). However, it is important to look not only at individual dimensions but also the inter-linkages between them. This approach has influenced the formulation of social policies to reduce poverty.

In summary, social exclusion approach is a concept developed in industrialised countries. Therefore, it is difficult to apply social exclusion to developing countries in this context because of the lack of benchmarks and unclear characteristics (Saith, 2001). The focus of this approach has shifted from an over-emphasis on monetary aspects to inclusion of a multi-dimensional perceptive.

2.4.3 Participatory Approach

The participatory approach, which seeks to empower poor people to participate in determining poverty from their own perspectives, was pioneered by Robert Chambers in 1994 (Chambers, 1994). The participatory approach is a development of the technique for field data collection to determine how poverty is understood or conceptualised. Chambers mentions that Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is a participatory approach to data collection used in development studies and it is described as an advancing group of methodologies to equip residents to increase, share and examine their wisdom of life and their conditions (1994: 953). A technique mentioned by Chambers is Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), which is a method used to collect local people's socio-cultural data useful in the process of evaluating projects or programmes. Another approach is Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA), which the ODI report by Norton et al. (2001) defined as an approach that includes underused people's opinions in the poverty analysis to formulate public policy for reducing poverty (Norton et al., 2001).

The purpose of PPA is to reduce poverty by improving the effectiveness of public action. PPA is normally carried out as a policy research exercise; it is connected to government policy and aims to understand poverty from the viewpoint of the deprived population and their life priorities to reduce poverty. Participatory approaches facilitate the community sharing, increasing and monitoring their life wisdom and other related ideas. They also emphasise the empowerment of local people to participate in data collection and the analysis of social phenomena from their own perspectives and needs. Thus, by understanding poverty from the impoverished' view, outsiders are informed about their realities, which is crucial in the formation of pro-poor policies and strategies. This approach has enabled the poor to illuminate the multiple dimensions of deprivation they experience.

2.4.4 Vulnerability

Another dimension of poverty is vulnerability, which is often identified by the poor in participatory poverty studies. In UN discussions of various Human Development Reports, vulnerability was identified as a concern. Recent attention to the concept of vulnerability, as it relates to poverty, can be attributed to the emergence of participatory approaches (especially PPA and PRA: see section 2.3.3) in poverty studies, as well as the availability of panel data from individual households (Shaffer, 2008).

Chambers defines vulnerability as follows:

Vulnerability means not a lack of or want, but exposure and defencelessness. It has two sides: the external side of exposure to shocks, stress and risk and the internal side of defencelessness, meaning a lack of means to cope without damaging loss. (Chambers, 1995: 175)

Chambers' definition of vulnerability in 1995 is closely linked to that contained in the Human Development Report of the UN in 1997, which underlines the importance of exposure to external and internal shocks and stress. Vulnerability has also been described as a function of exposure to downward pressure. In summary, vulnerability is becoming increasingly popular in literature concerning poverty. Vulnerability is not synonymous with poverty; however, the absence of coping strategies to deal with stresses and shocks may cause individuals to slide into poverty. Measurement of vulnerability is difficult due to the lack of a household data baseline, the dynamic nature of the concept and challenges to finding indicators for vulnerability that can help identify households at risk of exposure to stresses and shocks.

2.5 United Nations Human Development Index (HDI)

The United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) presented by Mahbub ul Haq and Amartya Sen is one of the measurements of poverty that goes beyond pure income measurement. According to the UNDP (2013), three basic dimensions are included in HDI, which are 1) long life expectancy in good health; 2) adequate literacy from education and 3) purchasing power parity to attain a good standard of living. According to the United Nations Human Development Report (2013), Thailand's HDI value for 2012 is 0.690, which means the ability to combat poverty in Thailand is set in the medium human development category, between 0.5 and 0.8, after measurement using the three dimensions identified by the UNDP.⁴

Table 2.1 presents HDI indicators for Thailand (1980-2012). Over a period of 32 years, the life expectancy of Thai people increased by 8.8 years; the expected years for schooling by 4.4 years; and the mean years for schooling by 2.9 years.

Table 2.1: Thailand's HDI trends based on consistent time-series data, new component indicators and new methodology

	<i>Life expectancy at birth</i>	<i>Expected years of schooling</i>	<i>Mean years of schooling</i>	<i>GNI per capita (2005 PPP\$)</i>	<i>HDI value</i>
1980	65.5	7.9	3.7	2,199	0.490
1985	70.1	8.6	4.1	2,582	0.532
1990	72.5	8.4	4.6	3,891	0.569
1995	72.3	9.6	5.0	5,593	0.608
2000	72.5	10.6	5.4	5,411	0.625
2005	73.2	12.3	5.9	6,350	0.662
2010	74.0	12.3	6.6	7,343	0.686
2011	74.1	12.3	6.6	7,359	0.686
2012	74.3	12.3	6.6	7,722	0.690

Source: Human Development Report 2013, UNDP

⁴ Countries with high human development have an HDI between 0.8-0.9, and countries with low human development have an HDI below 0.5.

2.6 Absolute and Relative poverty

As mentioned above, poverty can be defined in many ways since it occurs at multiple levels. All approaches, however, emphasise on a broad range of measures to acquire the data essential for policy development and other programmes. Supported by Lanjow (1999), each approach has its own indicators that are not always compliant with flexibility in comparing data across populations, communities or countries. For instance, in many developing countries, such as Thailand, income/consumption data is frequently used and is the data most readily available for measurement. However, acquisition of participatory data that heavily relies on conversation with locals is difficult to organise at an international level and/or at short notice, which limits opportunities for generating data internationally and comprehensibly from an international point of view. The following measurement approach (Absolute and Relative) attempts to address the issues characterising measurement in terms of objectivity and subjectivity.

2.6.1 Absolute Poverty

Other terms that can be used here include ‘ultra, physiological, chronic and extreme poverty’. Absolute poverty focuses on those who have an income of less than US\$1.90 a day, as mentioned in section 2.2. These terms represent the type of image broadcast into millions of homes at a time of humanitarian crisis involving people with barely enough for survival and for whom a change in circumstances leads to disastrous consequences (Holden, 2013).

The governments of 117 countries were represented at the 1995 UN World Summit for social development held in Copenhagen, at which absolute poverty was explained as:

“A condition characterised by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to social services.”

(UNDP 1995. Source <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/wssd/text-version/agreements/poach2.htm>)

Furthermore, Sachs (2005) described absolute poverty as the condition of people who are persistently starved, unable to acquire healthcare or access clean drinking water or sanitation, cannot enrol their children in education and possibly lack housing. Thus, it is acknowledged that insufficient income is not the sole determinant of poverty, as lack of access to basic services and nutrition is of equal importance. However, Sen (1992) points out that a lack of income is not critical in its own right, but is instrumental in opening choices and opportunities for a person to lead a life they want. Hence, whilst money does not have intrinsic worth, it affects the lifestyle of the poor, especially in market-based economies where it provides access to the resources needed for survival.

Seebohm Rowntree's work on absolute poverty and its relationship to a lack of income was presented in the late-nineteenth century after the Industrial Revolution. Rowntree (cited in Shaffer, 2008) presented the concept of the poverty line, which he described as a measure of income below which it is not possible to meet nutritional requirements and maintain physical efficiency.

Absolute poverty can be seen as a lack of opportunity to control one's own destiny and of being highly vulnerable to external shocks that are detrimental to one's well-being in the absence of coping strategies and mechanisms. The use of minimum income has been adopted by the World Bank to identify poverty. Recently, living expenses have increased due to inflation. The global poverty line has been US\$1.25 per day since 2008, according to standardization by the World Bank, and has been readjusted to reflect economy updates. The latest update of the International Poverty line from the World Bank results in US\$1.90 per day (World Bank, 2016), to reflect accurately the cost of living including food, clothes and shelter. This means the value of \$1.90 in 2016 is the same as that of \$1.25 in 2008.

Townsend and Gordon (2002) state absolute poverty may contain other dimensions, including social discrimination, physical insecurity and political exclusion, which cannot be measured by income. At the same time, absolute or chronic poverty can be defined as a condition in which physiological, education and democratic needs and rights fail to be met. From this perspective, the Chronic

Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) at the University of Manchester adds a time dimension:

“The distinguishing feature of chronic poverty is its extended duration. We use chronic poverty to describe extreme poverty that persists for a long time – many years, an entire life or even across generations.”

(CPRC, 2009: 15, as cited in Holden, 2013)

As the CPRC explains, once an individual or geographical area becomes poor, other disadvantages may occur. For example, the number of children in Bulon going to school is very low because parents cannot afford the fees and children have to work to help their family. Therefore, the children will have little chance for employment opportunities in the future or will end up in low-skilled, low-paying jobs. The poverty cycle has thus been created, in which poverty is so deep-rooted that it poses a threat to the wellbeing of present and future generations.

The CPRC presents five poverty traps as underlying causes of chronic poverty, as illustrated below:



Figure: 2.1: Five poverty traps that cause chronic poverty

Source: The Chronic Poverty Report 2008–2009 (CPRC, 2009)

The CPRC mentions that the cause of poverty may not lie purely in natural providence but rather may have underlying structural causes rooted in political and economic processes. Furthermore, it is not necessary for all traps to operate simultaneously in one place to cause chronic poverty, as one trap may be enough. The five poverty traps can be explained as follows. Firstly, *insecurity* can be created by economic crises, political conflict or natural hazards and can be described as living in an insecure environment and having few possessions or entitlements to cope with unexpected situations. Secondly, *limited citizenship* refers to citizens with no or limited political voice and a lack of political participation. Thirdly, *spatial disadvantage* is a lack of regular resource endowment, remoteness and insufficient economic access. Fourthly, *social discrimination* is often present in social relations, whereby they are denied access to public or private goods and services due to the exploitative relationship of social power, benefaction and competition. For example, class and caste systems or gender-defined roles can deny particular groups (such as women) a voice in decision-making. Lastly, *poor work opportunities* refers to limited economic

development or where development is focused on unreachable territories, creating a lack of technical or skilled opportunities and work opportunities are very limited.

2.6.2 Relative Poverty

An increasing quantity of literature supports the concept of poverty as a relative notion that is not measurable as an absolute (Unwin, 2007). Relative poverty is identified on a cultural basis with the characteristics of being poor as having a living status below the standard for the rest of society. Relative poverty can determine who is 'poor' by using the lowest level of income compared with the whole population. This is a common approach taken by researchers to identify those in comparative poverty, typically described as those possessing inadequate resources to meet publicly-recognised needs and to be part of wider society (Lister, 2004).

The changing characteristics of relative poverty shift from an ability to meet the most basic needs of an individual to playing a role in society. Holden (2013) describes this as including notions of social participation and citizenship empowerment. The inability to play a role in society is part of the concept of social exclusion, which focuses on the poor being removed from mainstream society and how they subsequently lose their benefits and their right to citizenship, thereby having a reduced stake in society. Townsend (1979) gives more examples of people in relative poverty might fail to participate in social events or attain living standards considered normal in the society to which they belong. Moreover, this inability of individuals to realise their potential and function in civil society is a theme developed by Sen, who suggested indicators of poverty should extend to factors relating to a higher level of human need than purely the most basic ones (Sen, 1999). Poverty should not be determined only on income level or commodities but should also consider people's quality of life and wellbeing relative to the rest of society; for example, including playing an active part in community activities, leading a happy and stimulating life and having respect for oneself and others.

This is similar to Kane and Kirby, who see relative poverty in terms of ‘comparing the standards of living of those who are considered to be poor with that of non-poor members of the same society’ (Kane & Kirby 2003: 120). Nevertheless, they note that living standards differ from one period to another as standards and expectations improve.

In order to work in tourism, it is necessary to have skills and knowledge; without access to the education system to achieve these, there is consequent denial of opportunity. When tourism started and tourism created opportunities for locals in Bulon, their lack of skills and knowledge made it difficult for them to get involved in anything other than low-skilled and low-paying jobs. Tourism development may also take place in a way that totally lacks the poor’s political participation in the process; thus, socially excluding them from decision-making and the consequent livelihood opportunities created by the development of tourism. Hence, relative poverty can be perceived as inequity in society; the extent to which people are materially wealthier compared to each other; and the relativity of freedoms and opportunities they have to improve their lives.

2.7 Causal Framework of Poverty

In this framework, capital is recognised as the key to improve livelihood. Analysis of poverty using capital is always important for reinforcing development policies in terms of humanity, the economy and society (Schultz, 1961; Shaffer, 2008), as discussed below.

2.7.1 Human Capital Approach

This approach emphasises the relationships between education accessibility, health, diet and the primary earnings of the underprivileged for poverty reduction (Schultz, 1961; Wenlock, 1998). The possibility of productivity change is the aim of this approach, in which the inter-correlation among the variables is the key factor. It appears that this approach is highly correlated with the model of physiological deprivation described in section 2.1.

Increasing human capital is necessary since this can allow people to meet their basic needs (Shaffer, 2008). According to the literature emphasising human capital, knowledge, employment skills and good health are key aspects (Schultz, 1961; Wenlock, 1998). The focus of poverty-oriented education policies is on basic literacy, primary education and overcoming biases in gender concerning access to education. Although this approach is useful, the data missing in many developing countries makes it difficult to retrieve evidence of successful cases.

2.7.2 Financial Capital Approach

In a poverty reduction context, this approach involves access to credit for the poor. Shaffer (2008) elaborated strategies to support the poor financially, including promotion of micro-finance, founding a pro-poor banking system and releasing credit for small-scale businesses.

The primary credit-based poverty intervention aims to support increased credit provision to poor groups; for example, by providing credit as part of SME support or promoting pro-poor banking in parallel with the current banking system. Hulme and Mosley (1996) note that micro-finance is somewhat unsustainable. The high expense of loan administration affects the poor and macro-finance at a broader level. Nevertheless, if operated with low transaction fees and a secure system, micro-credit programmes serve as a successful means of poverty reduction.

2.7.3 Social Capital Approach

The concept of social capital has been focused in economics, sociology, education and related disciplines (Dredge, 2006). International development research and the World Bank have contributed substantially to popularising this concept. From the economic view, there are two distinct advantages of social capital. Firstly, the concept of social capital allows social scientists to analyse social factors coherently in the framework, covering economics, human factors, natural settings and earnings. Secondly, the social capital framework allows researchers to analyse social issues quantitatively and to formulate them into quantitative models. Thus, social capital has been recognised as a useful concept for the study of common property and community-based natural-resource management (Grootaert, 1998).

Dredge (2006) gives examples of social capital approaches that involve both official and unofficial contact between organisations, associations, communities and families to bring about solutions to alleviate poverty by means of non-monetary or non-economic approaches. Putman (1993) explained the social capital approach as that which includes social organisations like networking or agreements to promote mutual benefits. In addition, all activities in the community will take place more smoothly under the influence of strong social capital.

Portes (1998) clarified the meaning of social capital. While financial capital involves credit accessibility and human capital involves training and skillset acquisition, social capital involves both official and unofficial structural relationships of people. Such relationships enable people to access human or financial resources. The study also pointed out that to possess social capital, a person needs to relate to other people, meaning that trust and acceptance between individuals are required in a relationship for social community.

Portes advocates social capital serves three duties, which are social control, family support and extra-familial benefit. Nonetheless, there are also other aspects of social capital mentioned by Portes, such as the exclusion criteria of outsiders, restrictions of individual freedom and other claims on members of the study group. These result in other issues of social capital, such as stakeholder inequity, decentralisation or gender preference.

2.8 Sustainable Livelihood Approach

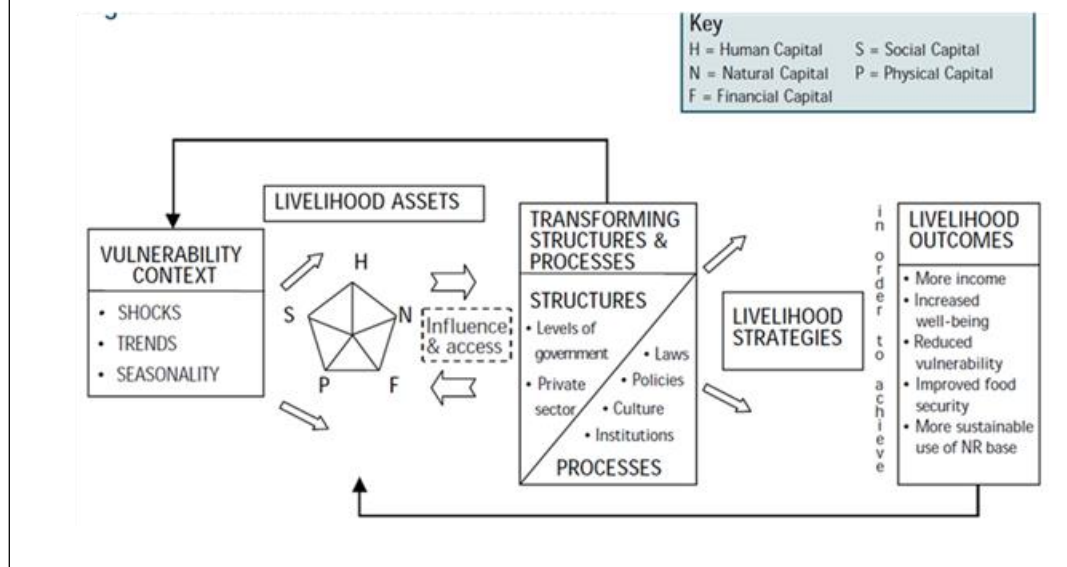
The Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) is another concept used to evaluate non-income indicators. The SLA measures multiple aspects of poverty, such as social exclusion and empowerment, as well as the social and economic institutions of the poor, to eliminate poverty (Norton & Foster, 2001; Krantz, 2001). The SLA concept defined by Chambers and Gordon (1992) conceives a livelihood to comprise capabilities, assets and activities to achieve an adequate standard of living. Moreover, a livelihood should be sustainable in the event of coping and recovering from stresses and unexpected events and should maintain its capabilities and assets to pass on to the next generation. A livelihood should also

provide local and global benefits to others in both the immediate and long term (Chambers & Gordon, 1992)

Krantz (2001) later suggested the SLA needed to be more complete, accurate and convenient in its systematic analysis, allowing a broader perspective to develop activities and place local people at the heart of SLA analysis. Ashley and Carney (1999) disputed the concept of SLA as it supports poverty-based policies in which activities for development are dissected from the perspectives of people-centred involvement.

The Department of International Development (DFID) and the UN Development Programme (UNDP) have adopted SLA as a policy tool that helps plan a set of combined supportive activities with locals. SLA, under UNDP consideration, is seen as a tool focusing on policy reforms and enabling an environment suitable for economic and social investment for local communities and families. DFID has also utilised SLA in the implementation of poverty reduction programmes to increase its effectiveness, with priority on people-focused and participatory development activities. Ashley (2001) mentions that SLA has been utilised in the context of tourism for evaluating impact on the poor and opportunities to improve their quality of life.

Figure 2.2 Sustainable livelihoods Framework



Source: DFID 1999

The DFID framework showed the main factors affecting people's livelihoods and related their relationships between each factor. The DFID framework identifies five livelihood assets, which are, firstly, human capital related to skills ability, knowledge and good health put together to enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies. Secondly, social capital refers to the term 'social resources' that local people seek in their livelihood objective and this can be developed by networking and relationships of local people's trust and being able to work together and able to expand their access to wider institutions. Thirdly, natural capital refers to natural resources in the local destination that are intangible, such as the atmosphere and biodiversity, as well as tangible assets, such as trees and land. Fourthly, physical capital is the basic infrastructures and produced goods used to support local livelihoods; for example, affordable transports, secure shelter, good drinking water and affordable energy. Lastly, financial capital is the financial resources available for locals to use to achieve their livelihood objectives.

Farrington (1999) and Ashley (2000) summarise the core principles of the DFID sustainable livelihood framework into four main points:

- The framework is aimed at being *people-centred* in order for poverty reduction to be successful because the focus should be on people and working with them in a way that is concerned with their environments and their current way of life.
- *Responsive and participatory*: SL should allow local people to be the key players and identify and address their livelihood priorities
- In order for poverty reduction to be successful, SL suggested there is a need for *multiple level* working together on policy in partnership with both the public and private sectors
- Local people suggested to have dynamic, allow local people to shape their livelihood and being flexible for change.

In order for tourism in Bulon to have an efficient poverty reduction strategy to be a success, the SLA suggested there is a need for local participation and to build on the existing assets of local people in Bulon, such as their beautiful nature and culture and fishing activity. These existing livelihoods of Bulon people should be complemented by providing opportunities for economic diversification without disrupting those livelihoods, as suggested by Ashley (2000).

2.9 Poverty in Thailand

The overall poverty situation in Thailand closely relates to the income gap between rich and poor (Jansarn, 2011). Similar to other developing countries, the wealth distribution of the Thai economy and society is asymmetrical. Figure 2.2 shows GDP per capita in Thailand for the period 1970-2011, in which the average rate of economic expansion grew more than 10%, leading to GDP growth of up to 6% in 2006. However, high average income level of the nation is not the sole factor in the well-being and the real living situation of most Thais.

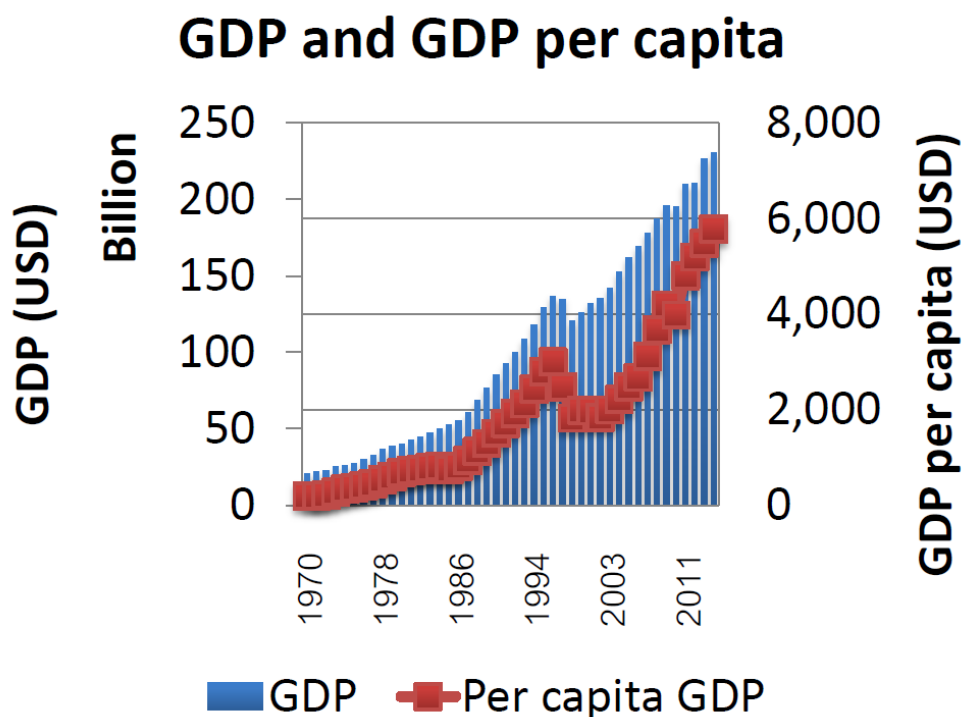


Figure 2.3: GDP per capita in Thailand

Source: NESDB 2011-2015

Research from several authors suggests that insufficient income is only a partial indicator of poverty since several other means, such as education, consumption, and healthcare, are mandatory for escape from poverty,. Poverty itself has slight impact on the economy but its outcome, on the other hand, greatly affects the economy. The poorest people have the lowest social status, which leads to insecurity, poor health and unstable families (Johnson, 1967).

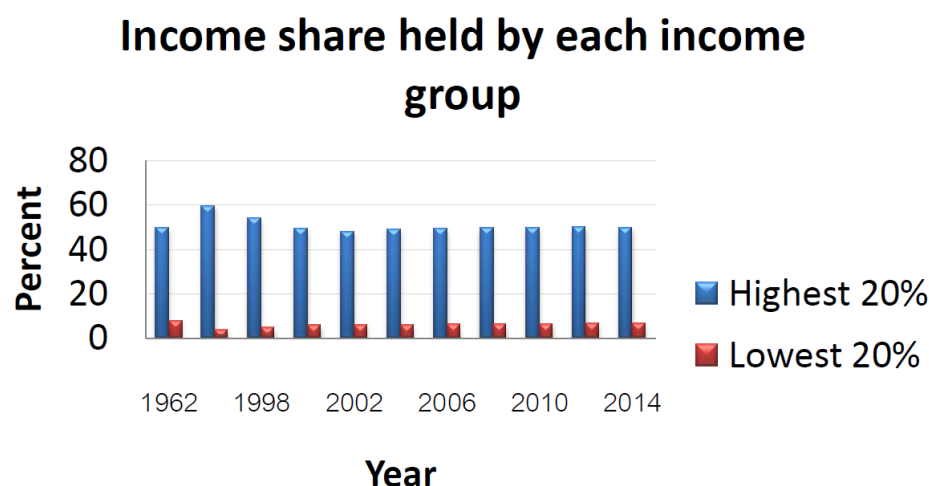


Figure 2.4 Income share by each income group

Source: NESDB 2011–2015

The traditional measurement of poverty using income and expense can be deceptive. As shown in figure 2.3, a significant income gap between rich and poor remains despite a decrease in the actual number of people in poverty. An outstanding example is included in the simple statistics from previous studies concerning the Thai economy. When analysed thoroughly, the rate of household assets was lower than that for household liabilities. This finding was supported by the report from the National Statistical Office showing the monthly deficit has been increasing (Table 2.2 refers).

Table 2.2 : Household Debt development in Thailand

	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008
Average Household Debt (Baht/household)	31,019	55,300	72,345	70,586	84,603	104,571	116,585	116,681
Ratio of Household Debt to Monthly Income	3.7	5.0	5.7	5.7	6.1	7.0	6.6	6.3

Source: National Statistical Office (2008)

The rapid increase of liabilities in poor families may result in a poverty entrapment cycle, since these burdens aggravate the difficulty of making a living. It appears there is still no novel poverty measurement in accommodating these factors; however, the strategic development of the economy at the grass-root level is essential to targeting the well-being of the poor in a holistic approach to development.

2.9.1 Categorization of the Poor in Thailand

Jitsuchon (2003) has categorized Thailand's poor into four groups, according to the social economic survey conducted by the National Strategic Office, which is based on income and livelihood:

1. *Basic or general poor*: those with no savings or very few assets. They have a small area of land or land of low quality for cultivation. They have no professional skills, receive a minimum wage and suffer financial problems.
2. *Chronic Poor*: those with no savings or permanent jobs. They have no basic living needs, receive low education and suffer financial problems. The family usually has disabled, ill or unemployed members and the income for the whole family comes from the temporary or seasonal employment of the family leader. They have no access to higher education or training and escape from poverty is therefore difficult.
3. *Conjectural Poor*: those tumbling into poverty if unable to manage external factors such as natural disasters or loss of the family leader. This group may have basic needs and land; however, they may be of low quality or located in geographically unsuitable areas. The members are mostly elderly and lack the skillsets to adopt new technology for increasing their income.
4. *Relative Poor*: those with low or no access to government programmes, news and technology. They have little bargaining power due to their lack of education. The size of this group will increase along with the widening income gap.

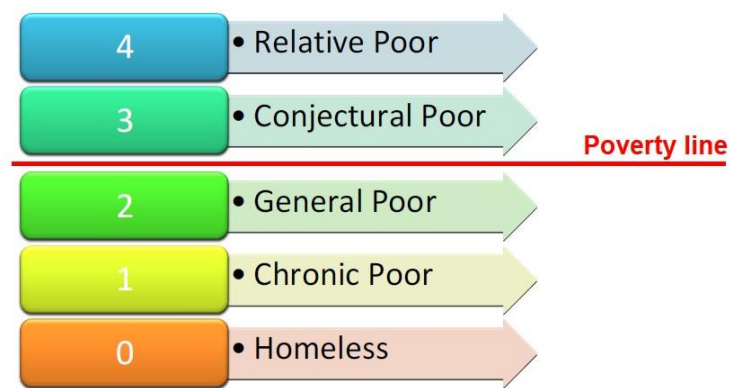


Figure 2.5: The Map of Poverty Categorisation

Source : Jitsuchon (2003)

The calculation of the poverty line for Thailand derives from the cost of living, which fluctuates every year. Thailand has a GDP above the poverty line with an increasing trend, except for the 1990s because of the Asian financial collapse. Increased earnings was the main contributing factor, which has eventually narrowed the poverty gap ratio since 2000, as indicated in Table 2.4. The data show that as the years advance, fewer people fall below the poverty line. This indicates that monetary poverty has declined in Thailand over the years.

When considering the poverty situation in Bulon with the poor categorisation in Thailand, the Bulon community are above the poverty line when considering only income because, as mentioned in Chapter One (Table 1.2), the income from fishing only is above poverty line. However, they are unable to manage external and unexceptional situations they might face; for example, natural disasters (tsunami, monsoons) and loss of the family leader. They also have limited land where they can only undertake certain economic activities. Their lack of education and distance from the mainland, with consequential less attention from the government, thus local people in Bulon are categorise in the relative poor in poverty map by Jitsuchon.

Table 2.3 : Measurement of Poverty in Thailand 1988-2007

	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2007
Poverty Gap Ratio	11.40	8.05	6.62	3.92	2.85	3.35	4.24	2.75	2.01	1.81	1.45
Severity of Poverty³	4.30	2.82	2.23	1.22	0.85	0.99	1.30	0.81	0.56	0.53	0.41
Poverty Line (\$/person/day)	1.25	1.35	1.56	1.67	1.88	1.37	1.41	1.39	1.54	1.83	2.09
Ratio of the poor (percent)	42.21	33.69	28.43	18.98	14.75	17.46	20.98	14.93	11.16	9.55	8.48
Number of the poor (M. persons)	22.1	18.4	15.8	10.7	8.5	10.2	12.6	9.1	7.0	6.1	5.4
Total population (M. persons)	52.4	54.5	55.6	56.6	57.6	58.7	59.9	61.2	62.9	63.4	63.9

Source: Office of National Economic and Social Development Board (2007)

An agenda for reducing poverty is one of the strategic focal points in the economic development model for Thailand, as mentioned earlier. In brief, the poverty agenda is dedicated to improving the well-being of families, the share of economic growth among community members across urban and rural areas and the connectivity of regional areas throughout the country. In order to achieve this, a strong commitment is needed from all stakeholders, including policy-makers, the business sector and society members. Despite committed governmental strategies, economic policies have been questioned and concern has been expressed about their effectiveness in supporting household income growth and in delivering service accessibility to society.

The Thai Poverty Map, Figure 2.7, shows most of the poorest provinces are in the north-eastern and southern regions but both also have wealthy provinces with a poverty rate of no more than 7.5%. Provinces with high rates of poverty tend to have a large population, meaning a high volume of poor people. Nevertheless, this pattern appears not to apply to the northern region, which is reported to be the second-poorest area of the country. The northern provinces with high poverty are located in geographically remote areas and have small populations, meaning the

poor populations in these areas only slightly contribute to Thailand's poverty overall.

The income rate and/or the poverty rate of Thailand may not reflect the true cause of poverty; therefore, one must seek access to public data on a smaller scale. The data at the provincial, sub-district, community, and village segment levels allowed Thailand to design strategies and reach goals in reducing the national poverty (Jitsuchon & Richter, 2007).

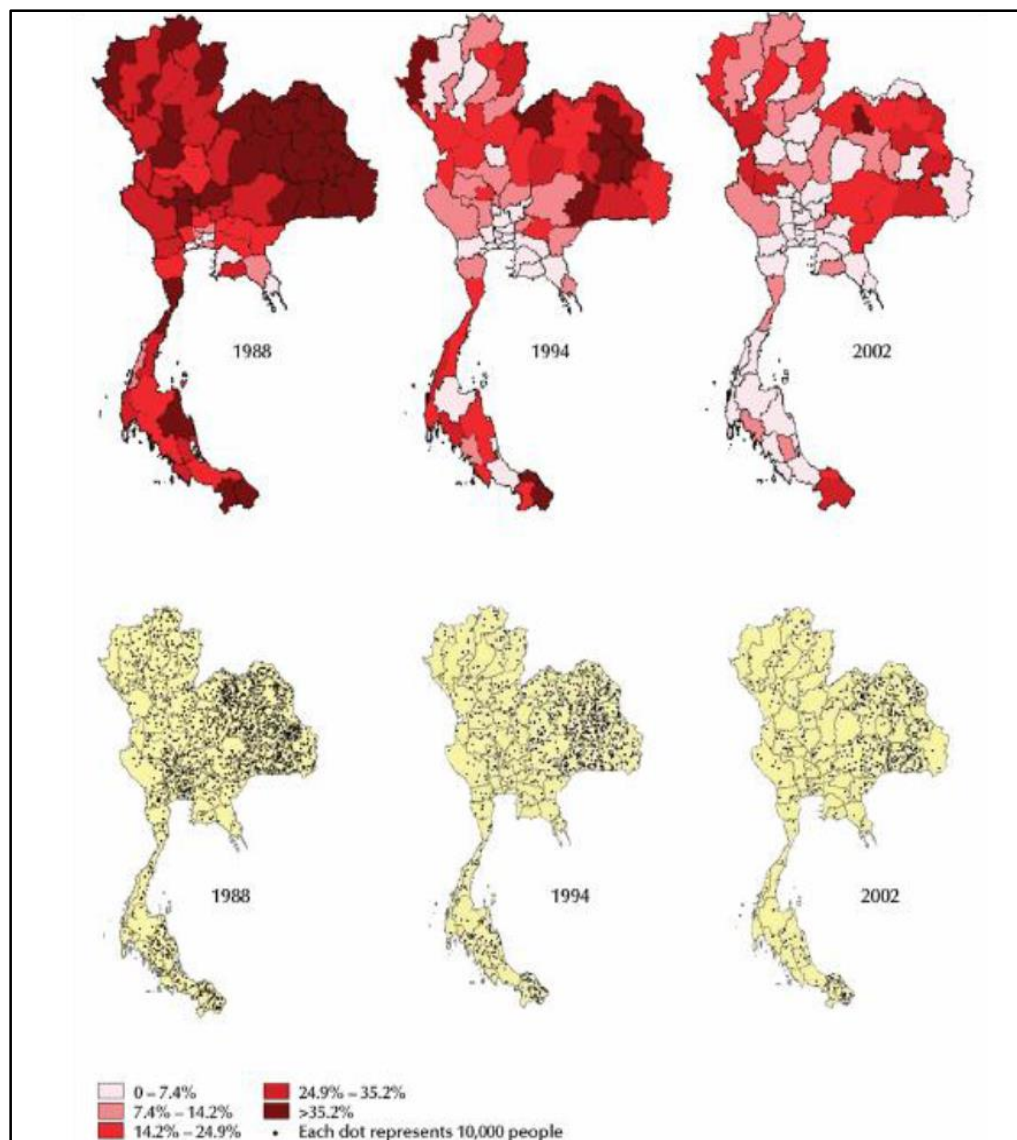


Figure 2.6: Poverty Headcount Ratio and Distribution by Province

Source: Jitsuchon and Richter (2007)

2.10 Poverty Reduction Policy and Resources

The Royal Thai Government has adapted H.M. the King's sufficiency economy concept as the national development and poverty reduction approach. The sufficiency economy concept has two main components, which are people and the environment. People in a sufficiency economy should have self-contentment, family and community unity, self-awareness, a conscience, local wisdom and sense of public service. Environment in a sufficiency economy should be rich in biodiversity and the capability for multi-cropped farming and adequate irrigation.

Key strategies are aimed at reducing expenditure, increasing income, expanding opportunities and strengthening the capacity of the poor, as well as empowering the community to be more self-reliant. An important measure is support to the poor and disadvantaged in gaining better access to occupational funds, education, housing, healthcare and social security. A large proportion of the poor is in the farming sector and is affected by policies and measures concerning the agricultural sector and agricultural products. For example, farm price stabilization and the commodity mortgage scheme (recently replaced by the farmer's income guarantee system) have significant implications for poverty reduction. Table 2.4 gives examples of poverty reduction projects.

Table 2.4: Examples of Poverty Reduction Projects

➤	Village/Urban Community Fund
	A deposit of 1 million Baht (£20,000) for one village or urban community from a revolving fund to be loaned to the members for promoting or relieving their occupation; the fund was operated by a committee selected from the villagers.
➤	Sufficiency Economy for Community Development
	Villages and communities reviewed budget allocations according to the population size to support community development activities, in accordance with the Sufficiency Economy concept.
➤	Community Welfare Fund
	This started as a community saving scheme that also provided some welfare regarding education and medical expenses to orphans, the elderly and the disabled. At present, there are 3,154 funds at sub-district level, involving 1 million members and 617.7 million Baht in capital. Today, the government and local administrative organisations support the schemes at the rate of 1:1:1 Baht/day (government, local administrative organisations, members). In 2010, 727 million Baht was allocated to existing funds. In 2011, the target is to set up an additional 2,000 funds in 2,400 community/sub-districts, involving 7,400 communities. The next step is to establish a national community welfare fund.
➤	One Tambon-One Product and Community Enterprise
	This is a collaboration of the government, private sector and the community to increase the quality of community products with the aim of increasing production and marketing in order to become small and medium-sized enterprises.
➤	Universal Health Care
	UHC expands the health service free of charge to those who do not benefit from other schemes.
➤	Old-aged, disability and AIDS allowances
	The Government provided a 500 Baht monthly allowance to destitute elderly, the disabled and people living with AIDS. In 2009, the allowance was extended to all the elderly.
➤	Non-institutional debt
	The government attempted to reduce the burden of debt by switching from non-institutional loans to institutional loans. In 2009, about 1 million debtors with debts of over 100,000 million Baht registered for the scheme. In 2010, the government gave the green light for state financial institutions to re-finance non-institutional loans for approximately 400,000 debtors.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter has summarized the literature review of related frameworks and approaches for poverty, along with poverty trends, measures and links to poverty reduction. It has examined models of physiological and social deprivation that allow us to see poverty clearly as a multinational problem that can be measured with different means.

The basic need and capability approach emphasises the acquisition of public welfare, such as basic education and safe drinking-water. The income and consumption approach suggested a strategy of increasing income through financial growth. Social exclusion is a matter of concern and there is a need to identify the factors obstructing the poor from participating in the development programmes to get employment or participate in society, both of which affect their wellbeing in all dimensions. The link between tourism and poverty reduction has been cited for a variety of associated reasons; moreover, as there is also a growth in international tourism to LDCs, it is clear the development of the tourism industry offers opportunities to the poor in a variety of different ways, such as direct, secondary and dynamic effects.

The concept of SLA, in which the model of the DFID framework linked with the poverty in Bulon, showed the main factors affecting people's livelihoods and related their relationships between each factor. If considering only income when reviewing the poverty situation in Bulon, people are above the poverty line; however, local people are poor using the conjectural and relative poor categorisations.

CHAPTER THREE: TOURISM AND POVERTY REDUCTION

3.1 Introduction

Since the 1970s, positioning tourism has been a key factor in driving the economy and one of the focuses of tourism studies in developing countries (De Kadt, 1979; Lea, 1988; Smith & Eadington, 1992). In the 1990s, tourism research expanded with the incorporation of economic progress in the field of sustainability, as well as the formation of novel segments, such as ecotourism, which provided profitable advantage for the target community (Cater, 1993; Hall & Lew, 1998). Currently, research on the concept of development in tourism increasingly concentrates on sustainable development with equity of economic benefits. In this concept, community is the main element in accomplishing the mission of economic and social development (Reid, 2003; Scheyvens, 2007). This chapter aims to present tourism and poverty-reduction schemes from different organisations, as well as academic suggestions on how to eliminate poverty and achieve equality. However, it will first consider the relationship between tourism and poverty reduction, including pro-poor tourism (PPT) and the Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty Program (ST-EP).

3.2 Tourism and poverty reduction

Tourism serves as a strategy for economic growth in several countries by drawing foreign currency into the community and directly and indirectly employing locals in service businesses (UNWTO, 2009). The same report indicated that tourism contributed 6% to the total exports of the world, which ranks it in fourth, after fossil fuels, chemicals and automotive-related products. Tourism is considered the top option in delivering economic growth in a viable and sustainable fashion, serving as an opportunity for economic diversification in least-developed countries (LDCs). More than 36% of GDP in 49 LDCs were dependent on agribusiness, including crops and fishing, whereas 80% of GDP came from export business, as mentioned by Seabrook (2007, cited in Holden, 2013). Although tourism can be the main resource in generating foreign exchange income, only a small portion filters down to poor groups in society, as discovered by various tourism and poverty mitigation studies. This may be due to the fact that tourism

has the ability to promote additional economic demand in macroeconomic terms. Further, it has a direct connection with poverty reduction, provided the economic benefits are directed towards those in need. Tourism can help poor groups directly through employment in tourism businesses, together with goods and services provided to tourists and community-based enterprises, all of which can lessen the number of underprivileged, provided it is administered with robust attention to poverty mitigation.

Scholars raised the possibility in the 1950s and 1960s that tourism could play a part in societal development and decrease impoverishment. However, tourism failed to bring about the anticipated economic benefit during the 1970s. Instead, it raised dependence, inefficiency and sluggish economic development. In the 1980s and 1990s, the impact of tourism on the ecology was given significant concern and the inclusion of host communities in tourism development was seen as a necessity. Ultimately, the correlation between tourism and poverty mitigation was acknowledged in the 2000s (Holden et al., 2011; Scheyvens, 2007) (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Theoretical perspectives on the tourism-poverty relationship

Liberal/Neoliberal	Critical	Alternative development
1950s-1960s Tourism contributed to modernisation through economic development, employment and income generation. Benefits trickled down to poor people. International tourism became part of mass consumption.		
1970s onwards Foreign direct investments (FDI) were seen as a means to stimulate stagnating economies and investment in tourism attracted foreign exchange.	1970s–1980s Tourism was associated with enclave development, dependence on foreign capital, growing socio-economic inequality and high economic leakages. Tourism was found to undermine local cultures, social networks and traditional livelihoods.	Late 1970s onwards Alternative forms of tourism were advocated that were small-scale, involved education of tourists and more local control over tourism.
1980s onwards Tourism offered a way out of debt, encouraged foreign investment and private sector development and generated employment and foreign exchange earnings.		1980s onwards The “green agenda” of the 1980s leading to the 1992 UN Summit renewed environmental emphasis, including ecological and social sustainability. Ecotourism came to the fore.
Late 1990s onwards Tourism was promoted alongside free trade, democratisation and anti-poverty agendas. Investment in tourism in less developed countries gave foreign companies a presence in major or growing markets. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers identified tourism as an economic sector and a contributor to poverty reduction. Public–private partnerships were encouraged.	Late 1990s onwards The anti-globalisation lobby saw tourism as a way of advancing the forces of capitalism into remote places and cultures. Post-colonial writers commented on the allure of “others” – poverty attracted tourists as poor places were associated with “authentic” experiences of culture and nature. Strong class differences between “hosts” and “guests” were noted.	Late 1990s onwards Tourism offered poor communities a way of diversifying their livelihoods. Communities could participate in tourism and be empowered through their experiences.
2000s Under the UN-MDGs, various organisations, such as the UNWTO, designed action plans to make tourism an effective contributor to development. Tourism is central to economic development debates, with issues around climate change.	2000s There are challenges in developing measures that demonstrate tourism’s contributions to poverty reduction. The notion of tokenistic involvement is introduced. The failure of numerous ventures is a symptom of a failing global development agenda, which has sometimes been worsened by a “poorism” mentality.	2000s The main barriers to tourism and development emerge, connected to broader grievances about socio-economic development. Capacity building emerges as one of the key actions required to enable tourism to contribute to community development and empowerment.

Source: Adapted from Holden et al. (2011) and Scheyyens (2007).

It appears these schemes have transformed tourism into several alternatives, including pro-poor tourism by DEFID and Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty Programme (ST-EP) presented by the UNWTO, which are discussed further in this chapter.

Other factors that can contribute to a rationale for tourism's use for poverty reduction are shown in Figure 3.1. These include when tourists visit destinations, which can offer diversification of the local economy to urban areas that often contain natural and cultural resources that appeal to tourists. The release of economic value from these assets through tourism offers opportunities to diversify the local economy. Moreover, where tourism is developing in many LDCs, it also brings comparatively wealthy consumers from developed countries into contact with the poor. Poor people can also contribute to the national economy through the sale of goods and services, as well as altering the source of revenue for people. Furthermore, poor people have the ability to develop into exporters and opportunities are created for women to work and operate small businesses in the tourism sector.

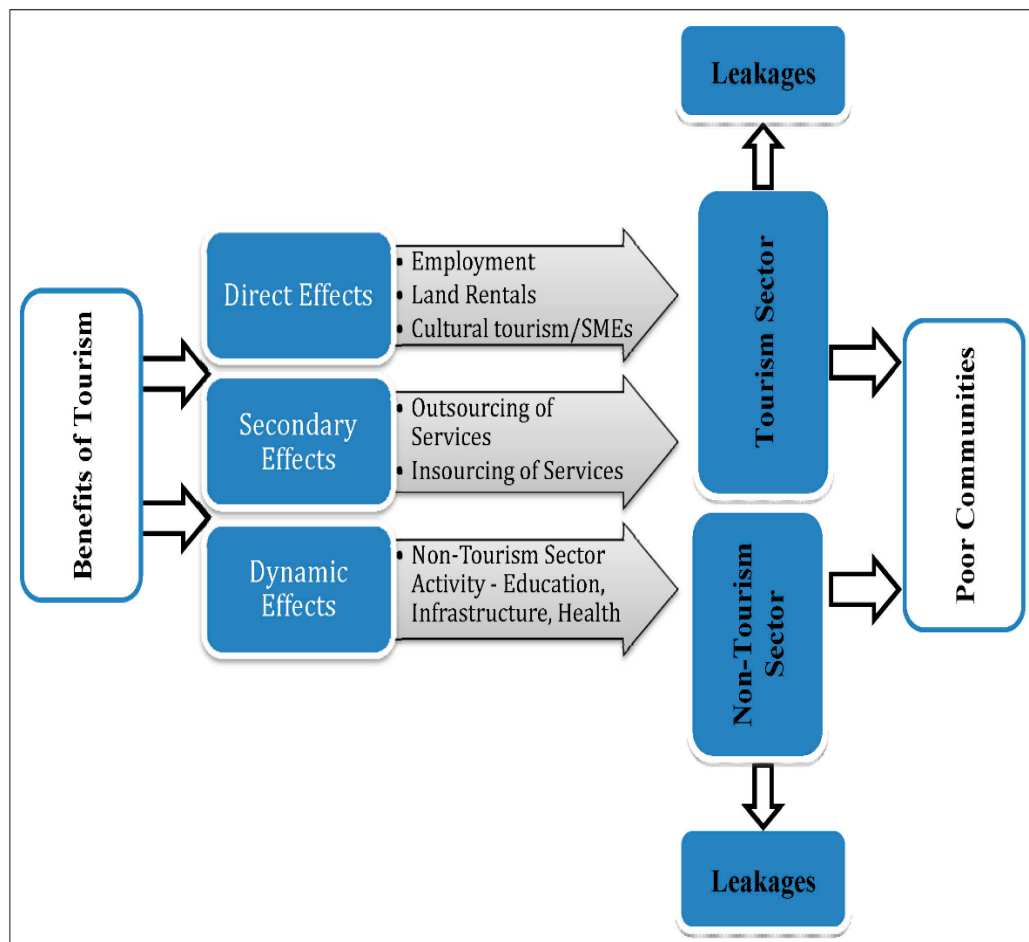


Figure 3.1: Tourism's potential for poverty reduction

Source: Holden (2013)

Nevertheless, policy-makers have to recognize how tourism can impact beneficially on poor people if the attention is solely on them and how tourism policy can be utilised to diminish poverty. Tourism can cause poverty to decline through three primary corridors, comprising direct, secondary and dynamic effects, as offered by Mitchell and Ashley (2010).

Figure 3.2: Three pathway benefits of tourism and poverty



Source : Adapted from Mitchell and Ashley (2010)

Figure 3.2 showed three pathway benefit of tourism and poverty by Mitchell and Ashley 2010, direct effects of tourism include labour income through creating employment opportunities for the poor and enable them to create income from other forms of earnings, such as selling. Moreover, tourism might improve their well-being; for example, by improving the basic infrastructure, such as clean water, roads, sanitation or telecommunications. However, tourism expansion could have adverse effects on the local underprivileged community, such as by reducing their access to beach resources in the tourist season.

Indirect and induced effects comprise secondary effects. When a modification in tourism spending impacts on the non-tourism economy, it is an indirect effect. The sale of food to restaurants is an example of an indirect benefit, which is frequently considered as a supply chain linkage. Conversely, the dimension is frequently derived from the notion that the supply origin is from the non-tourism economy, instead of the nature of the transaction. For instance, if the retail economy is considered outside the tourism circle, all retail stores and street vendors in the tourism area will be considered indirect businesses. For tourism to create demand in these economic sectors, it is essential for the tourism industry's supply chain to be linked to them, reducing the effects of economic leakages and creating employment opportunities.

Long-term changes in the macro-economy are involved in dynamic effects. Such effects are not as substantial as the two other corridors but may be important for the poor. The affirmative effects of tourism on the disadvantaged exceed the boundaries of tourists' intentions. An example offered by Mitchell and Ashley (2010) refers to the situation in Africa where growing conventional crops for export is a pivotal source of income for many poor people. The poor in rural areas of Tanzania have been used by researchers to model the impact of growth in tourist spending (Blaker et al., 2008). Pro-poor benefits created within tourism might be counterbalanced by a detrimental impact on agricultural competitiveness under certain conditions. That is to say, the accomplishment of drawing international tourist receipts might de-stabilise the income of the poor majority in the non-tourism economy. However, the study indicated that increasing the

proportion of women in the workforce of tourism businesses may result in a shift that eventually generates a positive spill-over effect, supplied by economic networking, modification of technical skills, diversification of the economy and changes in infrastructure. This means tourism might catalyse the development of human resources (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). These three pathways are indicative of how the poor could potentially be affected by tourism; however, potential benefits and livelihood opportunities mean little in terms of poverty reduction unless it is possible for the poor to access these opportunities.

Currently, local people in Bulon involved in tourism receive both direct and secondary effects from tourism in terms of paid employment in tourism or selling seafood directly to tourism suppliers or adapting their long-tail boat for tourism purposes. However, in order for tourism to affect poverty reduction in Bulon the dynamic effect from tourism mitigates poverty most in long-term development of tourism that results in self-sufficiency, investment in education for their children or long-term basic infrastructure development.

Different frameworks for applying tourism to reduce poverty are presented by different organisations. As the aim of this research is to examine tourism and poverty reduction, the section below considers two key frameworks of tourism that place strong focus on tourism and poverty reduction and the poor are placed at the core of development. Firstly, pro-poor tourism is analysed, a concept developed by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID); secondly, the Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty Program (ST-EP), developed by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), is analysed.

3.4 Introduction to Pro-Poor tourism

The PPT concept was developed by the UNWTO as the outcome of a meeting led by Deloitte and Touche, the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and Overseas Development Institute (ODI) (Ashley et al., 2001). Pro-poor tourism is described in the next section, after discussion of pro-poor growth.

3.4.1 Pro-Poor growth

Kakwani and Pernia (2000) characterized poor development as ‘one that empowers the poor to effectively partake in and fundamentally profit by monetary movement’ (Kakwani & Pernia, 2000: 3). Pro-poor advancement is about expanding salaries, as well as giving individuals a bigger role in coordinating improvement where they live. This is linked to DFID, which highlights the usefulness of the concept because of its emphasis on aligning growth of the economy with positive change to the poor’s standard of living through combining both ‘pro-growth’ and ‘pro-poor’ policies. DFID stress the benefit of the duality of this relationship since increased growth alone can reduce poverty whereas reducing poverty also helps to increase growth through improving people’s capabilities and making them more productive members of the workforce. DFID’s understanding of pro-poor growth can be described as a situation in which the poor are given access to assets and markets, allowing them to contribute to and benefit from economic growth and productivity (DFID, 2004, cited in Holden, 2013).

DFID’s pro-poor definition emphasized the importance of participation and was supported by Hummel et al. (2012). They said that local participation in tourism development is essential not only to the labour in this sector and complementary industries, but also serves to encourage more tourist arrivals through a sympathetic attitude towards and culture that understands and supports tourism. The development of tourism is not only dependent on natural resources and attractiveness of large-scale promotions but also on the willingness of local communities to receive tourists.

The two types of benefit, absolute and relative, can be interpreted as reflecting different political ideologies and worldviews of the importance of equal distribution of resources in society. A relative worldview is focused upon a correlation of the adjustments in the livelihoods of the poor being contrasted with those of the non-poor. This implies development must be held as being poor when the distributional movements going with salary development support poor people; that is, the wages of destitute individuals are increasing faster than the remainder of the populace. Conversely, when poor people benefit in absolute terms, it means economic development is thought of as being pro-poor, against an approved measure of poverty, such as income. Thus, the degree to which expansion is held to be pro-poor depends on the speed of modification in poverty.

3.4.2 Pro-poor Tourism

For the purposes of managing global expansion through exploration of how tourism might assist alleviation of poverty, the term ‘pro-poor’ was coined and applied in the UK in 1999 (Ashley & Goodwin, 2007). At the time, the British Government’s Department for International Development (DFID) submitted a discussion paper on tourism and poverty reduction (DFID, 2008) that concentrated on how global tourism in developing countries could generate economic advantages from employment and small business opportunities. Tourism in developing nations was substantial and expanding, a trend the paper surmised was likely to continue.

UK-sponsored studies in southern Africa regarding sustainable livelihoods also motivated the PPT concept (Ashley et al., 2001). In addition, a comparative study in secluded regions of Indonesia, India and Zimbabwe raised concerns about the sustainability of tourism (Goodwin, 1998). Tourism was acknowledged by these studies as an industry with significant potential to enhance the welfare of rural communities in various regions of the world. Consequently, DFID, in conjunction with the Department of Environment, Transport and Regions, produced a document on sustainable tourism and the eradication of poverty served as the first paper on tourism and poverty eradication (Goodwin, 2006). Nevertheless, the idea

of pro-poor tourism was initially employed in a document assigned by DFID in 1999, as previously mentioned.

Funded by DFID, Deloitte and Touche's study of sustainable tourism and elimination of poverty dismantled DFID's initiatives on tourism and those from other agencies. Therefore, pro-poor tourism was defined as tourism that promotes net benefits for the poor. The strategies of PPT particularly focus on developing opportunities for the poor involved in tourism, rather than enlarging the whole tourism sector (Benner et al., 1999: ii).

Consequently, the British Delegation used the findings in this research to promote tourism as a tool to reduce poverty at a meeting of the UN commission on sustainable development (CSD7) in 1999. Member governments were advised to utilize the maximum potential of tourism in order to eliminate poverty. In using such an approach, they must develop suitable strategies and cooperate with all stakeholders, including indigenous and local communities (IIED, 2001).

PPT focuses on seeking and creating opportunities for the poor, which is important as it implies that the beneficiaries of tourism industries are as important as growth (Ashley et al., 2001). Furthermore, the DFID study in 1999 stated tourism destinations need to have successful development first as a whole in order for PPT to succeed, (DFID, 1999). Goodwin also mentioned that the PPT approach is involved with the mainstream tourism industry and could significantly eradicate poverty when PPT occurs at a scale that provides a critical impact on a large number of households and raises incomes above the poverty line (Goodwin, 2009). Another aspect mentioned by Goodwin was that PPT creates overall advantages for the poor, noting that tourism advancement might also have some damaging effects (especially for the poor); therefore, that needs to be mitigated and determination of net benefit requires measurement and calculation.

There is level-headed discussion among researchers (e.g. Scheyvens, 2011) in the matter of whether PPT is a more extensive system that sorts out both host and visitor relations and creates advantages for all concerned (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Rogerson, 2006). As previously specified, the PPT structure intends to benefit

destitute individuals in society by “[s]eeking to utilize standard tourism to accomplish the target of poverty reduction” (Goodwin, 2009: 91). Goodwin concentrates on PPT distinct from different methodologies of tourism; for example, community-based tourism, which was seen as small-scale public orientated development too modest to reduce more extensive poverty.

Scheyvens defined PPT as tourism that allows poor people to have net benefits by enhancing the network between the tourism industry and poor people. This will increasingly contribute to reducing poverty and the poor will be able to engage more effectively in activities creating productivity and growth (Scheyvens, 2007). This definition contradicts Goodwin by challenging pro-poor tourism to allow poor people to participate in the tourism industry and securing an increase in the net benefits of tourism for the poor through guaranteeing its ability to reduce poverty.

Tourism that provides the poor with net benefits was the description provided by Ashley et al. (2001), who stated it is not limited to a particular segment or merchandise only. The benefits for the poor may be mainly financial, but they could also be social, cultural, or environmental. Further, they might impact on livelihoods in various indirect ways. For instance, PPT must create opportunities for the poor to contribute to the tourism industry for their own benefit, as well as for the benefit of wider society.

The involvement of all tourism stakeholders in planning for tourism is also another key concept of PPT mentioned by Roe et al. (2004). The stakeholders he refers to are donors, national and local governments, those working in the private sector in the area and (importantly) local people. Roe et al. (2004) said empowerment of the poor can take different forms; for example, employment, opportunities to undergo training, access to information or supply linkages. Thus empowerment can occur by deliberate policy reform and the government and private sector need to get involved.

In spite of this, Harrison blamed PPT for ‘neglecting to go up against mass tourism’ and neglecting to “make adequate note of business suitability and access

to business sectors, with Non-government associations (NGO) and International non-government association INGO agents inclining toward rather to look for help cash for tasks” (Harrison, 2008: 863). This is because PPT failed to garner widespread support by ignoring the extent of private sector involvement and effective approaches for collecting empirical evidence to evaluate its impact.

Mitchell and Ashley (2010) argued that although employment is promoted in PPT, there are two main reasons it cannot reduce poverty by itself. Firstly, jobs in the tourism industry are often low-paid, which may create a working class (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). Secondly, poor people do not have adequate education, skillsets and financial assets that allow them to run their own business (Scheyvens, 2007). Therefore, poor local people often have part-time or casual jobs with low pay (Ashley et al., 2002), which means many poor people have little opportunity to move up the social scale (McLaren, 2003). In addition, tourism jobs are seasonal, as previously mentioned (Jolliffe & Farnsworth, 2003); therefore, incomes are unstable. These facts make tourism undesirable for those from the younger generation and people who do not like shift-work or having to work at weekends, which means tourism jobs are not a guaranteed means of poverty alleviation.

3.4.3 Pro-poor Tourism: where tourism benefits the poor

PPT provides a broad array of non-economic benefits in addition to creating income and employment for the needy. Those benefits span personal aspects, such as capacity-building, reduced vulnerability and mitigation, as well as social aspects, such as community pride, credit and market support and infrastructure improvement. Compared to other kinds of tourism, such non-economic benefits are viewed as some of the advantages of PPT (Ashley et al., 2001; Holden, 2013). This fact also supports the idea that PPT is likely to be people-centred and complex. At any rate, gathering information on the priorities and requirements of local people is likely to be necessary (Jamieson et al., 2004), along with their views and perspectives on tourism as a way to decrease poverty (Holden et al., 2011; Pleumarom, 2012). The sustainability of these benefits must also be guaranteed by PPT (Tao & Wall, 2009). For several reasons, this has proved to be

a challenge (Simpson, 2008). Firstly, livelihoods are complex and, secondly, tourism typically includes involvement of a variety of stakeholders and service demands from numerous other related sectors.

PPT has several strategies for providing opportunities for the poor being a part of tourism, rather than simply enlarging the overall size of the tourism segment. As recommended by Ashley et al. (2001), the strategy comprises three categories, which are as follows:

- i) *Growth of access to the economic advantages from tourism for the poor:* this involves enhancing business and work opportunities for the poor, offering training and distribution of income beyond individual earners.
- ii) *Tackling the harmful social and ecological effects usually connected to tourism:* For example: diminished or lost access to land, coastal areas and other resources and social disruption or exploitation.
- iii) *Overlapping with the above,* focusing on policies, processes and partnerships to create a framework that removes barriers to participation.

In order for PPT to be successful, it is necessary to enhance the ability of local and national government to manage tourism programmes efficiently. Additionally, mainstream tourism businesses need to be supported and driven by more sophisticated strategies beyond profit itself. PPT is best utilised where the broader destination and effectual networks are expanding beyond community and conventional tourism, as stated by Ashely et al. (2011).

3.4.4 PPT: Tourism and Vulnerability

Blaikie et al. (1994) argued that vulnerability is rooted in three groups of relevant factors, which are economic, demographic and political. PPT needs political processes and the will to distribute or redistribute economic resources and authority in the rural community, which may cause vulnerability in instances of unfair distribution. PPT therefore affects the community in terms of vulnerability

in two ways. On one hand, tourism has a significant impact on locals' resources and incomes by compromising access to livelihoods and reasonable economic and environmental resources. This insecurity leads to greater and more widespread vulnerability and can make poverty more severe. On the other hand, PPT, if managed properly, can create access and opportunities for the poor as protection against economic shocks, thereby making them less vulnerable. Both are possible, depending on how PPT is rolled out to the relevant communities. It can be seen authorities have to consider vulnerability if PPT is chosen as the means to reduce poverty. In addition, one has to consider that poverty and vulnerability are different but interconnected.

To understand the difference between vulnerability and poverty, the goal of reducing both must be described. Anti-poverty programmes aim to increase income and consumption, while programmes for anti-vulnerability aim to increase security. Chambers, Pacey and Thrupp (1989) argued for trade-offs between poverty and vulnerability. Economic and social investment may decrease the degree of poverty but may increase vulnerability; for example, climate change due to industrialization and CO₂ production create vulnerability in poor people. A recent report indicated Belize (in the Caribbean) faced economic vulnerability from climate change in several areas because climate change severely affects the coastal land and ocean infrastructure, leading to damage to natural resources, such as coral bleaching. Such changes may contribute both directly and indirectly to human health problems, as well as pose risks to long-term health through contamination or breaks in the food-chain and related physical activities ashore. Belize's tourism sector conducted preliminary evaluation that suggested the area is highly vulnerable to climate change, both via severe exposure and its limited ability to adapt. The authorities in Belize should consider measures for adaptation that indicate particular sources of vulnerability. Measures include diversifying tourism from coastal to inland attractions, organising the coastal development plan under careful environmental impact assessment and considering alternatives, such as artificial coral reefs as undersea attractions, to reduce environmental pressure on the Marine Protected Areas (Richards & Hall, 2000).

3.5 Sustainable Tourism in Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP)

A lack of indicators to evaluate the impact of tourism on poverty reduction is one of the obstacles in assessing the contribution of tourism to poverty reduction. ST-EP (a form of tourism presented by the UNWTO at the World Summit Conference on sustainable tourism in Johannesburg, 2002) concerns economic performance in terms of improving quality of life. ST-EP moved beyond national GDP and other macroeconomic measures by placing emphasis on impacts at a local level. The main concept of ST-EP focuses on tourism in order to provide employment opportunities for local people. Moreover, there is evidence in the ST-EP that it might increase growth in the number of international tourism arrivals and thus increase foreign exchange earnings. This may lead to a trickle-down effect, with the hope of benefits for the poor in local destinations.

Tourism-driven economic benefits being distributed to the poor through existing economic channels is known as the trickle-down theory (Gartner, 2008). This has been employed numerous times in politics to contend that cutting taxes causes wealth originating from business and wealthy people to trickle down to the rest of a population. The economic growth following a top-down strategy, indirectly benefiting people with no direct association with that policy change, is evidence supporting the trickle-down view (Kaawani & Pernia, 2000). The trickle-down theory has been encouraged as a suitable way to view tourism by scholars, including Richter (1985). Southern and western areas of the United States are most dependent on tourism. However, further inspection of the trickle-down outcome of the tourism industry in twenty states found that tourism provided benefits for all fifty states. Ethnic tourism in the Mexican town of San Cristobal is another example demonstrating that the income generated by tourism trickled down into economic benefits for the local population, as suggested by Berghe (1992).

Locals benefit from trickle-down through employment or tourist spending (Goodwin, 2006). On the other hand, its benefits do not necessarily trickle down to the poor, particularly ethnic minorities, despite enhanced tourism development having a substantial impact on the macro-economy of local destinations, as

discovered by other research (Pleumarom, 2012). Ethnic minorities are typically utilised in menial jobs with low salaries and they are typically more exposed to the various damaging social and ecological effects of tourism (Akama, 2000). In addition, poor people in the local area are frequently excluded from certain jobs. Therefore, those benefitting from tourism would only be the people that were not poor and already had the required skills to work in the tourism industry (Donaldson, 2007).

The ST-EP programme has a global perspective on using tourism to reduce poverty that recognizes the spatial dimensions of the international tourism system and the need for suitable tourism-related policies being adopted by multi-dimensional agencies and national governments of both developing and developed countries in partnerships. Five major areas have been identified for global action by the UNWTO:

- i) Developed countries to formulate pro-development strategies to encourage the world's least-developed countries to use tourism to promote economic and social improvements, as well as mutual understanding;
- ii) Less developed countries to acknowledge the economic capability of tourism and to make it a central focus of their poverty-reduction strategies;
- iii) All countries to help poor countries to utilise tourism to eliminate poverty and to support economic sustainability;
- iv) All stakeholders to create strategies that fully integrate pro-poor development into the tourism industry and to identify tourism as the key to developing understanding among people regarding increasing global security;
- v) International agencies involved in development to position tourism as one of their main priorities, to provide infrastructure and entrepreneurial support and for all tourism stakeholders to embrace the MDGs and pursue sustainable and responsible practices (UNWTO, 2007).

Integral to these five areas is the need for partnerships among the stakeholders in both developed and developing countries and international agencies, which includes governments, international and national development agencies, multinational corporations and civil society. A clear statement of intent exists to move tourism beyond being a tool for economic development to one that directly embraces poverty reduction.

The focus of Sustainable Tourism in Eliminating Poverty programmes seems to be overly simplistic in terms of the ability of tourism in developing countries to alleviate poverty. It is inappropriate to take a micro-level view without looking at global, national and local tourism structures and the likely impacts and limitations of international tourism on employment opportunities or existing livelihoods, as stated by Nawijn et al. (2008).

3.5.1 Sustainable Tourism in Eliminating Poverty and MDGs

The ST-EP programme aims to help fulfil the objectives of the MDGs (see Table 3.2). The statement from Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary General, mentioned that ST-EP will play an important role in tourism alleviating poverty and providing jobs, which is perfectly aligned with the goals stated in the Millennium Declaration. In fact, the tourism industry cannot address all the MDGs; however, it has the potential to reduce poverty (G1), promote gender equality, empower neglected communities and social groups (G3), ensure environmental sustainability (G7) and to develop global partnerships (G8) (UNWTO, 2008).

Table 3.3 presents the agenda of the UNWOT publication focused on tourism and poverty-reduction strategies, in which MDGs were clearly recognized and contained poverty mitigation as the first goal. Each MDG had associated targets to be achieved by 2015. While gaining widespread support and being lauded for identifying a single, unifying goal for development agencies, the MDGs have also been criticised, as Simpson (2008: 78) mentioned. The report focuses on alleviating poverty and the superficial political processes used to enable a quick

outcome has derailed a more thorough process of political and institutional arrangements essential to accomplishing these goals. This is similar to the suggestions of Mowforth et al. (2008), who expressed concern that no fundamental changes are suggested by the MDGs; rather, neo-liberal reform and economic growth are still the focus of development efforts (Mowforth et al. 2008).

Table 3.2: The Millennium Development Goals

Goal	Target
1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	1A: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people living on less than US\$1.50 a day* 1B: Achieve decent employment for women, men, and young people 1C: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education	2A: By 2015, all children can complete a full course of primary schooling, girls and boys
3. Promote gender equality and empower women	3A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005, and at all levels by 2015
4. Reduce child mortality rates	4A: Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate
5. Improve maternal health	5A: Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio 5B: Achieve, by 2015, universal access to reproductive health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	6A: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS 6B: Achieve, by 2010, universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it 6C: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability	7A: Integrate sustainable development into country policies and programs; reverse loss of environmental resources 7B: Reduce biodiversity loss, achieving, by 2010, a significant reduction in the rate of loss 7C: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation 7D: By 2020, to have achieved a significant achievement in the lives of at least 100 million slum-dwellers
8. Develop a global partnership for development	8A: Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system 8B: Address the special needs of the least developed countries 8C: Address the special needs of landlocked developing countries and small island developing states 8D: Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term 8E: In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable, essential drugs in developing countries 8F: In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications

Source: Holden (2013) The information in the table was from the original global poverty line of US\$1 a day (UN, 2012)

Table 3.3: Changes in UNWTO's publications towards poverty alleviation

Publication	Attention to Poverty
Code of Ethics (1999)	In addition to the decreased negative environmental and cultural effects of tourism and heightened economic benefits, sustainable growth and poverty mitigation is supported.
Enhancing the Economic Benefits of Tourism for Local Communities and Poverty Alleviation (2002a)	To promote economic benefits for local communities, CBT expansion is suggested. Village tourism, ecotourism, arts and craft tourism, rural tourism, and agro-tourism comprise the most common kinds of community involvement.
Tourism and Poverty Alleviation (2002b)	UNWTO is dedicated to accomplishing the MDGs: MDG(1) decreasing severe poverty; and MDG(3) encouraging gender balance and appreciation of the vast benefits tourism make possible for the poor.
Tourism and Poverty Alleviation - Recommendations for Actions (2004)	Job creation, goods and services supply, direct sale of products and services, establishment and running of tour businesses, taxes and levies, voluntary support from businesses, and infrastructure investment comprise the seven tools for poverty reduction.
Cultural Tourism and Poverty Alleviation (2005a)	For tourism/cultural tourism to add to reducing poverty, a set of principles is recognised, which includes mainstreaming, partnership, integration, equal distribution, local actions, preservation, feasibility, empowerment, human rights, assurance, and monitoring.
Tourism, Microfinance and Poverty Alleviation (2005c)	Suggested are seven techniques to creating benefits for the poor. In order to decrease poverty, tourism projects are suggested. To sustain small and medium-sized enterprises, micro-financing is appropriate.
Compilation of Good Practices in Poverty Alleviation through Tourism (2006)	The seven tools for poverty mitigation mentioned earlier can be replicated. General conclusions are drawn in addition to twenty-six case studies being shown.
Manual on Tourism and Poverty Alleviation – Practical Steps for Destinations (2010)	In an effort to form and direct tourism destinations so that benefits are provided to the most needy, realistic steps are framed. Suggested are seven tools for poverty mitigation. Analysis and planning, implementation and assessment are included in the traditional method to the project cycle.
Policy and Practice for Global Tourism (2011a)	The need for poverty mitigation, among other elements in the sector, to raise consciousness in visitors and implement social marketing to obtain behaviour modification objectives is understood by UNWTO.

Sources: Adopted from UNWTO (1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2004, 2005a, 2005c, 2006, 2010, 2011a)

The tables above mirror a movement in the UNWTO's stance as a UN special agency. Goodwin (2006) noted that the UN system for tourism tries to address improvement issues, particularly in the MDGs. The 1990s was characterised by a move to focus on poverty reduction as the top priority. Before 2003, the UNWTO concentrated on ecotourism, manageable tourism and different perspectives (Goodwin, 2006). The total effect of tourism can be considered likewise using Tourism Satellite Accounts Analysis. The Code of Ethics identifies minimizing the negative effects of tourism as a higher priority than poverty reduction (UNWTO, 1999). After the distribution of the report on Tourism and Poverty Alleviation in 2002, the UNWTO set poverty at the centre of sustainable tourism; besides, these changes also indicate the UNWTO's increased prioritisation of poverty alleviation in sustainable tourism and sustainable management.

Poverty can do damage to the ecology and society, as it increases the gap between the rich and poor in society, building social conflict (Kirchgeorg & Winn, 2006; Snyman & Spenceley, 2012). Sustainable tourism and enhancement of tourism's contribution to reducing poverty appears to fulfil the mission of sustainable development, which may also be inhibited or prevented by poverty (Holden, 2013). To demonstrate that tourism diminishes poverty without empirical data is a difficult task (Chok et al. 2008; Goodwin, 2006 & 2009). GDP, employment creation and foreign investment are utilised, mirroring the size of the industry; however, the pro-poor effects in tourism reports of visitor numbers are not captured and cannot therefore be assessed. However, MDGs are not characterised by development but by the particular effects on poverty. For instance, Goal 1 divides the portion of population living on less than US\$ 1.50 per day in half, as shown in Table 3.1. Additionally, poverty is viewed as being multi-faceted; for instance, indicators of elevated income and employment cannot be utilised in isolation to minimise poverty but must also embrace other aspects of poverty.

According to a UNDP talk held in 2015, the goal is to shift the world into sustainable development, in which all hunger is ended, gender equality is reached, health services are improved and every child is educated. These goals are still a long way off for most people in the world; therefore, the UNDP presented new

sustainable development goals (SDGs) and the border sustainability agenda in 2016, which go much deeper than MDGs in finding and addressing the root causes of poverty and creating development schemes that work for all people.

3.5.2 Sustainable Development Goals.

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a new agenda for the world's development. This agenda should be used in all countries to promote an inclusive society, create better workforces and tackle environmental issues. To date, UNDP has provided 'The sustainable development agenda', which aims to finish what the MDGs started. According to UNDP, UN members are processing and positioning SDGs as an integral element of a new agenda, which will be declared for member states to adopt the SDGs into their national policies at the Sustainable Development summit in September 2015 (UNDP website).

Figure 3.3 shows the latest proposal for seventeen sustainable development goals published on 17 July 2015 (sustainabledevelopment.un.org).

Poverty and hunger are still the focus of the SDGs and they go beyond the MDGs in all areas they mention.

3.5.2.1 Tourism and SDGs in the tourism context

Tourism clearly has the capability to contribute directly or indirectly to all of the SDGs. particularly **Goals 8, 12 and 14** for wide-ranging and maintainable economic development, sustainable consumption and production (SCP) and the sustainable use of sea and marine reserves, respectively. Sustainable tourism is securely located in the 2030 Agenda. The SDGs in a tourism context are provided in Table 3.4.

1	End poverty in all its forms everywhere
2	End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture
3	Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages
4	Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
5	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
6	Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
7	Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
8	Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all
9	Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and foster innovation
10	Reduce inequality within and among countries
11	Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
12	Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
13	Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts (taking note of agreements made by the UNFCCC forum)
14	Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development
15	Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification and halt and reverse land degradation, and halt biodiversity loss
16	Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
17	Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development

Figure 3.3: Proposed Sustainable Development Goals

Source: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/focussdgs.html>

Table 3.4: The SDGs with relation to tourism perspectives

Goal	Tourism context
1.End poverty in all its forms everywhere	As tourism is one of the largest and fastest growing economic sectors, it is well positioned to foster economic growth, especially in developing and less developing countries, to create income through job creation. Thus, the development of sustainable tourism can be linked with national poverty reduction goals in SDGs
2.End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture	The benefit of tourism related to agricultural productivity is by promoting agricultural products by the use and sale of local products to tourists in destinations and integrating local agriculture products into the tourism value chain. Moreover, a product like agro-tourism can be promoted to tourists in the hope the resultant rise in the income of local communities will lead to more resilient agriculture whilst enhancing the value of the tourism experience.
3.Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	Through tourism's contribution to development and economic growth, it can also have an effect on well-being and health. In macro-economics, the earnings from foreign and tax income from tourism can be used to develop health care and services, especially in developing countries, which should aim to improve basic health care, such as improved maternal health to prevent diseases and reduce child mortality.
4.Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all	Tourism sector offers a trained and skilful workforce and can also provide incentives to invest in vocational training and education, especially to youth, women and senior citizens
5.Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	Tourism sector can empower women, particularly through provision of jobs and income-generating opportunities in small and larger scale tourism-related enterprises. Tourism can be a tool for women to unlock their potential, helping them to become fully engaged and to lead in every aspect of society.
6.Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all	Tourism can play a critical role in achieving water access and security, as well as hygiene and sanitation for all. The efficient use of water in the tourism sector, coupled with appropriate safety measures, waste-water management, pollution control and technology efficiency can be key to safeguarding the most precious resources.
7.Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all	As a sector that requires substantial energy input, tourism can accelerate the shift towards renewable energy and increase its share in the global energy mix. Consequently, by promoting sound and long-term investments in sustainable energy sources, tourism can help to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, mitigate climate change and contribute to innovative and new energy solutions in urban, regional and remote areas.
8.Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all	By giving access to decent work opportunities in the tourism sector, society –particularly youth and women – can benefit from increased skills and professional development
9.Build resilient infrastructures, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation	Tourism development relies on good public and privately supplied infrastructure and an innovative environment. The sector can also incentivize national governments to upgrade their infrastructures and retrofit their industries, making them more sustainable, resource-efficient and clean, as a means to attract tourists and other sources of foreign investment. This should also facilitate further sustainable industrialization, necessary for economic growth, development and innovation.

Goal	Tourism context
10. Reduce inequality within and among countries	Tourism can be a powerful tool for community development and reducing inequalities if it engages local populations and all key stakeholders in its development. Tourism can contribute to urban renewal and rural development and reduce regional imbalances by giving communities the opportunity to prosper in their place of origin. Tourism is also an effective means for developing countries to take part in the global economy.
11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable	A city that is not good for its citizens is not good for tourists. Sustainable tourism has the potential to advance urban infrastructure and universal accessibility, promote regeneration of areas in decay and preserve cultural and natural heritage, assets on which tourism depends. Greater investment in green infrastructure (more efficient transport facilities, reduced air pollution, conservation of heritage sites and open spaces, etc.) should result in smarter and greener cities from which both residents and tourists can benefit.
12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns	A tourism sector that adopts sustainable consumption and production (SCP) practices can play a significant role in accelerating the global shift towards sustainability.
13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts	Tourism contributes to and is affected by climate change. Therefore, it is in the sector's own interest to play a leading role in the global response to climate change. By lowering energy consumption and shifting to renewable energy sources, especially in the transport and accommodation sector, tourism can help tackle one of the most pressing challenges of our time.
14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development	Coastal and maritime tourism, tourism's biggest segments, particularly for Small Island Developing States' (SIDS), rely on healthy marine ecosystems. Tourism development must be a part of Integrated Coastal Zone Management in order to help conserve and preserve fragile marine ecosystems and serve as a vehicle to promote a blue economy, which is in line with Target 14.7. "By 2030, increase the economic benefits to SIDS and LDCs from the sustainable use of marine resources, including through sustainable management of fisheries, aquaculture and tourism".
15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss	Majestic landscapes, pristine forests, rich biodiversity and natural heritage sites are often main reasons why tourists visit a destination. Sustainable tourism can play a major role, not only in conserving and preserving biodiversity but also in respecting terrestrial ecosystems through its efforts towards the reduction of waste and consumption, the conservation of native flora and fauna and its awareness-raising activities.
16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels	As tourism revolves around billions of encounters between people of diverse cultural backgrounds, the sector can foster multicultural and inter-faith tolerance and understanding, laying the foundation for more peaceful societies. Sustainable tourism, which benefits and engages local communities, can also provide a source of livelihood, strengthen cultural identities and spur entrepreneurial activities, thereby helping to prevent violence and conflict taking root and consolidating peace in post-conflict societies
17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development	Due to its cross-sectorial nature, tourism has the ability to strengthen private/public partnerships and engage multiple stakeholders – international, national, regional and local – to work together to achieve the SDGs and other common goals. Indeed, public/public cooperation and public/private partnerships are a necessary and core foundation for tourism development, as is an increased awareness in the role of tourism in the delivery of the post-2015 Development Agenda.

Source: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org>

3.6 Challenges to the use of tourism in combating poverty

3.6.1 Tourism and Livelihood Diversification

According to Hussein and Nelson (1998), livelihood diversification means effort made by the individual or household to use various approaches to increase their income or decrease external vulnerability. Ellis (1998) called livelihood diversification a process of improving the standard of living in rural communities. Livelihood diversification may include farming (or not) and may result from consistent development or forced by vulnerability or external shock. In the case of Thailand, agriculture is the main source of income for most rural families but it is not the only resource. Livelihood diversification in Thailand can vary and spans handcrafts to tourism. However, Hussein and Nelson (1998) pointed out that the outcomes of tourism may not always be positive. The most observed consequences of diversification are a higher living standard and migration to opportunity-rich areas, such as industrial zones or tourist attraction sites (Singh, 1989; Siegel, 1995; Berker et al., 1997; Nicholson, 1997). Skilled workers have a higher chance of successfully seeking higher-paid positions (Singh, 1989; Nicholson, 1997). Boele (1997) showed that migration to tourism zones can also transform rural areas to become semi-suburban as the result of rapid economic growth. Uneven resource distribution may occur from such transformation and increase vulnerability. Griffin and Borele (1987) proposed a solution for modifying mass tourism to produce less harmful effects of migration or other kinds of vulnerability; tourism, such as PPT or ST-EP, might be another alternative.

Non-farming activities are also crucial livelihood diversifications that can be operated as micro-enterprises (Hussein & Nelson, 1998). Nevertheless, Bryceson (1996) reported the fall of income after changing from agriculture-based activities to non-agricultural activities in sub-Saharan Africa. The dynamic of livelihood diversification in Thailand has been reflected in small- and medium-sized enterprises in recent times. Regarding tourism, PPT and ST-EP are likely to be channels for locals to sell their handicrafts or homemade products. Gender-oriented activities, such as food processing and delicate, intricate handicrafts, allow women to earn extra income for their household. Unfortunately, some women choose or are forced

into prostitution as a form of income diversification (Jiggins, 1986). Gender inequality of this type mistreats women, seeing them as commodities to be sold, leading to social problems in South-East Asia (Hall, 1994). When analysing sexual services in the Philippines and Thailand, Brydon and Chant (1989) noted that such income may not necessarily be any better than other low-paid jobs. Uneven distribution of economic development in Thailand is one of the reasons pushing young women into the sex industry. Therefore, it should be mandatory to educate these women, as well as allocating resources more evenly across the tourism industry.

Overall, it appears that the connection between alternative tourism like PPT and ST-EP and socioeconomic factors are challenging to the poor. However, the policies and initiatives must be structured appropriately in order to address such challenges and deliver a positive impact on the livelihoods of the poor.

3.7 Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Livelihood Approach in the Context of Tourism

As suggested by Ashley (2002), the concepts of SLA and PPT have been largely used and adopted widely in poverty reduction strategy. Some examples of this are presented below.

- *Case study of a rural destination in Mexico* by King et al. (2013) concerning sustainable livelihood and cooperative strategies: The study focused on the framework of the SLA perspective and the cooperative movement that views social justice as a form of participatory democracy, solidarity and equity. This case study different from other cooperative studies and highlights economic efficiency and productivity. It argues the socio-political dimension of cooperative projects is important in order to understanding the potential and enabling sustainable livelihoods (King et al., 2013).

- *Case study of Ghodaghodi Lake, Western Nepal*, which investigates the economic benefits of the SL through Conservation of Wetland resources: The study aims to explore local community participation in wetland conservation and investigate the economic benefits that locals received, as well as the social factors that might affect dependency on wetlands. The case study analysed the data using descriptive statistics, t-test and ordinary least-square regressions. The results showed that the wetland resources contributed significantly to the household economy of local people. Even though local people have a positive attitude towards wetland conservation, their participation in the conservation effort was inadequate. For example, the social economic factor of the older the age of the head of family, the larger the household size or the larger the area of the agricultural land, which increased the rate of resource extraction. On the other hand, the resource extraction from wetlands was reduced when the households were involved with local conservation organisation. Thus, the case study suggested strategies for implementation of community-based conservation approaches in order to increase system productivity. The strategy included the adaptation of biogas plants and improved cooking stoves to reduce wood fuel consumption, coupled with conservation awareness programmes (Lamsal et al., 2015).

- *Case study in Kuelap in the Borthor village of Peru*, the research aimed to identify livelihood diversification activities in the village by using PPT. The study adapted the SLA in order to validate compatibility with their existing livelihoods. The study found the livelihood diversification reduced the conflicts for use of resources and ensured commercial viability of activities for both services and products. The study also suggested the PPT development should make more sustainable and risk free rural livelihoods more sustainable and pro poor initiatives can be taken at all levels. However, in order for this to be successful, the pro-poor initiatives must be taken as a core in the overall management (Wood, 2005).

- *Case study of SLA to explore the development of ecotourism in Taiwan communities after the earthquake* by Wang et al. (2013). The study involves interviews with different NGOs and local residents, as well as participant observation and documentary analysis in order to examine the political and economic trends and social and political influence, including the consequences of ecotourism development. The study highlights the political elements of the community asset base and illustrates the challenge of ecotourism development, recognising the importance of attention to differing values. For example, the various political values led to failures in inclusivity, particularly in terms of setting goals, leadership, empowerment and benefit sharing

The above case study showed the SLA applied in different destinations in a tourism context and especially for a community that seems to have a high degree of vulnerability. As the main concept of SLA are community resources. For SLA to be applied for tourism in Bulon, the factors concerning the locale's nature, economic, social and human assets should be widely considered and place local people at the centre. However, as Bulon is an island destination, the cultural capital should be included in the SLA, as suggested by Cater and Cater (2007), as "the culture resources (heritage, customs, traditions) are very much a feature of local livelihoods."

3.8 Tourism and Gender

The Code of Ethics in tourism, published by UNWTO in 1999, pays attention to the equality of men and women in the tourism industry, which aims to provide equal opportunities. The tourism industry offers opportunities for women to generate income from both formal and informal employment. Jobs in tourism can be flexible, which allows women to work in a variety of workplaces, such as working at home or with flexible working hours. In most regions of the world, women working in the tourism sector represent the majority of the tourism workforce. According to the Global Report on women in tourism in 2010 by UNWTO, half of the tourism businesses in Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines are run by women. Moreover, the statistical report in Thailand for the second quarter in 2016 shows the number of men and women working in a service industry shows the number of men

working in a service industry are 958.9⁵(thousands), whereas women total 1803.6 (thousand), which clearly shows twice as many women than men are employed in service sectors in Thailand. However, the challenge women employed in the tourism industry are facing and need to consider is the issue of low pay and low status, in which gender stereotypes and discrimination indicate women are mostly employed in jobs, such as cleaning, cooking services and seasonal work in tourism. This situation is true in Bulon Island where tourism gives opportunities for local women to work; however, local women are employed in cooking and cleaning in hospitality only (which will be discussed further in chapter six).

The literature suggests that if a strong focus on gender perspective is put into attention to tourism planning and strategy, it can be harnessed as a tool for promoting equality of genders and encourage empowerment at the household, community, national and global level (Wang et al., 2016).

3.9 Pro- Poor Tourism Development in Thailand

Regardless of tourism providing 2.56 million positions, or around 6.6% of Thailand's total employment (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2014), most tourism policies take economic, cultural and environmental concerns as their primary considerations. Alleviating poverty or assisting the poor is, at best, considered a secondary goal.

The Ninth Nation and Social Development Plan of Thailand (2002-2006) was specific to tourism development and provided guidelines for the whole economic system. Sub-plans were designed and Thailand's tourism strategies were implemented by the Ministry of Tourism and Sports (2005–2008). The plans included raising incomes and better income distribution for the poor. In addition, some strategies focus on community development and implementing bonding between tourism and locals as means to increase income distribution.

In April 2001, TAT organised a conference on pro-poor national tourism policy in Chiang Mai, which was attended by the Prime Minister, provincial government,

⁵ <http://service.nso.go.th/nso/nsopublish/themes/files/lfs59/RepPDFQ2.pdf>

NGOs and the private sector, and aimed at reducing poverty via tourism and by creating new policies. These policies meet the concept of pro-poor tourism in that their goal is to increase the net benefit to local poor Thais.

3.9.1 Pro – Poor Tourism Case Study in South East Asia

The majority of countries in SEA are developing countries where tourism contributes significantly to the country's total GDP. The tourism scheme is designed to conserve local traditions sustainably, which can draw globetrotters to experience the exoticism of diverse races found in this region. All policy institutions, including local authorities, international agencies and donor organisations, closely monitor poverty reduction via strategic tourism, as mentioned above. This has been successful in terms of increasing income for poor residents of the Greater Mekong Sub-Region (Sapa, Vietnam; Siem Reap, Cambodia; Mae Kompong, Thailand; Luang Prabang, Laos PDR⁶) and the study of PPT. Increases in employment and income from tourism products has contributed to the increase in GDP for the shared nations.

The extent of benefits from PPT that can be experienced by these people in their livelihoods depends on whether activities are based on profit or asset generation and whether they involve local ownership. Community participation, as opposed to central government-initiated activities, can provide either direct or indirect tourism services. Hotels, local restaurants and related personnel employments are considered direct services, whereas local produce and handicrafts sold are indirect services.

The issue needs to take into account the previous PPT in SEA; related to the PPT study in Bulon are unequal benefits, barriers to local in participation and infrastructure, business development and resources

⁶ Case study can be found at : www.gms-dan.org

Firstly, regarding unequal benefits accruing from PPT, Anuchitworawong, Panpiemras and Pupphavesa (2007), who wrote the case study in Thailand, state that tourism should lead to equality of income. However, the study indicates tourism leads to greater inequality, as the industry fails to help the wider population. Therefore, it may be that while the notion of PPT is attractive, the expected benefits may not occur in reality. A further problem is that, while providing a wide range of attractions would be the best way of spreading the benefits of tourism might be anticipated, the poor are more likely to benefit when the number of attractions is limited. Additionally, income inequality is more prevalent in communities in which power and knowledge are held by a small number of people; therefore, it is clear why tourism has failed to reduce inequality here. It was also found that activities based on eco-tourism were not particularly successful, even though the community participated and the decision-making processes were relatively transparent.

It has been argued that while tourism may only benefit a handful of the poor in a given area, educated and relatively wealthy members of society are able to derive much greater benefits from tourism (Ballard, 2005); therefore, tourism may actually exacerbate the income gap. One possible reason for this is the greater diversity of tourism activities in the three areas examined in Thailand (Sapa, Siem Reap and Yunnan). In Sapa, for example, Dung et al. (2007) note that the groups benefitting most from tourism are the wealthier ones. Those whose economic position in a community is already established are more likely to be recipients of jobs; in Sapa, the poor found it very difficult to find employment within the tourism sector. The implication, therefore, is that the poor would be more severely affected by any shock to the tourism sector.

Secondly, there are barriers to locals participating in the tourism industry. The difficulties faced in terms of human resources are explained by Dung et al. (2007) and Sokphally and Vutha (2007), who mention a lack of business skills and education, along with inadequate access to capital assets. All simple tourism-related businesses, which are common sources of income for the poor (such as homestays and handicrafts, or transport and food), require investment at the start-up stage, thereby excluding the poorest members of society. Tourism in poor locales still requires locals to have certain basic social skills and, in the case of homestays, a

suitable minimum living standard to share. In the Vietnamese town of Sapa, it has been observed that homestays employ the greatest share of local people from the surrounding villages. However, the main relationships are between homestay providers and tour operators rather than homestay providers and the community (Dung et al., 2007); therefore, tour operators derive far greater benefits than the rest of the community. Interestingly, in contrast to the case in Siem Reap where much of the workforce comes from further afield (Sokphally & Vutha, 2007), local service providers in Sapa often cannot speak Vietnamese. This is because they come from the local ethnic minority; moreover, the study in Laos also comments upon infrastructural issues, noting that transportation links are helpful to migrant workers since they have greater ease of access, whilst also permitting greater tourist numbers. However, Zheng (2007). focuses upon the barriers resulting from government practices and management, especially those pertaining to property rights. It can be concluded that the involvement of the community has been a significant factor in developing PPT in SEA. It is therefore very important that information is shared among the communities and that the costs and benefits of tourism are carefully analysed before proceeding with any tourism-related projects.

Leadership is cited as a vital aspect of successful community participation, whilst it is also claimed that leadership from the community can assist in developing good relationships with the government and investors (Zheng, 2007). It is clear, especially in Yunnan, that it is difficult to succeed with community tourism if the community is not fully involved. When schemes are badly managed and villagers do not participate, the projects are rarely attractive to foreign visitors. In cases where villagers have alternative income sources, such as the cultivation of rubber, they do not need to participate in the tourist industry for financial reasons. Success depends on clear understanding of the costs and the benefits of cooperation, with communities committing to support tourism projects and to fair distribution of benefits. Careful planning and the support of relevant government agencies are essential.

Thirdly, regarding the infrastructure, business development and resources, the importance of good transport to tourist locations along the Mekong is clearly demonstrated. The poor will benefit from better transport links, with tourism profits being more evenly distributed as a result. Local people in Bulon benefit from the improvement of the Pakbara pier, which is used for both commercial and non-commercial activities, as well as development of communication services on the island.

As stated previously, many of the case studies show the poor fail to participate in tourism because of a lack of the skills required for employment and capital assets. Therefore, it can be argued that government must intervene to support the development of human resources and to ensure the poor develop skills. Vocational training can prepare young people for work in tourism but it is important that such education is available to the poorest people. To address issues of financial capital, it may be necessary to make credit more easily available to small enterprises. Lower interest rates and greater flexibility might be granted to small businesses employing or training the poor and loans being given to poor households. Group lending or micro-borrowing schemes could be introduced with assistance from NGOs to support tourism in poor communities. Any mainstream tourist development plans must offer support to the poor, increasing their participation.

Summaries of the case studies in SEA and other poverty reduction programmes show that benefits often go to locals; however, such programmes are not implemented in areas of extreme poverty (Ballard, 2005; Anuchitworawong, Panpiemras and Pupphavesa, 2007; Dung et al., 2007; Leebouapao et al., 2007, Sokphally & Vuttha, 2007; Zheng, 2007). These studies show that tourism benefits some local poor households but can be different in each country. Increases in livelihoods was not as expected or planned; therefore, it may be concluded that GMS tourism policies delivered insufficient benefit to the poor, as indicated by four reasons.

Firstly, tourist spending in the SEA region mainly involved direct services (such as hotel accommodation and transportation), which were often owned by the relatively economically well-equipped. In contrast, the poor undertook low-paid jobs and services due to a lack of competitive skills and assets. Secondly, tourism was

unevenly distributed between urban and rural areas. Most tourism services stayed in the urban areas rather than in rural areas where most poor ethnic minorities live. Thirdly, tourism planning depended heavily on statistical analysis of goods and service spending from the tourism side rather than focusing on analysis of income for the locals. Lastly, the poor lacked skills and social readiness to meet the expectations of visitors, especially international travellers. This reflected their limited education and access to capital to earn such skills.

Overall, sufficient evidence indicates the relationship between tourism and poverty reduction needs to be revisited. One strategy may be to implement the current model of PPT with more appropriate than another, the main agendum is to integrate PPT into the core of development planning. Planning for pro-poor poverty reduction needs to shift from being a by-product of tourism to be the heart of tourism strategies.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has clearly shown there is potential for tourism to contribute to poverty reduction; however, the literature suggests that the analyses of tourism role and how to place it in relation to poverty reduction need careful analysis from a holistic perspective.

This chapter also discussed the conceptualisation of Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) and Sustainable Tourism in Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP), as alternative forms of tourism that have strong focus on tourism poverty reduction and are considered a means of economic growth. PPT is defined as tourism that generates and promotes net benefits for the poor and particularly focuses on developing opportunities for the poor who are involved in tourism, rather than encompassing the whole tourism sector; accordingly, the benefit for the poor can be both financial and non-financial.

While ST-EP presented by UNWTO moved beyond the country's GDP or macroeconomic measures, placing the emphasis on inputs at a local level, the focus is on tourism in order to provide employment opportunities for local people. The ST-EP concept also aims to be one of the tools to fulfil the MDGs that ended in 2015 and remain unmet, as well as providing continuity for the new SDGs. They have been succeeded by the seventeen-goal plan of the SDGs, which view tourism as one

of the most dynamic economic sectors and hope to be one of the mechanisms that will make significant changes and contribute to the achievement of SDGs, especially goal number eight to promote sustained and sustainable economic growth. Goal number twelve aims to support sustainable tourism in order to promote local culture and create jobs. Finally, goal fourteen is for tourism to conserve and sustain the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development, as well as increasing the economic benefits of SIDs and LDCs, including sustainable management of fisheries, aquaculture and tourism.

This chapter also presented the Sustainable livelihoods approach in a tourism context, where case studies of SLA in different destinations are discussed, especially for communities that seem to have a high degree of vulnerability, such as Bulon. For SLA to be applied in Bulon, the factors of nature resources, economic, social and human assets should be taken into account and place local people at the centre. In order to see different perspectives, the PPT case studies on SEA are also analysed here, where the focus is on destinations similar to Bulon.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

After reviewing the literature (Chapters Two and Three), it is now possible for the researcher to present this chapter, which considers the research methods and design required for this research to achieve its aims and objectives. The first section presents the methodological approaches, followed by sampling techniques, the research process and data collection.

4.2 Methodological approach

Philosophical beliefs are an important part of any research. Creswell (2009) suggested that before doing any research, the researcher should clearly understand the research method to be used. The research design should also be considered before carrying out the research. The philosophical beliefs of the researcher usually influence how research is undertaken (Merriam, 2001). For example, they may reflect in terms like 'philosophical worldviews, as suggested by Creswell, or 'research framework' (Denzin & Lincoln 2005), 'research methodologies' (Neuman 1994), or 'research paradigm' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). These philosophical approaches affect the basic view of the world and the nature of the research undertaken.

The three fundamental ways to view and define research paradigms are based on the researcher ontology, research epistemology and research methodology (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), which will be explained later in this chapter.

4.2.1 Research paradigm

The aim of this research is to evaluate the use of tourism critically, as a tool in poverty alleviation and to investigate how local people in Bulon Island perceive tourism enhancing their livelihoods. Therefore, given the nature of this research, an interpretive paradigm is adopted, using qualitative techniques, as the most suitable methodology. The section below explains why the interpretive paradigm is suitable for this research. A paradigm is defined as:

The basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigation, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways (Guba & Lincoln, 1997: 105).

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) view the interpretive approach as understanding and investigating the social world, which is based upon a philosophy that individuals routinely interpret and use to make sense of their worlds; hence, social science research must seek to relate these interpretations to the everyday situations in which people live (Burns, 1997; Wiersma, 1995). An interpretive paradigm is the antithesis of the positivist paradigm; Jennings (2011) defined the positivist paradigm as that which seeks to understand the world as guided by scientific rules and explain the behaviour or the phenomena through causal relationships. Riley and Love (2000) mention that a positivist paradigm is based on the assumption that the social world can be isolated and repeatable procedures can be used to produce the same results. This paradigm has been used in tourism research to classify tourism behaviour into a range of categories for the purpose of typologies and to predict future trends subsequently (Riley & Love, 2000). Nevertheless, Phillimore and Goodson (2004) indicate a positive paradigm fails to capture the complexities of the social world and interconnected relationships between people and their environment.

According to Jennings (2011), interpretive paradigms are multiple explanations of relativity that interpret a phenomenon, instead of a causal relationship or single theory; furthermore, Jennings writes the research process should be subjective rather than objective; it should use a qualitative methodology rather than quantitative; and be based on empirical materials rather than data collected under experimental conditions.

4.2.2 Assumptions of the Interpretive Paradigm

In order to justify the use of an interpretive paradigm, the following section defines how each assumption is reflected in the research study.

1. Ontological Assumptions

Ontological assumptions focus on the nature of reality. Positivists believe social reality is objective and external to the researcher, subsequently accepting only one reality. Meanwhile, the ontological assumption of interpretive paradigms is that

social reality is more complicated, as it is socially constructed; however, different people can inhabit multiple realities because each person has his or her own sense of reality. Interpretive ontology sees the world as subjective, since its characteristics reflect the observer's interpretation of the world and every interpretation is subject to the influences and perspectives of different observers.

Poverty is a multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary concept, defined and measured in multiple ways. As this research is concerned with determining how people in a local community think tourism can be used to improve their livelihoods, the researcher constructs knowledge through the lived experiences of local people in Bulon Island. The ontological issues in understanding tourism and poverty include understanding the interpretation, participation of local people, empowerment, barriers to local people participating in tourism, local culture and, finally, social and economic factors.

2. Epistemological Assumptions

Epistemological assumptions are focused on the research as valid knowledge, which normally involves seeking the relationship between what is being researched and the researcher. Positivists believe valid knowledge are phenomena that are observable and measurable and trying to maintain an independent and objective stance. On the other hand, interpretive positivists attempt to minimize distance between the researcher and what is being researched; moreover, they may be involved in different forms of participative enquiry. Smith (2010) captured this polarity between the two approaches and argues that “[i]n quantitative research, facts act to constrain our beliefs; while beliefs in interpretive research determine what should count as facts” (p. 95).

The term ‘*Verstehen*’ was suggested by Blumer (1962 cited in Jennings, 2011), meaning when the researcher enters the social setting and becomes one of the social actors in their environment. The purpose of *Verstehen* mentioned by Abercrombie et al. (1994) is to place oneself in the position of other people to see what meanings they give to their action.

The researcher plans to use semi-structured interviews, as this method allows the researcher to interact with local people, enabling better and deeper perspectives via

participant observation. The researcher also gains knowledge by participating in the lived experience of participants. Both semi-structured interviews and participant observation are examined in section 4.3.2

3. Methodological Assumptions

In order to study how poverty is conceptualized and to understand barriers to local people participating in tourism, an interpretive paradigm, which is informed by the use of qualitative methodology, is considered the best approach for this research. Methodology is the study of the procedures and methods used to obtain knowledge (involving specifying how evidence is collected and why it is gathered). By asking the questions ‘why?’ and ‘how?’, the relationship between the methods used to collect evidence and its explanation, interpretation or understanding of what is being examined, is considered. Method is defined as ‘the tools or instruments employed by researchers to gather empirical evidence and to analyse data’ (Sarantakos, 1998: 32). In qualitative research, the collection of such rich data provides ‘a sense of authoritativeness on specific research issues’ (Bryman, 2004).

As stated, this research utilises a qualitative methodological approach because this allows the researcher to understand the meanings of poverty, the barriers to Bulon’s residents getting involved in tourism and to address the research objective. Thus, a qualitative methodology is required, as it is interested in searching for the meanings of local people being studied from their point of view.

4.3 Sample and Sampling Techniques

This research applies a non-probability sampling technique, as suggested by Willig (2008), as qualitative research tends to deal with a relatively small number of respondents who have more valuable information than others. Qualitative researchers are given more valuable insights into the problem being studied (Marshall, 1996). Marshall points out that “choosing someone at random to answer qualitative questions would be analogous to randomly asking a passer-by how to repair a broken-down car, rather than asking a garage mechanic – the former might have a good stab, but asking the latter is likely to be more productive” (Marshall, 1996: 523).

The researcher used non-probability sampling techniques, including snowball and purposive sampling techniques, in this study. The respondents came from three main groups:

1. *Local residents of Bulon Island* for which snowball sampling was used (also known as network sampling). The reason for this is the researcher believed snowball techniques will help the researcher identify and classify local respondents by allowing the first group of local respondents to suggest others that meet the researcher's requirements and who might be willing to be involved in the research (Burns & Grove, 2005).
2. *Stakeholders from the private sector*, for which purposive sampling was used. The stakeholders include those running the speedboat to Bulon Island, a tour operator on Pakbara Pier and the manager of the bungalows. Purposive sampling helps the researcher make decisions about the study units involved (Jennings, 2001). The researcher's knowledge will be used to determine the units most appropriate for the study.
3. *Government officials in Satun province*. The research might access useful documents related to the study from this group.

4.3.1 Sample size

Marshall (2005: 68) writes:

An adequate sample size for a qualitative study is one that sufficiently and holistically answers the research question.

De Gagne and Walter (2010) also said that qualitative research relies on the experience of the researcher to judge and classify the quality of the information collected. Hence, the amount of information needed will become obvious as the researcher achieves data saturation and redundancy (meaning when no new themes or new categories emerge from the interview data).

4.3.2 Data-collection Methods

Multi-method qualitative techniques were adopted to gather data in this research. Using a combination of data-collection methods allowed the researcher to use a triangulation strategy to overcome the weaknesses in one method by bringing in the strengths of another method to compensate (Denscombe, 2007).

Table 4.1 shows the research objectives and methods used in this research, followed by identified key stakeholders and why they have been selected.

Table 4.1: Research objectives and rationale

Research objective	Data Sources and methods or techniques	Rationale
➤ To provide an analytical framework for the use of tourism in poverty reduction	Local people and tourism stakeholders - Semi-structured interviews; - Focus group discussions; - Participant observation; - Informal discussions; - Secondary data: tourism policies and government development plans	- To provide poor local people's rich accounts of how they define poverty; - Interviews with other tourism stakeholders will provide official accounts of how they perceive poverty; - Review literature on poverty, development theories, tourism concepts, national tourism policy and plans, and macro-economic data related to tourism.
➤ To determine the local community of Bulon Island's understanding of how tourism can be used to improve their livelihoods.	Local people and tourism stakeholders - Semi-structured interviews; - Focus group discussions; - Participant observation.	- Identify local livelihoods linked to tourism from local people's perspectives i.e. based on interactions between tourism and local people's livelihoods. - Participant observation utilized to identify or verify other livelihood resources. - Focus group: collecting data on shared understanding of the role of tourism in improving people livelihoods. - Tourism stakeholders: what they perceive as the role of tourism in improving local people's livelihoods and how far this has been achieved.
➤ To identify the barriers to local people participating in the tourism industry.	Local people and stakeholders - Semi-structured interviews;	- Identify various barriers to local people's perspectives
➤ To recommend measures to overcome these barriers.	- Focus group discussions - Participant observation.	- Make recommendation based on findings.

4.3.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

The literature suggests a semi-structure interview is the method to provide a balance between an unstructured interview and a structured, explanatory or descriptive approach. Semi-structured interviews provide new insights and identify the general patterns in order to understand the relationship between variables. Saunders et al. (2007) stated semi-structured interviews are characterised by extensive probing and open-ended questions. Moreover, this type of interview is flexible and fluid in nature, allowing the researcher to have more interaction with respondents. However, the literature suggests that combining semi-structured interviews and a focus group will enable the researcher to overcome any methodological weaknesses.

The advantage of using semi-structured interviews for this research is that it will allow the researcher to gather ‘rich data’. The researcher can clarify questions and probe the topic being investigated; additionally, because most interviewees are illiterate, conducting the interview can be complex and might have sensitive issues, as the interviewer might have to ask questions and give explanations in the local language. Similarly, if the answer is not clear, the researcher can give an example or request more detail (Carey, 2013). Moreover, this research applies an interpretive paradigm, with which the semi-structured interview approach corresponds.

4.3.2.2 Focus Groups

The researcher believes interactions between group members in a community will provide deeper understanding and insight into the empirical materials collected. Moreover, interactions between participants are important because these can cause participants to reflect and further develop or clarify their positions. Furthermore, focus groups enable the researcher to gather empirical material in more detail than would be possible via a survey.

Bryman (2001) suggested the ideal size of a focus group is often between six and ten; however, it should not be larger because some participants might become marginalised and passive due to a few influential participants who may dominate the interactions.

The reason for the researcher conducting focus groups is that after conducting unstructured and semi-structured interviews, the researcher wants to discuss themes emerging from the interviews and give opportunities to the local residents in Bulon.

There are some considerations when using focus groups. For example, participants with strong personalities may influence other members and this is a challenge to the researcher, according to Bell (2005). The opposite challenge may also occur when group members are reserved and express few opinions. To overcome such problems, the researcher needs to invent strategies, as suggested by Bell (2005). In addition, Law et al. (2003) suggested the researcher should maintain a periodic check to monitor whether particular opinions are frequently expressed.

4.3.2.3 Participant observation

Participant observation refers to the researcher making observations while taking part in the activities of the people they are studying (Belsky, 2004). This method was used because interviewees are not always able to articulate their feelings (Goulding, 2000).

In this research, the researcher participated in different roles, as Junker (1960) describes, by dividing participant observation into four roles:

1. the complete observer, when the researcher does not interact with people;
2. the observer as participant, when the researcher is mainly an interviewer and some observation occurs;
3. the participant as an observer; and
4. the complete participant, in which the researcher is a member of society. The researcher engages in regular interaction with local people and participates in their daily lives.

Denscombe (2007) recommended a researcher should try not to distort the naturalness of the social environment of the subject studied, regardless of the role chosen. The evidence supporting participant observation is found in studies by Carey (2009) and Denscombe (2007), as they concluded other methods fail to reveal real human behaviours. For instance, focus groups and semi-structured interviews are unlikely to help the researcher detect people's actual activities. It is therefore believed that participant observation is the key to learn what truly happens in an

investigated area. Denscome (2007) also stated that participant observation is recognized as a more straightforward method than others in terms of information-gathering because it allows researchers to notice actual incidents. Further advantages of this method include assisting researchers to discover issues previously unseen, gaining deeper insight and observing individuals' opinions and reactions to the studied social setting (Jennings, 2001).

4.4 The Research Process

4.4.1 Preparation Process

The pilot study was conducted during August 13-19, 2013 in Bulon Don and Bulon Lay islands. The initial plan was to stay there for two weeks but this was cut short due to a strong south-westerly monsoon. Nevertheless, the researcher spent the first three days learning about the islands' geographical and cultural background.

4.4.2 Rationale for the Pilot Study

Bryman (2004) emphasized the importance of the pilot study, pointing out that it helps researchers to ensure the comprehensibility of relevant questions and the functionality of the research tools. Furthermore, it gives researchers an opportunity to practice interviewing and to test whether questions prepared for the interview focus on the central issues of study. This is also confirmed by Light et al. (1990: 27), who add that it allows researchers to foresee possible challenges that may arise and to consider how to tackle them prior to conducting the actual study. Other benefits of the pilot study include examining data collection techniques (Jennings, 2001) and early warning of complications and difficulties likely to occur during the research (Van Teijlingen & Hudley, 2001).

4.4.3 Data collection and data analysis

Several qualitative data collection techniques were applied. Five interviews with local residents were conducted, each lasting approximately fifteen minutes. However, some declined interviews because they mainly communicate in dialect⁷ and are not confident talking to the researcher, who is regarded as a stranger. Participant observation was used and data obtained were recorded via video recorder

⁷ The interviews were carried out in Thai.

and note-taking. However, it was not possible to run a focus group due to the correspondents' daily routines,⁸ a festival being held during the pilot study period,⁹ as well as the researcher's own time constraints.

Room for improvement was discovered via the pilot study. For example, a number of questions seemed to be unclear or too formal for potential respondents, since some interviewees did not understand them and required further explanation.

4.4.4 Reflection on the Pilot Study

Problems observed during the pilot study are of great benefit in the preparation for the main study. Firstly, the duration of the study needed to be re-scheduled to the non-monsoon season for safety reasons and ensure greater availability of accommodation. In addition, the researcher would have an opportunity to gain more information regarding the tourism season in Bulon Island through participant observation.

Secondly, the data collection techniques were adjusted. For instance, some questions were simplified and new questions were added. To remove the language barrier, the purposive technique was used to select respondents able to communicate in Thai. The focus group approach was thoroughly re-considered and it was finally concluded that it was possible but more effort would be required. That is, the interviews must be held very early in the morning at the fishery pier before the fishermen start work. Alternatively, it could be conducted before or after the community meeting, which is monthly, and arranged at the community leader's house.

Thirdly, the researcher's interview skills were sharpened. For example, she gradually became more accustomed with the questions, more selective with the words used to clarify the questions and well-adapted to the different culture.

8 The local residents start their work very early in the morning and rest in the afternoon and hence have a very limited chance to participate in group activities.

9 Most of the fishermen attended the Loy Lay Festival, which is an Islamic fishing festival on Lipi Island.

4.5 Main study

Following reflection upon the pilot study, the researcher conducted the main study in two different periods, 21 April-15 May 2014 and 15 January-30 January 2015, to allow observing the island in both the tourist season (November-March) and in the monsoon season (April–October) when the island is closed to tourists.

There were 36 respondents in the main study: twenty-eight were local people, three were from the endogenous sector and three were tourists. The total number of respondents was defined by the saturation point for data. The researcher conducted two focus groups on 20 January 2015 at the island main pier between 9-11 am and the eight participants were local people; the second focus group comprised five local people and took place on 23 January 2015.

4.5.1 Data collection

4.5.1.1 Semi-structured interviews

This research combined the purposive technique with the snowball technique in order to choose the sample. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in the southern Thai language and took place in the participants' homes or workplaces, except for those from the private sector and tourists. The researcher introduced herself and asked permission to record the conversation, which varied in length from 20 to 60 minutes. The interview guide is presented in Appendix 5. The interviews concentrated on how participants perceive poverty and how tourism impacts on their lives, as well as identifying the barriers preventing them from participating in the tourism industry.

4.5.1.2 Focus group

The researcher failed to conduct a focus group initially because she did not know the culture and lifestyle of the local people. In Bulon Island, the men go fishing at night and return around 7am; they then moor their boats at the Island's main pier, have breakfast, tea or coffee and spend time chatting and exchanging ideas or making announcements to the community. Accordingly, the researcher decided to conduct a focus group at the pier in the morning because, in the afternoon, the men go home to relax and repair their equipment.

Focus groups took place on 20 and 23 January 2015. The participants in the focus group had already given individual interviews before the focus group took place. They were encouraged to discuss the topic and to question and comment on other respondents' answers.

4.5.1.3 Participant observation

Participant observation took place around the island and the island's public areas, such as the community pier, school and beach. The researcher participated in community activities, such as the marriage of the community leader's daughter, which was a traditional Islamic ceremony, and observed local methods used for fishing. The behaviour and activities of the local people, as well as informal conversations in the Bulon community, were observed and recorded in the researcher's field notes and drawings (see Appendix 7). Observation was extended to the school, where the researcher participated in classes and talked to staff and students.

4.6 Data analysis

The researcher applied the thematic analysis method to the data because thematic analysis allowed the researcher to immerse herself in the data. The researcher transcribed the interviews herself by listening and reading the transcript repeatedly to become familiar with the data. The researcher faced a problem with the English interviews with tourists because English is not her mother tongue and this was the case for some tourists as well. To address these problems, the researcher listened to the recordings repeatedly and asked her British colleague to check the accuracy of the transcription. The researcher analysed the data following the six phases of thematic analysis data processing, as suggested in Braun and Clack (2006). Firstly, the researcher had to become familiar with the research data (interview transcription) before starting to code and search for themes and then giving theme names and, finally, presenting the research report. The results of thematic analysis can be found in Chapters Five and Six. Table 4.2 describes more detail of the six phases of thematic analysis, adapted from Braun and Clack (2006) for this study in Bulon.

Table 4.2 Six phases of thematic analysis

Phases	Research Process
1. Familiarising with the data	The researcher engages in analysis: transcribes the data and searches for meanings and patterns; the researcher goes through the data more than once with the aim of familiarisation with the data, followed by taking notes and shaping ideas for coding
2. Generating initial codes	The researcher writes notes on the transcript texts using different colour pens to indicate potential patterns and to code potential themes
3. Searching for themes	The researcher reviews and goes through the identified codes and places them into potential themes, using mind-maps in order to help organise research themes
4. Reviewing themes	The researcher reviews themes to ensure there are enough data to support each theme and that themes do not overlap by reading all the collated extracts for each theme. She then considers whether they appear to form a coherent pattern.
5. Defining and naming themes	The researcher has a satisfactory thematic map of data; at this stage, the researcher then identifies the “essence” themes and generates sub themes.
6. Producing the report	The researcher writes up the thesis by having two main analysis chapters, in accordance with the research aims.

Source: Adapted from Braun and Clack (2006)

4.7 Research Reflexivity

According to Gilgun (2010: 3), researchers in ‘qualitative research’ are perceived as those with subjective and fallible reasoning and likely to be equipped with prejudices and preferred theories. The findings from the qualitative research are potentially (and inevitably) influenced and shaped by the researcher’s socio-political background, values and beliefs (Lietz & Zayas, 2010). This is because the researcher considers himself/herself the main component in the interpretation of research findings (Watt, 2007)

In conducting qualitative research, one must therefore be aware when choosing the research methodology. The researcher should always reflect on the fact that his/her personal background, ethics, principles and perceptions may influence the research methodology, processes, findings and, eventually, the report (Willig, 2008). Moreover, the researcher must acknowledge it is impossible for him/her to be outside the topic studied whilst performing the research (Willig, 2008). This practice is called ‘researcher reflexivity’.

The quality of the research can be improved by researcher reflexivity. The researcher will be aware of his/her responsibility and will constantly examine his/her role in conducting the research, as well as consider the perspectives, beliefs and practicalities of others (Gilgun, 2010). Via reflexivity, the researcher may modify their own beliefs such that they better understand how to interpret the data and reflex on how the research findings are pursued (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Through researcher reflexivity, the results will be supported with evidence and the findings will thus be more strongly established.

In this study, the author performed the research using reflexivity based on her own experience and values. The author also followed recommendations from well-known references, such as Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003) and Maxwell (2005). Accordingly, a reflexive journal was written about every angle of the research throughout the entire study.

4.7.1 Researcher Reflexivity

Base on the concept of research reflexivity on the research process, the researcher kept updated and wrote the researcher's reflexivity through the way the research was carried out. The researcher's reflexivity clearly starts with explaining the researcher's background, her beliefs and experience, as well as how she interpreted the data; an example of the research reflexivity extracted from the researcher's reflexivity journey is included below.

My background

I am a Thai Buddhist, born in the southern part of Thailand and having grown up by the beach on the mainland (Phuket) where I was involved in seeing tourists from when I was young. I finished my bachelor's degree in international development in China and a Master's degree in tourism and marketing from Bournemouth University UK. I had an interest in the relationship between tourism, development, community and poverty and I have been working at the Prince of Songkla University since 2011 in the Department of Community Study. I also believe that tourism and community can go together where local people can gain more benefit from the development of tourism.

The idea of undertaking research on tourism and poverty reduction came to my attention when I had the opportunity to visit the Bulon community in 2011. This was when Bulon had been chosen as one of the King's projects in the Chaipatthani Foundation as the local people suffer illness and are unable to receive treatment. When I saw the nature and resources Bulon had and saw local people's poor livelihood opportunities, my intention to conduct the research on tourism and poverty reduction began.

After reviewing the literature and previous research conducted relating to tourism and poverty reduction, I decided to study tourism and poverty in Bulon Island and my PhD offered me an opportunity to study in this area.

Research Area :Bulon Island

I previously visited Bulon as someone who lived in a middle-income family on the mainland, where mobile phones, cars and, the internet had become necessary and important in everyday life. My first judgment when I entered the Bulon community is shown below in my first drawing of the community.



Drawing is one of my hobbies and drawing helps me to remember things in life. I drew the above picture before I visited Bulon. I thought local people must suffer when they have no money and are far from the mainland; their Seagype life on the island excludes them from other people on the mainland as well.

Gaining access to the community and the issue of being a teacher or Arjan

I arrived on Bulon for the second time with the aim to undertake a pilot study. As it was the monsoon season during my planned pilot study, I first contacted the community leader, Mr Cha, to ask whether it was safe for me to visit the island and stay for a week. He was very helpful and sailed his long-tail boat to pick me up from Satun mainland; there were high waves on the way to Bulon and I was very scared. However, we finally made it safely to the Island and I stayed with Mr Cha's family from 13-19 August 2013. He introduced me to the community as a teacher from Prince of Songkla University who was undertaking a research.

The local community were nice and called me “Arjan”, as Thai teachers have high reputations and are highly respected by local people, enabling them to gain trust easily from local people. As a Thai Buddhist and looking different from local people, I was recognized easily and became well known in the community. The local people were willing and happy to share their stories and when I walked past them, they continually asked “Do you want to interview me?” However, this might cause bias in the study and interview data. During the main study when I had to stay for a month, I overcame this by taking notes on other activities of local people, using participant observation, member checking and drawing pictures. I also tried to interview different groups of local people; for example, the silent ones, elderly or groups who were not involved with community activities or tourism.

Issues concerning Buddhists and Muslims

Before entering the Bulon community, I did some background study and learned some Muslim culture; for example, I brought a hijab and learned greetings by Muslims. The local people were very impressed when I said ‘As-salamualaykm’ and they suggested more about the Muslim way of life and were happy and willing to share information. They took me into most of their activities during my time spent on the pilot and main study there; for example, the Muslim wedding ceremony and Loy Rue, which is the traditional fisherman ceremony to bring luck when they go to fish. The researcher reflected and maintained the data by writing a journal. However, I had to ensure I am not putting my personal emotions in the research because I became a part of the Bulon community, seeing and interpreting local daily life in Bulon. However, when writing my research I have to write and see the situation as a researcher. I am overcome this by writing on-going researcher reflexivity and reading my own diary back. When I met an unclear conversation or situation, I also used member checking, as suggested by the literature, by asking my homestay to confirm the data.



The picture above was my drawing after staying on Bulon for 2 weeks. It shows that local people are happy with their life when they can fish and feed their family, which is also showed in the research results for local people's perception of Bulon as being self-sufficient.



I also drew this picture when I was half way through conducting my main study and writing the thesis. It describes the cooperative of local people, tourists, private sections on the island and local government working together, where local people in Bulon are placed in the centre and the aim is to provide local community uplift into long-term development.

4.8 Triangulation versus crystallization

Stake (2000: 445) defined triangulation as using various means of observation or perception to provide verification or clarification of the investigation undertaken. Triangulation is one of the approaches used for conducting qualitative research where the social phenomenon could have many dimensions. Therefore, the author should be able to retrieve more than one of these dimensions (Moson, 2002: 190).

Triangulation can be identified in four forms, according to Denzin (1989). These include i) data triangulation, which refers to collection of multiple datasets, ii) researcher triangulation, which refers to a team of multiple investigators collecting and interpreting data; iii) theoretical triangulation, which refers to the use of multiple theoretical perspectives to interpret the data; and iv) methodological triangulation, which refers to the use of various methods to collect relevant data.

With respect to methodological triangulation, Denzin (1989) additionally defined two sub-types, which are within-method and between-method triangulation. Within-method triangulation deploys one specific approach but with variation in the method details. For example, open and closed questions are considered a within-method triangulation strategy. With only one method being used, this strategy is likely to deliver biases and/or inherent weakness for findings. On the other hand, between-method triangulation deploys different research approaches in collecting data. For example, a combination of interviews and observation is considered a between-method triangulation strategy. The research findings from this strategy are likely to be more trustworthy than those from the within-method triangulation. With a cross-examination approach from more than one method, the research findings will be implemented with several sources of data. Through a combination of methods, the limitations of one method will be compensated for by another to achieve the best outcome (Denzin, 1989; Denscombe, 2003).

This study employed the between-method triangulation strategy for data collection and interpretation. Despite its excellence in delivering a good research outcome, Patton (1990: 465) suggested the researcher should not expect to achieve ‘magic triangulation’ where the research findings collected from different methods automatically cohere to produce the perfect story. In most cases, the researcher has

to analyse the data and find an explanation for any discrepancies in the findings, suggests Patton (1990: 465).

In addition, Denscomb (2003) determined that using triangulation to confirm the data obtained from multiple methods only may lead to the acknowledgement that one single finding is obtained from the qualitative research perspective. This outcome does not conform to the ontological basis and, hence, triangulation should be used as the means to reach completeness in the research findings. Such completeness is essential in qualitative approaches, as it allows multiple realities or findings to be recognized. Therefore, researchers are not supposed to use triangulation as a means to validate existing data but as a means to expand the perspective of their research in order to reach a more insightful and comprehensive research picture.

Thus, we chose the triangulation strategy for this study to address the completeness of the research findings, instead of identifying a fixed point. To clarify, the study did not seek data collection from different methods to achieve a single convergent justification of the phenomenon being studied. Rather, the researcher aimed to deploy the triangulation strategy to reflect and explain the discrepancies and diversities of the data obtained from multiple data collection approaches.

Besides triangulation, the crystallization concept, proposed by Richardsen (2000), was deployed. In order to obtain data, rather than triangulate, one should crystalize. Richardsen (*ibid.*: 934) demonstrated that triangulation may not be ideal for studying social phenomena, which usually have many sides. As in the study of Tobin and Begley (2004: 393), crystallization enables the researcher to move from seeing a fixed and rigid 2D object towards an infinite possibility of shapes and multi-dimensional angles.

Although crystallization could provide multi-dimensionality in the research outcome, the studies using this concept are not widely published and the related literature is therefore still very limited. Clear guidelines and examples of employing the crystallization concept are still in their infancy. The researcher thought choosing this concept may lead to difficulty and misconceptions in examining and interpreting the data; therefore, she chose the triangulation concept as her research methodology.

4.9 Research Ethics Consideration

Research on Bulon Island engaged the researcher in groups of Bulon's local people over the research period. The issue of ethical behaviour is constraining throughout the research process (Ritchie et al ,2014) suggested the researcher is faced with a series of self-accepted domains of responsibilities in the research model selected to those who participate in the research, as respondents to the reader of the research finding and, more importantly, the issue of the 'truths' of the research circumstance. For this research in Bulon, it is necessary for the researcher to consider and take care over the cultural practices and beliefs of local people alongside Bulon's traditional customs and Muslim culture.

For culture and belief issues, the researcher consulted over sensitive issues with the community leader about the 'do's' and 'don'ts' of the local community, as well as placing the community norms and local people's way of life in the centre of the research. The researcher also informed respondents in an early stage that they could withdraw or feel free not to answer at any time during the research.

The methodology chapter has reviewed and evaluated the methodological and theoretical principles that apply to this research. After reviewing the literature the researcher apply the interpretive paradigm to this study using qualitative methods to help the researcher gain rich data and in-depth understanding of poverty on Bulon Island. The data collection methods (semi-structured interviews, a focus group and participant observation) have been justified and the use of thematic analysis and triangulation and crystallisation has been discussed. The findings and main themes from thematic analysis are presented in the following chapters (five and six).

4.10 Conclusion

The methodology chapter has reviewed and evaluated the methodological and theoretical principles applied to this research. After reviewing the literature, the researcher applied the interpretive paradigm to this study using qualitative methods to help the researcher gain rich data and in-depth understanding of poverty on Bulon Island.

This chapter also explored and evaluated the data collection method and justification for each collection method, including semi-structured interviews, a focus group and participant observation, as well as explaining why the researcher chose each method. The use of thematic analysis was justified in the explanation of the six phases the researcher adopted, followed by the need for research reflexivity and the researcher's reflexivity report, combined with triangulation and crystallisation, all of which were discussed. The findings and main themes from thematic analysis are presented in chapters five and six that follow.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCEPTUALISATION OF POVERTY BY LOCAL PEOPLE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to present the findings from the semi-structured interviews, focus groups and the researcher's participant observations in Bulon. The Bulon local people's perceptions of poverty are going to be presented and linked to the causes of poverty in Bulon Island. As stated in the methodology chapter, the primary data for this study was collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with local community members, stakeholders, tourists and tourism organisations in the local area. Valuable information was also gained from observing participants (i.e. the researcher took notes and drew pictures). Interviewees were selected through a purposive sample and snowball techniques, as described in the methodology chapter, and based upon local people's experience of poverty.

5.2. Respondents' Profiles

Thirty-six local people participated in this research. Two focus groups were conducted, one on each island, with eight participants on Bulon Don and six participants on Bulon Lay. From the researcher's participant observations in Bulon, males are the head of family and the key earner in each family. They are the ones who go out to work (fishing) and have more understanding of their living conditions. As mentioned in earlier chapters, Bulon's inhabitants belong to Islamic communities and in this culture, males are the head of family. Women also work in some families, not going fishing but working at home, especially in tourism; the literature review suggested that tourism is labour intensive and employs a high percentage of women and young people (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). There is tourism on Bulon Lay and women are able to work by cooking in a bungalow or opening a restaurant, which will be discussed in chapter six.

5.3 Conceptualisation of Poverty by Local People

This section aims to relate the constructions and causes of poverty held by local people on Bulon Island; however, the meanings and causes of poverty are hard to separate because they are linked and related to each other. This chapter combines and presents meanings and causes of poverty, as perceived and found in Bulon Island.

5.3.1 Construction of Poverty

By asking the question ‘what does poverty mean to you?’, three main themes emerging from the data analysis concerning local perceptions of poverty are subsistence, a lack of education and a lack of social amenities. Each of these themes is presented in the sections that follow.

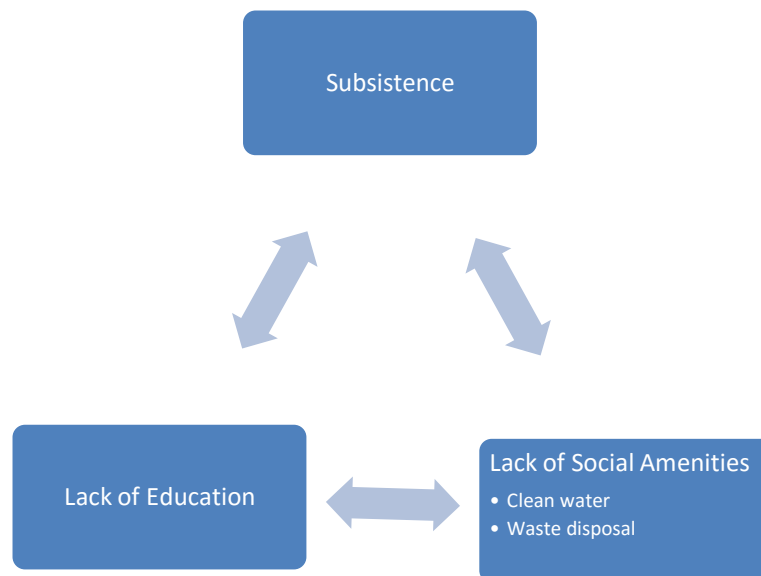


Figure 5.1: Construction of Poverty

Of the 28 interviewees, 26 indicated they were fishermen or had jobs related to fishing (e.g. two stated they sell fish). They all indicated that fishing is their main occupation and is the income generator for their families.

5.3.1.1 Subsistence

Being self-sufficient was the theme most frequently mentioned by interviewees, which shows locals conceptualise poverty as being unable to support their family.

Interviewees elaborated their meaning of poverty as connected to the fishing activity and the amount of fish or seafood caught per month.

I think poverty means we cannot [go] fishing and can only [catch a] few fish, sorry I don't know what other meaning (Manut)

I am not sure but to me poverty is not about income, it is depend[ent] on my fishing; I catch fish, then bring [them] back home. My wife cook[s them and] we have food to eat, if I can catch more fish, then I can sell (Bak)

'Subsistence' is a word appropriate to local people's perceptions of poverty in Bulon. According to the above interviews and from the researcher's observations, Bulon local people's lives are mostly dependent on fishery activity as it is the main or only income generator for local people's families. In other words, fishing activity is the main influence on local people's livelihoods and has a huge effect on the consumption of most families in Bulon; moreover, they have no need to buy food or meat because the husband will bring home fish or other seafood left from selling or seafood that cannot be sold. Some households also grow their own vegetables. It is understandable that local people's perception of poverty in Bulon is mainly related to their fishery activity; therefore, a downturn in the amount of fish or seafood caught will have a huge effect on them.

Nevertheless, interviewees also indicated that poverty is related to insufficient income and later found to be the main cause of poverty on Bulon Island. Although they may have fish or seafood to feed their family, they also need to buy other things in order to meet their daily needs; thus, this group of interviewees described themselves as poor because they cannot afford those daily needs:

I think poverty is about having money; yes, I am fishing and I don't have to buy fish, but I have to buy rice, vegetables, fish sauce, sugar (Yan)

Poverty in Bulon occurs because we do not have a job that earns much money (Ya, Focus group)

Poverty is about income earning; I don't have money to invest in fishing so I can't catch many fish (Yayang)

The majority of local people in Bulon view poverty as something close to their lives; that is, they see it as the amount of fish and seafood they can catch and whether it is sufficient for their family to consume. They do not see themselves as trapped in poverty if they can catch enough fish and seafood to consume and be self-sufficient. Another group described themselves as poor even if they catch enough fish but have no secure income and are not self-sufficient. The inability to be self-sufficient is found to be locals' perception of poverty in Bulon, which is the same result in most studies in developing countries. For example, the study by Harrison and Schipni (2007) conducted in Laos showed the respondents described themselves as poor because they were not self-sufficient and did not have secure or predictable income. This is the same as on Bulon Island because fishery is their main income generator and, as previously mentioned, fishery activity is seasonal and conducted only at certain times of the year. In addition, the amount of fish and other seafood cannot be predicted and fuel prices are also increasing and therefore linked to the causes of poverty in Bulon. This external factor gives Bulon's local people unpredictable income and traps them in poverty. Another similar study in developing countries in South-East Asia was conducted by Truong (2014). Truong conducted research in Vietnam and found local people in Sapa describe themselves as being poor because they do not have enough rice to feed their family over the years. Another study in Elmina, Ghana, identified the fishing industry as the main income generator and asked for local people's perception of poverty. Lack of income was also mentioned by respondents, which means the situation there is similar to Bulon Island, where the decline in the fishery industry and its seasonality (described further in the elaboration of causes of poverty) are also major concerns for local people (Holden *et al.*, 2011).

5.3.2 Local People's Perception of Poverty Related to Education

The education topic was also mentioned by interviewees and discussed in the focus groups.

I'm poor because I am not going to school (Chai)

People here are poor because they have [a] very low education level; in the past, they [did] not see the important [sic] of education; they know how to fish [and] that [was] enough for them (Kritipong)

We do not have high education so we only fish[ing]; we cannot do other jobs they will not let us do the job (Too, focus group)

Too went on to state “they will not let us do the job” when referring to finding work in the private sector on the island and mainland. He sees himself as different and feels he does not have ‘high’ education, meaning the private sector will not hire him. Others mentioned that they felt they are poor because they did attend school to gain an education. Their lack of education makes it difficult or impossible for them to get a job and is the cause of poverty.

However, when the researcher probed more in a focus group, one respondent revealed in the discussion:

I do not think we are poor because we do not have education; twenty years ago, I have been taught how to fish by my grandparent and then I became a fisherman. I am not even educated in high school but I can make more money than high school graduates on the mainland; but, because we compare ourselves with mainland people, that is why you said we are poor (Mane, focus group)

This man disagreed with other respondents in the focus group that the real reason for being poor is because he does not have high education. Bulon Island is a traditional fishing community and, in the past, they learnt how to fish and do fishery activity from their ancestors and used traditional fishing equipment to make a living and be self-sufficient. This man does not think they are poor because they do not have high education as he can make more money than educated people; in his opinion, being

able to feed the family is enough. This discussion showed that poverty is a typology in each area; this man does not see himself as poor because he is self-sufficient. This suggests that definitions of poverty are not the same everywhere. For example, there is relative poverty experienced by many people in the West; moreover, if we compare rural with urban areas in Thailand, the meaning of ‘poor’ may be insufficient income to afford a holiday or consumer goods in an urban area, rather than the lack of basic needs, such as the inability to consume food or water.

Hidden behind the lack of education are opportunities to participate in decision-making. When probing more into the lack of education aspect, the interviewee also mentioned poverty related to opportunities to participate in development processes. The interviewee mentioned it was mostly women who do not have opportunity for study or who have a low level of education. The local women mentioned that, as females, they have been excluded from the opportunity to have an education by their parents because they think females have to stay home and take care of their children and husbands; thus, there is no need for further education. Exclusion from the community meetings was also mentioned by interviewees, who said they are excluded from them because they felt they were afraid to share ideas they have and nobody will listen to them. Moreover, when women want to make a decision or attend a meeting, they are prevented because they have to stay home and take care of their children; moreover, in the local Bulon Muslim culture, men are the head of the family and are the ones making decisions for their family.

5.3.3 Local People’s Perception of Poverty being Related to Lack of Social

Amenities

Lack of social amenities was mentioned by the majority of interviewees; specifically, interviewees referred to the lack of water and waste disposal facilities.

Lack of Water: the islands’ geography, as mentioned in Chapter one, is a steep limestone formation. There is little flat land and it is hard to find natural water resources; therefore, Bulon faces serious water shortages, especially in the dry and tourist seasons. The community has to provide and reserve water for tourists to consume.

We [have been] struggling with water problem[s] for [a] long time; I have [had] to buy container[s] for reserve[ing] water when it rain[s] and I have to buy clean drinking water for my child and it is expensive
(Niran)

I have to buy cleaning water from the mainland for tourists to use, and this add[s] more on the operation cost and I have to pay more (Bunchu, bungalow owner)

The reservation project does not work well because we have not had much rain for several years. In [the] dry season, we have to ask for help from the government (Bak, focus group)

Interviewees indicated they have been struggling with water problems for a long time and every household in Bulon seems to have the same problem. Especially in the dry season, locals have to buy water from the mainland for consumption because there is insufficient water on the island. The current water situation in Bulon is depicted in Figure 5.2 and shows the shallow wells in Bulon, which the community dig in order to access drinking water. There is some water in the well during the rainy season but no water in the dry season. Figure 5.2 shows the community water reservoir that was built in 1990; however, the water is not clean and cannot be used for consumption. According to the Satun government, they spent a considerable amount on this project but it does not meet the local community's needs because the reservoir contains insufficient water and it is too dirty for consumption:

Well, we got the reservoir but no one can use it because it was built a long time ago and now the water is very dirty [because] no one look[ed] after it (Ser)

The problem results from the community not having the ability or money to look after the reservoir after the government project was completed and no-one came back to look after it. This reservoir has been in Bulon for nearly twenty-five years and needs to be maintained but the community do not have the funds and the Satun central government has not met the maintenance cost.

Moreover, water-pipes are very old and do not supply the whole island. In the dry season, the community receives help from Satun (central government), who provide water sent by ferry from the mainland for the community to store in large containers and share among community members. Some households do not have large water containers so they receive only a small amount and cannot reserve much, creating tension between those with large amounts of water and those with less.



Shallow well in the rainy season

Figure 5.2: Island's Water Reservoir and Shallow Level in the Rainy Season

Waste Disposal

Bulon Island has no proper waste management system, especially on Bulon Don. The commonly-used methods include open burning, open dumping or digging up ground at the back of houses. The researcher's observations during the main study reveals every household has its own open burning area, some at the backyard of their house and some in front of their house (appendix 8). The concern with open burning and open dumping is air pollution and hygiene because the community uses rainwater for consumption, which means the open dumping method may cause health and sanitary problems. According to the disposal survey conducted in Bulon by the Satun government (Satun, 2014), the average waste disposal in Bulon Lay is about 214 kg per day in the tourist season and 106 kg per day in the monsoon season when the island is closed for tourists. The disposal includes household waste, which comprises food waste, glass and plastic bottles. The Satun government is concerned about the disposal problem, especially in tourism areas, and it now encourages the local community to address this problem by first teaching it to categorise waste disposal and how to manage each type. For example, the Satun government cooperated with the Prince of Songkla University to create biogas from food waste from bungalows and households. The biogas project is located at the school and was started in 2012 with the aim of encouraging the local community to utilise food waste. However, this project is not operating currently because there is no-one to look after it and the locals do not perceive a use for it. Again, this project was started by the government and, like the reservoir project, has now been abandoned.

I did not take my food waste to the Biogas point; it is at the school and I have to carry the food waste from my house to the school, so what is the point of doing it? (Ya)

Another comment is from a schoolteacher, who used to be a part of the biogas project:

As you see, we are not doing the biogas [project] anymore because, after they taught us, they left us with the machine, but no one comes back to look after it (Cha)

The only waste management programme still running in the community is the waste bank. This was also started by cooperation between the Satun government and the Prince of Songkla University, with the aim of encouraging local people to manage their household waste within categories, such as plastic, paper, cans etc., as mentioned earlier. The rubbish can be sold or exchanged for something else, such as cooking oil, sugar, fish or sauce, at the waste bank, which is currently run by a community leader. The problem with this programme is that there is insufficient space for collecting the rubbish and they make only a little profit because they have to collect the rubbish to sell on the mainland after transporting it in their own boats, which incurs high fuel costs.

5.4 Causes of Poverty

After reviewing the perception and construction of poverty by Bulon' local people, the causes of poverty are clear, which is underlined by the meaning of poverty to them and this section draws out further explanations for the causes of poverty through the question 'what causes poverty in Bulon?' Figure 5.3 shows the main themes.

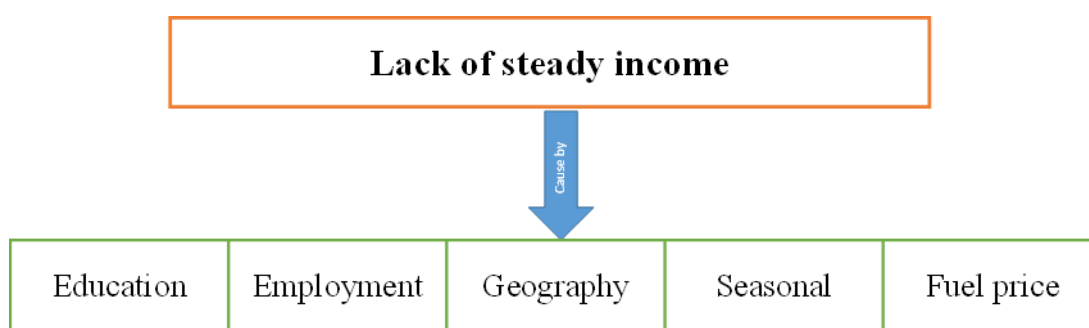


Figure 5.3: Main Causes of Poverty

Following thematic analysis of the data, the main themes relating to the cause of poverty were identified (see Figure 5.3). Lack of steady income is found to be the main causes of poverty in Bulon. However, there are further reasons for local people lacking a steady income, such as seasonality, fuel prices, geography, employment and education, each of which is going to be explained in the following sections.

5.4.1 Lack of a Steady Income

As stated in the above section, local people's concept of poverty identifies subsistence as a main theme, meaning not being self-sufficient. After probing the root cause of the inability to be self-sufficient, the lack of a steady income is the main reason given. The interviews, focus groups and research participant observation showed the sub-theme of a lack of steady income from a number of causes that are explained below.

Seasonal: it is evident that fishery activities are the main source of income for local people, providing the means for them to be self-sufficient, as mentioned in section 5.3.1.1. However, interviewees mentioned that fishing is seasonal and the costs attached to it are rising; therefore, this results in local people's lack of a steady income and the difficulty of predicting and estimating their income. Tourism is also seasonal on Bulon Island and only operates in certain periods; thus, the interactions of tourism and fishing generates unexpected outcomes from them both being seasonal activities.

Geography: when probing more into this statement, geography is another cause of poverty because there is limited land on an island, meaning locals cannot engage in agriculture. Therefore, engaging in fishery activities is the main income generator, as there is little alternative work on the island, causing some local people to leave the island to work on other islands or on the mainland:

I am working for a hotel in Lipe Island, there is not much work here and, in Lipe, I get more money than here (Chia)

As you see, we live on the island. I am a fisherman, my wife wants to work in a factory on the mainland but we cannot do that because then she has to live on the mainland (Yuusob)

In the tourist season, local people also work in the tourism sector, but only certain people will be hired because of a general lack of skill:

I want to work in the bungalows but there no one would hire me because I cannot speak English and I have to take care of my child too (Sonjit)

Pansan resorts normally hire people from the mainland to work with them because they know better than us and when the tourism season finishes they close these resorts and go back to the mainland (Angkan)

The fishermen attribute the lack of a steady income to three main factors. Firstly, a high financial investment is required for fishing equipment, accompanied by the increasing price of fuel:

I do not have [a] permanent job and I do not have my own boat, so I have to be hired by other people [and whether they] can pay me depend[s] on the amount of fish I can catch (Ya)

As you know, the price of fuel is getting higher and higher and the government is not helping us (Mared)

We don't have money to buy modern fishing equipment like a big company (Chai)

As they have insufficient income and capital, they cannot afford the high cost of fishing equipment; in addition, the price of fuel is constantly increasing. This has hugely affected local people's income and trapped some local Bulon fishermen in debt because they have to borrow money from friends or take loans on which they have to pay very high interest. This results in around 75% of fishermen in Bulon being in debt (Satun, 2014). World oil prices are increasing and the government does not subsidise fuel for fisherman; therefore, operational costs are also increasing.

Secondly, an increasing number of illegal fishing boats are being operated by big companies. Local fishermen also face increased competition from commercial fishery companies using more modern boats and gear and high catch capabilities; this is in addition to the increasing number of illegal fishing boats operated by big companies that use electricity to kill fish, which damages the ecosystem. This concern was expressed by one respondent, who also complained about the government's failure to control this method of fishing. According to the Department of Fisheries, commercial fishing boats with on-board power boats of more than 10 gt (large-scale fishing boats) are not allowed in this area; only trawlers, surrounding

nets and trammel nets are allowed. The decline in the fishing industry is also of great concern to local people:

Five years ago I had my own boat but I sold it two years ago and I am working for a fishing company because the operating cost for fishing is very high and there is not much fish in the ocean like the old times. Even a big company with modern equipment also catches less fish compared to the old times; for example, they normally go out in the ocean for seven days and then return but now we spend fifteen to twenty days and then return (Chia)

Furthermore, a study of sustainable fisheries in the Andaman Sea by Sampan (2011) presented several fishing-related problems, which include the depletion of fish resources, overfishing, conflict among fishermen and illegal fishing. With the downturn in the numbers of fish, the fisherman have to carry a high risk of investment and the money from selling fish does not cover the cost of fuel and maintenance; therefore, they can become trapped in debt, borrowing money from the private sector. However, some fisherman in Bulon catch crabs or other seafood that can be sold; meanwhile, others take extra jobs or transform seafood into something else to make it more valuable, leading to some fisherman becoming involved in the tourism industry (see Chapter six).

Lastly, local people in Bulon cited seasonality as a factor contributing to the lack of a steady income. It can be seen that the seasonality of fishing activities can explain variations in the amount of fish, demand and supply in the fishery sector, resulting in fluctuations in income. The period between November and April is the high season for fishing activity; the fishermen in Bulon can catch large amounts of fish and they earn higher income than in the low season, as monsoons prevent fishing. Tourism is also seasonal in Bulon and coincides with the high fishery season, running from November to April when there are no monsoons in the Andaman Sea and making it easy and safe for travelling to the island. The result is that local people in Bulon can make more income between November and April than in the low season or monsoon season when they can neither fish nor make extra income from tourism; in addition, they have to face the problem of a lack of water, as mentioned earlier.

Education

Education was mentioned by some local respondents as a cause of poverty. There are two primary schools, one on each island; however, the number of students going to school is very low, as mentioned in Chapter 1:

Nowadays, the government offer[s] free education for students in grades one to nine. This policy increase[s] the number of students but not much, so we also provide free breakfast and lunch for every student. There are some group[s] of parents that want their child to [be] educated, [because] they think it can [help their child] make more money than they do (Cha, school teacher)

On the other hand, some parents would like their child to go to school but, even though the government provides free education, they have to keep their children working at home and taking care of younger children while they go fishing, as they have little income. Some children go to school but have to leave when their parents have to work, or they have to leave school to work or sell handicrafts to tourists during the high season.

I want my child to have [an] education but, as I do not have much money and I have to work, my child [will] have to take care of his younger sister while I [am] working (Edon)

Noomm, one of our student[s], a good one, only come[s] to school three days per week and some week[s] he disappear[s]. This is because his parent[s] have to work in Lipi Island, which is three hours from here, so he has to travel to work with this parents and sell souvenirs to tourists (Cha, schoolteacher)

Furthermore, the researcher observed during the fieldwork at the school that the number of students attending school in the low season is higher than in the tourist season. This is because, as mentioned earlier, their parents take their children to work in the tourism industry on other nearby islands during the tourist season. This makes it difficult for the school to provide efficient education to all students. Another problem is a lack of teachers. Bulon has only five teachers and four of them

come from the mainland, travelling to the school on a Monday and returning to the mainland on a Friday. Due to the geography of Bulon, not many teachers are willing to work there. The teachers change every semester, which makes local people think the education system is not efficient and the teachers are not expending enough effort for their child.

Well, this year we have [a] new teacher again; every semester, [the] teacher change[s] because they do not want to live here. They [are] from [the] mainland so living here is not easy for them (Abdor)

Next year, I am going to leave Bulon school to work in another school [on the] mainland. Even though the government pay us 250 Baht more per month for teaching here, it does not mean anything (Cha, school teacher)

According to the government policy of helping and supporting teaching in rural areas, which includes Bulon, teachers receive 10% extra salary, depending on their contract. In Bulon, an undergraduate teacher's starting salary is £300 per month (£1=50 THB) plus £30 extra and other benefits from the government. The teachers have to teach a variety of classes and subjects, as well as cooking breakfast and lunch for the students. The government recognises this problem and encourages local students to have higher education by providing scholarships and, after graduation, they have to return and teach in their community.

However, some children the researcher spoke to during her field study said they would like to be involved in the tourism activity; for example, as a tour guide, because they would like to make some income early, rather than attend higher education or complete secondary education. They wanted the researcher to teach them English and everyday conversation, which would allow them to communicate with tourists; therefore, they are focused and wish to earn income immediately because they believed it will improve their livelihood conditions. This finding is also supported by other scholars, such as Kotler *et al.*, who said most people who have a difficult life (poor people) are willing to choose 'safe' options, even though the option they choose might give them few benefits (Kotler *et al.*, 2006).

5.4.2 Current Education in Bulon

There is a primary school on each island and the children are taught from kindergarten to ninth grade education level on both islands. Due to the wind and high waves during some seasons, it is not always safe for the children to travel to be in classes together; therefore, the children are taught separately on the two islands. In the 2011 academic year, there were 80 students from the two islands while this figure increased to 102 in the 2014 academic year. Even though the education offered ranges from kindergarten level to junior high school level, some of the children's parents still do not see the importance of education due to their poverty situation, as mentioned earlier. They do not understand why their children should be educated when their lives are focused on 'making ends meet' and their children eventually have to make a living. In addition, there is abundant aquatic seafood, such as prawns, shells, crabs and fish, to be caught so they can earn their living. The inhabitants can also catch cuttlefish from the area in front of the island and this way of making money is not time-consuming; moreover, the children can catch *Na* cuttlefish and sell them to earn as much as 200 THB (£4) per day.

The children's parents fail to see the importance and advantages of education because they think it is difficult, does not improve their lives immediately and there is no example or role model to motivate them. Their idea is that, after receiving an education, their children will inevitably end up working on fishing boats; moreover, the families need income. During the high season, some families go to the mainland or to other islands, such as Tarutao Island or Lipe Island, to earn a living. They worry about their children being left alone, so they take them along, which affects the continuity of the children's schooling. Since some parents prioritise income-earning, some children help by fishing or providing services in resorts in order to help feed themselves and their families.

5.5 Conclusion

The evidence from thematic analysis in this chapter clearly shows local people in Bulon define poverty based upon their daily routines. They define poverty as being a measure of income as well as other non-income aspects, such as lack of social amenity, clean drinking water and waste disposal. However, being able to achieve self-sufficiency and feed their families are the main factors mentioned by local people.

The interviews supported poverty being multi-dimensional and defined and measured in multiple ways that are specific to particular locations and experiences. Local people are not only concerned with income and consumption reflecting poverty but also a number of basic requirements, such as education, access to clean water and waste disposal.

Local people in Bulon view poverty as something close to their life and fishing activity, which has the major impact on the perceptions of local people in poverty, as well as significant influence on local people's livelihoods. The meaning of poverty defined by the UN or the idea of the poverty line are not commonly used or understood by local people in Bulon and no interviewee mentioned these.

Lack of a steady income is the main cause of poverty in Bulon. The main causes of poverty in Bulon Island are due to the geography of the island and the low level of education, leaving local people with limited employment opportunities or rendering them unemployed. Moreover, fishery activity is their main income generator, which is a seasonal and unpredictable problem; they also worry about fuel price increases that that mean they have to face higher operational costs

CHAPTER SIX: UNDERSTANDING HOW TOURISM MAY BENEFIT THE LIVELIHOODS OF LOCAL PEOPLE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to present the local community's understanding of how tourism can be used to improve their livelihoods, as well as the barriers to their participation in tourism. Local people perceive the opportunity to get involved in tourism in a variety of ways and consider tourism a tool for lifting them out of poverty. Using thematic analysis, the researcher found local people perceive the two most significant themes for how tourism provides livelihood benefits are employment opportunities, such as establishing or expanding businesses, and community development. This chapter also presented the barriers to local people's participation in tourism in order to provide suitable recommendations for tourism being used for poverty reduction in Bulon Island.

6.2 Employment in the tourism industry

6.2.1 Employment opportunities

The tourism season in Bulon and nearby islands (Lipi, Tarutao National Park, Koh Mook) runs from November to March. During this time the industry requires substantial human resourcing, providing poor locals in Bulon with employment opportunities, both directly and indirectly. The majority of interviews with local people in Bulon indicated that tourism has created employment opportunities for them in various ways. An interview with the following two locals shows that tourism gives them an opportunity to work, making it easy for them to get a job:

In January to April, I am [sic] easy get a job because there is a lot of people visit[ing] the island, so they need more people to work. (Mae)

Tourism did give me an opportunity to work. Because of tourism I can work in this bungalow. If there is [sic] no tourists, then I do not think they will hire me. (Lope)

The development of tourism offers wider employment opportunities, rather than the majority of work in Bulon being related to fishing. Locals were either employed by middle men from the mainland to fish for them or they worked on fishing piers; there were few job options in the community. However, when tourism started to expand, it provided various employment options to locals who did not wish or were not able to work in the fishery industry, as the following interviewee stated:

I used to go out at night for fishery employment. However, that is not the job I want to do, but I have no choice. I am not healthy and it is also dangerous but now, thanks to tourism, I can work as a gardener in [a] bungalow and doing [sic] some massage to tourists. (Mooki)

This comment reflects tourism providing alternative employment opportunities for local people whose health conditions make it hard for them to work in the fishery industry. Employment opportunities from tourism in Bulon also reduce the emigration of local people to other islands and the mainland in search of work. The benefits from tourism to their community have made some local people stay with their families and work in their community, as explained by a local housekeeper:

Before, I had to go to work on Satun mainland because if I am not fishing, then there is no work for me here. Now I can work in Pansand resort and I can stay with my child. (Layuang)

The main employment opportunities for local people are on Bulon Island and other nearby islands, such as Lipi or the Tarutao National Park, a famous tourist attraction in Satun Province. The majority of interviewees were employed in the private sector, working in jobs such as housekeeping, kitchen work or waitressing, in various kinds of tourist accommodation.

6.2.2 Income generator

In addition to creating employment opportunities for local people, tourism is also understood as an income generator as one interviewee mentioned that working in the tourism industry can increase their income:

Tourism help[s] us [escape] from poverty. I am working in the bungalow[s] and I am happy, I get [sic] some money to spend in my family. (Ya)

Ya did not have a job before the development of tourism on Bulon; she used to help her husband with fishing tasks, such as cleaning the nets; however, she had a job in Pangka Bungalow as a cleaner in the tourism season. She told the researcher about her daily routine, which involves her waking up at 5am, preparing food for her family before her husband goes out to fish and then she works in Pangka Bungalow from 7 am to 3 pm. Her work is mainly room cleaning in the bungalows and she is paid 300 THB (£6) per day. After she finishes work at the bungalows, she returns home and cooks dinner for her family. She stated she is happy with her routine as she can do her housework in the morning or evening after work and she can earn an income of her own.

I am happy. I am work[ing] in Pangka and they pay me and I also can cook and take care of my family as well (Ya).

I take my child to work with me when I have to work. I am washing and ironing the clothes, I come to work in the afternoon then I can [go] back in the evening after I [have] finished my job. (Sopa)

As the above interviewee mentions, having job flexibility is important in encouraging female recruitment in Bulon. They may not have worked in formal employment previously but they can be involved in a job that allows them flexibility in terms of time or workplace or to work at home. Local women in Bulon interviewed by the researcher, such as Ya, are able to adapt their routines to accommodate their jobs. Sopa's story about taking care of her child also shows how a position that allows her to have flexible time is a good opportunity for her. She also

noted that she can save for emergency purposes, which was mentioned by other interviewees.

Income generated from tourism enables locals to save for emergency purposes, such as hospital treatment. It also provides them with security through savings, as they are vulnerable to external shocks that could tip them into poverty, such as illness, bad weather, natural disasters or losing the head of the family, as shown below:

I lose [sic] my husband two year[s] ago and you know before he is the only one who work[ed], but thanks to Bulon ne Bungalow, they hire[d] me and my daughter to work. I am cooking and my daughter is a waitress. She can speak some English, so we can make some income for the family. (Wanna)

Tourism help[ed] us [escape] from poverty. I am working in the bungalow[s] and my husband [is] running [a] long-tail boat for tourists. We make more money and we can save some for our daughter[']s education. (Ya)

I can earn extra money from working in a bar in Bulon. Before, I [got] money only from join[ing] other people[']s boat[s] and fishing [be]cause I do not have my own boat. Now, apart from fishing, I can get some money from working in a bar, which [means] I can save more money to get my own boat. Who know[s]? (Dong)

The above respondents also show that income generated from tourism helps their family to save for future investment; some families save for the education of their child, whilst others save to invest in fishing. Tourism generally contributes to improving local livelihoods through access to gainful employment and income.

However the issue of low pay compared to other economic sectors is also found in Bulon Island. When probed further, interviewees replied that, even though they were happy to be hired, they felt their pay was low compared with work in other economic sectors on the mainland or the same work in tourism in other destinations. Mostly, Bulon local people hired in bungalows for low-skilled jobs, such as housekeeping, gardening or cooking, are paid 280 THB (£5) a day, which is lower than the pay for

the same job on the mainland or other destinations, such as Lipi or Tarutao National Park (350–500 THB per day or £7–10).

During [the] tourism season, I get hired by the bungalow[s] to cook in their restaurant and get 200 Baht [£4] per day. I felt [this was] quite low for me [when I] have [been] working from 7am-6pm. (Sonjai)

I get 200–300 Baht (£4–6) for working from the morning until evening and yes, I make some money but, compared with [the] work I have to do, it is very, very low. I can make more money if I go out for [sic] fishing. (Arman)

These interviews reflect concern that wages are low when compared with the income they used to get from fishing. This is due to their lack of knowledge and skills, resulting in local people only being hired for roles not requiring specific skills or speaking to tourists. Typically, income from fishing depends on the seafood products caught and people in Bulon normally catch crabs during the monsoon season, giving an income around 10,000–20,000 THB (£200–400) per month. For squid and fish caught in the non-monsoon season, the average income is around 9,000–15,000 THB (£180–300); however, it is hard to estimate income as the supply of fish and seafood is unpredictable.

Employment in tourism provides a variety of opportunities to local people in terms of salary, which is then re-spent in the local community, resulting in indirect benefit for other economic sectors in the community. However, a negative side of tourism employment is low pay in comparison with other areas, as previously mentioned. The researcher found most locals people in Bulon are employed in low-status, tourism-related jobs that are mainly unskilled.

6.3 Business ownership

Local people in Bulon view the establishment and ownership of small and micro-economic businesses as their opportunity to escape poverty. Typically, businesses in Bulon involve bungalow ownership, homestays and restaurants; such businesses are small-scale and require a low level of investment.

6.3.1 Bungalow ownership

The establishment of bungalows to house tourists started at the same time as tourism development in Bulon. The first bungalow in Bulon was Pansand, which is run by a private investment group from the mainland. Initially, there were only six rooms in Pansand after Bulon Island was noticed by small groups of backpackers back in 1999, after which tourism in Bulon Island started to expand. Pansand Bungalow had to expand their business and this made local people realise there was an opportunity to develop small businesses providing accommodation to visitors. During the interviews, one current bungalow owner mentioned he first offered tents for tourists to rent in 2001 and provided them with toilets. After recognising the opportunity, he started to build the first bungalow in 2002, using local materials such as bamboo, so that he did not have to bring equipment from the mainland. The labourers were locals and he used the profit to build another two rooms during the non-tourist season in late 2002, adding more rooms the following year. Another bungalow owner of five rooms said:

Well, I see Pangka Bungalow is very busy and I think they can make a lot of money, so I started thinking that, well, I have land and I can build my own bungalow using bamboo on the island and my wife can look after the bungalow. (Mook)

The above interview showed that local people who owned and run bungalows in Bulon, were inspired by seeing their friends or relatives do the same. Currently, only four bungalows (represented by yellow stars in figure 6.1) are owned by locals and used by tourists in Bulon. The other bungalow businesses are owned by investors from the mainland, although some are run by locals. Some issues emerged during the interviews concerning differentiation of bungalows owned by investors from the mainland and those owned by locals and these were confirmed by the researcher's observation, as illustrated in Figure 6.1.



Figure 6.1: Map of Bulon Lay (author's own work)

Figure 6.1 shows the location of locally-owned and privately-owned bungalows (those locally-owned are represented by yellow stars N.10–13 and those privately-owned by orange stars 1–9), as well as the villages and geography of the island. The location of private sector bungalows enables more competitive pricing than the local ones, as the long white sandy beaches are located in front of the school and are known by local people as School Beach or Pansand Beach. There are three bungalows located on this beach, two are owned by investors from the mainland (which the researcher refers as the private sector) and the other is the school bungalow run by Bulon's schoolteacher.

Figure 6.1 also illustrates the location of the private bungalows (1–9) and local bungalows (10–13). Most of the private bungalows are located by the beautiful white sandy beach, while the local people's bungalows are located at the back of the island, around 10–15 minutes' walk from Pansand Beach. The local bungalows are located near their owners' houses in the village area or locals have adapted their homes into tourist bungalows. Pansand Bungalow is the only bungalow on the island with a legal title deed (discussed in section 6.4.5). Alongside Pansand Bungalow is the School Bungalow, which is owned by Bulon School and run by the schoolteacher; it only provides rooms for tourists. Bulon Ne Bungalow is another bungalow also owned and run by an investor from the mainland and located on this beach. The speedboat pier is located near Bulon Ne Bungalow and is available for tourists who wish to take a speedboat to the mainland or other islands. In the view of tourists the researcher interviewed at Pansand and Bulon Ne bungalows, these bungalows are the most convenient in terms of their location:

*I choose to stay in Pansand because it is convenient and when I wake up
I can walk to the beach which is less than 1 min[ute away]. (Sam)*

The researcher had opportunities to interview tourists while she stayed in Bulon, as well as conducting participant observation during her time there. The busy beach areas are along Pansand Beach where tourists sunbathe and snorkel. The local boat service, which is also found here, provides day trips and transport to other nearby islands. Sam, the tourist referred to above, also mentioned the convenience of online booking:

When I first found the information about Bulon, I [went] online and find [sic] the accommodation. I found Pansand and [an]other two [or] three Bungalow[s]. However, Pansand allowed me to book online. (Sam)

The difficulty and variety of booking services is also mentioned by the tourists. The private bungalow has its own booking counter at Pakbara Pier, as well as a website, whereas most tourists did not notice the local bungalows that get their custom from walk-in tourists or repeat customers.

6.3.2 Homestays

As explained in chapter one, Bulon Don is a fishing village where local people live and there was no accommodation for tourists until recently because tourists tended to visit for day trips and then stay on Bulon Lay. Bulon Don's first homestays started in 2005; Chele described how she got involved in homestay accommodation:

I used to [get] ask[ed] by tourists to cook for them while they [were] staying here and they pa[id] me some money, while I used some seafood my husband got from fishing to cook for them. (Chele)

Chele agreed that tourism provides benefits for her and she got involved in tourism to make money. She also told the researcher how she began her homestay. She started by seeing tourists as her guests at first and she did not expect them to pay her because she thought she was just sharing her house with them in the short term:

I did not expect them to pay me, but they did. They gave me some money after they left and encouraged me to start having a room for tourists to stay so I can make some income. (Chele)

Inspired by her guests, Chele started her homestay in 2005, providing a daily meal and conducting tours around her community for tourists. She has had tourists staying with her in the tourism season every year since 2005; following help from TAT (Tourism Authority of Thailand) in 2008, she has been able to extend her homestay knowledge and experience to other local people in her community. The TAT strategy also encourages local people in Thailand to become involved in tourism and Bulon is one of their target areas. TAT started provision for local people in Bulon by providing homestay training to those willing to be involved. The training included

informing them about what a homestay is, how to start and run a homestay and what tourists are looking for or hope to find in a homestay, as well as teaching them basic English language skills. They also ran a homestay workshop for local people, which included more English tuition and how to be a good host.

TAT have set homestay standards, which include 31 criteria across 10 major categories that local homestays in Bulon have to meet in order to receive official government certification, as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Homestay Standards and Indicators in Thailand set by TAT

Standard	Indicator
1. Accommodation	1.1 Well-proportioned housing 1.2 Clean and comfortable bedding 1.3 Clean bathroom and toilet 1.4 Space to relax in the home or in the community
2. Food	2.1 Adequate quantity and quality of dishes and cooking ingredients 2.2 Clean drinking water 2.3 Clean utensils and food containers 2.4 Hygienic kitchen and kitchen equipment
3. Safety	3.1 First aid preparation 3.2 Availability of on-duty security guards
4. Hospitality	4.1 Welcoming setting aimed at creating familiarity 4.2 Opportunities to exchange information about community life
5. Tour programs	5.1 Clear tour possibilities for tourists that are accepted by the community 5.2 Availability of information on tourism activities 5.3 Willingness of homestay host to provide or arrange local guide services
6. Natural resources and the environment	6.1 Variety of [natural] tourist attractions in, or near, the community 6.2 Proper upkeep of [natural] tourist attractions 6.3 Conservation plans or measures to reduce the impacts of tourism and global warming 6.4 Activities that reduce the impacts of tourism and global warming
7. Culture	7.1 Preservation of local cultural traditions 7.2 Maintenance of normal community routines
8. Creation of value for community products	8.1 Creation of community souvenir products to sell to tourists 8.2 Production of unique community products that create value
9. Homestay management	9.1 Cooperation among villagers 9.2 Formation of executive homestay committee 9.3 Establishment of working rules for executive committee 9.4 Fair distribution of benefits 9.5 System for advanced bookings and payments 9.6 Clear, detailed, and up-to-date information on fees for various services
10. Public relations	10.1 Publication of printed materials about tourism in the community 10.2 Formulation of marketing plan

The TAT homestay standards were conceived as a means of helping rural communities become economically self-sufficient and to standardise homestays across Thailand. The lack of knowledge and management skills in Bulon cause the indicators related to management and public relations to be the most difficult aspects to achieve. However, the strong point of homestays in Bulon is the community's natural resources, as the island offers a variety of natural and activity attractions,

including the charming Muslim fishing village with its well-preserved cultural characteristics and local way of life. Currently, two families are involved in this programme and have received official government certification, one of which belongs to Manut.

Manut's family joined the TAT homestay programme in 2009 when he started by providing a room for tourists before renovating the toilet for guests to use. He also joined the tour guide training to acquire some basic English conversation skills and he used his own fishing boat to take tourists around the island and to demonstrate traditional fishing techniques. His wife is in charge of cooking and cleaning the homestay and she welcomes the tourists. TAT will promote local homestays with TAT certification to tourists at Pakbara pier as they disembark, encouraging them to book through the TAT information counter at the pier. The local homestay owners take their long-tail boats to collect tourists from the mainland at Pakbara pier and then transport them to the island.

Figure 6.2 shows the location of Manut's homestays, showing before and after images of the redecorated toilet that received support from TAT. Toilets and bathrooms are usually shared between two or three households; therefore, in order to reach TAT's homestay standards, this toilet (and others like it) must be renovated and granted TAT accreditation before tourists are expected to use them.

The advertisement in Figure 6.3 shows the current homestay programme run by local people at Bulon Homestay, which costs 1,500 THB per person (£30). The two-day trip aims to put local people in direct contact with tourists, allowing them to learn the local way of life. As it is run and managed by a local homestay, the benefits go to the locals and there are indirect benefits to the community in terms of tourists staying on the island and buying souvenirs or local products.



Figure 6.2: (a) Map of Bulon Don, (b) A local homestay showing renovations

คิดถึงปูโหล% คิดถึงเรา
TYC ชุมชนบ้านเกาะปูโหล%
 สนใจสอบถาม ที่พักราคาดีทางใต้ที่ 0-7472-4700
 หรือ Inbox ที่ www.facebook.com/tycbulon

ห้องเที่ยวชุมชน
 TRAVEL

Bulon Viewpoint Room
 Pinka Not Bay
 Pin and Mula Platform
 The Rock Bar
 RECEPTION
 TOT C58

TYC ชุมชนบ้านเกาะปูโหล
www.facebook.com/tycbulon

BULON 2 DAY TRIP

Day 1	
9.00 - 9.30 :	Pick tourists from Pakbara pier
12.00 - 13.00	arrived Bulon Don, check in and having lunch
13.00 - 18.00	Tourists rest and walking around the island, seeing local people lifestyle
18.00 - 19.00	Dinner
Day 2	
06.00 - 8.00	sunrise on the back of the island and fisherman lifestyle
8.00 - 9.00	Breakfast
10.00 - 14.00	snookering at Bambu Island and having lunch
15.00	taking tourist back to the mainland

1500 BATH ONLY

Contact Us : 074-724700

Figure 6.3: Bulon's Advertisement at Pakbara pier

6.3.3 Restaurants

Another opportunity for local people to get involved in tourism is running restaurants and small shops in the tourism season (see Figure 6.4). Following increasing demand for goods and services, local people started running and investing in restaurants or small vendors, using their personal family sources to get started. The restaurants are small-scale and normally in front of the owners' house; they provide local food and drink, most of which comes from the local area.



Figure 6.4: Shops and restaurants in Bulon

The main reason for local people invest in restaurants and small enterprises is to earn more money, particularly for local women in Bulon who mostly do not fish or work in other sectors or may have a small child at home. Running a small shop or restaurant at home gives this group of women employment opportunities:

Well, I have to stay [at] home [to] take care of my child so while [I] stay [at] home I open this shop selling [food] to the tourists so I can make some money. (Preeda)

This reflects that local people would like to take advantage of emerging opportunities from tourism. As the interviews and literature review suggest, tourism particularly increases opportunities for local women and this is also true in Bulon:

Normally, I have to stay home to take care of the kids and my husband ha[s] to give me some money; however, in the tourism season, I cook

some food [to sell] to tourists so I can make my own income without having to ask [for money] from my husband. (Sune)

This local woman explained that fishing is seen as ‘men’s work’; moreover, in Muslim culture, it is traditional for women to stay home and take care of their children and husband. Tourism offers women opportunities to run their own business without breaking these social taboos, making women independent and giving them more control over their lives.

The interviews, focus group and the researcher’s participant observation clearly show that tourism in Bulon has created new employment and generated income, as mentioned previously; however, tourism in Bulon also benefits local women and empowers them from participating in tourism activity. Tourism has created opportunities for local Muslim women in Bulon to have more independence in their livelihoods within culture aspects and to receive training in skills for running their own business or for tourism activity. It has also allowed local women to have a stronger voice and to engage more in community activity.

6.3.4 Selling seafood to bungalows or restaurants

This section starts by explaining the fishery supply chain in Bulon, showing how tourism can be adapted into the fishery supply chain. From the interviews with fishermen in Bulon, the researcher can summarise the fishery situation on the island into main catches, namely blue swimming crab, lobster and food such as sea cucumber. However, fishermen in Bulon mostly tend to catch blue swimming crab, cuttlefish and squid. As the following interview mentions, this fisherman sells his squid to middle-men, whilst other products (Figure 6.5) are sold directly to bungalows and restaurants.



Figure 6.5: Fishery products

Local fishermen agreed they earn more money during the tourism season by selling their fish directly to tourism businesses than by providing food to locals. The following interviewee earns more than 200 THB (£4) from selling squid direct to a bungalow at a fixed price, which is higher than if he sells to a middle-man. During the tourism season, local fisherman prefer the security of trading with restaurants or bungalows that pay a fixed price for seafood products.

*I go out and [catch] blue swimming crab for one night and also squid.
I got 5kg of squid [which I am] selling [to] Pankka Bungalow, which
was around 700 THB [...] 200 THB more than selling to a middle-
man. (Mok)*

Moreover, according to interviews with local fishermen, there are two main types of fishermen on Bulon Island. The first group do not have their own boat and join a friend or relative's boat. Normally, this group catches blue swimming crabs and the catch will be their own, although they have to share labour and fuel costs with the boat owner. The second group own their own boats and have more fishing gear. Most fishermen in this group are also involved in tourism activity, as they can use their boats as taxis for tourists (see section 6.3.5).

Since tourism first came to Bulon and restaurants and bungalows opened, there has been great demand from tourists for both fishery products and boat taxis. This means both groups of fishermen have an opportunity to earn more immediate income:

I sell my fish to the [middle-man] in Maggo bay ... but today I keep some for sell[ing] to the Pangka resorts. They pay [me a] better price and I can get money quickly. (Yan)

I keep big and fresh crab and king prawn[s] I got last night, as you see. This is one I'm going to sell to the Budsara restaurant because they pay me 250 Baht per kg, which is higher than I [can get for fish I] sold in the market and I don't have to wait long. I take those to them, then they give me money. (Manat)

Tourism has created economic opportunities for local fishermen in Bulon to get a quick income, as they can sell products to a buyer directly for a better price.

6.3.5 Boat taxis and hiring boats

Hiring boats and services to tourists was recognised by fishermen as a further income opportunity and they have organised tours for tourists to go camping on Ar Dang-Ra Wi Island. The tourists are able to go diving at Koh Hin Kao, Koh Bulon Maipai and Koh Bulon Don and they can hire a boat to go sightseeing around nearby islands. Some locals adapted their boats to support tourism; they go fishing during the night before rowing their boat to the beach for tourists to take day trips or tours to other islands. Tourists pay about 1,500 THB (£30) for a day trip:

After [I have] finished fishing, I row my boat in front of [the] school beach, waiting for tourists to hire me for a trip around the Island. I can make some extra income. (Layang)

Before, when I did not do the boat tour service, my income is only from fishing, I earned 5000–10,000 baht [£100–200] per month

depend[ing] on my luck. When I started doing boat tour[s, I] can earn 10,000–15,000 bath [£200–300] in [the] tourism season. (Jui)

As described above, there are multiple opportunities for boat-owners to earn extra money when they finish fishing. During the tourism season, they will clean and adapt their long-tail boat (as in Figure 6.6) to become a tour boat for tourists to hire. Tourism can be an alternative industry for local people in Bulon; moreover, the decline in fishing and the fluctuation in fish prices makes tourism comparatively secure and stable.



Figure 6.6: (a) Long-tail boat, (b) Local fishermen with catch

6.4. Basic infrastructures and Community development

Interviewees perceive tourism has brought other benefits, such as basic infrastructure and community development, improvements to Pakbara pier, better transportation to the island (speedboat), mobile and Wi-Fi signal and school facilities, as well as increased pride in their culture.

6.4.1 Increased Pride in Bulon's Culture

Apart from the employment opportunities and income they receive from tourism, the interviews also show that tourism increases locals' pride in their culture, such as the Rong Neng dance activity. Local people were asked by the Tourism Authority of Thailand, which is located in Satun, to welcome tourists and perform cultural events, including playing local music and performing traditional dances

for tourists, at Pakbara pier and in Bulon during the tourist season, as shown in Figure 6.7



Figure 6.7: Local People Performing the Rong Neng Dance

Figure 6.7 shows a group of local students in Bulon performing a Rong Neng dance for tourists visiting Bulon. The majority of locals in Bulon are Muslim, as mentioned in Chapter one, and the Rong Neng dance is a traditional Muslim folk dance in the southern part of Thailand, which is inspired by Spanish and Portuguese dances. Muslims usually perform the Rong Neng dance as part of their boat ceremony, which is a ceremony the fishing community adopt to bring luck and pay respects and thanks to the ocean and rivers, as well as to pay homage to their ancestors on the thirteenth day of the sixth and eleventh months of the lunar calendar. This activity is taught by elderly women, whom the researcher met in order to perform the Rong Neng dance herself:

I am sixty-five now, and I cannot work. Before, I have to stay home, with no income and living day by day... but I can play Urkalong and perform Rong Neng, I teach this [to] student[s] who do not know how to dance. I am happy to share and this made them know who they are as well. (Naer)

The above comment shows the indirect effect of tourism on her; tourism brings a sense of purpose and meaning in life, allowing her to pass her knowledge of local traditions on to the young generation and to earn some income. It also revitalises the culture, making local people more aware, especially the young generation

(Anuchitworawong et al., 2007). The Rong Neng activity also preserves local culture, as traditional dance gestures, costumes and music are rapidly disappearing.

Me and my friends, we [are] practicing [our] dance then showing [it] to tourists, I get 150 THB from [the] TAT and then the tourists also give me tip[s]. (Ne)

The above comment was from one of the dancers, a primary school student who has performed the Rong Neng in Bulon. During the tourist season, they will perform once a day at school on the front beach at about 1 pm, which is when the speedboat arrives at the island. Sometimes they are also hired by bungalows to dance for tourists on special occasions. Local students performing the Rong Neng receive better pay than those working in bungalows; however, the Rong Neng dance is limited to Bulon local students and only performed during a certain period, which means it does not provide continuous employment.

6.4.2 Improvement of Pakbara Pier on Mainland Satun

Pakbara pier is the main hub of water transportation to other island destinations in Satun Province and Malaysia, including Bulon Island. Every year, more than 20,000 tourists visit Pakbara pier and this is increasing annually (TAT, Satun, 2015). The Satun government and TAT have started a project to make Pakbara the main hub for water transportation in order to provide better facilities and safety for tourists, as well as for the use of local people. Pakbara pier is both a pier for locals and a fishing pier where local fishermen can trade their catch. Improvements to Pakbara pier include long-term parking for tourists and travel kiosks. Moreover, the Tarutao National Park's kiosk is located here and tourists can find information presented both in the Thai and English languages. The new terminal is a clean and safe place for tourists to wait for their boat, having clear signs and information.

6.4.3 Speedboat Service during the Tourism Season

As mentioned previously, a speedboat operates from Pakbara pier to Bulon in the tourism season and it costs 300 THB (£6) for a return ticket. This is not only for

the convenience of tourists but also for locals. The researcher's observations and direct experience of traveling to Bulon Island during the non-tourism season with no speedboat service concerned the cost of travelling from the mainland to Bulon or from Bulon back to the mainland. Local people wishing to travel to the mainland and do not own long-tail boat have to rent or pay for a long-tail boat from their relatives or friends at a cost of around 2,000–3,000 THB (£40–60) per journey and a duration of 1.5–2 hours. However, even households with a boat incur fuel costs of around 1,500–2,000 THB (£30–40), meaning the development of the speedboat service has also led to easier movement of goods and people to the mainland:

During [the] tourism season, it is quite convenient because I can get the speedboat to the mainland to buy thing[s] for my shop to sell. It is sav[ing me] both time and money .(Sonjit)

The woman above owns a small shop selling goods to local people and tourists. She mentions the speedboat service provides her with a convenient and fast way to do business, making it easier to get goods from the mainland to sell in her shop, which is also cheaper than before when she had to pay for a long-tail boat.

Additionally, the speedboat is useful when local people have emergency health problems; for example, this woman mentions giving birth:

Lucky [for] me and my boy, last month I had labour pains and normally we have to take our long-tail boat to the hospital, which takes two hours to reach the mainland. Luckily, there was a speedboat running at that time, so me and my husband took [the] speed boat and it is about [a] 30 min [trip]. (Wanna)

Local people in Bulon, such as the above interviewee, have received and recognized benefits from the speedboat service's development aimed at tourists, allowing them to reach the mainland within thirty minutes. However, the speedboat service has also been an income distributor to local people in terms of

transporting tourists to the island. Figure 6.8 shows the transfer of tourists from the speedboat to a long-tail boat.



Figure 6.8: Transfer of tourists from the speedboat from the mainland to a long-tail boat on the island

The speedboat stops at the back of the island (Ao Mung Bay), after which local people use their long-tail boats to transfer tourists to the island at a cost of 50 THB (£1) per person payable to the long-tail boat runner. This is because Bulon Island does not have a pier suitable for speedboats and the island is surrounded by sensitive coral, preventing speedboats from getting close to the island. In addition, this is an income distributor to local people. However, there is an issue with long-tail boat transfer because tourists were not informed about the additional 50 THB beforehand, which caused some tourists to be resentful; moreover, the long-tail boat runners cannot speak English and cannot explain the situation to tourists.

6.4.4 Basic infrastructure improvements

Tourism brings money into underdeveloped localities for improving the basic infrastructure, particularly as the provision of roads, waste disposal and clean water and communication signals becomes necessary when an area is developed for tourism purposes.

A) Mobile and Internet Signals

The Satun local government improved the basic infrastructure in Bulon for the convenience of tourists and the benefit of local people. For example, the geography of Bulon Island and the few households there means it is not profitable for the private sector to invest in mobile and internet connections; therefore, local government has invested in mobile phone and internet signal for locals and tourists in Bulon. Significantly, the internet broadband signal gave students at the school opportunities for access and to gain more knowledge, as mentioned in Chapter five. This is because they lack education and materials at school and the improvement of internet broadband supports teaching and allows students to browse the internet or teachers to open an online classroom.

As you see, I have to teach students from different grade[s], so sometimes it is hard to group them and teach together. Now we have the internet at school, I can separate them into small groups and open [an] online classroom from the internet provided by [the] Ministry of Education. They call this distance learning. (Cha)

Besides distance learning, the students also have the opportunity to learn English from tourists who volunteer to teach them. The researcher met Jack, a volunteer teacher at the school, who told her that he first visited Bulon Island in 2008 and stayed at the School Bungalow. During his time on the island, he noticed the school did not have enough teachers and he met local people in Bulon who could not speak English. Jack had teaching experience and can speak a little Thai; thus, he started by consulting with Mr. Cha (school head teacher) and offered to teach English to students at school and to locals. He started his voluntary classes in

2009 on return to the island and he stays for four months during the tourism season each year.

The researcher drew Figure 6.9 during her participant observation in an English class provided by Jack. The students are excited about learning English and look forward to this class. In the class participant observation, one student said she is excited and very happy to learn English from a foreigner because she felt that it was fun and she would be able to talk to tourists on the island as well. She also mentioned it will give her opportunities for higher education or to seek a good job in future if she can speak fluent English.

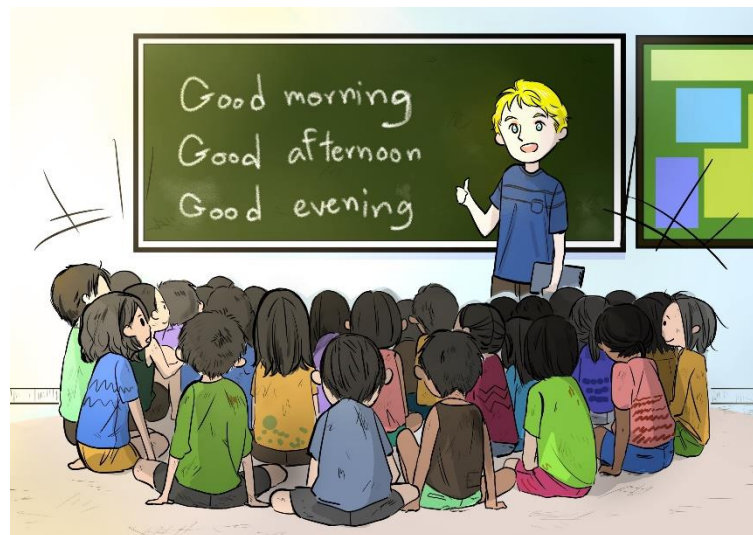


Figure 6.9: Mr Jack, the volunteer English teacher

Tourism brings indirect benefits to poor local students in Bulon, following opportunities for learning English from a native speaker, because, in addition to learning from text books in the classroom, the students are able to meet and speak directly with a foreigner. They can practise and have a real conversation with tourists; moreover, the Thai teachers are also able to improve their English knowledge for better future education as well.

B) Waste, Water and Electricity Management

As mentioned earlier in Chapter five, poor social amenities (water and waste management) are part of the local people's perception of poverty. Tourism has

brought indirect benefits through the improvement of waste and water management, increasing the attention of local governments to put more money into the system and improve important basic infrastructures, as this interviewee mentions,

Tourism has become famous in our island, it is also bring [sic] government attention to improve the basic household service. We have [a] new community solar cell panel and community large electric generator also you can see we also have the new water reservoir plan coming. (Mok)

Local people felt that the improvement of basic household services, such as water and waste management and the electric generator, have derived from development of tourism in the area. For example, the community electric generator has benefited local people, who can use it for their household or fishery activity; moreover, the improvement of the water reservoir on the island provides them with cleaner water. However, there is some concern about water management on the island during the dry season, the demand for water will increase as more tourists visit the island. Additionally, local people are concerned that if they use a lot of water during the tourism season, they will not have enough water in the dry season. The challenge for the community is therefore to plan tourism development sensibly.

6.4.5 Training and education opportunities

Training and education opportunities are perceived as a benefit tourism has brought to locals. Free tour guide training and basic English conversation training are provided by the local government in cooperation with the Prince of Songkla University. The free training was an outcome of a community request in a local government survey (Satun, 2010) because local people would like free training on tour guiding and basic English so they can communicate with tourists. The tour guide and English conversation training was open to every member of the community and the course was conducted at Bulon Lay school every Saturday for three hours over a month. The respondents attending the training believed the training improved their skills and knowledge, allowing them to hold conversations

with tourists and have opportunities to seek employment. However, some local people also mentioned a lack of training and education as a barrier to their involvement in tourism, as mentioned in section 6.5.2.

6.4.6 Strong community-based organisation

As discussed in the literature review in section 3.2, the poor are frequently excluded from consultation and involvement in the decision-making process for development, meaning their voice is unheard and placing them at an economic disadvantage. However, after local people in Bulon recognized tourism can improve their livelihood, the evidence suggests tourism can bring everyone in the community into community activities and decisions.

We have [a] village meeting every month where we discuss and shar[e] and resolve problems to make our village better. (Bak)

The community has a meeting every month on a Sunday, at which everyone shares their views. Occasionally, the local government provides training for local people on topics, such as waste bank disposal, as explained in chapter five. This also allows the local community to form its own policies and frameworks for driving tourism in the community, allowing everyone to be involved in the decision-making. The local people share their experiences and ideas and it was found that the community wanted to develop four different aspects, which are economic and careers, social, educational and religious, basic infrastructure and environmental. The details are as follows.

1. Economic and Careers

There are two issues. The first is production development in which products, such as cuttlefish crisp rice, should be supported. Raw materials that can be locally sourced should also be developed into new products in order to create new jobs that add value to the community. The second issue is development of the economic infrastructure. A savings system should be developed, which should lead to community financing services and the establishment of a village bank, enabling villagers to support each other financially.

2. Social, Educational and Religious

In terms of society and education, teaching and learning should be developed. Teachers should be supported so they can improve the quality of teaching for the benefit of students. The community should be encouraged to recognise the importance of learning and scholarships should be provided for students in the community. Widows and senior citizens should be cared for and sports and health services should be provided for senior citizens. Regarding the tourist industry, cultural sensitivity should be considered because it is a Muslim community and some tourists are skimpily clad or drink alcoholic beverages.

3. Basic Infrastructure

Local government should provide sufficient electricity and fresh water for consumption all year round. A jetty for small boats should be constructed and some type of defensive structure should be built to prevent coastal erosion.

4. Environmental

The landscape should be improved. Safety should be ensured for the jobs inhabitants undertake. The trash on the beach and locations for waste disposal should be managed. Trees should be planted and the corals and other marine and coastal resources should be preserved.

6.5 Barriers to local participation in tourism

This section analyses the understandings and interpretations of the barriers to participation by local people in the tourism industry. The majority of interviewees mentioned they would like to participate in the tourism industry for two main reasons. Firstly, they noticed some potential for tourism to improve their livelihood, as mentioned in section 6.2 and, secondly, tourism is considered an alternative income generator for their household in addition to fishing. However, a lack of income and capital was identified as a key barrier to their participation in the industry and the lack of a steady income was identified by local people as the meaning of poverty for them, arising from the decline of the fishing industry. Other barriers identified included a lack of training and education, a lack of marketing and, finally, land ownership problems.

6.5.1 Lack of capital

The fishing industry in Bulon operates at a marginal level and the profits made by local people are too low to allow them to save and make capital investment in the tourism industry. An example is given by Sonjit:

I want to have a homestay for tourists but, as you see, if we do that, we have to renovate our house. For example, [we would have to] get [a] proper toilet and we do not have th[e] money. (Sonjit)

This illustrates how Bulon's society operates at an economically marginal level, lacking the necessary capital even for limited home improvements. It also illustrates a conception held by many local people that they have to make improvements to their home for it to be used as a homestay for Western tourists. Moreover, a lack of financial capital support was also mentioned by other interviewees:

I wish to get [a] bungalow. Then I appl[ied] for bank loans and as we do not have [a] steady income, they [did] not give us [any] money. (Sirin)

If I get money from the bank and the interest rate is very high; if I cannot pay them back, I am going to be in debt. (Bonchu)

These quotations emphasise the lack of available funds for business investment that is generic to local people in Bulon. Moreover, they also demonstrate a classic phenomenon of the difficulty of using tourism to combat poverty; i.e., the inability of people without a regular income to secure a bank loan and become a tourism entrepreneur. High interest rates may make it prohibitive to pay back a loan, even if one can be secured; therefore, this situation places existing capital, such as their home or other possessions, at risk and they also lack good management skills. Women and senior citizens face unemployment issues that lead them into forming groups to gamble. However, the previous government (Thaksin Government) provided one million Baht for a district programme, which aimed to help local people in small villages access financial capital to invest in

small businesses (SME) and with very low interest rates managed by the community. Currently, Bulon village is not a successful project because local people are still afraid they cannot pay the money back and it will trap them into debt.

6.5.2 Lack of education and training

The literature review suggests that human resources are the life-blood of the industry and training and education are therefore very important. Lack of education and training was mentioned by most interviewees. The lack of education for workers and local people, including business owners, was found to be the main problem, which was expressed by the majority of interviewees, both those already involved in tourism and those who would like to be. The people who regarded tourism as a contributor to poverty reduction indicated they could not get involved in tourism formally (e.g. providing a homestay service, finding a tourism job, etc.) because they lack education and English language skills:

I want to work in [a] bungalow or any tourism job but I have no education and no skill[s], so nobody hire[s] me. (Abdor)

Abdor emphasises that local people feel their low level of education excludes them from tourism employment or, if they can get involved, they will be offered a job in a public sector tourism organisation, occupying a position that pays low wages. Moreover, issues related to the low level of education in Bulon concern some children not attending school because they have to help their parents by working. Most parents do not see the importance of education and do not encourage their children to go to school or they take them out early to help in fishery-related activities; others cannot afford to pay the fees for higher education. The education situation in Bulon shows parents do not prioritise education and the poverty they face forces children to give up their schooling to help their parents; this situation means that when they finish their education, they can only apply for unskilled positions paying low wages.

The research shows the poverty circle; local government and agencies have noticed this problem and they have launched study programmes and provide free education to children, as described in chapter five.

Moreover, local people also struggle to communicate with tourists because not everybody can speak English and local people feel this is a barrier to participating in tourism. Recently, government organisations, such as the Prince of Songkla University, have cooperated with tourism organisations in Satun and provided training for locals in Bulon; however, locals did not feel they benefited much from it:

Mr Cha ask me to join the tour guide training run by TAT. I was very interest[ed] at first but when I attended they only train[ed me] for one day and left no follow[up] training. How could I learn [everything I need to] in one day? (Somjit)

This comment reflects local people being interested in training, although they felt they did not learn much. Therefore, most locals do not want to join future training because they think it is going to be the same and a waste of time they could have spent fishing. This illustrates the quality of the training programme is not appropriate for locals.

6.5.3 Lack of marketing

The literature review suggested the success of PPT projects should not only be measured by the increasing numbers of attractions but also by the establishment of a secure and appropriate market for the poor.

Bulon has so many things for tourists to do as you can see. What do you think? But if people like you [do] not come, then it is nothing. (Modee)

I want people on the mainland or foreigners to know more about my place, so they can come and visit us. (Lanu)

The above interviewees demonstrate there is a lack of marketing and information about tourism in Bulon; for example, the Satun tourism website (<http://www.paknamsatun.go.th/>) does not promote or have maps or brochures for Bulon Island. Moreover, the website has not been updated for a long time and, consequently, tourists interested in visiting Bulon cannot access updated information.

Poultney and Spencley (2010) said matching a product to the right market could improve the success of pro-poor tourism and provide the greatest opportunities for the poor. Local people in Bulon feel they can attract more tourists to visit but they need to be promoted and have good marketing to achieve change; therefore, they need good and appropriate marketing suited to their community, as well as government support in promoting tourism in Bulon. The literature review in chapter three concerning the Greater Mekong Sub-region noted the government needs to promote tourism. Meanwhile, regional collaboration is needed to take the lead in promoting tourism destinations, especially rural areas like Bulon, and ensure the poor have better opportunities to participate in and benefit from tourism growth.

6.5.4 Land ownership

Bulon Island community faces the same problems as other coastal communities because the inhabitants live on plots of land that are legally public property. In 1984, the Department of National Parks, Wildlife and Plant Conservation announced Bulon Island would become a national park area of the Phetra Islands. For this reason, the inhabitants can build houses to live in but cannot expand their houses or farms; however, the only exception is Pansand Resort because it has a legal title deed. The owner of this resort purchased the land many years ago and has run the business since 1990. There are many reasons why plots of land have been sold to outsiders. The rich natural resources on Bulon Island include many rare wild animals, the beaches are beautiful, the water is clear and people visiting have privacy. More than half the plots of land where inhabitants used to stay have been sold to outsiders. These include Muang Bay, Khwai Tok Cape, Phangka Yai

Bay, which is near the hill on which the mobile phone tower is situated, the beaches on Bulon Don Island from the west side to Bulon Don Island mosque and the beaches on the north side of Bulon Don Island. These plots of land were bought to build resorts and the original inhabitants have no ownership of any other plots of land; whilst their livelihood does not depend on the use of the land, they do need the land for housing. The sale of plots of land to investors may affect the livelihood of Bulon Island inhabitants and might result in future loss of land.

6.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has explained the different perceptions of local people in Bulon concerning how tourism benefits them. Moreover, the thematic analysis of data obtained from local people suggested that pro-poor tourism greatly impacts on their lives and local people are benefiting economically from tourism through different channels, such as opportunities for local employment creation, business investment, fishery expansion and community development. Tourism clearly generates income for both men and women in Bulon; especially, tourism creates employment opportunities for local women and business owners, such as running their own restaurant. Tourism empowers them to work from home, having flexible working hours and being able to express and share their concerns about development of tourism in their communities. Running homestays and expanding their fishery activities are great opportunities everyone in Bulon community can participate in.

Whilst tourism provides some employment opportunities and income, it is evident that livelihood opportunities are presently limited and there are several reasons for this, such as low education, which leads to low-paid unskilled jobs and creating barriers to locals becoming involved in tourism. A lack of financial capital has impeded locals from investing in or expanding businesses, both in tourism and fishery activities. Lack of education and low training opportunities have become major barriers to participation in tourism. Training programmes provided by local government are not very effective because the number of locals participating is low, which is due to them being trapped in their living conditions. The perception of local people involved in tourism is also largely dependent on the income they

can make from tourism; the more income they make from tourism, the more positive their perception of tourism. However, it is clear that local people benefit from tourism development in terms of community development by being able to promote their local culture to tourists, encouraging the young generation to take pride in their culture, providing the basic infrastructure and getting involved and deciding the kinds of tourism they want in their community. For tourism planning to be effective, local communities need to be empowered to decide the forms of tourism they want in their community and this should be developed in order to respect their community's culture.

It is important the issue of empowerment and gender takes into account local people's benefit from tourism in the research into Bulon. The social dimension of gender is also mentioned by many literatures and in other case studies in South-East Asia; for example, the study into the Cambodia Chiphat project. The researcher clearly shows gender division of labour in ecotourism. The women in the community are responsible for or employed for cooking, some were running homestays, cleaning bungalows or doing the washing. This situation is the same as in Bulon where local women are employed in "emotional labour" for example hosting the tourists.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the main findings found in Chapters Five and Six, discussed in the context of the literature and theoretical framework presented in Chapters Two and Three. As stated in Chapters Two and Three, limited empirical work exists on the interaction between tourism and poverty reduction, especially focused on local people on a rural island, such as Bulon. Throughout this chapter, this researcher's discusses other literature reviews, together with recommendations for tourism and poverty reduction in Bulon and proposals for further research in the future.

7.2 Local Perceptions of Poverty: Multiple Perspectives

This section focuses on the key findings regarding local perceptions of poverty. The literature review suggested that, in order to understand the causes of poverty in any country or situation, it is important to have a full understanding and clear definition of poverty before devising appropriate poverty reduction measures. The understanding of poverty by Bulon local people has been constructed from analysis of the recorded data collected from interviews, focus groups and the researcher's observations. This analysis shows that local people interpret poverty as a multi-dimensional phenomenon view with a plurality of perspectives. To provide a framework for discussion of the findings, the first section analyses these interpretations within the context of the two major themes of absolute and relative poverty that were evaluated in Chapter Two.

7.2.1 Absolute poverty vs. relative poverty

The literature review in Chapter Two described absolute poverty being related to an individual having an income of less than US\$1.90 per day, consistent with the United Nations findings (UN, 2015). Income measurement of poverty has been used and mentioned by major organisations, such as the UN and UNWTO; however, Bulon local people mainly defined poverty as something related to their livelihoods and being self-sufficient.

Local people in Bulon view poverty as related to their livelihoods and their ability to meet their basic human needs. Bulon local people consider themselves to be poor if they are not self-sufficient and cannot feed their family. The findings from Chapter Five suggested this perception of self-sufficiency is rooted and related to fishing activity, which is the main industry in Bulon. Furthermore, local people viewed themselves as being poor if fishing yields decline or they cannot go out to fish. Thus, it is important to discuss the key reasons causing the inability of local people in Bulon to fish and the current problems faced by the local fisherman in Bulon; those key reasons are:

- i) *Weather*: fishing activity largely depends on the weather. Local people in Bulon use traditional fishing vessels (long-tail boats) with no modern equipment or technology. They have to rely on good weather and during the monsoon season it is not safe for them to go to sea. Consequently local fishermen face financial hardships during the monsoon season and must catch other seafood, such as seashells and crabs located closer to the shoreline.
- ii) *Declining fish stocks*: as previously mentioned in Chapter Five, this is a major problem in Bulon. Local people are ill-equipped to compete with illegal fishing boats and big fishing companies. A study of sustainable fisheries in the Andaman Sea by Sampan (2011) suggested several fishing-related problems, including depletion of fish resources, overfishing, conflict among fishermen and illegal fishing. Diminishing fish stocks means fishermen face a high risk of not being able to make payments on their investment in capital equipment and covering the operational costs of fishing, i.e. fuel and boat maintenance. Therefore, they can become trapped in debt and forced to borrow money from the private sector to finance their fishing activity. Finally, unpredictable fuel prices make it hard to estimate outgoings.
- iii) *Vulnerability*: because fishing mostly only involves men, some unpredictable situations may occur, such as illness preventing them from going out to fish. This would result in no member of the family working

thereby creating absolute poverty, which often happens; therefore, local people in this situation cannot earn income and are unable to be self-sufficient.

An interesting aspect of the research findings is that, typically, local people do not describe themselves as poor or being in poverty if they are able to fish and feed their family. However, some people do view themselves as being poor although they have enough fish to feed their family but have insufficient income to pay for such things as their children's education, investing in their own business or establishing capital reserves against unexpected events or 'shocks' that threaten their ability to earn income. These shocks include ill-health, natural disasters and losing the head of the family. These types of event constantly make local people vulnerable to poverty in Bulon, often resulting in them falling into a poverty trap or cycle that impacts not only on their future but also that of their children. This aspect correlates with the literature review that once an individual or geographical area becomes poor, other disadvantages may occur. The study showed when individuals in Bulon are trapped in poverty it also results in their inability to send children to school because they cannot afford the fees and the children need to work for the family; thus, the children are not equipped to break out of poverty.

Absolute poverty not only depends on income but also on other aspects, such as a lack of access to nutrition and basic services, which may be more important than income. Opportunities to participate in development processes was also mentioned by interviewees; this was supported by the work of Sen (1999), who pointed out a lack of income is not critical in its own right, but can be instrumental in opening choices and opportunities for a person to lead the life they want. Similarly, as mentioned above, once an individual or geographical area becomes poor, other disadvantages may occur. This is the case in Bulon where education, employment and fishing are three related aspects of life on the Island that contribute to poverty.

i) *Education*

Absolute poverty in Bulon not only means insufficient food but also poverty of educational opportunities. As explained in Chapter Five, the number of children going to school is very low because most households are trapped in poverty. Parents cannot afford the fees and they need their children to work in the fishing industry from an early age to generate income. Access to secondary education is also difficult in Bulon, as most children have to give up school at an early age and do not have the opportunity to attend further education due to their poor living conditions and remote location. Local schools in Bulon provide education only up to the age of twelve and if children wish to attend school beyond this age, they have to study on the mainland. Attending schools on the mainland away from home results in parents facing further expenditure in terms of school fees and living costs as they have to pay for their children's accommodation or lodgings with a relative. As mentioned in the results chapter, poor materials at school and a lack of teachers also created an unequal level of education for local children. There are not enough teachers to populate the Bulon schools because few teachers are attracted to the lifestyle of rural islands like Bulon. Furthermore, the weather conditions during the monsoon season often make it extremely difficult for a teacher to travel from the mainland and the school has to close.

In addition, there are short-term concerns related to feeding their family. As already mentioned, poor attendance in school is often caused by low family income and the subsequent necessity for children to work with their parents. This study in Bulon shows many parents realise the importance of education but are driven by short-term concerns of feeding their family; hence, their children have to help out with fishing as they do not have the capital or income to be able to employ other people. Children's inability to access education means they have little chance of employment opportunities in the future; thus, it is likely that the poverty cycle created in Bulon will be repeated in future generations. Local people in Bulon need to consider the long-term benefits of educating their children because it is one of the developments that can break the poverty cycle.

The opportunities for educating children in Bulon are further described in section 7.4.2.

ii) Employment

As a result of their poor education, local people have inadequate tourism activity skills and poor language capabilities; consequently, their opportunities for employment are restricted to fishing. Moreover, the CPRC attributed the poor work opportunities to a lack of economic growth and development on the island, resulting in limited employment opportunities. Bulon's lack of economic development, combined with the island's geography away from the mainland, offer limited employment opportunities to local people. As the island itself is not large, it can only provide a limited amount of employment for local people. The Island's lack of economic development, limited availability of land and the Island's geography means local people cannot develop commercial agriculture; therefore, they are limited to the planting of household vegetables as no other economic sector is being developed on the island. As a result, there is a need for sustainable economic development, as suggested by Ashley and Mitchell (2005).

Thus, this research demonstrates the meaning of poverty in Bulon is not only related to absolute poverty in terms of income or self-sufficiency, but the findings of this study also showed other aspects in Bulon included a lack of social amenities and relative poverty in terms of the ability of local people to participate in community decision-making.

This finding of multiple views of poverty in Bulon emphasises the view in the literature that poverty is multi-dimensional, as found in other poverty study areas, especially among scholars who tend to combine different factors, such as family income, land and family size. In the study of Laos by Harrison and Scipini (2007), respondents described themselves as poor if they were not self-sufficient or there was a shortage of rice; this is similar to the study in Sapa, where local Vietnamese people also describe themselves as poor if they do not have enough rice (Dong, 2012).

7.3 Discussion of Local Perceptions of the Interaction between Tourism and Poverty Reduction

The literature review suggested that tourism is considered an effective means of expanding a nation's economic growth in many developing countries, as the development of tourism has created job opportunities and increased local income. The development of tourism in Bulon has been kick-started by the local fishing community, as it can attract a particular type of tourist and can create benefit to the local community, as presented in Chapters Five and Six. This section now discusses the core aim of this study regarding local perceptions of using tourism to reduce poverty.

7.3.1 Economic Benefits

Employment and income opportunities are economic benefits local people in Bulon have achieved from the development of tourism. As discussed in Chapters Five and Six, local people were employed in a variety of tourism businesses. When comparing employment in tourism to other economic sectors, local people in Bulon have found it often provided more attractive options than other sectors of the economy, such as working in the fishing industry in mainland Satun province or for large fishing companies, working in speedboat or transportation companies, or seeking jobs in other provinces such as Bangkok. Furthermore, the development of tourism helps to arrest the migration of local people from the Island to other locations in search of employment, which is discussed further in section 7.3.2

Although tourism activity is seasonal, local people in Bulon consider employment in the tourism sector to be relatively stable compared to fishing; they also found it to be more attractive. Tourism provides a stable income compared to fishing and fishermen are able to earn extra income from tourism after they have finished fishing; as mentioned in Chapter Six, they can sometimes make more money from tourism than fishing. This situation also occurs in the study of Ghana, which showed local people consider tourism employment to be more stable than the fishing and mining industries (Sonne, 2010). Moreover, Fabinyi (2010) and Porter et al. (2015) suggest tourism has the ability to reduce vulnerability in fishing

coastal areas. The studies of the Philippines' Calamianes Islands (Fabinyi, 2010) and Shandon, China (Su et al., 2016) confirm that island destinations and traditional fishing village tourism have become economic development opportunities for traditional fishing communities. This study of Bulon has confirmed that the development of tourism has created economic benefits and reduced pressure on fishing resources.

Employment opportunities and the participation of local people in tourism in Bulon arises from direct and indirect participation within the industry. The literature review in Chapter Three concerning direct participation in tourism refers to poor people providing goods and services directly to tourists. In a similar way, local people in Bulon are generally employed in bungalows and restaurants used by tourists for accommodation. The work they undertake is, typically, low-skilled and menial, including cooking, cleaning and laundry; thus, they have few opportunities for direct contact with tourists and remain 'backstage'. Tourism activity also provides local people with self-employment opportunities, including family-owned businesses, such as bungalows, restaurants or operating long-tail boats for tourists.

This study shows that local people are normally employed in unskilled jobs that are low-paid and temporary, compared with people from the mainland working in Bulon, who have secure and well-paid jobs in the tourism sector; these workers tend to possess language skills, connections and have some formal education. The terms 'unskilled' and 'low-paid' are mentioned by many scholars. For example, Wagber (1997) found the majority of tourism-related jobs are in the service sector where wages are not much better than those earned by subsistence and low-income households; therefore, they will do nothing to break the cycle of poverty. We can see this in many pro-poor tourism studies, especially in the previous PPT study in SEA. As presented in Chapter Three, unequal benefits lead to inequality of income, as found in most SEA studies. Without clear understanding of the benefits tourism can bring to local people and careful planning by the community and local government, the inequality of benefit distribution will lead to greater inequality in Bulon. As the case study in Sapa found, tourism in Sapa only

benefited educated and relatively wealthy members of society, who were also able to derive much greater benefits from tourism (Dong *et al.*, 2007; Ballard, 2005). The poor found it very difficult to find employment in tourism. The study in Siem Reap also found that wealthy members of society who are able to invest in tourism businesses, could take over land owned by the poor and that the poor are excluded from tourism activity or are only in low-paid and low-skilled jobs (Sokphally & Vutha, 2007).

Pro-poor tourism strategies mentioned by Ashley, Roe and Goodwin (2011) are focused on economic benefit through expansion of employment for locals. However, in the case of Bulon, although local people felt they received low pay compared to working in fishing or industry on the mainland, they were happy and satisfied with their employment in tourism because tourism offered them the opportunity to work, whereas they did not have the prospect of work before. Moreover, tourism offers opportunities to those excluded from employment, such as women and the elderly, which is discussed later in the empowerment section in 7.3.2

Adaptive strategies are also evidenced in Bulon for managing risk and adjusting economic activity to reduce vulnerability (Jopp *et al.*, 2010; Scott *et al.*, 2006). As tourism is only possible for six months of the year, local people (especially fishermen) adapt their livelihoods in order to benefit from it. Local fishermen fishing at night or early morning return to the island and clear their long-tail boats so they can be used to transport tourists and make extra income by selling their seafood catch directly to restaurants. Local fishermen also adapt their lives to cope with the effect of the monsoon season, when fish decline and they cannot fish safely. They seek jobs from bungalow owners, who need workers to renovate or build new bungalows for the next tourism season; alternatively, they may be employed by bungalow owners from the mainland to look after their bungalows during the non-tourism season. In their study, Carter and Garaway (2012) confirmed that the development of tourism at an island destination could reduce pressure on declining fish stocks and also reduce the risks and uncertainty

endemic to fishing by generating employment opportunities and extra income (Allsion & Ellis, 2001; Porter *et al.*, 2015).

Tourism also offers opportunities to provide coping mechanisms for local people vulnerable to external shocks. The study of Bulon shows that income generated from tourism enables local people to save for emergencies, such as illness, natural disasters, bad weather or suddenly losing the head of the family, as this kind of vulnerability to external shocks could tip them into poverty. The literature review in Chapter Two indicated the term ‘vulnerability’ began to be included in the definition of poverty in the 1980s (Ajakaiye & Adeyeye, 2001). Vulnerability refers to the impact of shocks local people may encounter; for example, the tsunami in 2004. Although local people in Bulon were safe from the tsunami itself, their fishing equipment and some houses were affected; therefore, income generated from tourism will enable them to cope with this type of external shock. The literature review on PPT showed the benefits of PPT for local poor people. Apart from generating employment, PPT provides a wide range of non-economic benefits, such as skill development, vulnerability protection and enabling local people to save for future investment (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). It is clearly shown that income generated by tourism in Bulon helps locals to save; whilst some families save for their children’s education of their children, others save to invest in fishing. The research results demonstrate that local people can benefit from tourism in terms of employment, business and infrastructure development; however, these advantages will not necessarily eliminate poverty in the long term. This study notes there might be a gap in the role tourism has to play in poverty reduction at local and national levels. However, in order to overcome this, the research suggested it is important to capture the numerous ways in which local people participate in tourism, based on the literature stating the revenue growth from tourism may have dynamic effects on the rest of the economy.

7.3.2 Non-Cash Livelihood Benefit: Empowerment and Social Dimension of Gender

This study in Bulon stresses a significant shift of emphasis in understanding poverty from income to non-income indicators, such as empowerment, the social dimension of gender and immigration of local people, which is an alternative perspective of tourism development being used to reduce poverty. Prior to the development of tourism in Bulon, perception of local people's empowerment indicated that local people lacked participation in the community and decision making. However, this study in Bulon confirmed the development of tourism and that tourism has potential as a vehicle for the empowerment of local people, especially women in a developing country. Timothy (2002) suggested the decision-making and participation of local people in their community is one of the pillars of community empowerment. This supported the statement by Smith (1984) that community empowerment reflects local people's legal rights and opportunities and Stronza (2007) said that "empowering forms of participation (leading) to social foundations for conservation" (Stronza, 2007 p.227). Similar study of Thai Muslim culture in ecotourism development by Walter (2009) also confirmed how ecotourism develops community capacity and then allows local people to have a stronger voice in shaping their community.

The social dimension of gender is found to be an interesting dimension in this study in Bulon. As explained in Chapter Three, the social dimension of gender is important and needs to be considered in order to provide an analysis of tourism and poverty reduction. The study of the Chiphat project in Cambodia supports this as there is clear gender division of labour in the tourism sector. For example women are mainly employed as cooks or work in homestays, restaurants and cleaning, whereas men are employed as boat drivers, garbage collectors or guides.

Wilkinson and Pratiwi (1995) conducted a study of gender and tourism in Javaneis village, Indonesia, finding that employment in tourism allowed women greater control over their lives and partial economic independence. Chapter Three explained significant changes in the publications of UNWTO, focusing on the pro-poor impact of tourism. As a part of a study about poverty reduction,

UNWTO targeted the increasing the role of women in tourism to achieve the MDGs, especially Goal 3. In 2010, the report presented by UNWTO showed the significant contribution to employment by both direct and indirect tourism, contributing 6–7% of jobs worldwide. In Thailand and other developing countries, women have less access to education and employment; this includes Bulon, where fishing is seen as men's work and local (poor) women often have significant responsibilities in their household. This study in Bulon confirmed tourism improves the local community's gender social dimension. Local women are employed and undertake jobs in the tourism sector available on the island; some had opportunities to run their own business. They are able to earn income for their household within the scope of their traditional culture and norms.

7.4 Discussion: Barriers to Local Participation in Tourism

The key findings related to barriers to local participation in tourism demonstrate three dominant themes of financial capital, human capital and social capital.

7.4.1 Lack of Financial Capital

Financial capital is defined as income and credit available for local people to invest in new ventures. Local people in Bulon lack financial capital and access to financial services, including credit, which is a major limitation for local investment in tourism. Local people's lack of employment opportunities and steady incomes result in an inability to accumulate capital. However, the village fund was launched by central government in 2001 and provides each village with one million Baht (£20,000) to serve as a revolving loan facility for long-term local investment (see appendix 11 for more Village Fund details). However, as explained in Chapter Six, this scheme did not provide successful outcomes in Bulon because locals lacked the knowledge and skills enabling them to develop and present business proposals to the village committee in order to secure loans. Subsequently, there was a very low participation rate in the scheme. Other concerns of local people in Bulon related to their ability to be able to repay the loan, even if they were successful in securing one.

To achieve poverty reduction, it is suggested a targeted financial policy is necessary to provide a capital base for local tourism entrepreneurs and stimulate

local investment in small enterprises. The experience of the Grameen bank in Bangladesh (Chapter Two) may offer some important learning points. For example, it might encourage local people to form small groups of four or five households that help each other and encourage paying back the loans to village funds, as they are intended to benefit other people as well (instead of the whole village, as in the current system). The poorest household with the most urgent need might receive their loans first. Yunus (2007) suggested this system will create peer pressure on borrowers and it might prevent group members from violating the fund's credit discipline.

7.4.2 Lack of Human Capital

Lack of human capital, in terms of knowledge and skills, limits the ability of local people to be employed in tourism. Subsequently, the well-paid jobs are taken by people from outside Bulon, while locals work in the casual sector and are poorly paid or excluded. This may explain poor attendance at school and the conditions for the poverty cycle have thus been created. Poverty makes it necessary for children to work; they, are thus denied an education and have little chance of realising employment opportunities in the future. The government provides free compulsory education and scholarships for further education, aiming to encourage local children and parents to value education; however, this also targets local people in Bulon who do not pay it much attention.

7.4.3 Lack of Social Capital

Inhabitants in Bulon perceive they lack social capital in terms of no decision-making power and their exclusion from employment and investment opportunities. Additionally, people see themselves excluded from social capital as they are marginalized, appearing to be included but, in reality, being excluded in a number of ways. For example, local people participate in tourism through employment but they hold unskilled and low-paid jobs; they are also invited to meetings with local government to take part in policy-making but they are not able to share their opinions or make decisions.

To overcome this, there is a need to develop a participatory strategy to give a voice to local people and to bring local stakeholders together in the decision-

making process. However, as the literature suggests, a successful participatory tourism development approach requires empowerment of local people through capacity-building (Burn, 2004; Maathai, 2009) and the provision of an interface between local people, government and donors. Koutra and Edwards (2012) suggested that capacity-building has emerged as one of the key actions required to enable tourism contributing to empowerment and community development. This study in Bulon shows there is a need for local government and the private sector to take responsibility for establishing training programmes providing more knowledge and skills and for local people to have more chances to compete for employment and earn more income.

7.5 Recommendations for Tourism Development and Poverty Reduction in Bulon

7.5.1 Enhance Employment of Local People

The literature review in Chapter Three mentioned tourism is a labour-intensive industry and a significant source of employment. However, Ashley (2010) states most tourism businesses usually hire staff from outside local communities due to a lack of suitable human resources (Lehr & Wilde, 2007). For tourism in Bulon to benefit local people fully, there is a need to improve employment opportunities. The local government or local community, together with the private sector, should encourage all stakeholders on Bulon Island, including the owners of bungalows, restaurants and speedboat companies, to employ more local people. An economic benefits strategy could be used in Bulon to promote employment opportunities to everyone in the local community, both men and women. It should create equality of employment between men and women, encourage local women to run small-scale businesses and enhance employment opportunity equality to everyone in the community.

7.5.2 Increase Access to Training and Skills for Local People

The need to improve the human capital of local people through training and skills provision is evident from this study. Opportunities should be provided for local people to get free access to training courses and the training time should be convenient and suitable; for example, training courses might be run during

monsoon season when local people cannot work in tourism industry or go fishing. The training course should include tourism-related activities, such as becoming a tour guide, basic conversational English or homestay management, as well as items not related to tourism activity. To achieve this, local organisations (Satun local government, TAT in Satun) and non-governmental organisations or universities, such as the Prince of Songkla University, should be involved through local government in Bulon in the running of training programmes in cooperation with locals. Such a programme should be established on a long-term basis to enable evaluation of the effectiveness of the programmes and to make on-going revisions to improve them.

7.5.3 Tourism Linkages with the Local Economy

The establishment of economic linkages between tourism and other sectors of the economy, especially agriculture, fishing and handicrafts, can lead to significant gains for local people. Belisle (1983) mentioned one third of tourists' expenditure is on food purchases; therefore, if the local community and local stakeholders can establish a well-managed food supply chain, tourism will create and bring more benefits to the local community. Bulon's community already links fishing to tourism by selling seafood directly to bungalows and restaurants and by adapting long-tail boats to transfer tourists to other islands or by running tour trips to nearby islands. However, the local community could benefit economically more than it currently does and such benefits can expand to include everybody in the community, such as through products developed from the fishing industry using raw fish or seafood products; such initiatives should be supported. Raw materials that can be locally sourced should also be developed into new products in order to create new jobs that can add value to the community; for example, adding more value to raw seafood products and selling directly to tourists, making fish crisps or prawn crackers as local Bulon products. Further involvement of fishing in tourism would benefit local fishermen, as there are many good examples around the world of close relationships between individual hotels and restaurants and local farmers from neighbouring poor communities. For example, the case study of three different star hotels (five, four and non-star hotels) in Indonesia by Telfer and Wall (2000) found the five- and four-star hotels created strong linkages to their

respective local food suppliers, whereas non-star hotels, which are normally run by local people, rely mostly on local products. | Bulon could adapt the example from the study in Indonesia through the local food supply (fishermen) and local stakeholders (restaurants and bungalows) working together to supply more local food that might be expanded into the local agriculture sector as well. This will generate more income and create more employment in the local economy.

7.5.4 Integrate a Poverty Focus into Tourism Policy

There is a need for government at both national and local levels to integrate a poverty focus into tourism policy. The framework for a tourism policy should focus on creating livelihood opportunities for the poor and removing barriers to their involvement in tourism. More importantly, policy and planning should allow the poor to participate in decision-making and cooperate in partnerships with the private sector. In order for tourism to benefit the poor, local people must have the ability to participate in tourism decision-making if their livelihood priorities are to be reflected in how tourism is developed, starting from the bottom up of local community meetings. For example, in the case of Bangphat in Phang-Nga in Thailand they hold a community meeting every month and encourage locals to participate by also having another activity on the meeting day, such as a free health check by local hospital or free training course afterwards. The research showed that this kind of activity encourages local people to participate in community meetings to share their ideas. Bulon has a community meeting every month but, as the research shows, the number of locals participating is low; without participation of the local poor and care, the development of tourism in Bulon might have a negative effect on their traditional way of life and culture. However, it is important first to encourage local people to participate in the community meeting and to express their concerns and what they want for the community. Apart from the participation of local people, tourism policy should also be paid attention. First, it should promote and share benefits to everyone in the community by reducing and removing barriers preventing locals from participating in tourism activities and their empowerment. Second, linkages

between tourism and other sectors in Bulon local economy, as mentioned in section 7.5.3, should be strengthened to create livelihood opportunities for local people. Third, good relationships and partnerships between stakeholders in the local community should be established before ensuring the policy developed is designed to meet local people's needs and remains respectful of their culture.

7.5.5 Building Partnerships among Stakeholders

Stakeholders are defined as an individual, community group or organisation sharing an interest in the outcome of an activity, whether through being affected by it or by being able to influence it (UNWTO, 2012). For a poverty reduction strategy to be successful in Bulon, a full range of stakeholders must be involved, including the Tourism Authority of Thailand (Satun branch), the local Satun government and the private sector (owners of bungalows, restaurants, homestays, speedboat companies etc.) and the local community. All these groups should ideally work together in terms of tourism planning to improve the quality, reliability and competitiveness of local products. A stakeholders' partnership should also address sustainable development and ensure it covers three main pillars, which are social justice, economic development and environmental concerns.

7.5.6 Encourage Local Tourism Enterprises

Encouraging local tourism enterprises brings sustainable solutions to the problems of poverty. Environmental sustainability pillars effectively implemented provide sustainable environmental practices that will ensure natural assets in Bulon Island will be preserved and continually support the livelihood of people in the community. For social culture sustainability, tourism activity can have a multiplier effect on social assets; for example, due to their Islamic culture, local people are not allowed to consume or drink alcohol; therefore, the development of tourism and demand from tourists for alcohol need to be considerate and respectful of the local culture.

For economic sustainability, encouraging local people to start on a small-scale would allow local people to be involved directly in the tourism industry, whereas they usually benefit via intermediaries. Practical methods also must be implemented, such as promoting local livelihoods and helping them to learn about good management in planning their income. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the seasons for tourism and fishing are the same and, thus, local people can earn more income at that time, whereas they cannot do so in the monsoon season. Therefore, without careful management, local people might struggle with poverty during the monsoon season. However, poverty reduction in Bulon should also attend to turning income from fishing and tourism into long-term development; for example, investing in their children's education will allow their children to break out from the poverty cycle.

7.6 Contributions of the research

This research contributes to the development of knowledge in the field of tourism as a tool for poverty reduction, especially in the context of impoverished rural islands. A contribution to the tourism and poverty agenda has been made through critical evaluation of the tourism and poverty literature and the use of alternative tourism, PPT and ST-EP, for poverty reduction. This research also presents a detailed and rich case study of tourism and poverty reduction within the particular context of Bulon Island.

In terms of contributing to understanding the relationship of tourism and poverty reduction, Scott (2011) and Sutikul *et al.* (2009) note that few studies have been conducted in South-east Asia, despite the proliferation of tourism and poverty literature. In studies such as those by Holden *et al.* (2011) and Muganda *et al.* (2010), poor people in host communities have been encouraged to voice their experiences and aspirations (see Chapters Two and Three). This aspect is important because it enriches the literature around tourism and poverty reduction, helping to give greater guidance to policy initiatives, such as PPT and ST-EP. This research adds to the studies interpreting local people's understandings of poverty and the extent to which tourism can be utilised to alleviate it, as well as barriers that exist preventing participation of local people in the tourism industry.

The research findings highlight three main issues for tourism's role in poverty reduction in Bulon Island. First, it has enhanced poverty theory in terms of gaining insights into the multiple perspective of poverty, as defined by local people. Local people in poverty define poverty not only by income but also from other aspects, such as opportunities to make decisions or access education. It is not easy to define or measure poverty, as it is perceived differently in each area, even though poverty is a universal issue. This research in Bulon confirms that poverty is multi-dimensional and provides a fresh context in which to observe situational differences.

In order to understand poverty clearly, it is necessary to engage with poor people, as suggested by many literatures (Ashley *et al.*, 2001; Goodwin, 2006; Holden, 2013). It is important when defining poverty in Bulon to consider factors like fishing and the behaviour of local people, because local people in Bulon see poverty as the inability to be self-sufficient and relate this to fishing. Thus, factors that affect fishing activity, such as climate, declining fish stocks and increasing fuel prices, all need to be considered if poverty is to be alleviated sustainably in Bulon.

Secondly, in terms of using tourism to combat poverty, this research in Bulon contributes to the proposition that the focus should be placed on the local community (Dung, 2007; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). It is vital to understand how local people perceive poverty and their understanding of how tourism will benefit them, rather than by measuring the economic impact of tourism development on the destination, as many researchers on tourism and development have done before. Tourism creates opportunities for local people in Bulon to change not only their own life but also those of future generations by breaking out of the poverty trap. Moreover, the employment of women is essential to ensure they do not remain marginalised but are brought more into the mainstream of society. The security brought about by reducing vulnerability to external shock for poor people can be achieved through the development of coping mechanisms and adaption.

Thirdly, integrating different stakeholders in Bulon into the poverty agenda means including the main players that will influence it. The poor in Bulon need be to the

main players and they need opportunities to share their opinions and be involved in decision-making related to their community. As presented in this research, it is necessary to have an understanding of poverty, as interpreted by local people, in order to reduce and alleviate poverty. Alongside investigating the plurality of interpretations of what poverty means, it is also necessary to comprehend the barriers faced by the poor for being involved in and benefitting from the tourism industry. It is also essential to include the private sector and local and national government because these stakeholders influence poverty in Bulon through policy and regulation. Partnerships between different stakeholders will help to design appropriate policy and practices aimed at poverty reduction.

However, this research in Bulon suggested there should be a carefully managed plan that pays attention to the balance of fairness and opportunities between outsiders not from the locality (this research refers them as private sector) and local residents in Bulon to limit conflict between them. The case study of Desa Senaru in Schellohorn (2012) indicated the local people have little say in the deployment of their living space as a tourism product; Therefore, a proactive development approach is needed, supported by training and education programmes that specifically promote local people participating in the development process. Research by Wall (1996) in Bali Indonesia found local residents mainly have positive attitudes from the early stages of tourism development. This was confirmed by this study in Bulon where local people would like to engage in the tourism industry; however, the study in Lembones Island, Indonesia, found uneven distribution of opportunities that become the issue of distractive justice mentioned by many literatures (Schellohorn2012). For tourism development in Bulon, aid agencies and policymakers should not only recognise the important role of community development programmes but also the fact that these require much longer implementation periods and, hence, more financial resources than business development initiatives.

7.7 Limitations of this Research

The research has limitations relating to the transferability of results, data collection and resource capacity.

7.7.1 Generalisability

To meet the aims and objectives of the study, the researcher selected an interpretive paradigm, utilizing qualitative research methods in one specific geographical area. Therefore, the research findings are unique to tourism and poverty reduction in the context of Bulon Island, Thailand. The results are subsequently nuanced to Bulon's culture, meaning it is uncertain how transferable they are to other places and cultures. However, the methodological approach is transferable to similar settings in which rich interpretive understandings of poverty are sought, local understandings of poverty need to be enhanced and ways tourism can alleviate or reduce it are sought.

7.7.2 Data collection

The limitations of the data collection process relate to the cultural and language barriers between locals in Bulon and the researcher. The researcher is a Thai Buddhist and speaks central Thai (the official language in Thailand), whilst the majority of local people on Bulon are Muslim and many therefore speak Malayu (similar to Malay).¹⁰ However, they can speak Thai and local people used Thai with the researcher during the interviews and focus groups. Nevertheless, when the researcher observed local people and their way of life in the observation part of the research, their Muslim culture and language limited her full understanding of what she was observing. The researcher overcame this limitation by taking notes or recording what was not clear to hear in both the Muslim culture and language, allowing her to obtain explanations from the homestay where the researcher stayed during data collection.

Arranging and conducting focus groups was also challenging for the researcher, as the locals went to work every day. When they return from fishing, local people

¹⁰ Malayu is used in the three Muslim provinces in southern Thailand: Yala, Pattani Naratiwat province and some parts of the Muslim community in Satun province, such as Bulon.

rest in the afternoon and everyone stays in their home in the evening. The researcher failed to conduct a focus group in her pilot study because she could not engage enough local people to participate. However, the researcher overcame this by deciding to change the time and place for conducting the focus group by relating it to the local routine. Accordingly, the focus group was held in the morning at the fishing pier where local people had just returned from fishing and were preparing to discuss and trade their seafood. Another limitation of the focus group is that local people are not familiar with group meetings and talking in public. This meant they felt shy and afraid of the meeting at first, because they found it too formal and did not know how to express themselves or participate. The researcher spent time explaining the process and reassuring them that their comments would remain confidential; she attempted to make the focus group informal by bringing drinks and making locals feel they were chatting and sharing ideas with family and friends.

7.7.3 Timing and budget

Availability of time and finance inevitably placed limitations on the duration of the fieldwork period of the research. As the researcher has been located in England for the duration of her studies, the travel costs of flying to Thailand for the pilot and main study traveling to Bulon and paying for accommodation while staying there, placed constraints on the research. The researcher was also only able to visit Bulon during certain periods for safety reasons (outside the monsoon season), as explained in section 4.3. Transcribing the interviews took time, to ensure the accuracy of the transcription. The researcher transcribed the interviews as soon as possible whilst her memory was still fresh and included the fieldwork notes taken. The researcher made sure the wording from the interviewees was maintained verbatim as far as possible; nevertheless, some information might be lost in translation. The researcher overcame this limitation by triangulation of multiple data sources using a combination of field notes and observations.

7.8 Suggestions for Future Research

As explained in the earlier chapters, limited literature exists in this area of tourism and poverty reduction; specifically, research into the voice of poor people in local

communities and how they experience poverty. Therefore, it is necessary for more empirical research to be conducted, in order to design appropriate measures for poverty in destinations that wish to develop themselves for tourism. Moreover, future researchers should quantify and demonstrate the pro-poor impacts of tourism to stakeholders in local communities, as means of achieving the new development agenda SDGs, as presented in Chapter Three. Future attention should be more focused on local culture and livelihoods; for example, related to fishing activity that is clearly the main income generator on the island.

Secondly, this research has allowed local people in Bulon to express their experiences and expectations regarding poverty and tourism. Moreover, the focus has been on local women and men, although many opinions are from men as heads of their families and leaders of their family's livelihoods. This may be part of their Islamic culture, in which men are head of the family and women mostly do not work, as explained in Chapter Five. However, it is also clear that tourism allows more local women to work and earn more than before. Future research could examine the voice of local Bulon women related to poverty and tourism development in greater depth.

Third, it is essential to examine the attitudes and behaviours of other tourism stakeholders, such as local authorities and the national government in Satun, as these affect the poverty reduction process in Bulon. Future research in other locations might be interesting because the geography of Bulon as an island destination might differ from mainland areas and the relationship and powers between stakeholders and local people might need to be investigated

Fourth, language is one of the main barriers local people mentioned as preventing them from participating in the tourism industry. Foreign tourists and their view of poverty reduction might be interesting for future research. English classes provided by foreign tourists might benefit local people, especially the younger generations, in improving their English skill and possibly helping them to break out of the poverty cycle in the future. Thus, research into how tourists perceive tourism and the poverty of local people might be investigated.

Fifth, future research might quantify and demonstrate these pro-poor impacts of tourism to stakeholders in local communities as means of achieving the new development goals (SDGs). Attention should be more focused on local culture livelihoods related to fishing activity and examine the attitude and behaviour of other tourism stakeholders on the Island. The issues of climate change and fishing related to local people livelihoods, as well as the conflicts between local people and the natural park on land ownership also need to be investigated.

Finally, the way to benefit directly local people in Bulon community is to give back to the community by taking action and aiming for long-term development of Bulon community. Bulon community might become the study area and a case study for students. As the researcher is a lecturer from the Prince of Songkla University, it would also give her future opportunities to take students on a field trip in Bulon where students can learn from their actual experience. This study in Bulon also may be carried forward to be one of the studies supporting the development policy for local government, base on local people's experiences.

7.9 Conclusion

The results of this research of tourism as a tool for poverty reduction in Bulon demonstrate the development of tourism itself on the island may not necessarily eliminate poverty in the long- or immediate-term by having a huge effect on the poverty situation the local community has been facing. However, this research shows tourism created employment opportunities for local residents, especially for women having more opportunities for jobs and running their own business. Employment for women is essential to ensure they do not remain marginalized but are brought more into the mainstream of society. The development of basic infrastructures in Bulon community where they are better transportation system, waste management or indirect benefit to local fisherman to expand their fishery. The research in Bulon also demonstrates the perception of local people involved in tourism largely depends on the income they make from tourism. Moreover, the benefits from tourism also increased local people's participation in local community activities.

This research suggests it is important to capture all the different ways and long-term development in other aspects, such as development and access to education and opportunities for higher education by local children. The income from tourism and the development of tourism itself have the potential to make those happen and to help local people break out from the poverty cycle. This research also suggests it is essential to form partnerships between the different stakeholders in tourism and ensure benefits are distributed equally to everyone in the community so that policies and practices are created that will lead the industry towards poverty reduction.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Research Ethics Scrutiny

UNIVERSITY OF BEDFORDSHIRE

Research Ethics Scrutiny (Annex to RS1 form)

SECTION A To be completed by the candidate

Registration No: 1217728

Candidate: Banthita Limpradit

Research Institute: INTOUR

Research Topic: The role of tourism in poverty reduction in Bulon Island, Satun Province, Thailand

External Funding:

The candidate is required to summarise in the box below the ethical issues involved in the research proposal and how they will be addressed. In any proposal involving human participants the following should be provided:

- clear explanation of how informed consent will be obtained,
- how will confidentiality and anonymity be observed,
- how will the nature of the research, its purpose and the means of dissemination of the outcomes be communicated to participants,
- how personal data will be stored and secured
- if participants are being placed under any form of stress (physical or mental) identify what steps are being taken to minimise risk

If protocols are being used that have already received University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) ethical approval then please specify. Roles of any collaborating institutions should be clearly identified. Reference should be made to the appropriate professional body code of practice.

The ethical issues listed below relate to participant involvement in the study. No other ethical issues are foreseen at this stage.

- The researcher will introduce herself and give participants information about the research and assure the confidentiality of all participants
- All interviews will be scheduled with the participants in advance. Participants involved will be voluntary and they can freely withdraw at any time. Participants are going to be informed in advance that they can refuse any questions they don't want to answer.
- The researcher will inform participants that interviews will be recorded and will subsequently ask for permission to do so.

- Personal data of participant will be stored carefully with backup and password security.
- No personal details will be revealed in the thesis. Pseudonyms will be used for all respondents.

Answer the following question by deleting as appropriate:

- Does the study involve vulnerable participants or those unable to give informed consent (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities, your own students)?
Yes **No**
- Will the study require permission of a gatekeeper for access to participants (e.g. schools, self-help groups, residential homes)?
Yes **No**
- Will it be necessary for participants to be involved without consent (e.g. covert observation in non-public places)?
Yes **No**
- Will the study involve sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, substance abuse)?
Yes **No**
- Will blood or tissue samples be taken from participants?
Yes **No**
- Will the research involve intrusive interventions (e.g. drugs, hypnosis, physical exercise)?
Yes **No**
- Will financial or other inducements be offered to participants (except reasonable expenses)?
Yes **No**
- Will the research investigate any aspect of illegal activity?
Yes **No**
- Will participants be stressed beyond what is normal for them?
Yes **No**
- Will the study involve participants from the NHS (e.g. patients or staff)?
Yes* **No**

If you have answered yes to any of the above questions or if you consider that there are other significant ethical issues then details should be included in your summary above. If you have answered yes to Question 1 then a clear justification for the importance of the research must be provided.

*Please note if the answer to Question 10 is yes then the proposal should be submitted through **NHS research ethics approval procedures** to the appropriate **COREC**. The UREC should be informed of the outcome.

Checklist of documents which should be included:

Project proposal (with details of methodology) & source of funding	
Documentation seeking informed consent (if appropriate)	
Information sheet for participants (if appropriate)	
Questionnaire (if appropriate)	

(Tick as appropriate)

Signature of Applicant:

Date:

Signature of Director of Studies: *A. Holden* Date: 22/01/13

This form together with a copy of the research proposal should be submitted to the Research Institute Director for consideration by the Research Institute Ethics Committee/Panel

Note you cannot commence collection of research data until this form has been approved

SECTION B To be completed by the Research Institute Ethics Committee:

Comments:

Approved

Signature Chair of Research Institute Ethics Committee:

Date:

This form should then be filed with the RS1 form

If in the judgement of the committee there are significant ethical issues for which there is not agreed practice then further ethical consideration is required before approval can be given and the proposal with the committees comments should be forwarded to the secretary of the UREC for consideration.

There are significant ethical issues which require further guidance

Signature Chair of Research Institute Ethics Committee:

Date:

This form together with the recommendation and a copy of the research proposal should then be submitted to the University Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 2: Research Information Sheet (Thai and English)



Institute for tourism
Research

Park Square , Luton ,
Bedfordshire

LU1 3JU

เอกสารชี้แจงรายละเอียดในการวิจัย

ท่านได้รับเชิญให้เข้าร่วมการวิจัยในหัวข้อ การท่องเที่ยวในการลดความยากจนและพัฒนาชุมชนกรณีศึกษา เกาะบุโหลน (Tourism and poverty reduction in Bulon Island) งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาในระดับปริญญาเอกของนางสาวบัณฑิตา หลิมประดิษฐ์ ณ สถาบันการวิจัยเพื่อการท่องเที่ยว มหาวิทยาลัยเบดฟอร์ดเชอร์ (The Institute for Tourism Research, The University of Bedfordshire)งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาการท่องเที่ยวในรูปแบบในการสนับสนุนชุมชนและใช้ในการลดความยากจนของชุมชน ศึกษาความต้องการของชุมชนในการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวตามรูปแบบที่ชุมชนต้องการ

การเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยนี้ไม่มีความเสี่ยงใดๆต่อท่านทั้งสิ้นข้อมูลที่ท่านให้กับข้าพเจ้าจะทำให้ข้าพเจ้าได้เข้าใจและเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวในรูปแบบที่จะสนับสนุนและช่วยลดความยากจน การเข้าร่วมของท่านจะอยู่ในรูปแบบของการให้สัมภาษณ์ทั้งที่เป็นใช้เวลาประมาณ 60-30 นาที (คำให้สัมภาษณ์ของท่านจะถูกบันทึกเสียงและบันทึกภาพเพื่อประโยชน์ในการวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลของโครงการวิจัย

การเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยของท่านจะเป็นไปโดยความสมัครใจของท่านซึ่งท่านมีสิทธิที่จะถอนตัวได้ตลอดเวลา นอกจากนี้ท่านมีสิทธิที่จะปฏิเสธที่จะตอบคำถามที่ท่านไม่สะดวกหรือไม่สบายใจที่จะตอบข้อมูลของท่านจะถูกเก็บอย่างเป็นความลับและจะมีเฉพาะข้าพเจ้าและอาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาของข้าพเจ้าเท่านั้นที่จะเข้าถึงข้อมูล กรุณาลงนามในแบบแสดงเจตนายินยอมเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัย (Consent) จะเป็นพระคุณยิ่ง

ข้าพเจ้ายินดีจะตอบคำถามและข้อสงสัย สามารถติดต่อได้ที่ Banthita.limpradit@beds.ac.uk

ข้าพเจ้าขอขอบพระคุณทุกท่านสำหรับความร่วมมือในการโครงการวิจัยของข้าพเจ้ามา ณ โอกาสนี้

นางสาวบัณฑิตา หลิมประดิษฐ์

นักศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอก

Research Information Sheet

You are being invited to participate in a research study entitled Tourism and poverty reduction in Bulon Island, Satun Province, Thailand.

This research is part of my PhD. Thesis at University of Bedfordshire, Institute for tourism research (INTOUR). The aim of this research is to evaluate the use of tourism as a tool for poverty reduction in Bulon Island, Satun, Province, Thailand.

You are invited to participate in this research because you are local resident in the research area and the research believe that your information will be value for this research. There is no risk of you decided to participate in this study. The information you provided will help me to understand tourism situation in your area. The interview will take approximately 30-60minute the conversation will be record only with your permission.

Please contact me to discuss ant question or concern you have about your participation.

Kindest Regards,

Banthita

Contact detail : Banthita.limpradit@beds.ac.uk +66872828406

Appendix 3: Consent Form



Institute for tourism Research

Park Square , Luton , Bedfordshire

LU1 3JU

United Kingdom

แบบแสดงเจตนายินยอมเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัย (CONSENT FORM)

โครงการวิจัยเรื่องการท่องเที่ยวในการลดความยากจนกรณีศึกษา ณ เกาะบุโหลน จังหวัดสตูล ประเทศไทย

ข้อมูลของผู้วิจัย นางสาวบัณฑิตา หลิมประดิษฐ์ นักศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอกสถาบันวิจัยเพื่อการท่องเที่ยว มหาวิทยาลัยเบดฟอร์ดเชอร์

ข้อมูลในการติดต่อ : Banthita.limpradit@beds.ac.uk , +668725828406

กรุณาใส่เครื่องหมาย ✓ ลงในช่องว่าง	
1. ข้าพเจ้าขอรับรองว่าข้าพเจ้าได้อ่านเอกสารชี้แจงรายละเอียดในการศึกษาวิจัย (Research Information Sheet) ในหัวข้อข้างต้นอย่างละเอียดและมีความเข้าใจแล้วซึ่งข้าพเจ้าได้มีโอกาสสอบถามประเด็นข้อสงสัยต่างๆและผู้วิจัยได้ตอบคำถามต่างๆที่ข้าพเจ้าสงสัยจนข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจ	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจว่าการเข้าร่วมโครงการศึกษาวิจัยของข้าพเจ้าในครั้งนี้เป็นไปโดยความสมัครใจ ซึ่งข้าพเจ้าสามารถถอนตัวได้ตลอดเวลา โดยไม่จำเป็นต้องชี้แจงเหตุผลใดๆ	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. ข้าพเจ้ายินยอมที่จะเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยนี้	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. ข้าพเจ้ายินยอมให้การสัมภาษณ์ของข้าพเจ้าทั้งที่เป็นการสัมภาษณ์ส่วนบุคคล และการสัมภาษณ์แบบกลุ่มได้รับการบันทึกเสียง	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. ข้าพเจ้ายินยอมให้การสัมภาษณ์ของข้าพเจ้าทั้งที่เป็นการสัมภาษณ์ส่วนบุคคลและการสัมภาษณ์แบบกลุ่มได้รับการบันทึกภาพและเสียง	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. ข้าพเจ้ายินยอมให้มีการอ้างถึงคำพูดของข้าพเจ้าในระหว่างการให้สัมภาษณ์เฉพาะในรูปของการใช้นามแฝงเท่านั้น โดยการอ้างถึงดังกล่าวจะสามารถเปิดเผยได้เฉพาะในรูปของรายงานการวิจัย และบทความทางวิชาการเท่านั้น	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. ข้าพเจ้ายินยอมให้ข้อมูลที่ข้าพเจ้าให้ไว้ในระหว่างการสัมภาษณ์ทั้งที่เป็นการสัมภาษณ์ส่วนบุคคล และการสัมภาษณ์แบบกลุ่ม ถูกเก็บไว้เพื่อประโยชน์ในการวิจัยด้านการท่องเที่ยวในอนาคต	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix 4: Full Interview Respondents' profiles

No.	Name (Pseudonym)	Gender	Occupation	Community	NOTE	Date
1	bak	M	Fisherman	Bulon Don		20/05/14
2	yan	M	Fisherman	Bulon Don		20/05/14
3	Ya	F	-	Bulon Don		20/05/14
4	Montira	F	General employee	Bulon Lay		23/05/14
5	Thatwatchai	M	Fisherman, General employee	Bullon Don		26/05/14
6	Manut	M	Fisherman	Bulon Don		26/05/14
7	Arman	M	Fisherman	Bulon Don		26/05/14
8	Teerapong	M	Fisherman	Bulon Don		02/06/14
9	Mared	M	Fisherman	Bulon Don		02/06/14
10	Layang	M	Fisherman, General employee	Bulon Don	*Community leader	05/06/14
11	Chai	M	Fisherman, General employee	Bulon Don	*member of community leader board	05/06/14
12	Niran	M	Fisherman, shopkeeper	Bulon Don	*member of local health care	05/06/14
13	Edon	M	Fisherman	Bulon Don		15/06/14
14	Kritipong	M	Teacher	Bolon Lay		23/06/14
15	Abdor	M	Teacher	Bulon Lay		23/06/14
16	Sonjit	F	Housewife	Bulon Lay		23/06/14
17	Sombat	M	Waiter, Translator	Bulon Don		1/07/14
18	Chaichan		Fisherman	Bulon Don		1/07/17
19	Thanee	M	Government officer	Bulon Don	*Community leader	4/07/14
20	Chia	M	Fisherman, bungalow owner	Bulon Don		4/07/14
21	Angkan	M	General employee	Bulon Lay		5/07/14
22	Yuusob	M	imam	Bulon Don		7/07/14
23	Preeda	F	Shopkeeper	Bulon Don		7/07/14
24	Wanna	F	Restaurant owner	Bulon Don		7/07/14
25	Padon	F	Housekeeper	Bulon Don		7/07/14
26	Kampanat	M	Fisherman, general employee	Bulon Lay		4/07/14
27	Sirin	M	Chef	Bulon Lay		4/07/14
28	Rohem	M	Fisherman	Bulon don		10/07/14
29	Yee	M	Shop vender	Bulon Lay		25/06/14

30	Mane	M	Fisherman, long tail boat runner	Bulon Lay		24/06/14
31	Son	F	-	Bulon Don		2/07/14
32	Neam	M	Fisherman	Bulon Lay		2/07/14
33	Too	M	Fisherman	Bulon Lay		2/07/14
34	Soonton	M	Bungalow owner	Bulon Lay		25/06/14
35	Jack	M	Tourist	Bulon Lay		24/06/14
36	Kanda	F	TAT, Satun	Satun		15/07/14

Appendix 5: Semi-structured Interview Question

Semi structured interview question

(For local people- Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time.

1. Topic related to poverty
<p>a. What are the main economic activities here?</p> <p>b. In your own understand what is poverty?</p> <p>c. In your opinion what cause poverty here?</p> <p>d. Would you think of yourself/your family as being poor?</p>
2. Topic related to tourism
<p>a. From your point of view, what do you think about tourism in Bulon Island?</p> <p>b. Have you ever been include in tourism activity here?</p> <p>c. In your opinion, who has been the main beneficiary of tourism activity here?</p> <p>d. Do you think tourism has an impact on your livelihood?</p> <p>e. what do you expect from tourism?</p> <p>f. can you describe the relationship between the local people and other tourism stakeholders and the impacts of these relationship of poverty?</p> <p>h. Do you think the local community can become a key player in tourism development?</p> <p>i. overall m would you consider tourism as an effective toll of poverty reduction in this island?</p>
3. Barrier :
<p>a. What do you perceive as being the problems in your community?</p> <p>b. Who do you think is responsible for tourism development in Bulon Island.</p> <p>c. Do you think the local community can become a key player in tourism development?</p> <p>d. Do you think there are any barriers to you participating in tourism industry</p> <p>e. Is anything else you would like to add?</p>

Interview guideline

(For tourist- Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time.

Tourists :
<ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Why have you chosen Bulon Island as your destination?b. How would you describe your visit to Bulon Island?c. How would you describe the quality of life for local people on the Island?d. Do you think they help the economy of the local community?e. What would make you visit Bulon Island again and stay longer in the community?

Interview guideline

(For **Private sector (bungalow owners, speed boat companies)**- Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time.

Private sector (bungalow owners, speed boat companies)-
<ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Can you describe tourism in Bulon Island and how do you see tourism development in Bulon Island in 10 years?b. How long do the tourists stay, what activities do they engage in and what things do they buy when they visit the area?c. What benefit/opportunities do you think your business has created for local people?d. How many persons have you employed in your business and are they local people?e. In your view, are there any problems connected to tourism in Bulon Island?f. How would you describe the quality of life of local people?

Interview guideline

(For **Local Government (Tourism Authority of Thailand, Satun Province)**)

Note that the information they provide will be strictly confidential and they can withdraw from the interview at any time

(For **Local Government (Tourism Authority of Thailand, Satun Province)**)

1. Why do tourists choose Bulon as their destination?
2. How would tourists describe Bulon Island?
3. How would tourists describe the quality of life of local people?
4. Do you believe tourists think they are helping the economy of the local community?
5. What make tourists visit Bulon Island again and stay longer in the community?

Appendix 6: Example of interview scripts

	Interview scripts	Topic / Main theme/ Sub-theme/
Researcher Bak	As-salamualaykm , How are you today? <i>As-salamualaykm, I am very well thank you, just got back from fishing?</i>	Topic : Income generator Main theme : fishing
Researcher Bak	Ohh, how was it? <i>Umm yes. As you see, enough for my family today, will keep the fish and some small squid for my wife to cook , you can join us , and will sell the crap to the restaurants</i>	Topic : perceptions of poverty/ tourism benefit Main theme : subsistence / economic benefit from tourism

Researcher	Thank you, so you are fishermen then and how long you have been fishing for?	Topic : Income generator /conception of poverty
Bak	<i>Yes, I am and most of people here do fishing or have job[s] related to fishing. Every household is fisherman, some are catch[ing] fish some are catch[ing] crab. But nowadays mostly [they] are catch[ing] crab because they [find that there] are less fish in this area unlike the old time [when] there are [sic.] a lot of fish.</i>	Main theme : fishing related
Researcher	OK and so now can I ask you about poverty. In your own understanding what is poverty and what causing poverty here?	/ lack of steady income
Bak	<i>Um, um, I'm not really understand[ing] poverty, poverty is ... um, um. I don't know, maybe people don't have enough money, like my family. I think my family are poor There are five people in my family. I have three little child[ren] and of course, [my] wife, ha ha ha ha. My wife has to look after our child[ren] so she can't work, so I'm the only person that [is] working. I'm a fisherman. I think the revenue also depend[s] on luck, if I [am] lucky I can catch a lot of fish then I can get a lot of money, but if sometimes, I can catch only a few fish that mean[s] just a few [sic.] money and it's not enough for [the] household, especially in [the] monsoon season [when] we can't go out to work [fishing] because it is dangerous. Also at the moment they are a lot of big fishing companies using modern equipment, therefore, we can't compete with them.</i>	Sub theme: seasonal / illegal fishing both / young children/ one person working

Researcher	OK. So do you think what causes poverty here?	Topic : cause of poverty
Bak	<i>Well ... as you know we are seagye sea, our ancestor[s were] fishing for living and now we [are] also fishing for living as well. If we can catch fish then we [have] got thing[s] to eat but if we cannot then we suffer. And now I have three kids, so it is not only eating. I have to afford for [them to pay] school fee[s], their clothes, books etc., also if some of my family member[s] is [sic.] sick I have to pay for medicine [and other] care. Sometimes, I don't have enough money so I have to borrow money from fish capitalist[s] where I sell the fish in the mainland, so I have to pay for the interest. Sometime[s] when I sell fishes I have no money back home because they deduct for the interest.</i>	Main theme : fishing related Sub theme: island geography/ fishing related/ education of children / high interest / debt
Researcher	Alright , Ok now Do you think tourism bring(s) you benefit(s)?	Topic : Tourism benefit
Bak	<i>Er, yes, yes, yes, I can make more money from tourism, you see in tourism season I sell crab directly to the restaurant, I can make more money.</i>	Main theme : fishing expanding
Researcher	Oh really, so how they pay you? And how it s different from selling to the middleman?	Sun theme: sell fish direct to the restaurant / get
Bak	<i>They pay me fixed price and I get money straightaway, for big fresh crab I sell them for 300 THB for kg, if I sell to the middleman , they pay me 250THB and I did not get money straightaway they pay every 3-4 days.</i>	

<p>Researcher</p> <p>Bak</p>	<p>Alright.. So apart from selling seafood to the restaurant , what else . Do you think tourism has an impact on your livelihood and what do you expect from tourism?</p> <p><i>Personally, I do not know, really. But we have another ways [sic.] to make money. For example, we use our boat[s] for tourists' transportation to [the] island by arranging the queue up.</i></p>	<p>better price / immediate income / extra income</p>
<p>Researcher</p> <p>Bak</p>	<p>What do you mean by cue up?</p> <p><i>We welcome tourists to our island especially, in high season. The tourists will take speedboats from Babarah pier to many islands, so we transfer tourist from speedboat[s] to our island. We register our boat and waiting [sic.] [for] our leader [Mr. Rit] to call when someone turns [up]. If we are not lazy, we could make more rounds to transfer tourists and make more money.</i></p>	
<p>Researcher</p> <p>Bak</p>	<p>What do you perceive as being the problems in your community?</p> <p><i>[taking a long time to answer] Water reservation is our main problem; we do not have plenty of water to consume. When its rain[ing], we have to reserve water in the container you will see in our backyard.</i></p>	<p>Topic : perception of poverty</p> <p>Main theme : Lack of social amenities / lack of government support</p> <p>Sun them : left behind/ no follow up</p>
<p>Researcher</p> <p>Bak</p>	<p>I heard that there are water reservation project[s] on this island.</p> <p><i>Yes, I will show you, at the island's backyard. But [the] project does work well because we do not have much rain for several years. In [the] dry season, the centre from land [people from the government] brings water for us to consume.</i></p>	

Researcher	Who do you think is responsible for tourism development in Bulon Island?	Topic : Tourism development
Bak	<i>I am not sure, the leader assistant [Mr. Rit] is the one who look[s] after for [sic.] boat transfer and also [a] professor from Songklanakarin University who do[es] research project[s] relate to Bulon island. There was a seminar for training new tour leading guides, which [was] held in this island yesterday.</i>	Main theme : local community involve/ local organisation
Researcher	Do [sic.] you participate in tour guide leading training?	Main theme : poverty condition
Bak	<i>I did join in the training, I have to work but I [was] not really interested in this training.</i>	
Researcher	And what do you expect from training?	Topic : Tourism development
Bak	<i>I just want to learn English vocabularies which [is] useful for tourism. I have tried to speak to tourist[s], but I am not really sure what they want. However, staff from [the] resort have to communicate for me before serving them</i>	Main theme : Training
Researcher	Do you think the local community can become a key player in tourism development?	Sub theme: / English training/ policy maker / strong community
Bak	<i>Yes, if we have strong assembly, we can create the policy to develop the community.</i>	
Researcher	How do you help each other?	
Bak	<i>for example sometimes, I am busy, I cannot work, so I ask my friend to work for me and they do so. We always share because we want to help each other work and make money.</i>	

Researcher Bak	Do you think there are any barriers to you participating in tourism industry? <i>I think language, we don't understand; however, we use body language to communicate.</i>	Topic : Barrier Main theme : language
Researcher Bak	What role do you think tourism can play to improving your (local community people's) livelihoods? <i>Tourism can make more income for my family above [what I can earn] from fishing. I have money to [pay] my child's expense, to repair my house and boat, to repair fishing equipment, and to collect.</i>	Topic : Tourism benefit Main theme : employment opportunity/ income / future investment
Researcher Bak	Are there any concerns about tourism here? <i>I am worried about alcohol because when the tourists come, we can't refuse for tourist provider for example hotel, resort and restaurant. So we are [an] Islam[ic] community, it is forbidden to drink alcohol and take drug[s].</i>	Topic : Tourism development concern Main theme : culture
Researcher Bak	Are there anything else you would like to add? <i>I want to mention about water consumption again, we don't have plenty of water to use. Therefore, the government could help us [with] this issue.</i>	

Appendix 7: Participant Observation Guide and Participant Observation Record Sheets

Participant Observation Guide

1. Purposes of observation
The observations aim to examine the behaviours of the local people as demonstrated in their everyday life context. These behaviours include their every daily life, their environment in community, and their activity.
2. Locations of observation
The locations of observation are Bulon Don and Bulon Lay Community
3. Number of observation
Two observation will be carried Bulon Don and Bulon Lay
4. Observation time
During main study 2014
5. Length and subjects of observation
The length of each observation is 1 days. The subjects tropically include local poor people and their routine activity.
6. Record sheets
A record sheet is established maintained for each location. The sheet will include all information to be collected based on this guide ;(i) observation time, (ii) purpose, (iii) location, (iv) number, (v) length and subject, (vi) description of the observed behaviours, and (vii) other remarks (if any).

Participant Observation Record sheets1

i) Observation time
20 May 2014, 10am-noon
(ii) Purpose
Observe community monthly meeting: how they run the meeting, share ideas and their reactions
(iii) Location
Community meeting point (Bulon Don School)
(iv) Number
32 people attended this meeting
(v) Length and subject
The meeting started at 10am and finished at noon
(vi) Description of observed behaviour
<p>They use the community bell to start the meeting. Most of people in the village attended this meeting, some bringing their children. They wore sarongs (Muslim dress) and greeted each other in Muslim ways. The community leader Mr. Therdsak opening the meeting and told everyone the meeting agenda. Today, an important agenda item was about recycled garbage. He told everyone about garbage bank that the village has been running. From observation, people are not really interested. They started talking to each other about other issues and the level of involvement in this issue is low. Then he told the meeting about other agenda items, such as school term times and the Rayor festival (which is the festival for Muslims holding Leepaht Island). He asked the participants to share their ideas about what they need for the community, because the central government (the Satun government) has set up a budget, and is asking the community to say what they are going to do with this budget. At this point, people looked more interested; the level of involvement was high and they stopped talking with each other and thinking, then started discuss with each other about this issue. In the meeting, there were only two or three people who spoke; other people are quiet, just listening and nodding their heads. Most of the participants are men.</p>
(vii) Other remarks
<p>After the meeting they offered me lunch because they remember me being at school (and they start calling me 'teacher').The lunch was some fried fish with rice, and they ask their son, who is my student at school to buy a bottle of water (normally they drink rainwater).</p>

Observation Record sheets2

i) Observation time 20 May 2014, 10am until noon
(ii) Purpose Village general information
(iii) Location Bulon Don community
(iv) Number
(v) Length and subject
(vi) Description of observed behaviour <p>People here are Urak Lawoi or Sea Gypsy. Aboriginal people residing in Bulon Island are known as Sea Gypsies or Urak Lawoi. These people have migrated from the Indonesian Archipelago to coastal islands in the Andaman Sea since ancient times. They mainly fish for a living. These people have well adapted to live with nature and as part of it .Urak Lawoi people have their own language, culture and beliefs. Their language is very close to Malay</p> <p>The geography of Bulon Island is that it is a limestone island, with very few flatland and beach. People settle near to the beach because this is convenient for fishing. They build their houses near to each other and bamboo is the main material for building the houses. When looking at surnames, this shows the size of family groups. Every house has their own water bucket. Some houses have their own toilet, but some are shared by two or three houses. There are a few solar cells which the village received from central government, sharing by all the houses. However, most of the pannell can't use the cells, because they were broken and the village doesn't have money to repair them. Some houses have their own electric generators.</p> <p>Bulon Don has sixty families with one school. The school has only four teachers and they group students from different grades and teach them together. The community has a tsunami warning tower and the village has a water reservoir; it is very old and does not provide enough water.</p>

(vii) Other remarks

Some household crops and local goats for milk and meat in Bulon Don village



Bulon Don resident area





Bulon Don school



Household buckets for reserve water and community sola cell panel



Observation Record Sheet 3

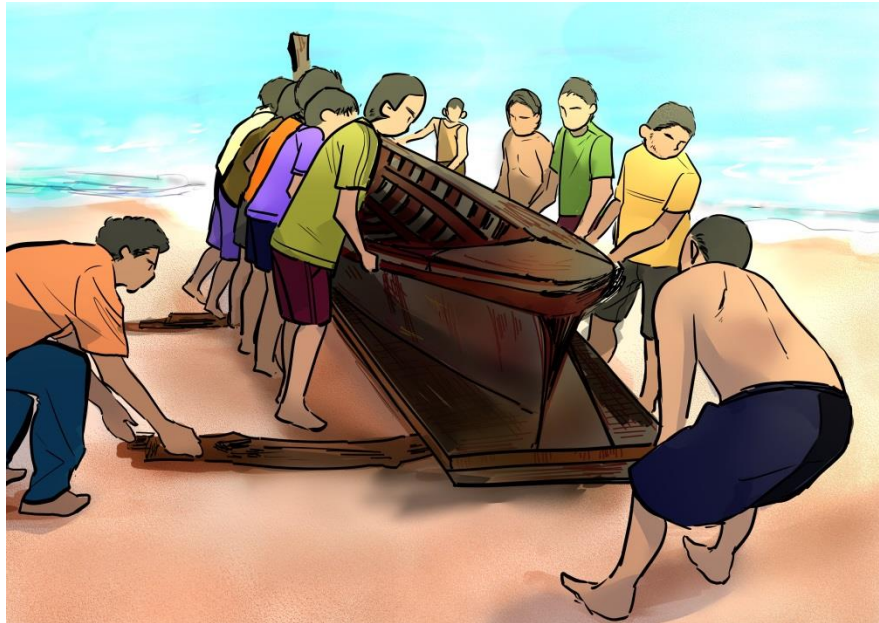
i) Observation time 26 May 2014, 6am-6pm
(ii) Purpose Daily life observation
(iii) Location Bulon Don community
(iv) Number
(v) Length and subject Observation began at 6am and finished at 6pm
(vi) Description of observed behavior <p>I walked to the village as the fisherman are coming back with some fish and crabs. There was a buyer from the mainland waiting to buy fish and crabs. Most of the fishermen do not sell all the fish: they save some for eating. When they have finished selling fish, they moor their boats and walk home. The selling and buying of fish finished around 9am. At the pier, it's quiet living here: people greet and smile with each other and share their experience of last night's fishing. After 9am, everything here stops.</p> <p>Walking back to the village, the village became lively because people are back from fishing. They start having lunch, which has already been prepared by a wife or child. The foods they have most are fish and seafood they caught themselves. At noon some start to repair and clean fishing equipment. Some people take a nap. There are some people playing cards and gambling. At 4pm, some people take a bath and prepare themselves for Muslim worship. They go to bed early here; at 7pm the lights start to turn off, because they go out fishing at 4am.</p>

(vii) Other remarks

Local people fishing equipment along the beach in Bulon Don



Researcher drawing from what she saw , Back from fishing, local people get together talking about their fishing activity and life , also helping each other clean, or repair their fishing boat.



Local people take tourists for tour and joining there fishing activity



Appendix 8: Open burning method and waste bank

Open burning area in front of local people house in Bulon



The community waste bank



Appendix 9: Researcher Interview and Focus Group

Researcher Interview





Focus Group



Appendix 10 The Village and Urban Community Fund Project

The Village and Urban Community Fund Project, widely known as the Village Fund (VF) program, was an outcome of the populist policies that had been put into effect almost immediately after the Thai Rak Thai Party won the election in 2001. The program allocates 1 million baht (approximately £ 20,000) to each of the almost 75,000 villages nationwide.

The government's objectives in implementing this program were:

- 1) to create financial resources for further investment, income generation, and career development;
- 2) to foster village and community capital management skills; and
- 3) to sustain economic development and promote self-reliance.

As a micro-credit program, the government expected the Village Fund program to bring about an increase in income and asset accumulation after the implementation of the program. Moreover, the Village Fund program decentralized government decisions on rural projects by allowing local communities to create projects for themselves. At the same time, it allowed local people to participate more in the decision-making process for projects in their communities.

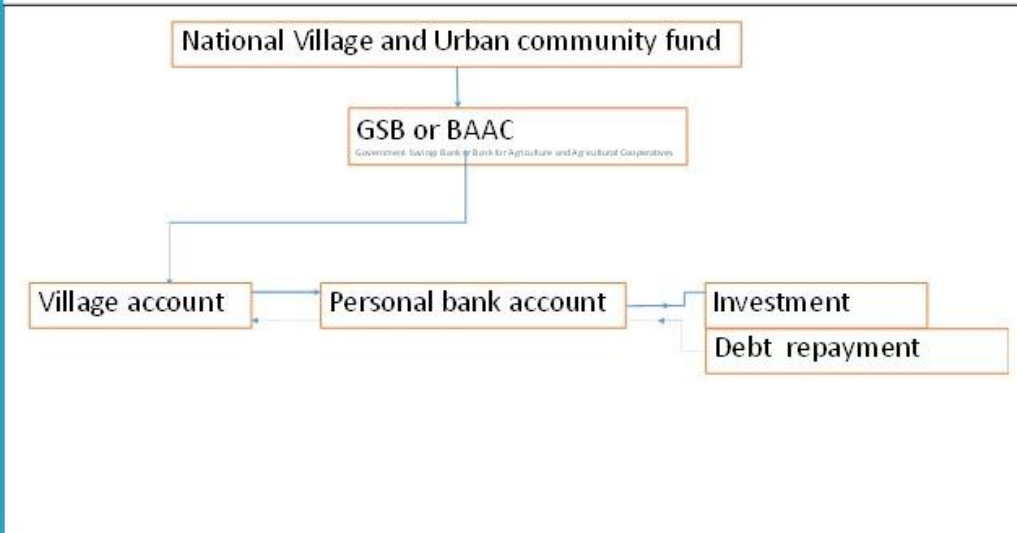
There were three levels of organization for the administration of the Village Fund program: the Village Fund National Committee, the subcommittee, and the Village Fund Committee. In order to receive the loan of one million Baht, each village had to fulfill conditions posted by the Village Fund National Committee.

These conditions consisted of:

- Readiness, awareness and participation among people in villages and communities
- Readiness of the local village fund committee in terms of knowledge and fund management experiences
- Readiness in monitoring loanholders, assessing capability of the fund members
- Readiness in holistic management capability of the other projects funded in the villages and communities.

By meeting these conditions, each village and community passed the primary step to be eligible to receive the loans they requested.

The Village Fund Circle Village



After a village fund has been established, the committee registers the fund with the Government Savings Bank (GSB) or Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives (BAAC) . After VF passes capacity evaluation, the bank transfers 1 million baht to the VF account within 30 days.

The Village and Urban Community Fund National Committee administered the fund at the national level, while the subcommittee coordinated with the districtlevel committee to monitor how the fund was distributed. In order for villages and communities to work with the committees mentioned earlier, they had to set up their own Village Fund committee to create its own regulations to manage the fund, such as specifying an interest rate. The committee consisted of 15 members, half of whom (on average) were women.¹¹² Regulations that the committee implemented had to comply with the Village Fund Act, which stated that the fund should not exceed 20,000 Baht (\$606) per person (but can be extended to 50,000 Baht (\$1515.2) in special cases). This loan was one year in length, and everyone was eligible to obtain the loan. Borrowers had to submit a form to apply for loans and the committee would decide the loan recipients and the loan amount, depending on each individual case.