



**Tourism Destination
Development in Thailand**

Chalermapat Pongajarn

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Propositions

1. Tourism destinations are multiple, heterogeneous and dynamic.
(this thesis)
2. It is much more difficult to sustain a tourism destination than to create one.
(this thesis).
3. The nature of economic models makes them only valuable for forecasting short term development.
4. Actor-network theory teaches us to appreciate things around us.
5. The number of tourist arrivals is an insufficient indicator for tourism growth.
6. A PhD thesis is the joint result of the work of the PhD candidate, the supervisors and coffee machines.

Propositions belonging to the thesis, entitled
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Tourism Destination Development in Thailand

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Tourism is the biggest industry in Thailand and, as such, it has played an important role in shaping, and in some cases preserving, certain aspects of Thai society, culture, and everyday life there. (Berger 2007, p. 128)

1.1 Thailand as a tourism destination

Thailand is one of the world's famous tourism destinations. The World Economic Forum rated Thailand as number 34 in the travel & tourism competitiveness index in 2017 (World Economic Forum 2017). Tourism is an important part of the Thai economy as it is one of the top three revenue generators in Thailand. As early as 1982, it became the top foreign currency earner surpassing other industrial sectors such as computers, electronic components and textiles (McDowall & Wang 2009). Today, tourism in Thailand seems to be more mature than in other countries in the same region. Furthermore, tourism in Thailand seems to be resilient to all kinds of crises. Since the 1970s, tourism in Thailand has experienced successive growth and the sector is believed to continue growing in the future (see table 1.1). The number of international tourists increased from 5.3 million in 1990 to 9.5 million in 2000 (a 79 per cent increase in just one decade), to 15.8 million in 2010 and to 32.58 million in 2016. Thus, the number of the international tourists still grew by almost 200 per cent during the last decade (during 2005-2016). Tourism generated around 1457 billion baht or 42,544 million US\$ in 2015. This growth occurred despite a number of crises, such as the Gulf War in 1991, the 1997 Asian economic crisis, the September 11 attacks in 2001, the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in 2003, and the riots and political uncertainty in 2010. The Thai tourism industry has shown a high recovery rate and generally it took only one or two quarters of a year to recover from a crisis (Nakorntup 2015). For example, after the financial crisis in 1997 the number of international tourist arrivals increased from 7.221 million in 1997 to 7.764 million in 1998. The tourism sector is a major source of employment. In 2014 tourism generated around 2.274 million jobs in hotels and restaurants and around 3.126 jobs in related businesses (World Travel and Tourism Council 2015). According to the World Travel & Tourism Council, Thai tourism will have an average annual growth rate of around 7.2 per cent in the years between 2014 and 2024 (Nakorntup 2015).

Table 1.1: International tourist arrivals to Thailand (1970-2016)

Year	Number	%change	Remark	Revenue (Mill.Baht)	%change
1970	628,671	33.82		2,175	22.88
1971	638,738	1.6		2,214	1.79
1972	820,758	28.5		2,718	22.76
1973	1,037,737	26.44		3,457	27.19
1974	1,107,392	6.71	Oil crisis	3,852	11.43
1975	1,180,075	6.56		4,538	17.81
1976	1,098,442	-6.92		3,990	-12.06
1977	1,220,672	11.13		4,607	15.45
1978	1,453,839	19.1		8,894	93.05
1979	1,591,455	9.47	TOT transformed to TAT	11,232	26.29
1980	1,858,801	16.8	Oil crisis	17,765	58.16
1981	2,015,615	8.44		21,455	20.77
1982	2,218,429	10.06	Tourism became the top foreign currency earner	23,879	11.3
1983	2,191,003	-1.24	World economic recession	25,050	4.9
1984	2,346,709	7.11		27,317	9.05
1985	2,438,270	3.9		31,768	16.29
1986	2,616,092	15.58		37,321	17.48
1987	3,482,968	23.59	Visit Thailand year, promotional campaign	50,024	34.04
1988	4,230,737	21.47		78,859	57.64
1989	4,809,508	13.68		96,386	22.23
1990	5,296,860	10.17		110,572	14.72
1991	5,086,899	-4	Gulf War crisis	100,004	-9.58

1992	5,136,443	0.97		123,135	23.13
1993	5,760,533	12.15		127,802	3.79
1994	6,166,496	7.05		145,211	13.62
1995	6,951,566	12.73		190,786	31.39
1996	7,192,145	3.46		219,364	14.98
1997	7,221,345	0.41	Asian economic crisis	220,754	0.63
1998	7,764,930	7.53	Amazing Thailand promotional campaign	242,177	9.7
1999	8,580,332	10.5		253,016	4.48
2000	9,508,823	10.82		285,272	12.75
2001	10,061,950	5.82	September 11 attacks	299,047	4.83
2002	10,799,067	7.33		323,484	8.17
2003	10,004,453	-7.36	SARS outbreak	309,269	-4.39
2004	11,650,703	16.46	Bird flu outbreak, uprising in the South and Tsunami	384,360	24.28
2005	11,516,936	-1.15		367,380	-4.42
2006	13,821,802	20.01		482,319	31.29
2007	14,464,228	4.65		547,782	13.57
2008	14,584,220	0.83		574,521	4.88
2009	14,149,841	-2.98		510,255	-11.19
2010	15,936,400	12.63	Thailand political instability	582,794	16.18
2011	19,230,470	20.67	Flood	776,217	30.94
2012	22,353,903	16.24		983,928	26.76
2013	26,546,725	18.76	Political instability	1,207,146	22.69
2014	24,809,683	-6.54	Coup d'état in Thailand	1,172,798	-2.85
2015	29,881,091	20.44		1,457,150	24.25
2016	32,588,303	9.06			

Source: Department of Tourism, Thailand (<http://tourism2.tourism.go.th>)

1.2 Tourism studies and Thailand

The success of Thailand as a tourism destination has raised scholarly interest. The 1980s can be seen as the start of tourism studies on Thailand, although at that time research projects were still limited. The number of studies expanded after the 1990s and the subjects became more diverse after the 2000s. These tourism studies on Thailand can tentatively be categorised according to three relating themes: particular types of tourism in Thailand, impacts of tourism, and tourism destination analysis. This section explores the development of tourism studies regarding Thailand by using these themes.

1.2.1 Studies on particular types of tourism in Thailand

During the 1980s and the 1990s, most tourism studies focused on particular types of tourism in Thailand, including ethnic tourism (e.g. Cohen 1989, 2008; Dearden 1991; Kavcic 1997) and sex tourism (e.g. Van Kerkwijk 1992; Ireland 1993; Leheny 1995). The nature of ethnic tourism and sex tourism in Thailand had been explored from multiple disciplines, such as sociology, political economy and even epidemiology. Thailand as such functions as a case study to understand certain forms of tourism and relations within these tourism practices, for instance the relations between women working in sex tourism and tourists.

Box 1.1

Ethnic tourism in Thailand is the combination of adventure tourism, cultural tourism and ecotourism (Weaver 2002). It emerged in Northern Thailand, an area with mountains and tropical forests, as well as cultural landscapes featuring a variety of cultures including Sukhothai, Lanna, and a diversity of ethnic groups such as Akha, Karen, Lahu, Lisu, and Lolo. This type of tourism started here in the 1970s, and became very popular, particularly for young western backpackers, during the 1990s. Recently it has been in decline as a result of national socio-economic changes in Thailand as well as the changing composition of tourist populations (Cohen 2008).

Apart from studies on ethnic and sex tourism, there were also studies focused on other types of tourism, including heritage tourism (Peleggi 1996; Wall & Nuryanti 1996), ecotourism (Steele 1995; Hvenegaard & Dearden 1998a, 1998b; Wong 2001; Shepherd 2002), rural tourism (Fagence 1998), beach and natural based tourism (Cohen 1982; Sherman & Dixon 1991), and golf tourism (Pleumarom 1992). These studies on tourism in Thailand have increased after the 2000s, especially those relating to emerging forms of tourism in Thailand. The study on border tourism for example (Askew & Cohen 2004) shows an increasing awareness of the importance of domestic tourism and tourism between neighbouring countries, while community based tourism (Guntoro & Udomsade 2006) and pro-poor tourism studies were conducted as a result of global trends. Moreover, new forms of tourism in Thailand were examined in this period, such as film tourism (Law, Bunnell & Ong 2007), health and medical tourism (Sukthana et al. 2005), and education tourism (Chaisawat 2006).

1.2.2 Studies on impacts of tourism

After the number of tourists had grown around 150 per cent during the 1970s, the focus in tourism studies was directed more towards environmental and socio-cultural impacts. Several researches (e.g. Uthoff 1992; Parnwell 1993a) claimed that tourism development in local areas, which involves the

construction of buildings and infrastructure, was harmful to nature, and they demonstrated the importance of nature conservation plans. These types of studies also focussed on ecotourism, but where they first pointed out the problem, the later studies examined alternative types of tourism to diminish the impacts. Both can be seen as a response to the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (WCED 1987). Although most of these studies discussed the negative impacts of tourism, there were a few studies that focussed on the positive ones. For instance, Kontogeorgopoulos (1998) examined the economic benefits of tourism as it generates employment opportunities. Cohen (1995) argued that tourism helped to promote the economy of villages in rural areas.

1.2.3 Studies on tourism destinations

In general, most of the studies focusing on Thailand as a tourism destination (e.g. Smith 1991; Mak & White 1992; Rittichainuwat & Qu 2000; Krongkaew 2004; Henkel et al. 2006; McDowall & Wang 2009; Lacher & Nepal 2010) focus on management aspects. However, other tourism studies (e.g. Elliott 1983, 1987; Peleggi 1996; Sirisrisak 2009; Longjit & Pearce 2013; Vajirakachorn & Nepal 2014; Nakorntup 2015) also identified other aspects of tourism destination development in Thailand. Elliott (1987), for example, argued that the nature of tourism is diverse in terms of services, size, location, ownership and market, and that the development of tourism therefore highly relates to particular actions and relations among stakeholders. Kontogeorgopoulos (1998) argued that although international tourism networks have driven tourism destination development in Thailand, there were also local networks, and he suggested that their interactions and conflicts should be taken into account when we consider the development of destinations. This later type of research shows the complexity of tourism destinations. Local people, domestic tourists and accommodations may play a distinctive role in the Thai context. Their influence can impact the way places in Thailand function as tourism destinations, and can make their development deviate from standard patterns. Thus, a more integral view to analyse the development of tourism destinations in Thailand is required. This study aims to contribute to this understanding by applying insights from actor-network theory.

1.3 The application of actor-network theory to tourism studies

Actor-network theory (ANT) was originally developed in science, technology and society (STS) studies, which is interested in how social, political, and cultural values affect scientific research and technological innovation. ANT became well known and was applied in other fields, such as geography, sociology, anthropology, feminist studies and economics, as a way to deal with processes of ordering.

In the early 2000s, actor-network theory (ANT) was introduced in tourism studies as one of the approaches that could provide new conceptual and methodological perspectives (Cohen & Cohen 2012). It offers tools to examine tourism by focusing on socio-material relations and practices. On the one hand, it was used as a method to examine certain tourism projects and discuss the role of non-humans, such as a hotel (O'Neill & Whatmore 2000), an ecotourism project (Cloke & Perkins 2005), a Viking tourism project (Jóhannesson 2005), and a ski resort project (Paget, Dimanche & Mounet 2010).

On the other hand, authors such as Franklin (2004) and Van der Duim (2005, 2007) applied ANT to tourism studies with the intention to develop an innovative view to explore tourism. In 2005, Van der Duim introduced a concept called *tourismscapes*. This concept claimed that tourism is constructed and operated as “processes of association and ordering, which connect what was previously detached. In these processes, people and things become entangled into *tourismscapes* by complex processes of translation, and their relations are seen as network ones” (ibid., p. 962). To simplify it, tourism is seen as a result of the activities of networks (Law 1992; Latour 2005). The scholars who use ANT in their studies are generally interested in how tourism works, how it holds together, and how it may fall apart (Van der Duim & Jóhannesson 2012). Similarly, tourism destinations can also be seen as taking shape and being defined in, by and through tourism network relations, treating both humans and non-humans equally as potential actors. Actors in ANT interact with or relate to others (Callon & Latour 1981) and are connected through strategic, negotiated and contingent actions (Latour 1997). In this process, interests of different human and non-human actors are aligned into socio-material arrangements in order to form the social world of a tourism destination and control its direction of development (Fountain 1999). In the other words, development is driven by the enactment of the destination (Mosse 2005). Destinations therefore are spaces or places of tourism rather than just spaces for tourists. Therefore, I choose to use the word ‘tourism destination’ instead of ‘tourist destination’ in this thesis to reflect this point of view.

1.4 Research objectives and research questions

This research aims to analyse the development of tourism destinations in Thailand by studying the socio-material relations underlying the development processes. Actor-network theory provides a conceptual and methodological perspective for studying these destination development processes. It moves beyond a traditional approach and provides insight in the emergence and consequences of complex relationships between places, human beings, non-human entities, technologies and nature. It offers tools and sensibilities to examine the development of tourism destinations in Thailand by focusing on socio-material relations and practices. This research is neither driven by the wish to find the ‘best solution’ or pattern of tourism destination development, nor intended to provide a radical new theoretical understanding of tourism destinations. It rather aims to explore and understand the ‘how’ of

tourism destination development in Thailand. It thus aims to enhance the understanding of tourism destination development in Thailand by studying the performativity of human and non-human actors that induce tourism development through processes of interest alignment. By including roles of individuals, technologies and materials in the analysis, which were identified as external factors in the traditional approach, this research attempts to contribute to an alternative understanding of tourism destination development in Thailand.

To do this, I selected three case studies representing different historical, physical and social aspects of tourism in Thailand. The first case is Pai, a small village in the north of Thailand. Pai is representative of a rural area that developed into a popular destination for both Thai and international tourists. However, its different reputations, such as ‘hippy town’ and ‘romantic town’, also call attention to the multiplicity of Pai as a tourism destination. The second case is Pattaya. Pattaya is a famous beach resort in Thailand, especially known for its beaches and nightlife. Pattaya is also an interesting case to study tourism destination development since it was a forest and non-residential area before it was transformed into a beach resort. The final case study deals with floating markets. These used to be a way of life for Thai people, especially the ones who lived in the central area of Thailand, which features a huge number of canals and rivers. Most floating markets degenerated after the construction of roads and the development of the industrial sector. Nowadays, however, they are part of numerous tourism destinations in Thailand. Some gradually reconfigured from the original floating market, others were recreated in the same places where they used to be and new floating markets were created only for tourism purposes. The floating markets in Thailand therefore demonstrate how a particular actor-network can be reconfigured in different tourism destinations over time.

To summarize, the central objective of this thesis is to examine how tourism destinations in Thailand developed over time making use of insights from actor-network theory (ANT). Assuming that development is a result of practices performed within a particular context, this thesis uses three empirical studies to research the development of tourism destinations in Thailand. Therefore, the main research question of this thesis is:

- *How did Pai, Pattaya and the floating markets in Thailand develop as tourism destinations?*

1.5 The structure of this thesis

This thesis comprises of seven chapters. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework of this thesis. It starts with a detailed discussion of the development of and debate on the concept of ‘tourism destination’. Then, it briefly introduces actor-network theory and explains how it has been used in tourism studies. At the end of the chapter, I explain how insights from actor-network theory have been

used in this research as a guideline for both analysing and collecting data. Chapter 3 provides the context of tourism and tourism destination in Thailand, focusing on image and tourist itineraries in Thailand as well as the history of the development of modern tourism in Thailand.

Chapter 4, 5 and 6 are empirical chapters presenting three case studies of tourism destination development in Thailand, namely Pai, Pattaya and floating markets in central Thailand. The nature of tourism destinations is examined in chapter 4 through representational and non-representational readings of postcards from Pai, a tourism destination in northern Thailand. It clearly illustrates that non-representational readings of postcards can and should be combined with representational readings to provide a better understanding of the construction of tourism destinations. Chapter 5 analyses the emergence and reconfiguration of floating markets in Thailand as tourism destinations. It explores multiple processes of transforming the floating markets into tourism destinations. Chapter 6 features an analysis of spatial consequences of the actions of networks. It pays attention to how physical spaces of Pattaya, a coastal resort in Thailand, have been incorporated in the different networks at play, as well as to the encounters between these networks. Finally, chapter 7 provides the conclusion of this thesis, a reflection on the theoretical debate on tourism destination development and the research methodology based on the case studies in Thailand. The chapter ends with suggestions for future research.

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CHAPTER 2: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework and methodology used in this thesis. It is divided into three main sections. The first section reviews dominant conceptualisations of tourism destinations and tourism destination development. Then, I will briefly discuss actor-network theory (ANT) as an alternative way to study tourism destination development in Thailand. Further explanations will be given in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Finally, I will clarify how I used this approach as a starting point for collecting data and analysing the development of tourism destinations.

2.2 'Destination' as a concept

The concept of 'tourism destination' is central to and has a long history of being examined in tourism studies. Scholars disagree about how to define tourism destinations and how to study their development. Tourism destinations and their changes can be conceptualised and approached from different disciplines and theories depending on the objectives of the study. This section reviews definitions of tourism destinations and how the changes of tourism destinations have been conceptualised over time.

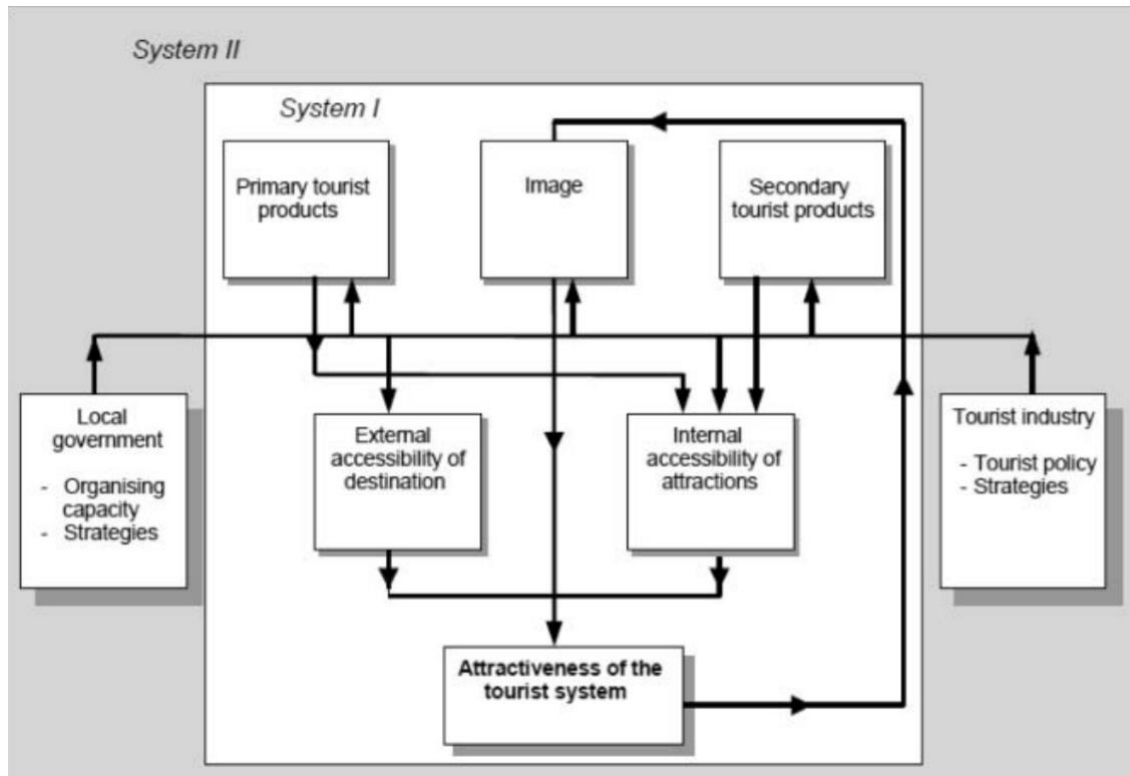
2.2.1 Economic geography approach

In this approach, destinations are regarded as spatial systems or geographical units (Mill & Morrison 1992; Gunn 1993). Its objective is to synthesise the complexity of destinations into a normative and predictive mode (Mitchell & Murphy 1991). Therefore, models in this approach can be generally divided into two groups; models that analyse the static aspects and models that analyse dynamic and evolutionary aspects of destinations.

Static models focus on how tourism destinations function. Tourism destinations are seen as systems that can be divided into separate elements (Leiper 2000). These models (e.g. Leiper 1979; Dredge 1999) view destinations as part of larger systems through which multiple destinations and tourists' origins are linked together. For instance, Van den Berg et al. (1995) use the concept of the 'tourist city' and identify five elements of a destination (see figure 2.1): Primary products, Secondary products, External accessibility, Internal accessibility and Image. Primary products are the main reason for the tourists to visit a place, such as natural sites, historical sites, recreational attractions and cultural events. Secondary products are supporting elements such as accommodation, catering, shopping, leisure and tourist

services. External accessibility and internal accessibility concern the ease with which visitors can reach the destination and get around in it, requiring facilities such as airports, ports, highways, public transportation as well as signs and clear destination maps. The final element is the image of a destination, which is a psychological factor that influences tourists' intention to visit the destination.

Figure 2.1: The tourist city model



Source: Van Den Berg et al. (1995, p. 16)

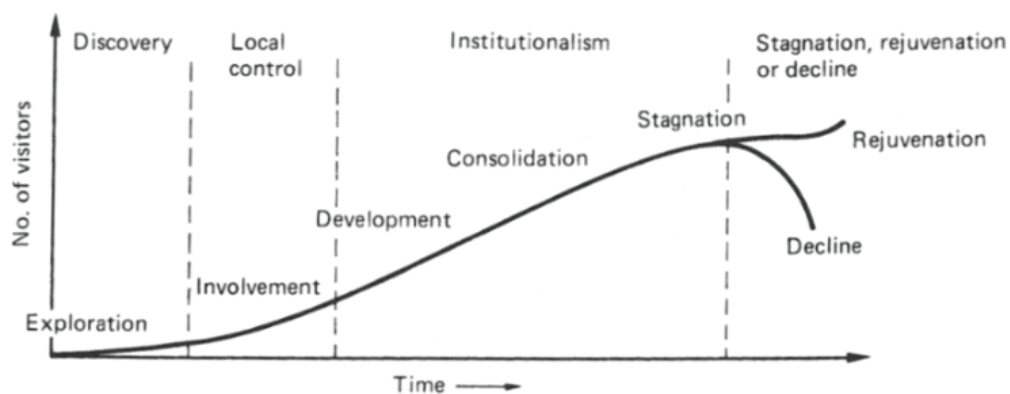
Furthermore, there are studies (e.g. Mariot 1969 in Pearce 1989; Greer & Wall 1979) focusing on the mobility of tourists and flows from their homes to tourism destinations. The different flows enabled researchers to categorise destinations into e.g. developing and developed countries (Thuot 1980 in Pearce 1987), or metropolitan destinations, peripheral destinations and natural environmental destinations (Lundgren 1982).

Models focussing on dynamic aspects aim to create a model for predicting changes of destinations over time. Several studies provide possible patterns for tourism destination development in terms of economic and physical evolution from one stage to another (Tooman 1997). Decades ago, scholars (Gilbert 1939; Barret 1958 in Smith 1991) already discussed tourism destination development in general and beach resorts more specifically as units with clear patterns of development. Plog (1972, 1973) introduced a psychographic model that explained different phases by matching tourism destination development with different motives of tourists. He described development patterns through changing

visitor types, including the venturer, the mid-centric and the dependable, which exemplified a range from the more to less adventurous behaviours.

A well-known example is Butler's (1980) Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model that provides a common pattern for tourism destinations by viewing them as products having a life cycle. He claims that the relationship between tourism demand and the elements of a tourism destination determines changes over time (Butler 2009). The model divides tourism destination development into different stages, from exploration to decline or rejuvenation (see figure 2.2). The key element in this process of destination development is carrying capacity, which is the capacity of a destination to control the quality of experiences. It refers to the quality of tourism destinations, including the ecological system (impacts on national resources), physical structures (impact on built resources, immigration, land use and other support services), economic structures (impact on cost of living, money supply and other economic factors), visitor satisfaction, community tolerance and political administration (Glasson, Godfrey & Goodey 1995). If the carrying capacity of a tourism destination is exceeded, this is reflected in the transformation of the physical, social, economic and environmental landscape (McCartney 2013). Therefore, carrying capacity is seen as the driving mechanism behind the life cycle stages of a destination (Butler 2006).

Figure 2.2: Tourism Area Life Cycle model



Source: Butler (1980)

Prideaux (2000) analysed patterns of destination development by focusing on characteristics of demand and supply determining the composition of the tourist resort market at a given time. His resort-development spectrum model divides growth of a tourism destination into four stages: the local level, the regional level, the national level and the international level (for details about these stages, see table 2.1). The model provides a possibility for a fifth stage in which the tourism destination might decline, stagnate or rejuvenate. The model views development as a result of expansion of the resort's infrastructure and provides a detailed list of visible aspects in the four different stages. For instance, the

types of accommodation are different in each stage; inexpensive motels and backpacker hostels at the local level, 2- and 3-star resort motels at the regional level, 3- and 4-star hotels and resorts at the national level, and international hotel chains and 5-star hotels at the international level. Thus the advance in tourism facilities reflects the development of the destination. Prideaux argues that key components determining the shape of the development are the willingness of suppliers to invest in new tourist facilities, the amount of new or expanded infrastructure for transporting additional tourists from (new) markets, the increase of the capacity of the resort because of physical and ecological constraints, and the success in attracting new market sectors. These predictive models normally aim to provide a general theory including explanations and patterns for tourism destination development. Aspects such as different facilities, the surroundings of destinations and types of tourists are used as indicators and reflect different stages of tourism destination development; while intangible aspects, such as attitudes, collaboration and values of social agents are often excluded from these models (Tinsley & Lynch 2001). Heterogeneous and historical aspects of places are excluded in order to understand destination development as a predictable process. As a result, tourism destination development is understood as a homogeneous and linear process.

2.2.2 The marketing-management oriented approach

Studies based on this approach aim to help increase the efficiency of decision-making processes, marketing plans and strategies in order to enhance the economic growth of destinations. Thus, the models in this approach usually provide normative suggestions for the success of the tourism industry. With this objective, tourism is a production system and resources of tourism destinations are inputs, as illustrated by Smith's (1988, p. 183) definition: "tourism is the aggregate of all businesses that directly provide goods or services to facilitate business, pleasure, and leisure activities away from the home environment". A tourism destination in this approach is seen as a product (Smith 1994) and destination development is seen as a result of marketing and management strategies. This approach can be divided into the marketing-based approach and the production-based approach.

Table 2.1: Resort-Development Spectrum Model

Major characteristics	Phase 1: Local tourism	Phase 2: Regional tourism	Phase 3: National tourism	Phase 4: International tourism
Principal Markets	-People from nearby towns	-Tourists travelling from areas within the state or region	-Tourists who travel long distances from all parts of the country	-Emphasis on international tourism
Accommodation	-Inexpensive motels -Hostels for backpackers	-2-3-star resort motels -First outside investments in hotels	-Outside investments in hotels	-Numerous 5-star hotels -International hotel chains establish resort hotels
Promotion	-Undertaken by local associations -Limited funds & professionalism	-Throughout the region -May attract government funds -Resorts advertise on an individual basis	-Establishment professional promotion institute	-Very professional approach -Corporate advertising very significant
Tourism Infrastructure	-Limited shops and restaurants catering for tourists	-Start of a commercial sector based on tourism -Additional specialist shops -Construction of attractions	-Expansion of shopping and dining opportunities specialising in tourism -Construction of a range of sports facilities	-Development of specialist shopping areas -Establishment of duty-free shopping & convention centres
Transport	-Very limited in scope	-Road access is significantly enhanced	-National air services	-International air services

Source: Prideaux, 2000

The market-oriented approach focuses on tourists as customers. It defines tourism as a service product, which is different from manufacturing products because it provides intangible, sensual and psychological benefits for the tourists. Tourism destinations are service environments facilitating tourism experiences. Tourism destination development can then also be seen as increasing the added value of a destination by emphasising a distinctive sense of place (Murphy 1985; Gunn 1997). As the value a destination holds for people is personal, researches following this approach generally examine tourists' expectations of the destination, evaluate how a destination image mentally impacts their decision making process, and study which factors of a destination influence tourists' motivation, expectation, and satisfaction. In this approach, branding is an important element and it focuses on identifying destinations and creating brand names as images of destinations in the mind of the target group (Seaton & Bennett 1996). Tourism destination development is not only about increasing value, but also about competing with other destinations. Tourism destination development therefore can be evaluated through comparative advantages, comparing the ability of different destinations to use existing natural and other resources (Ritchie & Crouch 2000; Dwyer & Kim 2003).

The production-oriented approach to destination development focuses on industrial development and the strategies on how to improve the tourism production system. Several studies in this approach identified coordination as a key for developing tourism destinations. Viken (2011), for instance, argued that coordination is a nodal point for success for management and marketing, as well as a key to sustain growth of tourism destinations. In other words, the dynamics of tourism destinations depend on interactions between stakeholders. Furthermore, Haugland et al. (2011) argue that the coordination should not only be considered within a destination, but also as a way to develop integrated multilevel strategies generating value for local actors. These strategies require consideration in three areas, including the coordination at the destination level (degree of integration in local network structure), inter-destination bridge ties (imitation innovation), and destination capabilities (destination image and branding, utilization and distributed resources and competencies).

2.2.3 Socio-cultural approach

The socio-cultural approach is a non-business driven approach. In contrast to the two conventional business-oriented approaches, it rather focuses on the complexity of tourism destinations than on economic benefits and growth. Tourism destinations are not homogeneous spaces and should not be understood only in terms of physical and functional dimensions. Influenced by the idea that things are interpreted not as they are in themselves but as they appear to others (Holden 2005) and that reality follows from an individual understanding of things (Sharpley 2011), this approach focuses on tourists and the tourism industry as agents of social change impacting the development of tourism destinations

(Ringer 1998). Destinations are seen as socially constructed and obtain their meaning through production and consumption processes that connect people to the world by placing their experiences in a context of destinations (Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011). For example, Urry and Larsen (2011) argued in *The Tourism Gaze* that a tourism destination emerges as a result of tourists' particular way of consuming places and landscapes. Therefore, a tourism destination is produced and reproduced through elements, such as the tastes of tourists and media representations, taking into account certain features of history, culture and landscape. Tourists are thus also included in the production process. Furthermore, through communication between tourists and producers, tourism destinations are continuously produced and reproduced (Ateljevic & Doorne 2002). As a consequence, there are multiple ways to define a destination (Ringer 1998). Thus the socio-cultural approach sees tourism destinations as being produced through complex social practices that produce, maintain, negotiate and transform places (Framke 2002; Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011). Tourism destinations are therefore seen rather as open and unstable systems that are produced and reproduced differently, and that have multiple shapes. They are continuously captured and recaptured and invented and reinvented by both global and local forces (Milne & Ateljevic 2001).

2.2.4 Discussion

Tourism destination and tourism destination development are contested concepts based on different approaches and diverse narratives, ideologies, scales, methods and objectives. The presence and absence of certain aspects in different approaches creates certain strengths and weaknesses. For example, since the main objective of the economic geography approach is to synthesise the complexity of destinations, the value of these models lies in their explanatory and predictive ability, and the suggestion of a preferred spatial structure that can be used in planning of tourism destinations (Pearce 1989; Dredge 1999).

However, Saarinen (2001) argued that defining tourist destinations as units could be problematic when conducting a spatial analysis of tourism destinations. He argues that destinations can only be understood if the variety of scales is taken into account, ranging from for instance that of a beach resort, city, province, country to an entire continent. Reducing and generalising the specific characteristics of a tourism destination into a homogeneous geographical space means downgrading the importance of the diverse historic conditions of a place. This is seen as an important shortcoming of these approaches.

Both the economic geography approach and the marketing-management oriented approach have also been criticised as paying too little attention to the heterogeneity of places. They convert tourism destinations into units providing services to tourists, and limit the role of tourists to that of customers.

Variables that do not fit into their models are labelled as 'external factors'. Therefore, most social and institutional practices are absent from these analyses. In addition, stakeholders are assumed to have uniform roles and a homogeneous influence in the tourism destination development. However, tourists play a different role than community members or entrepreneurs. Therefore, these models cannot help us understand how particular agents or entities contribute to destination development and therefore might not be able to provide recommendations that fit the specific situation. For instance, Smith (1992), when discussing the complexity and multiplicity of tourism destinations, showed that applying a general model to examine tourism destinations will create problems because it excludes the co-existence of different tourism destinations, unpredictable factors such as floods, the specific context of population and immigration, and the uncertainty of social relations and the development of infrastructure. Moreover, these models were not able to reveal complex relations within destinations including governance structures in a tourism destination.

Another criticism of these approaches concerns the dynamics of tourism destinations. The economic geography approach and the marketing-management oriented approach aim at explaining tourism destinations for business and management benefits and therefore do not sufficiently take into account the social changes influencing destination development (Russell & Faulkner 1999; Tinsley & Lynch 2001; Framke 2002; Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011; Hamzah & Hampton 2012). These models are too linear and static to analyse the complexities of social and power relations underlying the construction of tourism destinations. They tend to focus on the role of certain actors, such as governments or industrial actors, assuming they have sufficient power to dominate and control the development of tourism destinations. Furthermore, they fail to show how different sets of external factors and impacts from technology and materials influence destination development (Russell & Faulkner 1999; Butler 2006).

The socio-cultural approach emerged from these concerns about the complexity of processes and practices involved in destination development including interactions between various stakeholders. However, this approach in turn is criticised as observing connections without further specification and not being able to provide a clear description of the dynamic process driving the destination development (Framke 2002). Furthermore, the socio-cultural approach is criticised for not paying sufficient attention to the role of material things and their impacts on tourism destination development (Jóhannesson 2007).

This thesis intends to take these earlier conceptualisations of tourism destinations a step further and provides an alternative way to examine and understand tourism destinations and their development. The next section introduces actor-network theory (ANT) and briefly discusses how it can be used in tourism destination studies. In chapters 4,5 and 6 I will also introduce specific ideas that informed my analysis of Thai tourism destinations.

2.3 Actor-network theory; a socio-material approach

Actor-network theory (ANT) is also known as ‘sociology of translation’ or ‘relational sociology’. Initially scholars like Callon, Latour and Law introduced this approach in the social sciences to describe the development and practice of science and social reality as something constructed by heterogeneous human and non-human entities that constitute networks of relations, while simultaneously being constituted by these. They rejected the idea that ‘social relations’ are separate from the material world and attempted to include non-human actors in the analysis of organisational phenomena by concentrating on ‘relational materiality’ (Callon & Latour 1981; Latour 1987, 1992; Law 1992). Instead of providing a ‘theory of the world’, they depicted society (or a group, or a destination) as a product or an effect of a network of heterogeneous phenomena (Law 1992). Through time, actor-network theory developed as initial ANT studies were followed by studies designated as post-ANT. As Van der Duim, Ren and Johansson (2017) recently explained, “ANT is diverted from a management-oriented view of how things ‘function’, at times evident in early ANT studies, towards a multiplicity-oriented approach to how tourism is done as multiple and as messy (a turn that has also been termed as post-ANT, see Gad & Jensen 2010)” (p. 142).

I will now discuss a number of basic ideas of ANT and its implications for studying tourism destinations. Following ANT, there is nothing outside a network of relations (Callon & Latour 1981; Murdoch 2006). The term ‘actor-network’ refers to an effect emerging from the interaction between heterogeneous entities. These entities, both human and non-human, can only exist and take shape when they are connected and being juxtaposed in the building of networks of relations (Murdoch 1998). These human and non-human entities therefore are defined through relations at the same time that they are performing in these (Van der Duim 2007).

To construct an actor-network, human and non-human actors are included in a process that arranges their interests, while providing an identity for these entities and forming a temporary social world (Law, 1992). This process negotiates, re-defines, persuades, mobilises, represents and displaces entities and places to perform in accordance with the needs of the network for the consolidation of the actor-network (Latour 1997; Van der Duim 2007). This process is known as the translation process, a process or method that is required for establishing and stabilising actor-networks (Van der Duim 2005). In other words, the translation process is the process of forming a social world through changes in the alignment of interests in a network (Law 1992) and when associated actors are arranged to act as a whole, they constitute an actor-network.

So called ‘modes of ordering’ (Law 1994), certain patterns of networking or “particular cultural repertoires” (Van der Ploeg 2003, p. 137) play an important role in these actor-networks as they define the way things should be done. They are also referred to as Foucauldian mini-discourses (Law 1992). According to Van der Duim (2005), modes of ordering form a framework of interconnected concepts for defining, analysing, evaluating, situating and guiding particular actors by providing a set of ideas and concepts for observing things, a set of particular practices for doing things, and the ways of integrating with other actor-networks and modes of ordering. Modes of ordering thus involve how human and non-human actors communicate, interact and link themselves with others at both micro and macro levels. For example, modes of ordering entail to the ways that an entrepreneur conceptualises a destination, and generate ideas of what kind of businesses and business styles suit the area and the tourists. In other words, modes of ordering pertain to “the tactics of translation, that is, the way others are enrolled and mobilised” (Van der Duim 2005, p. 114). Hence, modes of ordering shape the configuration of an actor-network and make it a “material-semiotic hybrid” (Latour 1999, p. 10) constituted by actions of individuals associating with it.

2.3.1 Implications of using ANT to study tourism destinations

By using ANT, a tourism destination is a product or an effect of the activities of networks in a particular space and time (Murdoch 2006) formed through processes of translation that enrol human and non-human entities into webs of relations by negotiating and converting the identities of these entities (Law 1992). A variety of materials, such as airplanes, accommodations, passports, souvenirs and attractions, work together with tour agencies, entrepreneurs, governmental officials and tourists. They are part of the translation process making tourism possible and durable (Callon & Latour 1981).

To configure a tourism destination, associated actors are arranged to act as a whole by certain patterns of networking or ‘modes of ordering’ (Law 1994), which entail certain forms of subjectivity and the way things should be done. In this process, entities are negotiated, mobilised, represented and displaced (Latour 1997). They are redefined and persuaded to behave in accordance with what the network needs for the consolidation of a configuration of a tourism destination (Van der Duim 2007). This involves the way associated actors communicate, interact and link themselves with others in both micro and macro levels, how they define, analyse and evaluate situations and guide particular actors by providing a set of ideas and practices for observing and doing things. For example, modes of ordering entail the ways that the tourism destination is defined, such as a hub for backpackers or a romantic place, as well as the shapes of objects within the networks, such as accommodations and souvenirs. Consequently, according to this socio-material approach a tourism destination is a hybrid of material and non-material entities.

Instead of defining tourist destinations as units, spatial analysis through an ANT framework is a network analysis. The space of a tourism destination is not a container but contained in actor-networks (Murdoch 2006). Space is thus arranged through processes of negotiation, representation and displacement, which establish relations between entities and places, so that specific practices can be conducted (Murdoch 1997, 1998; Van der Duim 2007; Law 2009). Obviously tourism destinations as networks are acting in a certain space; however, that space is also made, created, it is an effect and a material outcome (Law & Hetherington 2000). Scale and space are determined and produced within those processes of ordering that construct certain tourism destinations (Murdoch 1998). Space is bound into networks and spatial relations are performed by these networks. Space is both “physical and relational” (Murdoch 1998, p. 361), since it is constructed within networks of relations producing tourism, and tourism is always a means of acting upon space (Van der Duim 2007).

Thus a tourism destination is defined as a temporary entity that exist only through the continuous performance of networks of relations (Law & Singleton 2005). That is, it is a result of ongoing processes of material and conceptual ordering of people, organisations and non-human entities (Van der Duim 2005). These continuous processes of material and conceptual ordering are considered the machinery underlying the development of a tourism destination (Latour 2000).

2.3.2 *Materiality*

Similar to the socio-cultural approach, actor-network theory is a non-business driven perspective that emphasises the messiness of social realities. However, the advantage of ANT as an alternative approach for studying tourism destinations is its emphasis on the agency of non-human entities. It intends to give a voice to silent non-human actors by viewing tourism destinations as socio-material constructions. It is based on the principle of general symmetry, the idea that, analytically, human actors are treated in the same ways as other (non-human) entities. Entities are not only consequences of the relations in which they are located, but they are also performed in, by and through those relations (Van der Duim 2007). Both the entities and the relations are co-constructed in networks, and they all have their own capacity, which can damage the network if any of them leaves it (Murdoch 2006). Non-human materials, such as postcards and accommodations, therefore are not perceived as outcomes of human actions, but as actors themselves, which are able to structure, define and arrange interaction. So ANT treats materials differently than other tourism development approaches, as ANT “dissolves the distinction between agency and structure, between global and local, between those that drive and the driven, between macro and micro, and between people and things” (Law 1994, p. 12). Human and non-human beings are both products of tourism destinations and part of processes of constructing tourism destinations (Jóhannesson 2007).

2.3.3 Multiplicity

Even if a certain configuration of a tourism destination is successfully created; it is only temporary (Law 2004). The processes that produce a tourism destination are ongoing and consist of contested practices of dynamic unfolding and becoming (Law & Singleton 2005). While a particular reality is continuously constructed and reconstructed through processes of assembling and ordering, diverse socio-material relations can similarly enact other realities, either at the same time or in historical processes of unfolding (Law & Urry 2004). Studying tourism destination development from this socio-material approach not only concerns the construction and maintaining of certain configurations of a tourism destination, but also includes the multiplicity of relations and practices that are part of the dynamics of a tourism destination or even a series of tourism destinations.

Following this ontological ANT approach, there can be multiple versions of a tourism destination, since it might be produced in diverse and contested social and material relations, and be enacted into a variety of beings (Ren 2011). Hence, differences of interests in a tourism destination should not be viewed as different perspectives on a single destination, but as the enactment of different versions of a tourism destination in different networks of relations and practices (Mol 2002; Law & Singleton 2005). There is no single reality of a tourism destination, because the realities can be produced in diverse and contested social and material relations (Law & Urry 2004). They can interlink with multiple enactments across space and in time, and can be repeatedly reproduced and re-performed through different practices and translation processes (Rimpiläinen 2015). A variety of discourses, materials and practices are ordered and integrated within heterogeneous tourism destination networks, and the multiplicity of tourism destinations comes from the performance of heterogeneous networks (Bærenholdt 2010; Ren 2011). Based on this line of argument, the complexity of tourism destination development can be understood only by studying its continuously processes of ordering.

In conclusion, it can be argued that tourism destinations are not flat, consistent, coherent or definite (Law 2008). Since a tourism destination is always entangled with other things and ordering attempts, its configuration is continuously negotiated, maintained, and reproduced. A tourism destination can have different identities and realities as people, materials, technologies and discourses are connected in multiple ways (Law 2002). Being produced and reproduced in diverse and contested social and material relations; a tourism destination is not a singular phenomenon (Law & Urry 2004; Ren 2011).

2.4 Methodology

This thesis examines the development of tourism destinations in Thailand based on actor-network theory (ANT). ANT is “a family of sensibilities and methods of analysis that treat everything in the social and material world as a continuously generated effect of webs of relations within which they are located” (Law 2009, p. 141). It is a set of tools used for seeking an understanding of complex social situations by following constituting elements and examining how they associate. As Van der Duim et al. (2012) recently explained, ANT sees the world as composed of continually constructed relations-gone-solid, which can never be defined as purely social, natural, technological or cultural, but only – and always – as hybrids. Its main focus is not the usual *why* questions of social sciences but rather questions *how* social arrangements are accomplished and stabilised. Thus society is not taken to be what holds us together but rather what has to be held together (Latour 1986). This entails that ANT-inspired studies are not interested in *what* tourism destinations are, but in how tourism destinations *work*, how they are assembled, enacted and ordered; how they are held together and how they may fall apart. Starting from this perspective, the aim of this research was thus not to provide general patterns of tourism destination development, but rather discussing and better understanding the nature of tourism destinations and their possible developments. The focus was on understanding the consequences of the continuous creation of the tourism destinations. The data was used to discuss the multiple and fluid nature of the tourism destinations and their development.

2.4.1. Three case studies

Studies following an ANT perspective are grounded in empirical case studies since we “can only understand the object of study if we have a sense of those case studies and how these work in practice” (Law 2009, p. 141). This study therefore takes the form of case studies analysing the multiplicity of tourism destinations. In general, a case study is an obvious method for studying particular tourism destinations. It allows researchers to describe specific features and practices as these evolve in a certain situation and context, and allows them to empirically explore their analytical questions at the same time (Botterill & Platenkamp 2012).

In reference to my description of tourism development in Thailand, which will be provided in chapter 3, I selected three kinds of tourism destinations in Thailand, namely Pai (a tourism destination in the North of Thailand), Pattaya (a beach resort) and floating markets (cultural tourism destinations). These three selected case studies not only have main features of tourism destination development in Thailand, but also illustrate different historical development trajectories and reflect the variety of tourism developments in Thailand.

Pai is a rural district in the northern part of Thailand, which has a beautiful mountain scenery and a variety of ethnic cultures. Pai illustrates the way a rural area in Thailand has been developed into a tourism destination. It gradually grew as an alternative destination for trekking tourists and backpackers with little interest from the Thai government. As I will explain in Chapter 4, Pai featured in domestic movies and media in 2006, and as a result it experienced a rapid growth and became one of the most popular destinations in Thailand for both domestic and foreign tourists.

Pattaya is an urban mass tourism destination visited by around one third of all international tourists visiting Thailand. Pattaya is not only famous as a beach resort and for its nightlife entertainment, but also has a variety of family-friendly attractions and activities, which attract a wide range of international and domestic tourists.

Floating markets are a series of tourism destinations in Thailand that have gone through some changes over the years, sometimes gradually, sometimes abruptly. The study of floating markets enabled me to view destination development as a process transforming certain social practices into attractions or tourism destinations in multiple locations.

These three case studies should not be seen as representative for all tourism destinations in Thailand. However, exploring these three cases provides lessons in terms of an alternative way of looking at the tourism industry in Thailand. In doing so, this research provides an analysis of tourism destinations and their development by following the networks, studying the materials that they are made of and the relations established between these materials (Murdoch 2006).

2.4.2 Data Collection

In this research, ANT served as a framework for collecting data as well as analysing them. Instead of offering an explanation of the world, ANT works as a guideline for tracing processes that construct tourism destinations. At the same time, it works as a tool for examining particular webs of relations and daily practices of human and non-human beings, in order to produce rich descriptions that explain how things work and how relations and practices are ordered (Van der Duim et al. 2013). ANT does not offer any particular method of collecting data, but provides tools and sensibilities to gather data and a way of making sense of that data. This not only requires a flexible methodology for providing an explanation of a messy empirical site (Law 1994; Jóhannesson 2005), but also certain skills from the researcher to select suitable data collecting methods and to find the point of entry.

While tourism destination development is a long, continuous process, often over decades, I had limited time in the field. The first challenge therefore was finding a way to close the gap between the dynamic nature of tourism destinations and the researcher's time, not being able to see much more than a snapshot, as it were. I dealt with this gap by choosing a life and work history approach as the data collecting method. This approach involves "the collection of data that span a given period of time" (Ladkin 2004, p. 246). It provides a guideline for studying historical narratives of tourism destination development by taking detailed recollections of the nature and character of destinations in the past from both actors and documents to provide and understand the performance and transformation of the tourism destinations.

In terms of data collection, the life and work history approach matches well with ANT since it allows a whole range of methods to be used and generates both quantitative and qualitative data as well as micro- and macro-scale data. I used different field observation techniques (taking notes, audio/visual recording, interviews, observation), and studied literature and objects in order to follow the actors and to observe the connections between them, as well as the material and conceptual ordering underlying the development of the tourism destinations.

The second challenge was finding a point of entry to examine the tourism destinations. In ANT everything in a network is connected and can be used as an entry point; selecting a particular entity among a number of heterogeneous objects almost becomes a practical choice. Following Venturini's (2009) suggestion, I first began with a literature study to gain insights about the history and context of these tourism destinations. However, to identify an actor whose presence or absence is relevant for the enactment of the tourism destination, one needs to be part of the network. Thus, I had to spend a certain amount of time for participant observation focusing on the performance of heterogeneous entities in the tourism destination. As a result, postcards of Pai, spaces in Pattaya and particular elements (such as canals, boats, vendors) constituting floating markets were selected based on their part in the transformation processes of the chosen tourism destinations.

I followed these actors to discover their socio-material relations, because actors are always both composed by and components of the actor-networks. For studying connections, associations and relationships, Marcus (1998) suggests a strategy of tracing people, documents, objects, places, discourses and tourism practices by describing what actors actually do and their interactions with others. Similarly, Latour (2005) argued that actors should not be observed only in as far as how they are connected and interconnected, and how they differ from each other, but also how they make the network work. "It's the work, and the movement, and the flow, and the changes that should be stressed" (ibid., p. 143).

2.4.3. Data collection methods

Tracing these human and non-human actors was done through a desk study, participant observations and in-depth interviews. These were combined to describe the practices, how the actors performed and what relations they have. This way, I could reflect on what makes the tourism destinations work both in the present and the past. The desk study involved examining materials, such as documents, literature, maps and even postcards in order to provide a historical context for the tourism destinations.

Conducting in-depth interviews is a useful technique to collect qualitative experiential data, as it provides insight in the procedure of a certain practice as well as the meaning of it (Seidman 2006). So I used in-depth interviews to collect ‘rich’ data and ‘thick’ descriptions of the temporary world of the tourism destinations, encouraging respondents to talk and explain their answers (Veal 1992; Jennings 2001). In this research, I conducted interviews with a range of stakeholders, including entrepreneurs, local people, tourists and government officials, in order to understand their roles, practices, and relations as these shape the tourism destination. The interviews also gave me an insight in their reflections on the performance of other human and non-human actors. The interviewees were also asked to compare the present and the past in terms of the performance of actors and the configurations of the tourism destination. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and translated into a text-file. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 provide more detailed information about these interviews.

Furthermore, I observed participants taking more of an ‘insider view’ of the situation and context. This can be used as a way to give a voice to non-human actors. Participant observation refers to a method used for gaining an understanding of a certain situation in its natural state by taking part in the studied activities (Belsky 2004). In this research, I not only observed the actors’ actions, but also observed, as far as possible, who and what were included and excluded from it. The participant observations were recorded through multiple techniques, including field notes, audio recording and pictures. This combination of methods highlights the subjectivity of the research process and reflects how I also took part in the construction of Pai, Pattaya and the floating market as tourism destinations.

In conclusion, this study was built on inquiries including and following both human and non-human actors, such as local entrepreneurs and local government officers as well as roads, postcards and sandy beaches. Further details of data collecting processes and how actors in each case study were followed are described in the chapter in which each empirical case study is examined.

2.4.4 Credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability

As this study focuses on describing the configurations and development of certain tourism destinations in Thailand, its methods respond to ‘trustworthiness’ as a standard of the qualitative inquiry. This section therefore discusses the trustworthiness of this study, through four criteria introduced by Lincoln and Guba (1985), namely credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility, which corresponds to internal validity in quantitative approaches, is a criterion for ensuring that the study actually examines what it is intended to (Shenton 2004). In this study, I used techniques such as prolonged engagement, referential adequacy and triangulation, to increase the credibility. Prolonged engagement assumes that the long relationship between a researcher and respondents can reduce the impact of reactivity and respondent bias (Rubin & Babbie 2001). During my field work in Thailand, I immersed myself in the studied sites for two to eight weeks. The time spent in each site was flexible and depended on how long it took to ‘become connected’ with the context and actors on sites. This situation allowed me to observe practices in different periods of time, day and night, weekends and weekdays. I was also able to follow the life and work of certain actors, such as local entrepreneurs and tourists. My observations in this study therefore included all the informal conversations I had during my time at the sites.

I used data triangulation strategy, combining multiple data sources to improve the research credibility (Bryman 2004; Moran-Ellis et al. 2006). The last strategy to enhance the credibility was referential adequacy. Decrop (2004) mentioned that this strategy is meant to provide contextual information to help in the process of data analysis and interpretation. My contextual information about tourism destination development in Thailand came from two sources. Firstly, my preliminary analysis of the literature also provided me with an understanding of how tourism destinations are shaped and enacted, as I already mentioned in the previous section. Secondly, I myself am Thai. Therefore, I understand the Thai context and knew the general background before I went there. Speaking the same language also made it easier for most respondents to tell me their stories as they actually wanted to. This way, I was able to develop certain assumptions about the tourism practices and the enactment of the tourism destinations before I examined them through other methods as a way to test the validity of my findings. For instance, being Thai myself, I knew for sure that Thai people like to travel to the forests and mountains in the winter (November-February). Watching Thai movies and Thai television programmes relating to Pai, one of my sites, led me to believe that Thai tourists were likely to show certain types of behaviour. Then, I made observations at the site and interviewed respondents to examine these assumptions.

The second criterion is transferability, which refers to how applicable my findings are to other contexts. As the results of a qualitative study must be understood within its particular characteristics, the ‘thick descriptions’ on the context of my studied sites and the procedures of how I collected the data in each case study and made sense of them are provided in their own chapters as a ‘baseline understanding’ of how my results should be compared with others.

I enhanced the dependability and the confirmability of my study through two kinds of auditors. The first being my own supervisors. Working together, they gave me a second opinion on how data should be selected and interpreted, as well as on how to draw conclusions from my findings. Apart from my supervisors, there were several formal and informal opportunities allowing me to discuss my work with other PhD candidates and academic staff. The second type of auditing came from peer reviews. All my case studies were submitted to academic journals in order to receive more general comments. The raw data, such as my voice-recorded files, written field notes, documents, transcriptions of the interviews, pictures and postcards, can be used for an audit trail to increase my study’s confirmability as well.

Finally, I would like to briefly reflect on my position as a Thai, which might be considered as a factor influencing the way I collected and analysed my data. As mentioned before, I have a same general understanding as other Thai people of places and certain tourism practices. So, in a way I was already part of certain networks before I came to the sites. My personal contacts also played a crucial role during the data collecting process. For example, I asked my friends to introduce me to people, such as local people and entrepreneurs in Pai and Ampawa floating market, and local government personnel in Pattaya. Although this might be considered as being subjective, I found that Thai people were more inclined to provide in-depth information when they trusted me because of my personal background. On the other hand, I had various respondents who I did not get introduced to through my personal contacts; I simply introduced myself as a researcher when I contacted them. Overall, I felt that local people and government personnel were more interested in providing interviews than people who moved into the areas to start a business in tourism.

Last but not least, I found that the most practical way to observe particular networks was being a part of them. During my stay at the sites, I mostly examined tourism practices by pretending to be a tourist before introducing myself as a researcher. I also became friends with several respondents. This allowed me to follow their life and work, as well as to have informal discussions. For instance, I was allowed to stay inside the souvenir shops in Pai and I helped them sell products. I felt that in many cases, the data from these informal contacts was more in-depth and sincere than formal interviews. Therefore, I would not deny that I was also an actor taking part in the enactment of tourism destinations in this thesis.

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CHAPTER 3: Tourism development in Thailand

This chapter presents the context of tourism in Thailand in three parts. The first part provides general information on Thailand. The second part illustrates the history of tourism development in Thailand by describing the Thai government's actions and policies, as the Thai government has always played a significant role in the development of Thailand as a tourism destination. The third part shows the general international and domestic tourism practices.

3.1 Thailand

Thailand is part of the Indochina peninsula in Southeast Asia. Thailand has a surface area of around 510,890 square kilometres. In 2014, Thailand had a population of around 67.2 million. Although 75-95 per cent of the population is ethnically Thai, around 40 per cent of Thais has a partial Chinese ancestry, Thai Malays represent 3 per cent of the population, and the remainder consists of Mons, Khmers and various hill tribes (West 2009). The country's official language is Thai (or Central Thai), however there are three other main languages including Northern Thai, Northeastern Thai and Southern Thai.

Thailand is divided into 76 provinces. The provinces are generally grouped into six regions: Central, Northern, Southern, Western, Northeastern (Isan), and Eastern. Each province is divided into districts and the districts are further divided into sub-districts. There are two specially-governed districts. The first one is Bangkok, the capital and largest city. Bangkok is Thailand's political, commercial, industrial, and cultural hub. The other one is Pattaya, which became Pattaya City in 1976 due to the rapid and continuous growth of its tourism industry, and the fact that the local government could not cope with the administration (Leoprapai 1997).

In terms of tourism, the Tourism Authority of Thailand or TAT divided the country into five regions (Central, Northern, Southern, Northeastern and Eastern) based on geographical aspects as well as cultural, historical, and natural attractions (see figure 3.1). Central Thailand is a lowland dominated by the Chao Phraya River. Northern Thailand is a mountainous area with tropical forests. It boasts a variety of cultural attractions including Sukhothai and Lanna, and a diversity of ethnic groups such as Akha, Karen, Lahu, Lisu, and Lolo. The Northeast consists of highlands with the Mekong River as a border between Thailand and neighbouring countries. Southern Thailand is located on the Malay Peninsula connecting the Gulf of Thailand, the Andaman Sea and the Indian Ocean. The Andaman Sea is a precious natural resource as it is where the most popular and luxurious resorts are located, including Phuket, Krabi, Ranong, Phang Nga, and Trang and their islands along the coasts.

Figure 3.1: Map of Thailand based on tourism purposes



Source: Globe-trotter (2009) based on the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection - University of Texas Libraries

3.2 History of tourism development and tourism policy in Thailand

Tourism in Thailand has changed over time. I divided the development of tourism in Thailand into three eras to show how Thailand has been shaped as a tourism destination as a result of policies of the Thai government as well as the activities of other actors.

3.2.1 Early development

Already in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, was a tourism destination. Cultural tourism was the first form of tourism to appear in Thailand. Since the late 1920s, there was a week-long sightseeing itinerary in and around Bangkok that advised visiting important temples, palaces and monuments, such as the National Library, the Grand Palace with the Temple of the Emerald Buddha, a floating market and the ruins of Ayutthaya (Meyer 1988; Peleggi 1996). The Siamese Royal State Railway Department (now: The State Railway of Thailand) was the first Thai government organisation that took responsibility for tourism in Thailand and produced the first English-language guidebook to Bangkok in 1927 (Peleggi 1996). The first governmental tourism planning began in 1936 when the Ministry of Commerce and Transportation introduced a project to promote tourism by boosting advertising, increasing tourist arrivals and improving tourist accommodations. Since tourism became more visible, a tourism department was established in 1950. Although Thailand gradually became a tourism destination, tourism was still concentrated in Bangkok.

After the Second World War, the United States played a significant role in Southeast Asia through multiple forms of funding and cooperation. Tourism in Thailand benefitted from the Cold War and the Vietnam War in the early 1960s, as it received funding for the development of infrastructure. Bangkok and other destinations were used for Rest and Recreation (R&R) by the US military, leading to a dramatic increase in the number hotels, restaurants, bars, nightclubs and massage parlours in different destinations in Thailand (Meyer 1988). Furthermore, the development of commercial airlines after the Second World War enhanced the mobility of international visitors. Package tours by air were a significant factor in the expansion of international tourism from Europe (Pearce 1989). As a response, Thai Airways International was established in 1959.

Various international organisations, such as the WTO and the World Bank advised Thailand, as well as other developing countries, that international tourism was a way to increase foreign exchange earnings, enhance employment rates as well as to promote their national image (Pearce 1989).

3.2.2 Thailand as a cultural, natural, and historical destination (1960 - the late 1990s)

The increasing number of visitors and economic benefits in the 1950s made the Thai government more aware of the importance of tourism (McDowall & Wang 2009). The Thai prime minister saw the economic benefits that could be generated from tourism, so in 1960, he established the Tourist Organisation of Thailand (TOT), aimed at expanding the scope and scale of tourism in Thailand. The

1960s can therefore be seen as a significant period in which tourism destinations developed outside of Bangkok took place. The main role of TOT was to promote Thai tourism activities and destinations to tourists, especially the international ones. It mainly did so by publishing magazines in both Thai and English. The establishment of TOT reflected the Thai government's perception of tourism as a new source of income.

In this period, the Thai government was influenced by the idea of modernisation and intended to transform Thailand from an agricultural society to an industrial one (Harrison 1992). International organisations supported the Thai government through funds and expert advice. The National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP) was established in 1961, a master plan for providing direction to the economic and social development of Thailand. The increase of international mobility, the development of infrastructure following NESDP and the rapid growth of the service sector, particularly in the capital, was of great support to the Thai tourism industry. Furthermore, the absence of political conflicts resulting from communism or religious fundamentalism made the situation in Thailand different from its neighbour countries. This allowed international tourism in Thailand to grow continuously throughout 1970s, also outside of Bangkok. As a result of modernisation and the development of a transportation system, a number of new tourism destinations were constructed, and Chiang Mai and Phuket were developed as major cultural and natural tourism destinations.

In 1972, the third National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP) included the promotion of the international tourism industry and service businesses for the first time (McDowall & Yang 2009). The Thai government saw tourism as a way to receive foreign currency and stimulate production and maximise the use of resources from related sectors, which in turn would enhance the country's economic status (Jantapong & Ponpattanapisarnkol 2015). The policies of the Thai government reflect how tourism was increasingly considered as one of the main strategies for developing the country (McDowall & Wang 2009; Lortanavanit 2007). In addition, the country's monumental ruins, such as the ancient cities of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya in northern and central Thailand, were extensively restored since the mid-1970s (Peleggi 1996). This reflects the emergence of Thailand as a cultural, natural, and historical destination (Rittichainuwat & Qu 2000).

A clear direction for tourism development was discussed in the fourth NESDP (1977-1980). It set a target number for international tourists, and contained strategies to promote tourism, such as subsidising the tourism industry to make it more competitive and formal training to provide a qualified workforce for tourist businesses. The Thai government did not think of tourism only in terms of economic benefits, but also as part of a political agenda. For example, the restoration and promotion of heritage sites was placed on the national agenda of the Thai government with the expectation that this would boost national pride while gaining economically from the tourism industry (Peleggi 1996).

In 1979, the TOT was transformed into the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), an organisation with a broader scope of work in tourism development and promotion, and conservation of tourism resources. TAT was established to manage the growth of tourism in Thailand (Manopattana 2010). TOT and TAT had budgets to develop both short- and long-term plans with a broad agenda, including monument conservation and road construction (Peleggi 1996), together with promoting a number of cultural events and tourism campaigns. The most important of which were the Bangkok Bicentennial in 1982, the celebrations for the 60th birthday of King Bhumibol, the Visit Thailand Year campaign promoting Thailand as a cultural tourism destination in 1987 and ceremonies for the longest reign in Thai history in 1988 (McDowall & Wang 2009).

In conclusion, the Thai government developed, supported and promoted tourism destinations through a top-down approach. The development of tourism destinations in the 1960-1990 period was primarily based on natural and cultural resources in different parts of the country. This approach was very successful in terms of economic benefits. During this period, the tourism industry in Thailand experienced its highest growth in terms of both number of visitors and tourist expenditure. Especially the 1980s showed a spectacular growth from 2 million annual tourist arrivals at the beginning of the decade to 5 million at the end (Walton 1993 in Peleggi 1996). Tourism revenues grew from US\$ 8 million in 1960 to US\$ 8.7 billion in 1996 (Kontogeorgopoulos 1998). The tourism industry replaced rice as the country's largest source of foreign exchange and leading export commodity from 1981 onwards (Horey 1991 in McDowall & Wang 2009). Tourism became an important part of the Thai economy as both a job creator and foreign exchange earner. However, there were also unintentional consequences. The industrialisation in Thailand during this period affected both culture and nature. Environmental pollution and destruction brought about a decline in nature-based tourism, while the rural way of life also began to vanish due to the economic development. For example: people in rural areas stopped using a barter system and started to use money instead. Hotels and a new industrial valley nearby polluted Pattaya beach, and only 10 percentage of the coral reef east of Koh Lan Island (near Pattaya) remained (Kaosa-ard 1994). Sex tourism also grew and attracted tourists, and gave the country the image of a sex tourism destination. Prideaux et al. (2004) claimed that the high ratio of male visitor arrivals throughout the 1980s reflected the relation between sex tourism and Thailand. He also argued that the money tourism brought in was one of the reasons for the lack of law enforcement against sex tourism in Thailand.

3.2.3 Thailand as a diverse tourism destination (the 1990s - the present time)

Since the 1990s, tourism in Thailand has become more complex and diverse. The Thai government tries to position Thailand as a tourism destination with heritage, culinary delights, and shopping and recreational facilities. It wants to compete on the tourism market based on diversity and quality rather than only on the low cost of labour. The Thai government and TAT considered the fact that the growth of Thai tourism in the past mainly came from the growth of the number of visitors; between 2000 and 2016 the growth of the number of visitors was around 240 per cent or 15 per cent per year (see table 3.1). Therefore, the focus has shifted from attracting many tourists to promoting the country to quality tourists who will spend more money and are more environmentally conscious (Tourism Authority of Thailand 2007). However, the economic benefits were and are still the government's main goal. The Thai tourism authorities have been interested in alternative tourism development since the late 1990s, but they paid more attention to high-value tourism products and services that increase tourist's spending, such as health, golf, ecotourism, and MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Events) tourism to gain more revenues (McDowall & Wang 2009).

The economic growth of Thailand, ASEAN (Southeast Asian countries) and BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, South Africa, and China) allowed the middle-class people from these countries to travel for leisure and induced new flows of tourists besides those the Western countries. Table 3.1 shows how the structure of tourist arrivals changed. The number of tourists from major emerging economies (BRICs), including Russia, India and China, and Thailand's neighbour countries (the ASEAN countries), such as Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, has grown rapidly in the last decade. The number of tourists from Western European countries and the USA has relatively decreased. Since 2000, the number of tourists from Russia grew by 2096 per cent, while the number of tourists from the UK decreased by 30 per cent and the inflow of tourists from the USA 'only' increased by 100 per cent.

Table 3.1: Number and growth of tourists by country of origin

Country of residence	2000		2016		Growth of arrivals between 2000 and 2016 in %
	Number	% Share	Number	% Share	
East Asia	5,782,323	60.37	21,664,430	66.48	274.67
ASEAN	2,113,644	22.07	8,658,051	26.57	309.63
Brunei	13,479	0.14	14,032	0.04	4.10
Indonesia	145,375	1.52	535,625	1.64	268.44

Laos	74,940	0.78	1,409,456	4.33	1780.78
Malaysia	1,055,933	11.02	3,533,826	10.84	234.66
Philippines	107,123	1.12	339,486	1.04	216.91
Singapore	659,539	6.89	966,909	2.97	46.60
Vietnam	57,255	0.60	830,394	2.55	1350.34
China	704,463	7.35	8,757,466	26.87	1143.14
Japan	1,206,549	12.60	1,439,629	4.42	19.32
Korea	448,207	4.68	1,464,218	4.49	226.68
Europe	2,191,433	22.88	6,170,481	18.93	181.57
France	240,568	2.51	738,763	2.27	207.09
Germany	387,904	4.05	835,506	2.56	115.39
Italy	120,159	1.25	265,532	0.81	120.98
Netherlands	120,553	1.26	235,708	0.72	95.52
Russia	49,631	0.52	1,089,992	3.34	2096.19
United Kingdom	480,303	5.01	332,866	1.02	-30.70
Eastern Europe	55,384	0.58	409,521	1.26	639.42
The Americas	597,716	6.24	1,405,611	4.31	135.16
Brazil	3,992	0.04	67,418	0.21	1588.83
Canada	86,585	0.90	244,268	0.75	182.11
USA	485,701	5.07	974,632	2.99	100.67
South Asia	340,036	3.55	1,522,873	4.67	347.86
India	203,221	2.12	1,193,822	3.66	487.45
Oceania	384,648	4.02	905,811	2.78	135.49
Australia	326,003	3.40	791,631	2.43	142.83
Middle East	202,169	2.11	747,135	2.29	269.56
Africa	80,501	0.84	171,962	0.53	113.61
Grand Total	9,578,826	100.00	32,588,303	100.00	240.21

Source: Department of Tourism, Ministry of Tourism and Sports, Thailand (<http://www.tourism.go.th/>)

Table 3.2 shows that visitors from different regions stay for different lengths of time and that their daily expenditure differs as well. In 2015, Thai tourists spent much less per day and had shorter trips compared to those from other countries. Tourists from Europe, Oceania and America tend to stay longer than other groups as they stay around two weeks, while tourists from Asia stay around one week on average and ASEAN tourists stay for even less than one week.

Table 3.2: Expenditure per day per tourist and average length of stay in 2015

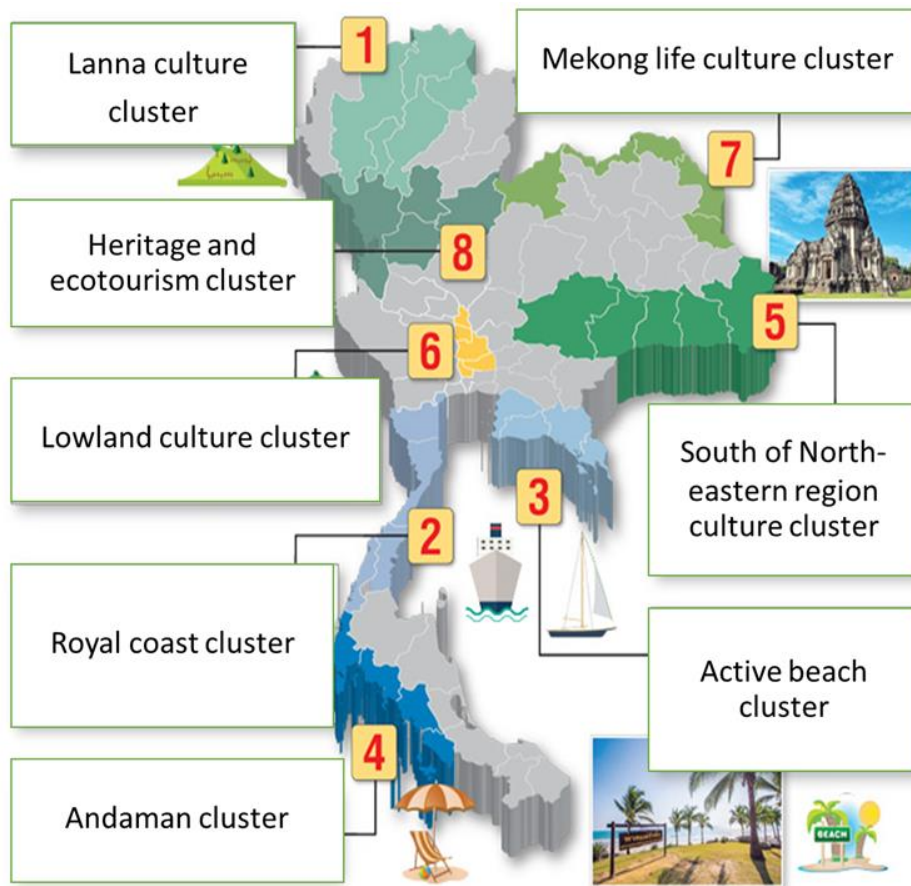
Tourists' origin	Expenditure per day per tourist (US \$)			Average length of stay (days)		
	Package tour	Non package tour	Total	Package tour	Non package tour	Total
ASEAN	152.34	148.01	149.09	4.7	5.99	5.6
East Asia	177.36	156.71	162.71	5.88	7.61	7.01
South Asia	159.96	167.93	166.09	6.36	8.2	13.22
Middle East	175.89	171.39	172	9.47	12.72	12.1
Oceania	178.1	170.49	171.44	12.04	13.67	13.45
Europe	143.93	122.76	125.04	12.87	17.51	16.85
The Americas	161.46	141.42	143.16	11.16	14.62	14.24
Africa	165.58	155.42	156.83	9.89	12.68	12.22
Total (international tourists)	170.37	144.89	150.14	6.78	10.56	9.47
Domestic tourists			73.99			2.61

Note: Exchange rate 1 US\$ = 34.25 Baht.

Source: Department of Tourism, Ministry of Tourism and Sports, Thailand (<http://www.tourism.go.th/>)

There has also been a significant change in the government bodies responsible for tourism. The Ministry of Tourism and Sports was established in 2005 in order to create better collaboration between the Thai government's bodies. The Ministry took over the role of tourism planning and management from TAT, so TAT's only task nowadays is to promote tourism. According to the Ministry's tourism development strategies (2013-2017), the Ministry intended to play four roles: facilitating collaboration between governmental organisations to improve tourism management; developing and restoring tourist attractions; constructing infrastructure and tourism facilities; and enhancing the potential of human resources. However, the views and practical plans of the Ministry seem similar to those TAT used to have. Tourism is still seen as a product for tourists. Tourism destinations in Thailand are grouped in order to create clear brand images to make it easier to sell these to the right target groups. In the latest plan, tourism destinations in Thailand are categorised into eight groups based on their geographical locations and tourism resources (See figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Eight tourism clusters of Thailand according to tourism development strategies 2013-2017



Source: Thansettakij (2016)

3.3 Inbound and domestic tourism

Following the previous section, this section further explores tourism developments in Thailand by distinguishing international tourism and domestic tourism.

3.3.1 International tourism

According to Cummings et al. (1990, p. 7) “Thailand has much to interest the traveller: historic culture, lively arts, exotic islands, nightlife, a tradition of friendliness and hospitality to strangers, and one of the world’s most exciting cuisines”. There is a wide range of tourist itineraries in Thailand: from short stays at the beach to several weeks of travelling around the country. Based on natural and cultural resources, Thailand as a tourism destination is usually divided into two sections: the South and the North. Tourists who come for beach holidays generally go to the coastal areas and tropical islands in the South (the combination of Eastern and Southern region).

Tourists who are interested in culture may visit a number of sights in the Northern and Central region, the so-called Classical Thai tours (Berger 2007). These tours cover the area between Bangkok and Chiang Mai. However, Peleggi (1996) argued that the international tourists pay less attention to Thai heritage sites. According to Cohen (1989) individual and 'alternative' travellers, who generally stay for longer periods and arrange their own travels, were more interested in 'living cultures' of the northern ethnic minorities around Chiang Mai than in historic or archaeological sites. He claimed that this might be because the heritage sites function as a stage for festivals, not just as heritage sites.

Apart from nature and culture, international tourism in Thailand is also associated with sex tourism (e.g. Van Kerkwijk 1992; Mulhall et al. 1993; Berger 2007). Henkel et al.'s (2006) study found that nightlife and entertainment were significantly important for international visitors who chose to come to Thailand. According to Green (2001), sex tourism in Thailand is complicated, since people who are involved play multiple roles and tourists who take part in sex tourism are diverse. Frequently, women involved in sex tourism do not only work as prostitutes, but also serve as cheap or unpaid tour guides, interpreters and maids. The traditional attitude of subservience of the Asian woman to the man leads to compliance with his desires, not only sexually, but also in caring for and serving him (ibid.). Similarly, there are not only tourists who come for sexual encounters as part of their holiday, but there are also tourists who visit Thailand for repetitive sexual encounters or even to start long-term relations.

On the one hand, the image of a sex tourism destination motivates certain tourists to go to Thailand, but on the other hand it has also scared off other types of tourists, such as couples and families (Prideaux et al. 2004). This situation is reflected in the ambivalence of the government towards sex tourism. While it is concerned about the impacts of sex tourism and the negative consequences, the economic benefits prevent the government from taking any significant action to reduce sex tourism (Montague 1989).

3.3.2 Domestic tourism

Although domestic tourism has played a part in Thai society for a long time, it became sizable only recently. Peleggi (1996) explained that traditionally, domestic tourists in Thailand tended to stay with relatives and friends or in cheap guesthouses. Therefore, original forms of domestic tourism were not given much attention since these provided small economic benefits and did not affect existing infrastructures. This also explains the lack of statistics concerning domestic tourism. The rapid economic growth increasingly allows the residents of Thai cities to travel for leisure. Especially people from Bangkok can now afford to spend their weekends at beach resorts or other nearby tourism destinations. Tourism in Thailand therefore is no longer completely dominated by foreign visitors. In

2007 there were more than 83 million in-country travel trips (Vanhaleweyk 2015), and the domestic tourists contributed around 500 billion Thai Baht or around 15 billion US\$ (Nakorntup 2015).

Generally domestic tourists are looking for recreational activities and excursions together with friends, and culture and beaches are the top two attractions for them (Henkel et al. 2006). Compared to the international ones (see table 3.2), domestic tourists spend much less per day (around 74 US \$ per day per person in 2015) and their trips are shorter (around two and a half days). Due to the limited number of days off, most in-country travel trips are conducted during weekends and national holidays. As a result, the mobility of Thai tourists is very intense during holidays and festivals.

Peleggi (1996) argued that education makes Thai people's attitude towards cultural heritage different from that of international tourists. The urban Thais seem to be longing for the 'old-world' or nostalgic aspects of the Thai pre-industrial lifestyle, and they are more interested in 'national' heritage sites than the foreign visitors. However, he also claimed that Thai tourists rather visit heritage sites to gain merit or for recreational purposes, than they do for their historic and artistic value. In the other words, Thai tourists have a different idea of what constitutes a tourism destination.

3.4 Conclusion

In the past five decades, tourism has become a significant industry that increasingly generated economic benefits and created jobs. However, the more tourism in Thailand developed the more complex it became. The rise of new tourists and tourism practices, changes in nature and culture, and technological innovations have changed the way Thailand developed as a tourism destination. To gain a more detailed understanding of how the development of tourism destinations in Thailand unfolded, this thesis zooms in on three different cases. The next three empirical chapters will illustrate the complexities involved, and I will argue that Thai tourism destinations are not only made possible and pleasurable by people, but also by objects, spaces and technologies.

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CHAPTER 4: Reading Postcards: Multiple Enactments of Tourism Destinations

The case of Pai, Thailand¹

4.1 Introduction

Although postcards are one of the most generic tourism objects, their role in the construction of tourism destinations has not been fully examined. In tourism studies postcards are generally viewed as visual objects that are used by human agents as systems of representations (e.g. Albers & James 1983; Markwick 2001; Patterson 2006; Pejhan 2010; Silk 2010). These studies explore the images and texts on postcards in order to disclose places and cultures by seeing postcards as institutionalized forms of representations (Andriotis & Mavrič 2013). However, this chapter argues that the study of postcards is relevant for tourism studies beyond their representational readings. Their non-representational readings (Haldrup & Larsen 2012), which focus on the production and agency, can provide additional information beyond the way touristic places are represented. For instance, Andriotis and Mavrič (2013) provide an example of how systems, people, images and communication are intertwined in the mobility of postcards. We therefore argue that combining the representational and the non-representational readings of postcards can provide further understandings of the construction of tourism destinations.

In this research, inspired by actor-network theory (Callon 1986; Law 1992; Latour 2000; Law & Singleton 2005), we position postcards as actors-enacted (Law & Mol, 2008) with the ability to take part in the construction of tourism destinations. Actor-network theory (ANT) is one of the approaches that provide new conceptual and methodological perspectives for tourist studies (Cohen & Cohen 2012; Van der Duim, Ren & Jóhannesson 2012, 2013). It offers tools and sensibilities to examine the construction of tourism destinations by focusing on socio-material relations and practices. Following ANT, postcards affect destination development through their interaction and engagement with other tourism actors, both human and non-human. To demonstrate how postcards take part in the construction of tourism destinations, we first discuss the concept of 'tourism destination' and the way ANT has furthered our understanding of destinations and postcards. Secondly, we use representational and non-representational readings of postcards to examine how the tourism destination of Pai in Thailand is constructed through and in different practices, and how postcards play a part in producing a tourism destination. Finally, we discuss the implications of our study for the understanding of the nature of tourism destinations, tourism destination development and the materials that co-construct tourism destinations.

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4.2 Tourism destinations and actor-network theory

The concept of ‘destination’ has been frequently examined in tourism studies (e.g. Butler 1980; Ringer 1998; Bærenholdt et al. 2004; Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011). Two common approaches to study destinations are the conventional business-oriented approach and the socio-cultural approach (Framke 2002). In the former, tourism destinations are seen as places that people visit for a certain period of time in order to enjoy certain experiences (Leiper 1995). They are considered agglomerations of attractions, facilities and services (Framke 2002; Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011). However, some scholars have criticized this approach as being too linear and static to analyse the complexity of social and power relations underlying the construction of tourism destinations (Hamzah & Hampton 2012).

In the socio-cultural approach, tourism destinations are seen as being continuously produced through complex social practices that produce, maintain, negotiate and transform places (Framke 2002; Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011). Destinations obtain their meaning through production and consumption processes that connect people to the world by placing their experiences in a context of destinations (Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011). Tourists are also included in the production process through communicating with producers. In doing so, they produce and reproduce a common understanding of tourism destinations (Ateljevic & Doorne 2002). As a consequence, there are multiple ways to define a destination (Ringer 1998). Destinations can therefore be regarded as rather open and unstable systems, as they are continuously captured and recaptured and invented and reinvented by both global and local forces (Milne & Ateljevic 2001).

This chapter takes these earlier categorizations of tourism destinations a step further and introduces a socio-material approach by using insights from ANT, as introduced and developed by Michel Callon, Bruno Latour and John Law. ANT is also known as ‘sociology of translation’ or ‘relational sociology’. ANT scholars reject the idea that ‘social relations’ are separate from the material and natural worlds, and concentrate on the ‘relational materiality’ by introducing the ‘missing masses’ of non-human actors into the analyse of organizational phenomena (Latour 1992; Law 1992).

ANT has recently entered tourism studies (e.g. Jóhannesson 2005, 2007; Van der Duim 2005, 2007; Ren 2009, 2011; Rodger, Moore & Newsome 2009; Paget, Dimanche & Mounet 2010; Arnaboldi & Spiller 2011; Van der Duim, Ren & Jóhannesson 2012, 2013; Van der Duim, Ampumuza & Ahebwa 2014). Tourism is considered a result of associating and ordering processes that make people and things become entangled, and their relations are regarded as network relations (Van der Duim 2005, 2007). Tourism destinations are created through processes of translation that enrol entities in networks by negotiating and converting the identities of these entities (Law 1992). The interests of the included

actors are aligned into socio-material arrangements (Fountain 1999). All actors enrolled co-produce the tourism destination and tourism destinations are impermanent entities that exist only through the continuous performance of networks of relations (Law & Singleton 2005). This continuous process of material and conceptual ordering is considered the machinery underlying the enactment of a tourism destination (Latour 2000; Mosse 2004). Moreover, a tourism destination can have multiple versions, since it might be produced in diverse and contested social and material relations and be enacted into a variety of beings (Law & Urry 2004; Ren 2011). Hence, differences of interests in a tourism destination should not be viewed as different perspectives on a single destination, but as the enactment of different versions of a tourism destination in different networks of relations and practices (Law & Singleton 2005). These practices and representations of a tourism destination are manifold through multiple enactments across and in time and space (Mol 2002).

4.3 Representational and non-representational readings of postcards

This chapter illustrates how postcards can be used to examine a tourism destination through two kinds of readings, that is, representational and non-representational readings. In the former, postcards are seen as objects that are used for inscribing particular realities. Through their content they represent stable networks of relations between heterogeneous entities in tourism destinations (Law & Singleton 2005). For instance, a postcard's images and text might represent attractions that tourists should visit or activities that tourists should engage in. In other words, the discourses of tourism destinations are inscribed in postcards. Representational readings of postcards allow us to gain an insight into how particular versions of a tourism destination are conceptualized and ordered.

However, non-representational readings of postcards also take into account non-representational qualities, practices and production (Haldrup & Larsen 2012). They explore how representations are produced and act. Through the lens of ANT, postcards are belongings, not of humans, but of networks (Latour 1999). The production and the distribution of postcards are seen as network effects. To enable postcards to function requires cooperation with others, including producers, computers, shops, tourists, attractions, and the images and discourses of postcards. The performance of postcards cannot be separated from the contexts in which they are embedded, since they take shape and function through being enrolled in and disciplined by networks (Ren, Jóhannesson & Van der Duim 2012).

In addition, Ren (2011) argues that tourism practices are performed not only by human actors, but also by non-humans. Postcards are actors-enacted that co-produce destinations (Ren, Jóhannesson & Van der Duim 2012; Van der Duim, Ampumuza & Ahebwa 2014). Postcards perform in, by and through the relations in which they are located (Van der Duim & Caalders 2008). Thus, postcards can partake

in the construction of destinations, and non-representational readings of postcards can be used to explore the roles of postcards in certain social, spatial and cultural contexts.

4.4 The study's setting and data collection

Pai is a tourism destination in northern Thailand. It is located on a large plain that is surrounded by mountains. The roads to and around Pai wind steeply through the mountains. All the main businesses are located in the central area, Pai town. In the 1980s, the forest areas around Pai were used for trekking tourism, and Pai town was a stopover point for some trekking tours. Later, tourists began to stay longer in the town, in order to explore and enjoy the area. As a result of being used as a location for a domestic film in 2006, Pai began to attract the attention of Thai tourists and Thai media. Pai is now well known among the Thai people for its romantic and artistic atmosphere.

There were two main reasons for selecting Pai as a case study. First, research by Pongajarn (2010) has shown that Pai has different meanings for different groups of tourists, namely foreign backpackers and Thai tourists. Pongajarn's research hinted at the coexistence of multiple versions of Pai as a tourism destination, a topic that we further examine in this chapter. Secondly, many shop owners in Pai town design and produce their own postcards and souvenirs, making Pai a suitable and interesting case for the study of non-representational readings of postcards. Furthermore, postcards have been produced in Pai since the 1990s, even though social media have become very popular in Thailand. As the popularity of postcards spans the entire existence of Pai as a tourism destination, they were considered suitable objects with which to study the town's historical development.

Examining postcards as both texts and objects enabled us to analyse and describe the conceptual and material orderings of a tourism destination. In the representational readings, we systematically investigated postcards from Pai through content analysis. Content analysis is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Stemler 2001). Content analysis examines the content, focus and scope of the communication, and is seen as a useful way to investigate the representations of postcards toward tourism destination (see e.g. Edwards 1996; Hunter & Suh 2007; Milman 2012). In line with this, we used content analysis to explore the content, meanings and the representations of postcards. We analysed the postcards in four rounds:

- The first round was based on manifest content analysis (Smith 2010), whereby we recorded the images that are actually displayed on the postcards, such as rivers, mountains, landmarks and tourists.

- The aim of the second round was to obtain more information about the themes used on the postcards and the categories detected in the first round. We adopted Hunter's (2008) typology of photographic representations for tourism destinations, that examines tourism representations in terms of space and in terms of subject. Space refers to the kind of physical tourism environment that is represented by means of the photograph. This includes: natural landscapes, cultivated landscapes, heritage and material culture, and tourism products (including facilities, accommodations and cuisine).
- The purpose of the third round was to define the discourses and concepts ordering the tourism destination, in order to identify the extent to which particular versions of the destination are inscribed on postcards. According to Weintraub (2009), the content and the text of postcards are designed to work together in order to "convey information-knowledge and create a particular version of reality" (ibid., p. 198). The combination of content and texts on the postcards allowed us to determine the realities of the destination that are constructed.
- In the fourth round, we categorized the postcards according to language and certain other details, such as whether they provide further information about the items they show or about the tourism destination.

According to Haldrup and Larsen (2012), non-representational readings consider visual materials as "animating objects and affective and corporeal readings" (p. 160). These authors suggest exploring non-representational qualities through embodied practices and performances. This suggestion coincides with Latour's (2004) argument that actors should be observed in relation not only to how they are being connected, or being heterogeneous, but also to how they 'make the network work'. Postcards themselves are therefore considered to be actors taking part in the construction of tourism destinations. In this study, we used them as methodological entry points to find the connections, associations and relationships of actors, as well as the roles of the actors in enacting particular versions of the tourism destination.

The first author visited Pai in 2009 and 2011/12 to investigate the representational readings and non-representational readings of the postcards. Between November 2011 and February 2012, he gathered one example of each of the 325 postcards on sale in the shops in Pai. Postcards produced by or for hotels and other businesses were not included in this study, since they were used to promote specific businesses rather than the destination at large.

The first author also followed the production of postcards, their connection with other actors and their impact on the surroundings. He combined participant observations and interviews with 24 postcard producers, 22 people from other businesses in Pai, 14 government officers, 10 tourists and 5 local

people. The analysis focused on how actors perform, connect and align in order to form actor-networks and to enact particular versions of Pai. The data from the representational and the non-representational readings of the postcards were analysed simultaneously. The non-representation readings, production and actions of the postcards enabled us to reveal different versions of Pai. Our findings show the ways in which these versions are enacted and performed.

4.5 Results

Our analysis shows that Pai is ordered by at least three sets of networks of relations; that is, the enactment of Pai as an ethnic tourism destination, as a hub for hippies and international backpackers, and as a romantic and fancy tourism destination for Thai tourists.

4.5.1 The first version of Pai: an 'ethnic' tourism destination

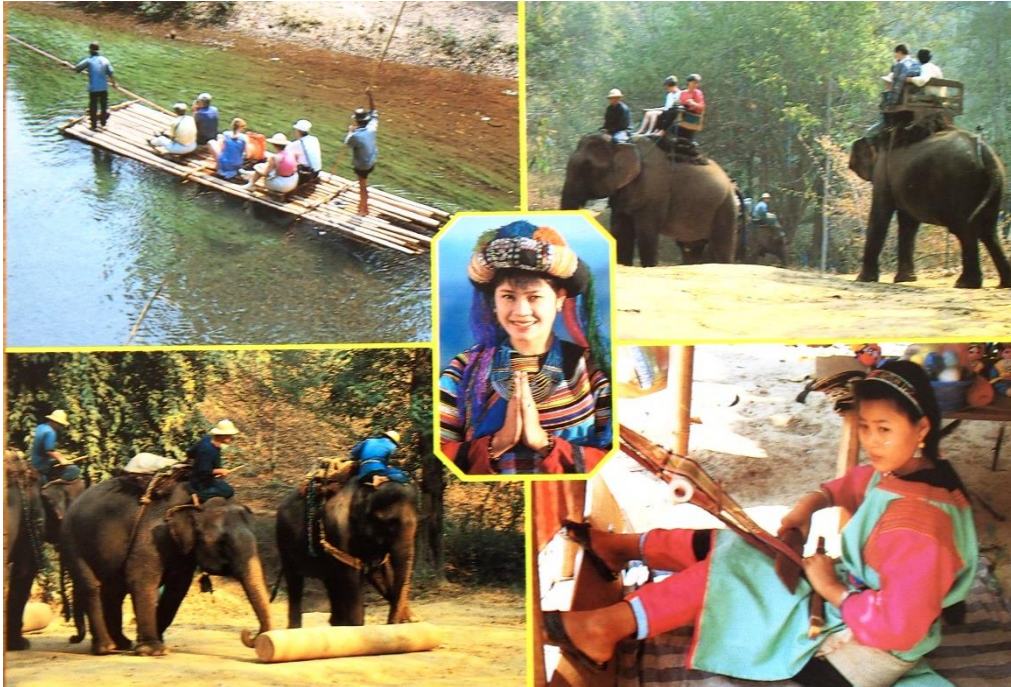
Northern Thailand is one of Asia's most popular mountain trekking regions (Weaver 2002). Trekking tourism combines elements of adventure tourism, cultural tourism and ecotourism (ibid.). Cohen (2008) calls this hybridized form of trekking tourism 'ethnic tourism'. Ethnic tourism first appeared in northern Thailand in the 1970s, and became very popular during the 1990s. Chiang Mai was the centre of this ethnic tourism, although it was performed in many places in northern Thailand, including Chiang Rai and Mae Hong Son. In 1976, the road from Chiang Mai to Mae Hong Son town via Pai was completed. Pai then became involved in tourism because some trekking tour agencies decided to use Pai town as a stopover for their tours. Until then, Pai had been a small rural community and had only one hotel. Tourism agencies negotiated with some local people to transform their houses into homestay accommodation. The tourists stayed in Pai town for only one night, before continuing their tours.

Representational readings of the first version of Pai

The first version of Pai as a tourism destination performs Pai as part of the cultural and natural tourism network in northern Thailand. The set of five postcards from this period illustrate this particular version of Pai, as they bear the words 'Thailand' or 'North Thailand' rather than 'Pai'. The content of the postcards in this set consists of hill tribe people, local people who work in tourism businesses, bamboo rafts, elephants and tourists themselves. These postcards are about lives and actions of local people and tourists. This indicates how northern Thailand was conceptualized and how materials were ordered to create ethnic tourism. The result of the content analysis is in line with Cohen (2008), who states that tourists frequented northern Thailand to visit hill tribe villages, ride elephants and enjoy bamboo rafting. He describes ethnic tourism as a form of cultural and natural tourism performed in Southeast Asia. This

kind of tourism focuses on trekking, visiting tribal lives and participating in adventure activities, for example elephant riding and river rafting (ibid.).

Figure 4.1: Northern Thailand as an ethnic tourism destination.



The caption on the back of this postcard reads ‘Postcard from the land of smile’.

Source: Postcard printed by Phornteip Phatana LTD.

Non-representational readings of the first version of Pai

In the first version, the production and distribution of the postcards were separate affairs and both took place outside Pai. The sellers were retailers who sourced these postcards from a wholesaler in Chiang Mai. Postcards with photos of tribal life, elephants and rafting were distributed not only in Pai, but also in other tourism destinations in northern Thailand and other parts of the country, such as Bangkok and Pattaya. During the 1990s, the market strategy of the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) was to promote Thai culture (McDowall & Wang 2009). TAT and the Thai tourism industry used the ‘exotic’ experience of ‘ethnic’ tourism to encourage tourists to visit northern Thailand (Cohen 2008). The tourism industry produced ethnic tourism in many locations in order to attract tourists, especially those who had already visited Thailand. The production and distribution of the postcards in this set relates to promoting northern Thailand and the rest of the country as an ‘ethnic’ tourism destination. The content of the postcards frames general characteristics of ethnic tourism rather than the specific features of Pai or other locations where ethnic tourism is performed. In other words, in this version Pai is not constructed as a tourism destination in its own right. Pai and other places in northern Thailand perform as parts of a tourism destination called ‘northern Thailand’, constructed by networks of relations among

human and non-human materials, such as tourists, tour agencies, hill tribe people, bamboo rafts, elephants and TAT. The postcards in this version portray this network of relations and are used as tools for promoting the destination beyond Pai.

4.5.2 *The second version of Pai: a hub for hippies and international backpackers*

It first appears that there's not a lot to see in Pai. But if you stick around a few days and talk to some of the locals, you may discover some beautiful spots in the surrounding hills. ... Attracted by easy living and a small live music scene, Pai nowadays also features a sizeable collection of long term visitors – mostly farang (a Thai slang word meaning 'western people') and Japanese – who use the town as a place to chill out between excursions elsewhere in Asia.

(Cummings et al. 2003, p. 434)

Since the late 1980s, as a result of recommendations in guidebooks and word of mouth among tourists, the number of foreign backpackers visiting Pai has increased each year, as has how long they stay in the town. This growth of tourists together with the increasing number of accommodation units and tourism businesses in Pai town initiated a new network of relations and provided a new version of Pai. Starting in the mid-1990s, Pai became well known not only as an ethnic tourism destination, but also as a 'hippy' and 'relaxing' town for foreign backpackers. In this version, Pai was constructed through and by discourses and orderings different from those in the previous one. Tourism in Pai was performed in the town and its vicinity, rather than in areas further away. Moreover, Pai became enacted as a destination in its own right, instead of just being part of the northern Thailand tourism configuration. Doung, a woman who opened the first registered guesthouse in Pai, discussed the change of Pai as well as her role in tourism development as follows:

First, I was a teacher and my sister opened a local restaurant. We served tourists who were on their way from Chiang Mai to Mae Hong Son. Most of them did not have a place to spend a night in Pai. I saw an opportunity, so I started my own guesthouse. I wanted them to stay longer, so I also made tours to take them to visit the area near Pai town. As a result, tourists began to stay longer, from one day to three days, a week, and sometimes even months.

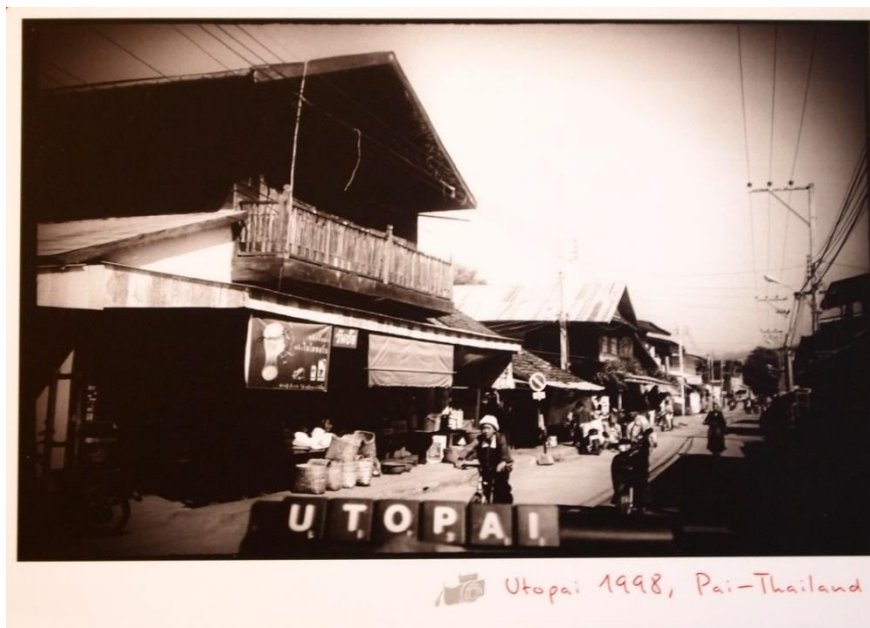
Pai town gradually changed as a result of the increasing number of tourists and tourism businesses. The tourists who visited Pai in this version might not have to go sightseeing or trekking, but mainly enjoyed relaxation in town and the rural and natural landscape, and meeting other backpackers from around the world. Objects such as bicycles and motorbikes used for travelling around and the bamboo houses the backpackers lived in, were viewed as objects representing Pai. Compared with the tourists who visited Pai to go trekking, these tourists tended to stay longer in Pai. Instead of spending a day or two in Pai

before or after a trekking tour, they stayed in Pai for several weeks, or even months, to enjoy the ‘easy way of living’. Local people and local businesses adapted themselves to these tourists. For instance, restaurants westernized their menus and new businesses for tourists were founded, such as laundries, motorbike and bicycle rental shops, cafes, bars and souvenir shops. In contrast to the decline in trekking tourism in Pai since the late 1990s, the number of backpackers who came to enjoy this ‘hippy’ town increased and essentially dominated tourism in Pai until the third quarter of 2000s.

Representational readings of the second version of Pai

A set of 123 postcards made by the town’s first producer of postcards exemplifies this version of Pai. Items that appear to be important in this set are local people (17.0% of the postcards), tourists (19.6%), Pai town and old buildings (20.1%), Pai river (22.2%), mountains (26.8%), agricultural fields (22.7%), and bicycles and motorbikes (29.3%). The main categories from Hunter’s (2008) typology are the lives and activities of local people and tourists (31.5%), views of nature (17.2%) and tourism materials such as bamboo houses (15.1%), while only 4.3% of the postcards represented tourist attractions. Unlike the first set, in which the local people are related to ethnic tourism (hill tribe people and those who work for trekking companies), the postcards in this set portray the everyday life of local people, such as planting or harvesting. The practices of the tourists shown on the postcards are also different: they are walking or cycling around town instead of engaging in adventurous activities. When we combine these findings with the captions on the postcards – such as ‘Slow living in Pai’ and ‘Do nothing in Pai’ – it becomes clear that in this version Pai is conceptualized as a ‘relaxing’ place.

Figure 4.2: UTOPAI – a postcard and souvenir shop in Pai in 1998



Source: Postcard designed and produced by Mitthai, Pai Thailand

Non-representational readings of the second version of Pai

The first postcard and souvenir shops in Pai were opened in around 1998 by Thais who had left their hectic city lifestyles behind in order to start small, tourist-oriented businesses in this peaceful town. They became Pai's first generation of postcard and souvenir producers. Instead of acting as retailers of postcards of northern Thailand sourced from national postcard producers, they captured the characteristics of Pai by making postcards themselves.

The concepts they used on their postcards were related to their gaze of Pai as a 'simple' and very attractive destination. They had taken many of the photos they used on their postcards during their first visits to Pai as tourists. For example, one of the postcard producers talks about the concept that she used to produce her postcards (one of her postcards is shown in figure 4. 2):

When we visited Pai as tourists. We were fascinated by its charm and peacefulness, so we called it as Utopai, which refers to our feeling for this place. Some of the pictures that we took and used them to made our postcards are black and white colour because we wanted the postcards to represent Pai's simply way of life.

Non-representational readings of the postcards allow us to understand why they inscribed sets of relations that are different from those in the first version. Instead of being tools of the tourism industry to promote northern Thailand, they presented tourists' perceptions and activities on site, which helped people to recognize Pai as a tourism destination that is distinct from other destinations in northern Thailand. Producing these postcards also made it possible to become entrepreneurs in the tourism destination.

4.5.3 The third version of Pai: a Thai romantic tourism destination

Starting in 1999, the number of international tourists in Pai gradually increased. However, most Thai tourists had not even heard of Pai until it was made famous by *Ruk Jung*, a romantic blockbuster that was filmed there in 2006. Films can increase tourist numbers in a destination as well as influence the perceptions of a place (Carl et al. 2007). *Ruk Jung* converted the identity of Pai into a romantic tourism destination, and turned materials that were shown in the film, such as postcard shops and cafes, into important materials of Pai. As one cafe owner said:

The number of customers increased to another level in that year. There were many Thai tourists who wanted to sit on the chair on which Rattapoom [the film's lead actor] sat in the movie.

Representational readings of the third version of Pai

In this version of Pai, postcards and other materials enacted Pai as a ‘romantic’ tourism destination. A set of 94 postcards explicitly produced for Thai tourists illustrates this version of Pai. The producers created postcards that match the preferences of Thai tourists, who are their main customers. Most of these producers open their temporary booths on the town’s main street only in the high season (October–February). Some of these postcards even have only Thai captions in order to explicitly communicate with Thai tourists. The main items presented in this set of postcards are tourists (20.2% of the postcards), rivers (10.6%), mountain views (25.5%), bicycles and motorbikes (15.9%), buses (12.8%), bend signs (21.3%), a kilometre stone (14.9%), tourism props for taking photos (10.6%), postcards, letter boxes and postcard shops (25.5%), bamboo constructions (10.6%), coffee and cafes (28.7% – and most of them showed the cafe used as the location of a famous Thai soap opera), and Pai memorial bridge (12.8%). Some of the items from the second version of Pai are still considered important, such as mountains, agricultural fields, rivers, bicycles, motorbikes and bamboo constructions. Unlike the first and second sets of postcards, this set rarely shows local people and their day-to-day lives. The practices of the tourists shown on these postcards are also different: they are mainly taking photos and buying postcards and souvenirs. New materials such as postcards, letterboxes, bend signs and kilometre stones are also typical of Pai in this set of postcards.

Non-representational readings of the third version of Pai

The postcards in this version perform differently from those in the other two versions. Buying and sending postcards have become important things to do for Thai tourists visiting Pai. However, postcards in Pai became popular only after they were framed through films and media. In 2006, there were only four souvenir and postcard shops; by 2011, there were more than 30. Many of these shops are temporary booths that open only during the high season for Thai tourists. These postcard shops occupy the main street in Pai town and force traditional shops to move to other areas. The production of the postcards in this version also differs from that in the second version. Many shop owners do not produce postcards themselves but pay others to do so, even outside Pai, for example in Chiang Mai.

The main content of their postcards captures how Thai tourists – the main consumers of postcards – make sense of tourism in Pai. The increased competition has led to a decline in the quality and the price of many postcards, as one of the postcard producers who has lived in Pai since early 2000s stated:

The new producers rather compete by price than quality. Usually, they produce postcards and t-shirts with materials of low quality and sell them on the street. Doing so, they can sell their

souvenirs for a lower price than us, who have been here for a while and have opened real shops.

The popularity of the postcards in this version is reflected in three ways. First, postcards are reproduced on other postcards. Images of postcards are depicted on other postcards. Secondly, the images on postcards, such as letterboxes, bend signs and kilometre stones, are materialized into iconic materials of Pai. Materials that can be found on postcards are also displayed on banners and t-shirts and converted into various forms, such as key chains, fridge magnets and other souvenirs. Thirdly, postcards are also reproduced as large-scale replicas for tourists to pose beside while being photographed. These three actions of postcards in this version therefore affect tourism practices in the destination.

Figure 4.3: Romantic Pai



Postcard caption: 'Already at Pai, 762 curves, vomit + faint = Pai. If you want to know about it, you have to try it yourselves. Houses presented in this postcard are ones that were used as locations in a Thai film and a Thai drama.'

Source: Postcard designed by Kook-Kai and produced by View@Pai, Pai Thailand

4.6 Conclusion

Inspired by actor-network theory (ANT), this paper investigated the nature of tourism destinations through representational and non-representational readings of postcards. It argued and clearly illustrated that non-representational readings of postcards can and should be combined with representational readings to provide a full understanding of the construction of tourism destinations Through both

readings, we first demonstrated that Pai as a tourism destination has multiple versions that are enacted in different networks (Law 2009; Van der Duim, Ampumuza & Ahebwa 2014). The different versions of Pai are constructed and performed through different groups of materials and actors, such as tourists associating with hill tribe villages, elephants, bamboo rafts, postcards, kilometre stones and bend signs. In line with ANT, we have shown that tourism destinations rather are defined as hybrids than as purely social or natural phenomenon (Ren, Jóhannesson & Van der Duim 2012). Together, humans and non-humans enacted and ordered Pai consecutively as an ethnic tourism destination, as a hub for hippies and international backpackers, and more recently as a Thai romantic tourism destination. Although these three versions illustrate the development of Pai as a tourism destination, to a certain extent the three versions still coexist. Studying tourism using an ANT approach therefore reveals that multiple versions of tourism, tourism destinations or tourism objects are enacted into being. It also illustrates how the explication of different versions of tourism destinations and the contested social and material relations has increasingly presented itself as a key task for tourism research.

We also highlighted how postcards can co-construct tourism destinations. In the first version of Pai, the postcards co-constructed and promoted the town as an ethnic tourism destination. The set of five postcards from the period bear the words ‘Thailand’ or ‘North Thailand’ rather than ‘Pai’, illustrating that in this version Pai was constructed as part of the more all-compassing northern Thailand tourism network. It also illustrates that this version has gradually vanished, and has been taken over by other versions in which Pai itself is the focus of attention and postcards play a much more prominent role. In the second version, postcards reflect the backpackers’ gaze of Pai, and in the third version they perform as iconic materials of Pai. In other words, the postcards play different roles in each version of Pai as they co-produce multiple realities (Law 2009). Since the postcards are enacted and performed differently, they have different meanings to Thai and international tourists and affect tourism in Pai in different ways.

Finally, by studying the role of postcards as the point of entry for our analysis, our results also illustrate the different ways in which tourism destinations evolve. In the second version of Pai tourists gradually changed their use of Pai as a stopover point to a place to explore and enjoy. It took many years before the new version of Pai gently stabilized. The third version, however, emerged rapidly and unexpectedly as a result of a film and other unanticipated events. It shows that the development of tourism destinations can be both continuous and discontinuous. The forces of global and local actors, and sometimes of unanticipated actors like films, make destination development (as in the case of Pai) a precarious achievement.

However, our research did not reveal and discuss the spatial implications of these different versions and how these different versions encounter and even might create controversies. Further research might

provide a more detailed analysis of the spatial implications of and the interactions between multiple versions of tourism destinations and how this knowledge informs tourism destination management. In addition, the success of certain materials (such as postcards in Pai) also affects configurations and performances of tourism in other destinations in Thailand that also use pop-art-style postcards to promote themselves to Thai tourists. Further research could help to understand these mobilities of non-human materials, and how developments in one tourism destination can affect other destinations that are located far away.

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CHAPTER 5: Floating Markets in Thailand: Same, Same, but Different²

5.1 Introduction

For centuries rivers and canals have been part of the social and economic fabric of Thailand as means of transportation, water sources for agriculture and domestic consumption, and as sites for cultural celebrations. Traditionally, floating markets served as central places for trade and exchange of agricultural products in Thailand (Yasmeen 2000; Vajirakachorn & Nepal 2014). After the development of road transportation systems in the 1950s and 1960s, many floating markets disappeared, were displaced or reappeared as tourism attraction. Wat Sai in Bangkok was the first floating market which became a tourism attraction, mostly visited by international tourists. However, Wat Sai closed in the 1960s, because the vendors preferred to trade at the new 'in-land, non-floating markets'. In the late 1960s the Thai Tourism Authority (TAT) looked for a new floating market and introduced one for tourism in the Ludplee canal, one of many floating markets in the Damnerensaduak district. Later, in the late 1990s and the early 2000s, the Thai government introduced community-based tourism aiming at preserving and restoring agricultural villages and reviving the ancient ways of living along the canals. Consequently floating markets such as Thaka, Ampawa and Bang Numpheung developed. These floating markets became famous tourism attractions. Inspired by these successes, floating market also emerged in many other places.

In order to explain the different paths of development of floating markets, this chapter examines how floating markets appeared, disappeared and reappeared, mostly as tourism attractions, in Thailand. We will make use of insights from actor-network theory (ANT) to analyse the similarities and differences between floating markets. Inspired by ANT we will show how human and non-human elements continuously co-construct tourism destinations and will explain how the floating markets in Thailand gained durability through their fluid qualities (Mol & Law 1994; De Laet & Mol 2000; Law 2002). In the next section, we first start with a brief introduction of how we studied floating markets in terms of actor-networks. The subsequent section describes the origin of floating markets in Thailand. After that, we examine the way five floating markets in Thailand have developed after the 1950s. We will show how the floating markets sustained through changing their components and relational practices. In the final part, we will compare these five floating markets in terms of the main premises of actor-network theory.

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5.2 Actor-network theory

Recently Michael (2016) showed how actor-network theory (ANT) has “become a conceptual framework (or, latterly, an analytic and methodological sensibility), which however cannot easily be packaged” (p. 2). According to Michael, ANT has evolved into a complex and oftentimes disparate resource that opens up a space for asking certain sorts of questions about empirical phenomena like – in this case - floating markets. To answer these questions we will make use of some of the central ideas of ANT.

We make use of three notions central to ANT: ordering, materiality, and multiplicity (Jóhannesson 2005; Van der Duim 2007, 2016; Van der Duim, Jóhannesson and Ren 2012; Van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson 2013). Following these three premises of ANT, we will first examine floating markets as relational achievements (Mol & Law 1994; Law & Singleton 2005). Ordering draws special attention to the processes underlying what seem to be more or less stable features of floating markets (see also Franklin 2004). Second, the notion of materiality points to the inescapable hybridity of human and non-human worlds. Floating markets are not only made possible and pleasurable by people, but also by objects, spaces and technologies. Third, studying tourism using ANT underlines the multiplicity of tourism destinations or objects that are enacted into existence. Multiplicity means that we might think of floating markets as ontologically multiple (Mol and Law 1994). This implies the need to not only examine various versions of floating markets, but also the explication of different versions of one particular floating market. People, canals, boats, homes, fruits and vegetables are connected in certain and multiple ways to construct one particular floating market.

The notion of materiality also implies a focus on space. In ANT space is not treated as a container, but as contained in actor-networks (Murdoch 2006). Space is both “physical and relational” (Murdoch 1998, p. 361). Space is arranged through processes of negotiation, representation and displacement, which establish relations between entities and places, so that specific practices can be conducted (Law 2009). These processes also determine scale and definition of space (Murdoch 1998). In our case, space is constructed within networks of relations producing floating markets and floating markets are always a means of acting upon space (Van der Duim 2007). As a means of rendering more clearly the spatial complexities of ANT, Murdoch (1998) proposed an analytical distinction between spaces of ‘prescription’ and spaces of ‘negotiation’, exemplifying the interplay between ordering and resistance: In the first type spaces will be strongly ordered, standardised and fixed, “in the latter type - networks of variation and flux - spaces will be fluid, interactional and unstable” (p. 362).

To further grasp the complexity of floating markets, we also make use of the related four types of topologies to account for spatial dimensions of relations as suggested by Mol and Law (1994; see also

Law & Mol 2001) and introduced in tourism studies by Jóhannesson (2005; see also Jóhannesson, Ren and Van der Duim 2016). These are: region, network, fluid and fire. Floating markets are ‘regional’ in the sense that they are entwined in a Euclidean space in which floating markets are defined by a set of three-dimensional coordinates. Here floating markets as networks, consisting of boats, stalls, local products, vendors and buyers, are gathered together with canals and rivers within more or less stable boundaries. The network of human and non-human elements holds the working relations between its properties constant in order to retain its shape as a floating market. Fluidity grasps the ways in which relational continuity is kept through change (Mol & Law 1994; Law & Mol 2001; Law & Singleton 2005): relations are durable because they are able to change. It is possible to transfer fluid objects through regional space due to their capacity to change, be it a tourism development project (Jóhannesson 2005) or a bush pump (De Laet & Mol 2000). In the latter case De Laet & Mol (2000) have demonstrated the performance of fluid objects through a water bush pump widely distributed in villages of Zimbabwe because of its gentle and gradual reconfiguring. Although the physical shape and component parts of the pumps changed over time and space, they were still seen as ‘the same’ pump. These mutable objects may show a different meaning and performance in different contexts, however they should not be judged as waning actor-networks, but as other enactments of particular actor-networks (Law & Singleton 2005). As we shall see, if a floating market moves through space and time it has to be able to change shape. Its topological form has to be fluid.

Fire topology does not refer to movement through regional space, but draws attention to the interdependence of absences and presences that plays an important role in the multiplicity of an object. Several tourism studies have used this concept to describe the nature of an object, such as Oscypek cheese (Ren 2011) and the Destination Viking Sagalands project (Jóhannesson 2005). These authors identified that multiple versions of an object are generated in different sets of practices and actors, which means that certain practices or actors in one version might be excluded or replaced in others. As a result, the regional space of an object can become multiple. Fire topology thus grasps how continuity can be an effect of discontinuity or controversies (Jóhannesson, Ren & Van der Duim 2016).

5.3 Methods

Studies based on ANT are firmly grounded in empirical case studies (Law 2009). We selected five floating markets (Damnernsaduak, Thaka, Ampawa, Bang Numpheung and Pattaya) to study the different development patterns of floating markets.

We used three methods (collection and study of relevant documents, field observations and in-depth interviews) to follow the actors that take part in the enactment of these five floating markets. After collecting and studying documents (articles and reports), the first author visited these markets in 2012 and 2014. The data from field observations and additional documents were combined with in-depth

interviews. To gain insight in the development processes of floating markets, the first author conducted both formal and informal in-depth interviews with actors who took part in the development processes, including government officials (4), local people and local vendors (12) and entrepreneurs (9). The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 2 hours. The interviews were conducted in Thai and were transcribed by the first author. The content of the interviews included the history of the five floating markets, the roles of actors in the development processes and their perceptions about the developments.

The trustworthiness (cf. Decrop 2004) of this research was first situated in the long engagement of the first researcher with floating markets in Thailand. Second, systematic data analysis based on careful and repetitive readings of transcripts adds to the credibility of findings. Third, triangulation of data took place through jointly analysing different data sources (interviews, documents, observation notes). Next to detecting convergence across data, triangulation was also useful for capturing different dimensions of the phenomenon under study – floating markets – thus transcending the limits of specific methods and allowing a more in-depth and comprehensive account. Fourth and final, the second and third author acted as an ‘auditors’ reviewing analytical procedures and “adherence to sound research practices” (Decrop 2004, p. 161).

5.4 Floating markets in Thailand

In the past, Thai people, especially residents of the central region of Thailand, traded agricultural harvests and other products on the rivers and canals (Yasmeen 2000). The original name for these food markets was ‘ตลาดนัด’ or ‘market on appointment’, not referring to daily markets, but to markets that took place at certain times and places. Originally, the floating markets were neither a story about particular places, nor vendors, merchandises or boats per se, but about the moments (‘appointments’) when a number of boats with vendors and their products gathered and interacted. Floating markets were scheduled according to the lunar calendar and floating markets in the same region generally were not held on the same day, so that local people could frequent multiple floating markets. Floating markets were not only important for trading of food, but were also social meeting places.

The physical layout of the canals influenced the way the floating markets functioned. For example, people from different provinces would come to floating markets located in large-size canals connecting with the main rivers, while floating markets in small canals predominantly were frequented by local people from nearby communities. Local people refer to these two forms of floating market as ‘big appointment’ and ‘small appointment’.

After the introduction of the automobile and other forms of land-based transport in central Thailand, floating markets gradually disappeared (Yasmeen 2000). From the 1950s, increasingly land and roads instead of rivers and canals were used for distributing products and trading food. Furthermore, younger generations preferred to work in the industry rather than in the agricultural sector. Floating markets in Thailand therefore degenerated and many of them ceased to exist. The pace of development varied from place to place. For example, roads were first constructed in Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand. As a consequence floating markets in Bangkok disappeared around the 1950s, while floating markets in the west side of the Chopraya river lowland, with a large number of canals, transformed much later and more gradually.

Little by little floating markets also became tourism attractions. As highlighted in the introduction, after the closing of the Wat Sai floating market, in the late 1960s the Thai Tourism Authority (TAT) designated the floating market located in Ludplee canal, one of many floating markets in Damnerensaduak district around 109 kilometers from Bangkok, for tourism. Although tourists called the floating market in Ludplee ‘Damnerensaduak floating market’, local people used the name ‘Ludplee canal floating market’. In 1972, tourism moved from the floating market at Ludplee to Tonkem canal, still using the name ‘Damnerensaduak floating market’. It was one of the main national attractions and was the only floating market used for tourism in Thailand until the Thai government introduced floating markets as part of community-based and cultural tourism programmes in the late 1990s and the early 2000s in destinations such as Thaka, Ampawa and Bang Numpheung. The economic success of these floating markets eventually stimulated the establishment of new floating markets by the private sector in new sites where floating markets as food markets never existed before, such as Khao Yai Mountain and Pattaya.

This chapter will now examine the different development patterns of five floating markets, namely Damnerensaduak, Thaka, Ampawa, Bang Numpheung and Pattaya. The Damnerensaduak floating market is world famous and has been part of the international tourism network since the late 1960s. Thaka is another floating market that still exists. However, its development principally results from specific interventions by the Thai government and visits of Thai tourists while Damnerensaduak mainly links up with the international tourism market. Thaka, Ampawa and Bang Numpheung are all famous floating markets for Thais, introduced as part of community-based tourism projects. However, they differ. While Thaka became a tourism destination when it was and still is used for local food trading, the Ampawa floating market was revitalized after it closed down for a decade. The Bang Numpheung floating market was a new floating market established by the local government. Finally, Pattaya floating market was the first and the most famous new floating market that was founded by the private sector.

5.4.1 Damnernsaduak floating market

In the late 1960s, floating markets in Damnernsaduak also became tourism attractions. At first, tour agencies took tourists to a floating market located in the Ludplee canal. According to one of the interviewees (a port owner in Damnernsaduak), this floating market was situated in the middle of a local community; houses were situated alongside the canal. During that period of time the market could not be reached by road. Tour agencies took tourists from Bangkok to Damnernsaduak by cars and then changed to motorboats and travelled along the Damnernsaduak canal to the entrance of the Ludplee canal.

Due to the many tourists visiting the market, Ludplee opened daily instead of six times a month as it used to do. Although most vendors still traded their local fresh products, traditional souvenirs such as woodcarvings and basketries as well as modern souvenirs such as postcards were also brought to the area. Gui, a Thai investor and associate of international tour companies, was the first who introduced these souvenirs to the area. The high profit he made from selling souvenirs also induced other local people who lived beside the Ludplee canal to convert their houses in souvenir shops.

Around 1972, the Damnernsaduak floating market (DFM) changed its location from the Ludplee to the Tonkem canal³, located in a non-residential area, which could be accessed by road. The Tonkem floating market was established after the construction of roads in Damnernsaduak. These roads facilitated the transfer of local vegetables and fruits from boats to cars and the distribution of products outside Damnernsaduak. However, not all interviewees agreed that better transportation facilities were the main reason for changing the location. They also referred to a conflict between local people living alongside the Ludplee canal and Gui. The interviewees claimed that Gui convinced travel agencies to re-locate the DFM, so that he and the travel agencies could gain more control over the souvenir business at Damnernsaduak. This all was of course unknown to tourists. Only local people knew about the difference between these two floating markets. For tourists, the floating markets in Ludplee canal and Tonkem canal shared the same name as before: Damnernsaduak.

Originally there were two ports at the floating market in Tonkem for transporting local products out of the Damnernsaduak area. After the relocation of the DFM to Tonkem, Gui constructed a new port especially for tourists visiting DFM. Enrolled in the tourism network, the new port was also used for souvenir shops and food courts. Other investors started to build other ports surrounding the market. As the floating market in Tonkem was located in a non-residential area, it was easy for investors to buy land and construct ports on that land. Nowadays there are five main ports. When new investors

³ Although DFM was re-located, the Ludplee floating market still operated as a local market place until the mid-1970s.

constructed new ports next to the previous ones and invited vendors to sell their products in their ports, Damnernsaduak expanded.

In this new version of DFM, relations between humans (e.g. vendors, port owners, and tourists), non-humans (e.g. agricultural produce, souvenirs, postcards, ports, and boats) and space were continuously renegotiated. Despite canals being public spaces, port owners claimed the canals connected to the ports to be part of the port area and forced vendors - who wanted to permanently sell at the ports during opening times – to pay rent. If vendors did not want to pay the rent, they had to continuously move up and down the canal. As a result, there were boats fixed at the ports while they were waiting for tourists. Moreover, there were also non-local vendors employed by the port owners. Clearly the relocation of the DFM at Tonkem canal allowed the port owners to gain control over the floating market. Instead of free trade, certain vendors and ports became linked to certain tour guides and tour agencies, as the tour guides only took their tourists to vendors and port owners they had good connections with.

As a result DFM changed. Although the tourists came to see the selling of local products such as vegetables, they did not want to buy them. Instead they mainly bought souvenirs and ready-to-eat food, which increasingly gained importance at the floating markets. Trade in DFM gradually changed from trade between local people to trade between vendors and tourists, and the type of the products traded also changed. Although there were still local people selling and buying food products, the number of this kind of vendors decreased over time. The role of boats also changed since they were increasingly used for cruising. In fact, boat tours became primary business.

5.4.2 The Thaka floating market

The Thaka floating market (TFM) is located in Thaka, a small agricultural village in the province of Samut Songkhram. TFM differs from the floating markets in Ludplee (Dammernsaduak) and Ampawa (see the next section), where floating markets are located in the community's commercial areas. Thaka is a rural area where houses are surrounded by agricultural land. This area has been more gradually impacted by the infrastructural and economic modernization in Thailand than others, so the floating market remained a food market. However, vendors from further away stopped coming and the younger generations preferred to work in the industry sector. Most of the present vendors at Thaka therefore are elderly people.

In the late 1990s, TAT and associating institutes developed community-based tourism (CBT) at Thaka. The floating market was seen as one of the key elements for CBT development (Boonratana 2010) and at the same time local people also viewed tourism as a tool for preserving the floating market. The local

government and local people developed tourism without including tour agencies. TAT and associating institutes supported this project by providing both funds and knowledge. As a result, the floating market was re-located (only a few hundred meters) from the junction of canals to a place nearby, where tourism facilities could be developed. TAT provided funding for the construction of a parking area, a walking path and bridges. The CBT in Thaka also enrolled other entities as part of the tourism destination development. Local people's houses near the market were transformed to home-stay accommodation. A tour program around Thaka was established and included local sugar-making factories, a hundred years old traditional Thai house, local farms and a route following the path that King Rama V used when he visited the village⁴.

Three persons owned the land surrounding the new location of the market. An investor from Bangkok owned the land on the left side of the market's entrance. He provided small booths for rent to vendors. The land on the right side of the entrance was owned by a private person who did not live there, but leased it to others. He reconstructed his house to become a waterfront store. Small booths were constructed from the entrance of the market to the onshore. Most products in the markets (both in the boats and in onshore booths) were 'ready to eat' fresh foods. However, the vendors who sold local vegetables and fruits only came to the market at the lunar 'appointment' date, since their main customers were still local people. There were also a few souvenir shops selling local souvenirs and antiques. On the other side of the canal, the land was owned by a local man who lived abroad. He allowed the local municipality to develop his land and to create small booths for selling products.

Through the promotion of TAT, many local governments, university students and organizations visited Thaka for their study trips. However, TFM hardly gained access to mass tourism markets. Around 2009, the new local government restructured the TFM following the success of the Ampawa floating market. The mayor of Thaka pointed out that they learned from the example of Ampawa, e.g. that the opening times of Thaka did not match with the leisure time of urban Thais. While Thai tourists usually left the city for short vacations in the weekend, the market was open according to the lunar calendar. Therefore the market extended its opening hours by including weekends. At the beginning, similarly to the strategy followed by the Ampawa local government, officials guaranteed the vendors' an income in the weekend by paying 300 Baht (around €7.50) per day. This campaign stopped within a year when the local government ran out of money. However, the strategy was successful in terms of creating connections between vendors and tourists. Tourists knew that they could also come during the weekends and vendors also knew that there would be tourists during weekends. As a result, TFM became more and more

⁴ The connections with the Thai Royal Family play an important role in the development of tourism destinations as Thai tourists are very interested in sites and objects relating to the Royal Family.

attractive for domestic tourists. Furthermore, the local people established a group to regularly arrange boat tours during the market's opening times.

Later in 2014, the local community proposed two new ideas. First, they suggested tailoring the market in terms of needs of tourists. They claimed that the opening times still were not in line with the wishes of Thai tourists, who might leave their houses in Bangkok late in the morning and arrive at the market when the market was already closed. Second, they proposed to offer more activities at the destination, such as biking tours around the village and promoting the market through organizing events.

5.4.3 Ampawa floating market

The Ampawa floating market (AFM) is located at the riverbank of Mae Klong River and the Ampawa canal in Ampawa district, Samut Songkram province⁵. Around the 1890s, Ampawa became a hub for commerce where both local people and vendors from different provinces, such as Ayutthaya, Bangkok, Nakhonpathom and Suphanburi gathered. The trading at the AFM not only took place at the canals. There were also a number of wooden houses that operated as waterfront stores along the canal where the floating market was located. Agriculture, commerce as well as the AFM disintegrated around the early 1990s because of the development of roads and in-land markets. As a result many local people moved out of the area.

Around the early 2000s the Thailand Cultural Environment Project (TCEP) became interested in conserving the waterfront stores along the canal due to their outstanding architecture, reflecting the lifestyle of Thai people who lived along canals (Peerapun 2011). The TAT also proposed to use tourism to revive the area. Following the TCEP, the mayor of Ampawa re-established AFM in 2004 to support the development of community-based tourism in Ampawa (see also Vajirakochorn & Nepal 2014). First, he and his team persuaded vendors to stay at the market by guaranteeing their income (€7.50 per day). They bought vendors' products in case that they could not sell. Furthermore, they also decided to open the market in the weekend afternoons and evenings in order to avoid competition with the Damnernsaduak floating market. As the mayor explained:

Tourists could go to Damnernsaduak in the morning and visit Ampawa in the afternoon before they go home. Opening in the afternoon was also matching with the way Thais, especially from Bangkok, spent their leisure time with family during the weekend.

⁵ Thaka and Ampawa floating markets are both located in the same district, but Ampawa is larger and located in a more commercial area.

Second, the mayor and his team framed the place as an open-air museum informing visitors about local culture in the pre-industrial era. Third, apart from selling local cuisine and offering the scenery of historical houses (the waterfront stores) along the canal, they also offered new activities to tourists, like the firefly boat tour. Temples and local heritage, such as the King Rama II garden, were also enrolled in the development of Ampawa as a tourism destination. As Sakdiyakorn and Sivarak (2016) argue, “what makes Amphawa unique is the combination of tangible and intangible heritage. Unlike many other newly built floating markets in Thailand, the Amphawa floating market sits amidst a nineteenth century architectural setback, where the Thai traditional way of life by the river can be explored within the existing community” (p. 227).

Finally, many waterfront stores were transformed to home-stay accommodations.

The mayor and the municipality also co-operated with several organizations, such as Chulalongkorn University. This not only enabled funding for renovating the houses along the canals, but also resulted in being mentioned in the 2008 UNESCO Asia –Pacific Heritage Award (see also Luekveerawattana 2012). The mayor, using his contacts, also promoted Ampawa in television programs (news and shows), magazines and newspapers. Being in the media was a very powerful way to connect with tourists. As the mayor explained:

The number of visitors dramatically increased after the news about Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn paying a visit and taking a firefly tour.

Only a few years after the re-opening, AFM became one of the most famous tourism destinations for Thai people addressing the rise of a nostalgia-oriented tourism, resulting from what Peleggi (1996) called the other side of Thailand’s ambition to become a Newly Industrialized Country. The concepts and strategies of constructing AFM spread out and were used in many other places. However, AFM itself also continuously re-configured. Before the re-opening of AFM, most of landlords had left Ampawa, but they still owned the houses, and local people who still worked in Ampawa rented these houses. When Ampawa became famous, these landlords increased the rent more than four times. As local people could no longer pay this rent, they had to leave. Outsiders, who usually only came to Ampawa for trading during weekends, took over these houses. New vendors came with modern products, such as t-shirts and magnets, and new businesses, such as bars, restaurants, resorts and home-stays, were established. They rented the houses along the canal or the walkways in front of these houses. Houses along the canal therefore turned into stores and residents who did not relate with tourism businesses had to move out and were replaced by merchants from outside. According to Vajurakachorn & Nepal (2014), in 2010 more than 40% of the sellers were not Ampawa residents.

The continuous transformation led to conflicts among local people as well as between local people and the local municipality. Although the canal and the walkways along the canal (in front of waterfront stores) were public spaces, the owners of the waterfront stores claimed the ownership rights of these spaces. They attempted to increase their benefits by expanding the walkways and using them for businesses, such as putting tables for dining and booths for selling foods and souvenirs. This then led to a conflict between the owners of waterfront stores and the local municipality, who wanted to control the use of public spaces and prohibit the expansion of the walkways. The mayor then sued several waterfront store owners, and as a consequence he was not re-elected for his third term in 2012. All these issues illustrate that AFM continuously changed through negotiations between the different actors involved and that it was difficult for both local people and the local municipality to deal with these changes.

5.4.4 Bang Numpheung Floating Market

The Bang Numpheung floating market (BFM) is a relatively new floating market located in a province next to Bangkok. Initially Samut Prakan was an agricultural area, but agriculture collapsed because of social and economic changes. Therefore the mayor of Bang Numpheung suggested using tourism to stimulate the local economy. As the area was lacking a tourism attraction, he decided to construct a floating market. BFM opened in 2004 and was positioned as a weekend recreation space for Thais, especially from Bangkok. To create the market, the local municipality developed its own land combined with land from a local temple and local people, which the mayor rented long-term. Therefore, from the start, the space of BFM was a 'space of prescription' (Murdoch 1998) controlled by the municipality, very different from Damnernsaduak, Thaka and Ampawa where spatial configurations of the floating market constantly changed. In contrast with Thaka and Ampawa, the Bang Numpheung municipality took full control over the management of the floating market by deciding how the floating market should be shaped, who would be vendors in the market, and what the opening times should be.

To maintain the floating market as a local asset, they allowed only local people as vendors and hawkers. They also did not allow vendors to sub-rent their plots in order to protect the market from outsiders. Most of the products here were 'ready-to-eat' food products and products from the local farms and souvenirs made by local people and inhabitants of the province. To provide a diversity of products, the municipality did not allow more than five vendors to sell the same products. The local government also controlled the prices and, being the landowner, asked for a small amount of rent from the vendors. Moreover, the local municipality facilitated a variety of tourist facilities such as creating biking routes, providing a stage for music and shows, a space for performing arts for kids and programs for sharing local knowledge. Recently it has also been promoted as place for healthy recreation activities for elderly tourists (Chetanont 2014). Being fully controlled by the municipality, BFM did not change much and

is considered to be ‘a lung of Bangkok’, described by the Lonely Planet as a great place for unrestrained outdoor eating to be combined with Si Nakhon Kheun Khan Park, a huge botanical garden with a large lake and birdwatching tower.

5.4.5 The Pattaya Floating market

The Pattaya floating market (PFM) is a 23-acre artificial historic park in Pattaya, a beach resort at the east coast of Thailand. In 2008, investors from Bangkok realised that Pattaya, for long a tourism destination with a high number of tourists, was lacking cultural attractions. Thus, they transformed a swamp area located at a side of the main road to Bangkok into a pond and constructed a floating market. PFM was designed in the form of a market place with cultural elements, such as traditional Thai houses from different regions and Thai cultural shows. Instead of representing the locality of Pattaya, PFM connects Pattaya with the rest of Thailand. PFM is divided into four sections referring to the main regions of Thailand: North, North/East, Central and South. Each section has commercial booths selling ‘ready-to-eat’ food products and souvenirs for tourists. The owners invited merchants, mostly from Bangkok, to sell products in in-land booths and asked local people to perform as vendors on the boats. As floating markets in Pattaya were non-existent, the owners had to buy old boats from Ayutthaya, a city in the central region of Thailand.

In 2014 the market received around 200,000 visitors per month. According to the manager of the market, the main target group of PFM were tourists who visit Pattaya. Recently, many tourists in Pattaya come from Russia and Asian countries. The manager of PFM stated that nowadays around 80% of visitors are Asian tourists, especially from China, who mostly travel with tour agencies and stay for shorter periods of time, and domestic tourists. Most Asian tourists and domestic tourists have similar visiting patterns: they come to PFM to wander around, take a cruise and buy foods and souvenirs. However, PFM hardly attracts visitors from Russia since they prefer more adventurous activities.

Although the services provided by PFM suits the preference of their targeted tourists, a key element of the success of PFM is the close connection with tour agencies. As the manager explained:

Pattaya Floating Market attracts package tourists from Asia because this provides more financial benefits to tour guides and tour agencies comparing to visiting Damnernsaduak floating market. Although Damnernsaduak floating market is more authentic, it is rather a standalone-tourist attraction. The tour guides may have to spend half a day only to take tourists there. In contrast, there are many attractions in Pattaya. Thus, tourists can spend only around an hour here, and they still have time to visit other attractions. This way, they can generate more financial benefits.

Furthermore, the PFM was also used as a setting in the Chinese drama called ‘Go Lala Go!’ After the movie was released in 2010, PFM became a ‘must-go’ destination for Chinese tourists. As a result a visit to PFM was included in package tours from China and the number of visitors dramatically increased. By connecting to Asian tourists and disconnecting with western tourists, PFM changed. For example, the original souvenirs, such as wood carvings, silverware, paper umbrellas, bamboo furniture, jewellery and backrest pillow bags representing Thailand recently were replaced by local balsam, t-shirts and cooked foods, matching Chinese tourists’ preferences.

5.5 Discussion and conclusion

This chapter showed how floating markets in Thailand, traditionally serving as central places for trade and exchange of agricultural products and as meeting places, sustained, disappeared, were relocated, and/or reappeared as tourism attractions. Using insights from ANT it became clear that they were and are not only ordered and reordered by people like vendors, buyers, mayors and tourists, but also encompass canals, boats, homes, fruits, vegetables and souvenirs in certain and multiple ways in order to become floating markets. As we have shown and explained, after the economic changes in the 1950s, only few markets endured or hold shape. Infrastructural and tourism developments or governmental and non-governmental projects, have led to a large variety of floating markets in Thailand (see also Denpaiboon 2015).

The table summarizes the main elements assembling floating markets in Thailand. The table clearly illustrates that and how floating markets in Thailand not only differ in terms of actors (vendors, buyers, developers), objects (souvenirs, food products), but also time and space. The third column highlights the main (new) objects which were introduced when the floating markets became or were developed as tourism attractions. Although some of them started and largely remained ‘closed spaces’ (like Bang Numpheung and Pattaya), others were and still are ‘spaces of negotiation’, where the relations between human and non-human properties have been in constant flux. In these cases outsiders replaced local vendors, tourist became the main customers, souvenirs substituted or supplemented local vegetables, opening hours have been adjusted to new conditions, etc.

Table 5.1: Main characteristics of floating markets

Floating market	Focal actors	Main (new) objects	Vendors	Main customers	Time	Space
Original version	Buyers and vendors	Local products	Local and non-local people	Local and non-local people	Certain dates in lunar calendar	Open public space
Damnersaduak (DFM)	Port owners and tour agencies	Souvenirs Postcards Ports	Local and non-local people	International tourists	Morning, Every day	Open space owned by private entrepreneurs
Thaka (TFM)	Local government	Homestays Walking and biking paths	Local people	Local people and Thai tourists	Morning, Certain dates in lunar calendar and weekends	Open space organized through the negotiation between local municipality and landlords
Ampawa (AFM)	Local government	Fire fly boats Homestays Tangible heritage	Local and non-local people	Thai tourists	Afternoon and evenings, weekends	Open space owned by local people
Pattaya (PFM)	Private investor	Souvenirs for Asian tourists Thai houses from entire Thailand	Non-local people	Asian tourists	Every day from 10:00 – 23:00	Closed space owned by private entrepreneurs
Bang Numpheung (BFM)	Local government	Outdoor recreation facilities	Local people	Thai tourists	Weekends from 8.00 – 14.00	Closed space owned by the local municipality

Although they remained ‘regional’ in the sense of a three dimensional Euclidean space, at the same time floating markets always were and still are fluid. They survived because they were and are able to bend, shift shape, and reconfigure. For example, the cases of Damnersaduak floating market and Thaka floating market demonstrated that floating markets do not have clear-cut boundaries and stable identities (De Laet and Mol 2000). The engagement with other networks, especially infrastructural and tourism networks, made them pliable, especially in light of the modernization process in Thailand which questioned its original functions as merely food markets. Although the five floating markets, as discussed in this chapter, are all different versions of floating markets in Thailand, they sustained not only because of their locations and their relation with the traditional food trading practices, but also because of the variety of entanglements with other networks. For example, Damnersaduak interlinks

with international tourism networks, while Thaka, Ampawa and Bang Numpheng floating markets predominantly connect with Thai tourism networks and the Pattaya floating market with a wider Asian tourism network. These different interconnections led to different patterns of change and different configurations, also in time. Thaka, Ampawa and Bang Numpheng became tourism destinations only for two or three days a week, while Pattaya day after day performs as a tourism attraction. These changes have not always been gradual or smooth. Some of the floating markets, especially Ampawa, have sustained because of discontinuity or controversies. In terms of the original Thai meaning of floating markets: some floating markets lasted because particular ‘appointments’ could take place, but others were ‘othered’. Whereas some of the floating markets were developed as or became island-like tourism resorts, in others multiple modes of ordering collided, sometimes leading to smooth or gradual changes, in other cases rapid and erratic transformations.

In conclusion, by making use of ANT and the four topologies we have shown the dynamic and continuous shaping and re-shaping of a particular tourism attraction, floating markets in Thailand. The continuity of floating markets, whether as food market or tourism attraction or both, resulted from its ability to perform as a fluid object that maintained its agency by changing its shapes and configurations overtime. In order to preserve floating markets in Thailand, it will remain necessary to break away from one particular dominant way of enacting them.

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CHAPTER 6: Spatial Consequences of Tourism Destinations' Multiplicity: The Case of Pattaya, Thailand⁶

6.1 Introduction

Pattaya is a famous tourism destination in Thailand located on the eastern coastline of Thailand's Gulf of Siam, 150km southwest of Bangkok, the capital of Thailand. Pattaya experienced a rapid and largely unplanned growth during 1960s and 1970s and has subsequently been promoted as one of Thailand's major coastal resorts. In the period 1996–2006 the number of visitors more than doubled to reach six million visitors per annum. Of these, two-thirds were international visitors and one-third Thai (Longjit & Pearce 2013).

Recently, Pattaya is promoted as a “town of varieties” (Pattaya City Hall n.d.). It is not only well-known as a beach resort and a destination with bustling night life, but it is also advertised as a destination for festivals and events, M.I.C.E. (meetings, incentives, conference, exhibitions) and as a main destination for mass tourists who visit Thailand for short trips organized by tour operators. Pattaya therefore can be seen as a multiple destination. In this chapter we will examine this multiplicity and particularly explore its spatial consequences.

Until recently tourism studies had little interests in the variety of practices enacting multiple versions of tourism destinations (Framke 2002; Ren & Blichfeldt 2011; see also Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011). For more than forty years the study of tourism destinations has been dominated by a conventional understanding, which conceptualized tourism destinations as fixed territorial geometrical spaces packed with tourism attractions and products (Davidson & Maitland 1997; see also Framke 2002; Hall 2008). A destination was seen as an agglomeration or a package of tangible and intangible components that share a common image or identity (Cooper et al. 2005; Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011). In general, these studies resulted in synthesizing the complexity of destinations into a predictive and normative mode (Butler 1980; Smith 1991, 1992; Tooman 1997; Prideaux 2000) or viewing development mainly as a matter of strategic management (e.g. Murphy 1985; Gunn 1997; Longjit & Pearce 2013; Haugland et al. 2011). Although this conventional approach acknowledged that tourism destinations are dynamic and continuously developing, destinations were still considered as single and homogeneous objects, often showing predictable patterns of change (Butler 1980, 2006).

The rise of postmodern cultural and social theories has challenged this approach by looking at tourism destinations from a relational perspective. The fixed and essential notions of ‘physical’, ‘human’,

⁶ This chapter is submitted in June 2017 to *Tourism Recreation Research* and is currently under review

‘culture’, ‘economic’ and their associated binary framings, such as internal/external, global/local, nature/culture or micro/macro, have been replaced by an relational approach where things are acting and being acted upon by everything else (Anderson 2012). In this perspective, destinations are seen as unstable, heterogeneous and multiple due to constant processes of negotiation and renegotiation that connect tourism destinations to wider discursive frameworks and historical systems (Ringer 1998; see also Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011).

Along these lines of thought, scholars such as Peters (2012) and Ren & Blichfeldt (2011), borrowing the concept of enactment from actor-network theory (Mol 2002), recently argued that tourism objects and tourism destinations have multiple versions or realities enacted by heterogeneous networks of relations. For instance, Ren & Blichfeldt (2011) demonstrate that through multiple ways of ‘doing’ a destination called Zakopane is enacted into two versions: a village and an international destination. Related and also drawing from fieldwork at the Polish tourist destination of Zakopane, Ren (2011) demonstrates how a rather unlikely destination actor, the smoked sheep cheese of oscypek, is enacted in different versions as it engages with tourism, tradition, craftsmanship, hygiene and legislation. What appeared in this tracing is a number of discourses, places and localities, documents, objects, people and tourism practices which through their engagement (or disengagement) are transformed, brought to the fore or in some cases ‘othered’. Ren clearly shows that the four versions of the cheese, which she describes, are not mutually exclusive, but coexist in and through more or less consistent enactments of the destination in which “the boundaries [...] were constantly overflowed, blurred and re-negotiated” (Simoni 2007, p. 9). According to Mol & Law (1994), these different versions may overlap and have fractal relations, but the consequences of their interactions cannot be foretold.

Although these and other studies (see for example Jóhannesson 2010, 2012) demonstrate how multiple versions of tourism objects and destinations are produced and interact, they hardly pay attention to its spatial consequences. This chapter intends to contribute to this knowledge gap by focusing on the spatial consequences of the multiplicity of tourism destinations. Using Pattaya as a case study, we will examine the spatial consequences of multiplicity in a tourism destination and how this can lead to controversies by looking at the roles of human and non-human entities enabling specific forms of tourism in certain spaces. In doing so, we provide an alternative view towards the development of a tourism destination.

In this chapter, we will now first examine how actor-network theory can be used to study the performance of heterogeneous tourism networks in a tourism destinations and how this relates to the production of space. Hereafter, we will provide a brief history of tourism in Pattaya and introduce multiple versions of Pattaya as effects of different sets of socio-material practices. Next, we will discuss the spatial consequences of this multiplicity of Pattaya as a tourism destination and finally conclude that Pattaya is a gathering of different versions of tourism, which left their marks in particular spatial

configurations in which particular forms of tourism have segregated themselves from others, but more often strengthen each other or collide and even may lead to controversies.

6.2 ANT and tourism spaces

This chapter builds on insights from actor-network theory (ANT). ANT is a set of tools and sensibilities, which seek to understand complex social situations by following constituting elements and examining how they associate. As Van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson (2012) recently explained, ANT sees the world as composed of continually constructed relations-gone-solid, which can never be defined as purely social, natural, technological or cultural, but only – and always – as hybrids. Its main focus is not the usual *why* questions of social sciences but rather questions of *how* social arrangements are accomplished and stabilized. Thus society is not taken to be what holds us together but rather what has to be held together (Latour 1986). This entails that ANT inspired studies are not interested in *what* tourism destinations are, but in how tourism destinations *work*, how they are assembled, enacted and ordered; how they are held together and how they may fall apart. As a consequence, tourism destinations and their components (tourists, services, spaces, facilities, and so on) can be defined in, through and from network-building (Murdoch 1998). Tourism destinations therefore can be seen as products or effects of networks' activities that are constructed in particular spaces and times (Murdoch 2006).

Furthermore, tourism destinations enact in multiple versions, identities and realities (Law 2002). The notions of multiplicity was first introduced and discussed in the 'post-ANT' (Gad & Jensen 2010) works of De Laet and Mol (2000), Mol (2002) and Law & Singleton (2005). The processes that produce tourism destinations are on-going and consist of contested practices of dynamic unfolding and becoming (Law & Singleton 2005). While a particular version of tourism is continuously constructed and re-constructed through processes of assembling and ordering, diverse socio-material relations can similarly enact other versions of tourism in the same destination, either at the same time or in historical processes of unfolding (Law & Urry 2004). In other words, destinations have different versions since they are enacted into being in different conditions and practices (Law 2009). Thus tourism destinations are not singular, but multiple. And they have spatial consequences.

In an ANT perspective, space itself is not a container but contained in actor-networks (Murdoch 2006), spatial relations are performed by networks. Space is made, created, an effect and a material outcome (Law and Hetherington 2000). Space is bound into networks, spatial analysis is therefore also network analysis (Murdoch 1997, 1998; Van der Duim 2007). Space in ANT is both "physical and relational" (Murdoch 1998, p. 361). Space is arranged through processes of negotiation, representation and displacement, which establish relations between entities and places, so that specific practices can be conducted (Law 2009). These processes also determine scale and definition of space (Murdoch 1998).

As such, space is constructed within networks of relations producing tourism and tourism is always a means of acting upon space (Van der Duim 2007). As Hetherington (1997) argues, all spaces are complex interrelations between modes of ordering and resistance where the effects of power and resistance are intertwined.

According to Murdoch (1998), there are two types of networks that differently define and demarcate spaces. The first type is a network that is perfectly stabilised. Spaces and other entities in this type of network are effectively aligned. These spaces of *prescription* are “spaces of relatively fixed coordinates and will tend to be marked out by formal and standardised sets of heterogeneous relations” (ibid., p. 370). However, stabilising the network requires negotiation between generality and local uniqueness (Star 1995). This means that the various components of a network can carve out for themselves a degree of autonomy from their relations in the network (Murdoch 1998, p. 363). The second type is a network where norms are hard to establish and standards are frequently compromised. The spaces produced within this kind of network are more fluid, interactional and unstable and can be called ‘spaces of *negotiation*’ (Murdoch 1998, 2006). Spaces of negotiation are spaces where links between actors are provisional and divergent, where the various components of networks continually re-negotiate with one another and form variable and revisable coalitions. They generate outcomes that either reinforce singularity or give rise to multiple spatial identities (Murdoch 2006, see also Van der Duim 2007).

6.3 Methodology

Following an ANT approach, in this paper we examine multiple networks in Pattaya and the spaces that are enrolled in these networks. Pattaya has more than ten million tourists visit a year (Pattaya Tourism, n.d.). It is a beach resort consisting of several beaches and islands. Although it is well known as a ‘sun, sand, sea, sex’ destination for single males, Pattaya also operates as a ‘high standard beach resort’ or a ‘beach area for family and budget tourists’. As Lonjit and Pearce (2013) explain, by day, much of the tourism activities are concentrated along the beach fronts; by night they are centred on the bars, restaurants, cabarets, night clubs, discotheques and massage parlours clustered along the Walking Street or dispersed throughout the city. Pattaya is an area covering several beaches. To understand how multiple versions of tourism work and interact in Pattaya, we traced the spatial performativity of the webs of heterogeneous material and social practices on the main beaches of Pattaya, including Pattaya beach, Jomtien beach and Wong Ammat beach.

Pattaya beach is a four kilometres stretch of white sandy beach with a beach road (or Pattaya sainueang) lining along the beach. Three roads (the North Pattaya road, the Central Pattaya road and the South Pattaya road) divide Pattaya beach into three areas called North Pattaya Beach, Central Pattaya Beach

and South Pattaya Beach and connect the Pattaya beach road with Sukhumvit road (the main road connecting Bangkok and Pattaya). There are also many lanes or small streets connecting the beach road and the Pattaya second road (Pattaya Sai Song) dividing the area along Pattaya beach into many small spaces.

Jomtien beach is the other main beach of Pattaya, located about 4 kilometres south of South Pattaya beach with a small mountain dividing these two areas. The coastline of Jomtien Beach stretches for approximately 6 kilometres. There is also a beach road along the coastline with public transportation services for those who would like to travel along the beach or to other areas. This allows people to access the beach and easily travel between Pattaya and Jomtien beaches.

The last main tourism beach is Wong Ammat beach, an approximately three kilometres long beach located between Na Klua and North Pattaya beach. It is separated from Pattaya beach by both natural and man-made elements. The area consists of small curved beach spaces, which is different from Pattaya that has a straight beach line.

ANT served as a framework for analysis as well as for collecting data. ANT is grounded in empirical studies and is a tool to provide ethnographically rich description to explain how things work and how relations and practices are ordered (Van der Duim, Ren & Jóhannesson 2013). It aims to provide a radical new understanding of tourism, space and tourism destinations through examining particular webs of relations and daily practices of human and non-human beings (Latour 1999; Ren & Blichfeldt 2011). Although it does not offer an explanation of the world, it can be used to trace processes constructing the world (Law 2009). This study therefore builds on an ethnographic inquiry including both human and non-human actors, such as local entrepreneurs and local government officers as well as roads, bars and sandy beaches that engage with the field of study as research participants. Ethnographic inquiry suits well within ANT approaches since it focuses on describing certain phenomena by enabling researchers to involve spatial practices of tourism and translate their observations and experiences from the field into data (Jóhannesson 2007). In this study, three ethnographical method techniques were used to examine multiple enactments upon spaces: field observation, in-depth interviews and collection of relevant documents. Documents from various kinds were collected such as the autobiography of Parinya Chawalittumrong, a landlord and one of main actors in the construction of Pattaya, official government documents, tourism websites, documents about the history and current state of tourism in Pattaya, as well as other non-text artefacts such as photos and maps. These documents provided a historical background of spaces, people and materials taking part in the construction of Pattaya as a tourism destination as well as general information on current relational practices in Pattaya.

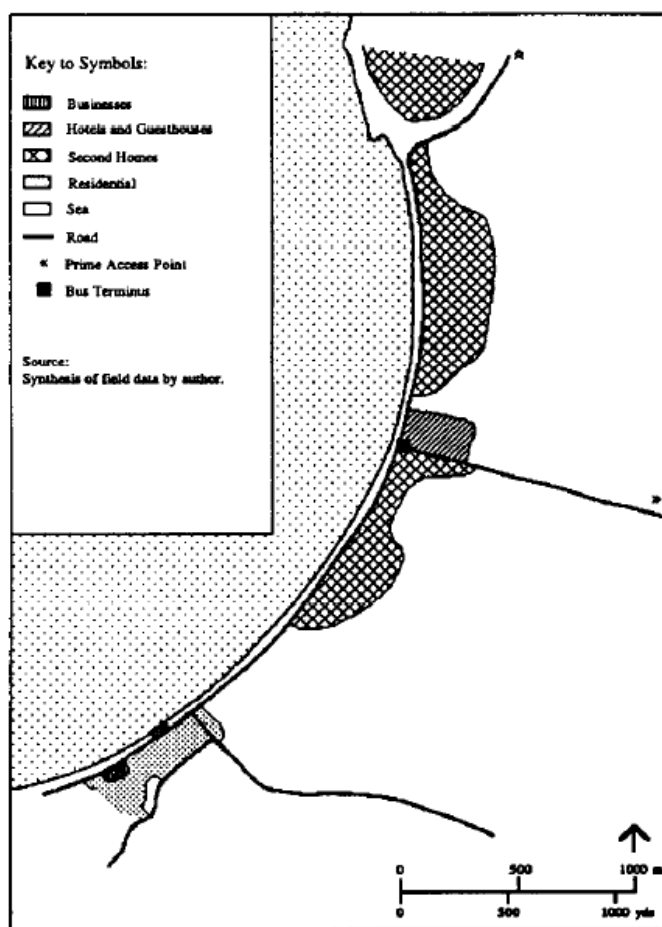
Next to collecting documents, the first author of this chapter executed fieldwork from December 2011 to February 2012 to collect further data from field observation, interviews and additional documents. Field observation is a technique used in geography and tourism studies to collect data from observing performances and practices, which might be difficult to understand without observations through participation (Jóhannesson 2007). In-depth interviews were used to identify how certain tourism configurations were constructed through relational practices, how spaces were enrolled as parts of them and how they deal with other sets of practices or changing in the relational practices themselves. The selection of interviewees was based on their participation in different networks of relations. In addition, many interviewees were recommended or introduced by other interviewees. In total 18 in-depth interviewees were held with stakeholders in the tourism sector: government officers (2), hotel managers (5), tour guides and tour agencies (4), managers of attractions (2) and local entrepreneurs and workers in the destination (5). The result of combining these methods served for gaining a thick description that unfolds the material and performative aspects of tourism and spaces, explains how relational practices generate multiple versions of tourism configurations, and describes conflicts and changes of practices in spaces.

6.4 Thai elites' second houses

Initially Pattaya was an inaccessible area covered by forest where only a few fishing families lived in the Naklua area, northern of Pattaya. This changed when Parinya Chawalitthamrong, a high government official, saw the value of the white sandy beaches and the beautiful semi-circle-curved scenic seaside. He decided to buy vast stretches of land in 1948 and invited Thai elite families and bureaucrats to build houses, allowed people to use lands for starting a business and induced the Thai government to develop infrastructure in Pattaya (Jonathan 2003). Thai elite families who bought land started in the late 1940s to build their second houses along the beaches, which are now known as North Pattaya beach, Central Pattaya beach and Wong beach. In the same period infrastructure was developed. The first road in Pattaya was the 'Pattaya-Naklua Road', which ran from the Naklua market straight to Pattaya beach and went along the seaside to South Pattaya beach. The seashore between Naklua market and Pattaya beach, which is called Wong Ammat Beach, was connected with the Pattaya-Naklua Road by small short lanes (or Soi in Thai language), which were simultaneously constructed with the Pattaya-Naklua Road. According to Jonathan (ibid.), after the completion of this road, around 1955 Parinya invited news-reporters and some famous authors to visit Pattaya. As a result, Pattaya beach was promoted and Thais gradually got to know about Pattaya through a national newspaper that also organized tours of 30-40 tourists from Bangkok to Pattaya (ibid.). Moreover, the road connecting Pattaya and Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, was improved in the mid-1960s, as a result of the establishment of U-Tapao, the U.S. air and marine base in an area around 50km southwards from Pattaya.

International visitors started to visit Pattaya in the 1960s when Prayod Soontorn, member of one of the Thai elite families, allowed U.S. military from the military base in Na Korn Rachasrima to use his house in the southern part of Pattaya beach. According to Jonathan (2003), often around 400-500 soldiers came by military trucks to stay in Pattaya and enjoyed the beach for a couple of weeks. In 1964, a hotel, bungalows, a rental boat service and a bar were developed to support the arrival of these soldiers. Besides, in the late 1960s Pattaya was also enacted as a weekend retreat place for residents from Bangkok. However, the number of both Thai and international visitors during 1960s to the early 1970s was still small (Bangkok Post 1983).

Figure 6.1: The development of Pattaya as a beach resort



Source: Smith (1992, p. 309)

6.5 The construction of Pattaya as a beach resort

After the end of the Vietnam War, in the 1970s Pattaya was promoted as an alternative vacation resort for international tourists, especially from Europe and Australia (Montague 1989). During this period, the national government took part in enacting Pattaya as an international tourism destination through funding infrastructural investment, sanitation and other public services as well as world-wide promotion

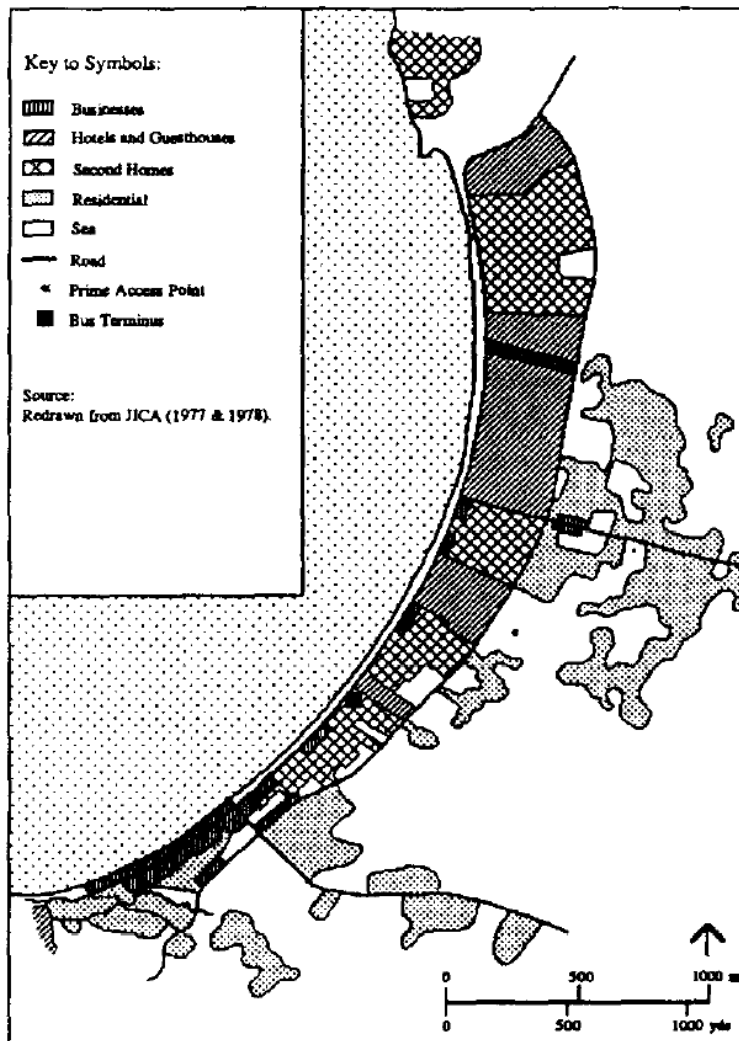
by the Tourist Authority of Thailand (TAT) (Wahnschafft 1982). Various road constructions between Pattaya and Bangkok in 1972 made it convenient to travel by car and bus from the Southern Bus Terminal in Bangkok.

Pattaya in this period of time was advertised as the 'Asian Riviera', referring to the resemblance with the famous Italian beaches and its attractive landscapes (Jonathan 2003). During that period of time, Pattaya was intended to be constructed and identified as a 'high standard beach resort' providing the beauty of nature, beach and marine activities, such as sun bathing, sailing and visiting coral reef, as well as offering hotel services meeting international quality standards. In the 1970s, first-class hotels dominated the accommodation sector in Pattaya by offering 85% of the total room supply (Smith 1992). These hotels were mostly established in the northern part of Pattaya beach. The prices of the hotels (without converted by the inflation rate, the prices of hotels in Pattaya were around 14\$ for regular rooms to 75\$ for royal suits) were not attractive for budget travellers or most domestic tourists, but only for 'big spenders' (Jonathan 2003). The hotel managers described these tourists, whom they called 'quality tourists', as those who had the potential and willingness to spend much in accommodations, in restaurants and on activities during their holidays (see also Kaosa-ard 1994). Many of these tourists came as couples or families and usually stayed for a few weeks to enjoy the natural beauty of the beach. Hotels not only provided rooms and dining possibilities but they also offered information and arranged tourism services. They were established through co-operation between elite families from Bangkok, foreign investors and tour operators and were operated by foreign experts, appointed by the foreign stakeholders because of their language skills and knowledge about international tourists' preferences (Wahnschafft 1982).

Alike many other tourism destinations in the 1970s, Pattaya was also advertised as a place where one could enjoy an extreme nightlife and get involved in sex with prostitutes (Lowry 1993). Since prostitution is illegal in Thailand by the Prostitution Suppression Act of 1960, sex work in Pattaya is produced through indirect forms of prostitution in places such as massage parlours, dance clubs and foreign-oriented bars that are commonly known as 'beer bars' and have characteristics that suit western tourists' taste (Singh & Hart 2007). These bars are not emblematic for Thailand but specifically produced for foreign visitors (Steinfatt 2002). They can also be seen as a result of the entanglement between prostitution in Thailand and the U.S. military personnel during the Vietnam War who first went to Bangkok before visiting several other tourism destinations in Thailand. The beer bars were converted into places where one could arrange paid companionships and arrange sexual encounters. Even though tourists can enter these bars for free, bar girls persuade customers for companionships and drinks as a way to gain income as well as secure their jobs. Although sexual encounters normally do not happen in the bars, tourists still have to pay a standard fine to the bar owners after which the girls take them out. In the initial ordering of spaces in Pattaya during its early development as a beach resort,

tourism accommodations in Pattaya were spatially separated from locations for bars and nightclubs and other businesses (JICA 1978). North Pattaya beach was the first area in Pattaya where hotels appeared. By the year 1977, new hotels were booming in North and Central Pattaya. Central Pattaya beach was an area for second homes of Thai elite families and bureaucrats (Smith 1992). South Pattaya used to be the area where fishermen dock their boats. When, bars and a few other businesses opened in the late 1960s, the area turned into a business area where nowadays bars and a variety of shops can be found.

Figure 6.2: Pattaya's beaches



Source: Smith (1992, p .310)

6.6 Development and re-ordering of space

As a result of the promotion of Pattaya at an international level and the development of the transportation system, the number of visitors significantly increased together with the rapid growth of resort facilities. Second and third class accommodations grew in number and spread all around Pattaya.

Nowadays, according to a TAT officer (pers. communication, 2012), there are more than 200 registered hotels and around 50,000 rooms in Pattaya, however, the officer stated that Pattaya may actually have around 450 hotels providing around 70,000 to 80,000 rooms. The new accommodations were not only located in Pattaya beach, consisting of North, Central and South Pattaya Beach, but also in other spaces including Jomtien beach and Wong Ammat beach.

Jomtien beach is a spin-off from Pattaya beach as it was developed after the success of beach tourism in Pattaya. Although beach tourism in Jomtien beach and Pattaya beach share some features, such as the distribution of water sports, accommodations, restaurants and bars, the services for tourists in Jomtien are relatively cheap compared with the ones in Pattaya beach. The interviewed hotel managers explained that Jomtien beach has a lower quality of sand than Pattaya beach, therefore the first class hotels were not built here. As a result, Jomtien beach became known as a 'cheap beach' attracting tourists, especially Thais, who have less income. Most accommodations here are second and third class hotels and accommodations for expats from abroad and from Bangkok.

In contrast with the accommodations in Jomtien beach, hotels in Wong Ammat beach are high standard ones; the same as the ones in North Pattaya beach. Following the original features of small curved beaches, Wong Ammat beach does not have a beach road like Pattaya beach. The beach is only accessible from Naklua 16 and 18 streets. Most of the beachfront area is owned by premium class accommodations, which line together and leave only a few passages to access the beach. The seaside hotels in this area provide most services around the beach, including food and beverage services, massages, manicures and pedicures. It is a space that is appreciated for sunbathing and relaxing, since it is less crowded than Pattaya beach and even Jomtien beach. Thus, Wong Ammat beach is different from other beaches in Pattaya characterised as a private beach owned by high-class hotels.

The development of Pattaya as a tourism destination not only occurred through expansion to other spaces, but also via re-ordering existing space. The domination of high standard accommodations in Pattaya only lasted for a decade. Pattaya beach lost much of its natural beauty because of its lack of managing and controlling the fast developments during the 1970s – 1980s (Smith 1992). According to Smith (ibid.) coastal erosion took place. Only 10 percentage of the coral reef east of Koh Lan Island (near Pattaya) remained, and the sea was polluted by resort-generated wastewater and solid waste (Smith 1992; Kaosa-ard 1994). In 1989, the National Environment Board (NEB) temporarily declared the sea a hazardous zone for swimming because of wastewater released from hotels and a nearby factory, the Eastern Seaboard of Thailand. The construction of many buildings also displaced much of the natural land cover of trees. Due to this situation the quality of Pattaya did not match with what these quality tourists expected, therefore their number declined. Further investments in first class hotels and collaboration with global hotel chains also stopped in the late 1970s.

At the same time, sex tourism in Pattaya grew. According to Prideaux et al. (2004), a high ratio of male visitor arrivals in Thailand throughout the 1980s reflected the growth of sex tourism in the country. The number of bars in Pattaya increased from only 25 in 1976 to 250 in 1987, and in 1989 these bars employed more than 6,000 women compared to 18,000 workers in hotels (Smith 1992). Nowadays, sex tourism in Pattaya consists of a variety of practices in a variety of spaces, not only in bars. When walking along Pattaya beach road in the evening, tourists are regularly confronted with hundreds of young women and transgender prostitutes using the public spaces, especially at the seafront promenade, as a way to make their appearance more visible and easily negotiable. Furthermore, the prostitutes in Pattaya also act as tour guides, interpreters or maids, sometimes leading to long term relationships between tourists and Thai women (Green 2001). As a result, it is common to see foreign visitors walking around Pattaya with Thai women.

Only the hotels in Wong Ammat beach and North Pattaya beach are still high class ones. Central Pattaya beach became a highly commercial area where a variety of tourism practices are performed. The land was distributed as small pieces where became spaces for small and medium size hotels, condominiums, bars, retail stores and shopping malls are clustered together. Central Pattaya beach became a shared space for various tourism practices. During the day, the beach in Central Pattaya is crowded with tourists doing various activities, such as resting on recliners with umbrellas, jet skiing, banana boat riding, paragliding and parasailing. Central Pattaya beach is also the main business area of Pattaya, where tourists come for shopping and dining. At the same time, spaces in Central Pattaya beach are enrolled in a variety of sexual practices. Bars are located on the beach road and in small streets, while prostitutes use the seafront promenade as a space to make contact with tourists who walk around the area. Moreover, there is a gay space, Boyztown, constructed in a small street that connects the road beach and Pattaya second road.

South Pattaya beach became the main and most famous area for night entertainment. The 1500-meter lane of the beach road at the heart of South Pattaya beach was transformed into the Pattaya Walking Street, which was closed for traffic from 7 pm till 3 am. The Walking Street is swamped with a mass of flashing neon lights, bars, discos, cabaret shows, nightclubs, restaurants, shops and cheap accommodations. Pattaya's Walking Street nowadays is not only frequented by night and sex tourists, but by sightseeing tourists as well. It is normal to see couples and families walking around and taking pictures of bars or bar girls. Many of them also go into bars, but do not really participate in sexual practices. There are also tours organized for mass tourists to visit the bars and nightlife in Pattaya. In the past several years, the number of sightseeing tourists has increased due to promoting and connecting tourism in Pattaya with new groups of tourists, such as tourists from China. Normally these tourists stay in Pattaya for a short period of time and spend less time at the beaches. Most of the time they are taken

on sightseeing trips and to large-scale souvenir shops around Pattaya. Night excursions to visit bars or to watch sex shows are also part of the offer. They usually just come to see how the famous Pattaya nightlife looks like. They might watch some shows, have a few drinks and leave the bars early in the night.

6.7 Spatial consequences: spaces of negotiation and prescription

As a tourism destination, Pattaya consists of a number of both tourism and non-tourism networks. We have shown different patterns of how spaces have been translated into tourism networks. The concept of multiplicity, as introduced in the first part of the chapter, invites us to also look at the varied outcomes that ensue as tourism networks move into new spatial locations, as well as at the mixed consequences of the combined effects of multiple networks unfolding at a specific locale: “as differing networks come together in specific spatial locations, so they generate outcomes that either reinforce singularity or give rise to multiple spatial identities” (Murdoch 2006, p. 84-85).

Often, alternative tourism arrangements co-exist with other (tourism) networks. If beaches are enrolled into particular versions of a destination they are ordered and arranged in line with the terms of enrolment. At the same time within these versions, spaces can shade or dissolve (Murdoch, 1998). The co-existence of the degenerating of Pattaya beach in the 1980s due to the pollution from the nearby industry area (the Eastern seaboard project) and the practices of hotels themselves (hotels also discharged polluted water into the sea) with the emergence of a tourism network producing night entertainment in Pattaya illustrates that tourism destinations are unstable and that different tourism networks can dissolve and unfold at the same time in the same place.

Obviously new forms of tourism also make their specific ‘spatial claims’. For example, after the construction of Suwanaphom international airport, located close to Pattaya and connected by a high way, in 2007, the development of new forms of tourism, such as M.I.C.E. (meetings, incentives, conferencing, exhibitions) tourism, was stimulated. M.I.C.E. tourism was established in Pattaya as the result of relational practices between local and national governments and hotel businesses. Especially the large size hotels were enrolled in this new tourism network. Around 10 high-end hotels in Pattaya now operate on the market for business events and offer flexible event spaces with ocean views, personalised catering services and conference facilities for more than 250 people. The opening of the Hilton Pattaya hotel, a high-end hotel, in 2010 illustrates this development well. The local government also took part in co-constructing M.I.C.E. tourism, since it saw this version of tourism as a good way to promote Pattaya to other markets besides the general mass tourists. As an attempt to change the image of Pattaya, the local government not only contributed to market development but also co-produced large

events, such as international conferences and world sport events. This enabled Pattaya as a beach resort to re-gain its momentum.

As a consequence, these developments turned some spaces into shared spaces where multiple forms and networks of tourism co-exist. This situation provoked tensions and controversies among actors in different networks. According to Venturini (2009), “controversies begin when actors discover that they cannot ignore each other” (p. 4). One of the controversies involves the hotel managers who stated that the big spending tourists, family and honeymoon tourists, became absent in Pattaya since the late 1980s because of the practices of beer-bars involved in sex tourism. They point at the noise from the bars disturbing the night rest of their customers, and claimed that having bars near hotels obstruct hotels to produce ‘high standard services’ for customers as well as downgrade the image of Pattaya as a high quality beach resort. Similarly, sex tourists in Pattaya Walking Street might feel bothered by the presence of other tourists who have different motives for visiting Pattaya. Pattaya beach therefore has become a space of negotiation with multiple spatial identities and controversies. However, these and other controversies, which are played out in particular locales, should not only be seen as ‘problems’ in need of ‘fixing’, as merely counterproductive social phenomena. These controversies are also an opportunity, which might show themselves as productive. In spaces of negotiation parties are not able to ignore one another. Here parties can take on new roles and subject positions and construct or negotiate new realities (see Jóhannesson, Ren & Van der Duim 2015). For instance, Jomtien Beach was translated into a family oriented beach since it was much quieter than Pattaya beach. The number of bars and other night businesses in this area is relatively low and most of them close around midnight due to the Pattaya zoning law that allows only bars in Pattaya beach to open until 2 at night. For this reason, Jomtien is a beach for visitors who want to relax and stay away from the noise, including some domestic and family tourists. Many condominiums were also used as second homes for Thai and foreigners, especially retired expats from Russia and Scandinavian countries. In the same time, Jomtien was a place for people who seek to avoid expensive and mass tourism practices in Pattaya. Hence, customers of bars here are mainly expats, local workers and experienced tourists. There are also several examples of how certain actors deal with multiple processes of ordering and pursue singularity to become spaces of prescription, where space is ordered and arranged in line with a particular tourism network. In these spaces other tourism activities might be excluded or changed in order to prevent disturbance. The Hilton Pattaya hotel is a good example of this kind of space. The Hilton Pattaya hotel was established in Central Pattaya beach in 2010. As it was very close to a number of bars, it circumvented disturbance of noise by building high above the ground, above the Central Festival Pattaya Beach shopping mall, one of South East Asia's largest beachfront shopping complexes at that time. This architectural solution allowed the hotel to elude from other forms of tourism, at the same time maintaining the quality of a high standard hotel. Similarly, the spatial concentration of large size accommodations at the northern end of North Pattaya

beach was the result of a collaborative attempt of hotel companies to occupy certain sites and create a 'closed space' with no room for beer-bars and other tourism businesses.

However, a particular ordering of space in line with a specific tourism network is not the work of humans alone. Particular spatial characteristics, like small curved beaches at Wong Ammat beach made it difficult to construct a beach road. Without a beach road, this beach is difficult to access. This allowed hotels in this beach to cover the whole beach, and in doing so they controlled access to the beach. Some spaces of Wong Ammat beach, such as Dusit bay, only have one way to enter the beach which is by going through the hotel. Furthermore, the curves of the beach made it difficult to walk along the whole beach. As a result, it became a more or less private beach for the hotel customers which created a different identity than in the other public beaches in Pattaya. This area is claimed to be the cleanest and most secluded public beach in Pattaya. As a result of the ability to exclude other networks and control the processes of ordering, beach tourism in Wong Ammat beach is pretty similar to the 'high standard beach resort' produced in the 1970s.

Another and final example of a space of prescription is is Boyztown, a gay space constructed in a small street in central Pattaya beach that connects the road beach and Pattaya second road as the result of the entanglement between a gay network and nightlife tourism in Pattaya. According to Burchall (2008) the first gay bar in Pattaya was founded in 1980 as a result of the cooperation between bar owners and a gay network in Pattaya. Its popularity enticed other gay bars to open in the same area. In 1982, the area became a 'closed' space that distinguished itself from other versions of night entertainment of Pattaya by clearly defining its territory; it was given the official name as Boyztown and the name was placed in the front and back of the lane. The gay bars initiated a new tourism version Pattaya, since the establishment of Boyztown also encouraged the gathering of gay businesses and discouraged other tourism activities in this area. Boyztown provides a wide range of services that especially cater to gay tourists, including bars, hotels, restaurants, cafes, massage and spa, a sauna and a gym, all distributed along this street. Thus, Boyztown illustrates how the gay tourism network strongly configures actions in this particular locale.

6.8 Conclusion

By analysing the case of Pattaya, this chapter illustrated how tourism networks and space mutually compose each other, often in diverse and unforeseen ways; space is constructed within networks of relations producing tourism and tourism is always a means of acting upon space. We argued that Pattaya is not just one destination, but a gathering of different versions of tourism, varying from a place for 'big spenders', sex tourists, gay tourists, sightseers, conference participants and many others, which is also reflected in the fact that different agencies are managing different aspects of tourism in Pattaya (Longjit

& Pearce 2013). The diversity of tourism has left it marks in particular spatial configurations in which particular forms of tourism have segregated themselves from others, like the high standard beach tourism in Wong Ammat beach, but more often strengthen each other or collide and even may lead to controversies. The case of Pattaya therefore illustrates that beaches are “‘folded’, ‘pleated’ and ‘ruptured’ by the spacing and timing activities” (Murdoch 2006, p. 86) of particular tourism networks.

By using Murdoch’s notion of spaces of prescription and spaces of negotiations we were able to gain an insight in processes of inclusion and exclusion. And as Murdoch states: “tracing the topology of networks is therefore akin to tracing the topology of power for whoever succeeds in defining the order of priorities succeeds in determining the connections which give rise to the spatialities and temporalities that compose our world” (1998, p. 370). Although spaces become defined within a particular network leading to attempts for domination or ‘othering’, in principle tourism networks are not able to particularize space alone or for any length of time. Tourism networks may strongly configure spaces, but clearly prescription and negotiation are two sides of the same coin (ibid.).

Different versions of tourism and tourism spaces not only emergence out of new forms of tourism, but also out of the way these different versions negotiate with other networks and act upon spaces. The case of Pattaya demonstrates different patterns of translation of space into networks. In these translation processes not only the practices of people are central; non-human actors also play a role. Similarly to the absence or presence of governments’ policies, law enforcement or local communities, non-human entities such as a beach road or the quality of the sand and wave, can also afford or obstruct particular network performances. The presence and absence of a beach road enabled the explicit different consequences between Wong Ammat beach and other beaches in Pattaya. Likewise, the lower quality of sand and waves also impacted the quality of hotels in Jomtien beach, which obstructed the beach to perform as a high quality beach resort and turned it into a cheap and family oriented beach. Furthermore, streets not only perform as a device for transportation, but also as a way to segregate. In studying tourism destinations we therefore need to look in detail at how human and non-human elements within tourism networks operate, how they move from one place to another, and examine the types of relations that are established between network form and spatial location. In doing so we will better understand the spatiality of networks and therefore provide insight in the possibilities and limitations of different tourism developments.

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CHAPTER 7: Conclusion and discussion

7.1 Introduction

This thesis intended to contribute to the discussion on tourism destination development by examining how particular tourism destinations in Thailand developed over time. By making use of insights from actor-network theory (ANT), this thesis aimed to provide a better understanding of tourism destination development. The main research question was:

- *How did Pai, Pattaya and the floating markets in Thailand develop as tourism destinations?*

This final chapter has four sections containing the conclusions of and the reflections on this thesis. The next section presents and discusses four main findings. Then, it discusses the practical consequences of this analysis for tourism destination development in Thailand. Finally, the chapter ends with suggestions for future research.

7.2. Conclusion

Since the 2000s, actor-network theory (ANT) has influenced tourism studies by making use of its three main notions: ordering, materiality and multiplicity (Van der Duim, Ren & Jóhannesson 2013). These notions allowed me to study how tourism destinations in Thailand develop. I examined how they are ordered and constructed, as well as how they hold their agency as tourism destinations through processes of re-negotiation and re-enactment. By employing ANT and its ontological perspective, tourism destinations are seen as fractionally coherent (Law 2002), or as ordering effects, which develop through, in and by heterogeneous networks. Consequently, tourism destinations are not set in stone. They are multiple things at once, and their configurations and development patterns cannot be foretold.

By employing ANT in this study I challenged the conventional approach to tourism destination development by underlining complexity rather than viewing these destinations as being static. Instead of aiming to provide general design principles or recommendations, in this thesis I aimed to gain insight on tourism destination development in Thailand by studying three destinations: Pai, Pattaya, and the floating markets of Damnernsaduak, Thaka, Ampawa, Pattaya and Bang Numpheung. The main findings of this thesis are concluded and discussed below.

7.2.1 Ordering

Ordering draws special attention to the processes underlying what seem to be more or less stable features of tourism destinations. By using a relational approach, this thesis demonstrated that the tourism destinations in Thailand resulted from particular arrangements of people and non-human materials (Franklin 2004). Tourism destination development involves the gathering, assembling and ordering of heterogeneous entities. But these developments can follow many different trajectories. Both the enactment of Pattaya as a beach resort and the enactment of the floating markets of Thaka, Ampawa and Bang Numpheung illustrated attempts to create tourism destinations through planning. In the initial development of Pattaya, a high government official played an important role in persuading Thai elite families, other administrators and investors to buy land, and he stimulated the Thai government to build infrastructure in Pattaya. The municipalities of Thaka, Ampawa and Bang Numpheung transformed their floating markets into tourism destinations by cooperating with local people, other governmental organisations and media platforms, as well as by including souvenirs, boats and other local entities. However, this study also identified that the processes of tourism destination development can evolve in unplanned manners as well. For example, Pai as a hub for backpackers resulted from the negotiations between local people and tourists to establish their mutual relations and roles; and the development of night and sex tourism in Pattaya evolved in tourist bars, rather than following a plan from the government or any specific individual.

Following this line of argument, the development of tourism destinations does not have to be a swift process of establishing facilities and services through planning, but can also be a slow process emerging from continuous interactions between hosts and guests. Learning that tourism practices can be economically beneficial inspired several local people in for example Pai to build a relationship with tourists and transformed themselves into tourism entrepreneurs. The resulting tourism configurations were built through slow but continuous negotiations. At Pai, it took years for the local people to develop their tourism businesses from a homestay accommodation to local tours and other services. The number of visitors gradually increased, inducing a growth in the number of tourism businesses. Local people, investors from Chiang Mai and nearby areas and tourists themselves took part in introducing bamboo houses, cheap and temporary guesthouses, and tourist-oriented businesses, such as bicycle and motorbike renting places, elephant camps, souvenir shops and restaurants for tourists. Emerging without a clear direction or an explicit idea about the future direction, it took years before Pai became well known as a hub for hippies and international backpackers. Similarly, the development of sex tourism in Pattaya began at a few bars in the south of Pattaya before expanding to other parts of the city. By contrast, the Ampawa and Bang Numpheung floating markets were the result of a swift process of development. The mayors of Ampawa and Bang Numpheung played roles as a ‘focal actors with a master plan’ helping them to construct the floating markets.

Viewing tourism destination development as continuous processes of ordering allows us to understand that tourism destinations change or develop through processes in which actors re-negotiate their roles and practices. The post-ANT fluid topology concept allowed me to understand that tourism destinations can still maintain their relational coherence even if they change. The continuity of the Damnernsaduak and Thaka floating markets illustrates their fluidity. These two floating markets bended, changed shape and reconfigured. However, the changes were gradual and they were able to maintain themselves as floating market; it is precisely through gradual and incremental change that they can hold their agency of being tourism destinations and continue to produce certain forms of tourism.

Tourism destinations can also show a discontinuous development. The sudden and unexpected emergence of new versions of tourism destinations might be a consequence of emerging new networks and new tourism practices. The example of the floating markets demonstrates the discontinuity of tourism destination development processes. A traditional floating market, such as Damnernsaduak floating market, was constructed as a tourism destination by introducing cultural aspects of the local way of life to tourists. While this traditional floating market continuously changed over time, the emergence of new floating markets, such as Pattaya and Bang Numpheng, was successful because within particular networks floating markets can also be enacted as a recreational space. Another example is the emergence of Pai as a Thai romantic tourism destination. This was a new configuration that resulted from a Thai movie, which induced a new set of actors and practices to Pai. The discontinuous development of tourism destinations is therefore a process of redefining the destination and creating other versions of destinations through new sets of relational practices. In conclusion, tourism destination development can be slow and fast and both a continuous and discontinuous process since tourism destinations are continuously being produced and reproduced.

7.2.2 Materiality and space

The empirical studies in this thesis show that not only people, but also by objects, spaces and technologies, make tourism destinations possible and pleasurable. They illustrated how objects and spaces are part and parcel of tourism destination development. In chapter 4 representational objects, such as postcards, illustrated how non-human actors are involved in tourism destination development, and how these co-constructed Pai as a tourism destination. To reinforce the image of Pai as a hub of backpackers, the postcards were made to reflect the way tourists saw Pai. Producing postcards and opening souvenir shops also generated income for some tourists and allowed them to actually move to Pai. After Pai and the postcards were promoted through Thai media, the postcards became ‘must-have souvenirs’ and large-scale replicas were even made to promote the destination when Pai also became a

romantic Thai tourism destination. The postcards therefore played different roles and had different forms as a result of their co-production of multiple versions of Pai as a tourism destination. Similarly, in the case of the floating markets objects such as boats and in Pattaya objects such as sandy beaches play an important role in the multiple enactments of tourism destinations. Initially tourists just liked to look at the boats, as cultural objects, which local people used for their transportation and trading. Later, when the floating market was enacted as a recreational space, the boats became an alternative trading place between vendors and tourists, instead of trading on land, and they were also used for canal tours. At Pattaya, the different quality of sand allowed Pattaya beach and Jomtein beach to be constructed differently in the 1980s, respectively as a 'luxury' beach and 'economy' beach.

Just as objects, spaces are also bound into network-constructions of tourism destinations; tourism always takes place in a space and influences it. Particular forms of tourism may include particular spaces; for example beach tourism in Pattaya requires specific attributes of space, such as good quality sand and waves. Identically, areas along canals were incorporated in the floating markets after these had become tourism destinations, to provide space for souvenir shops and parking areas. Furthermore, different networks may be connected to different spaces and entail different scales within a tourism destination. For example, spaces that were included in the version of Pai as an 'ethnic' tourism destination were for example the forest and homes of hill tripe people around Pai town, while Pai as hub for international backpackers and Pai as romantic Thai tourism destination rather focused on the town area of Pai. Moreover, the scales of Pai as a tourism destination in these versions were also not exactly the same, since their tourism practices and attractions were also different. Pai as a hotspot for backpackers included natural attractions around the town area, so its scale was larger than that of Pai as a romantic Thai tourism destination, which centred around human-made attractions and the town area.

In line with ANT, this demonstrates that materials and spaces must be part of the analysis to understand tourism destination development; they allow us to identify different versions or configurations of tourism destinations. Furthermore, an array of machines and technologies, such as media and online social networks, also play an important role in the development processes. The developments of Pai as a Thai romantic tourism destination in chapter 4 and the Ampawa floating market in chapter 5 illustrate how (social) media accelerated the development and stabilising processes. In contrast to the slow development of Pai as a hub for international backpackers, it took only a few years for Pai to become a romantic tourism destination for Thai visitors after it was selected as the location for several Thai films and television dramas. Ampawa also rapidly became a well-known tourism destination when it was promoted through (social) media. Global forces or unexpected actors, such as films and online social networks, therefore can play an important role in the construction of tourism destinations as well. So, this thesis illustrated that technologies do not only take part in the development processes of tourism

destinations by extending networks in space and time, thus connecting tourists to tourism destinations more quickly and more closely, they also influence the pace of the processes.

7.2.3 Multiplicity

Following the first two findings, tourism destinations are not only heterogeneous but also multiple by nature. The results show that heterogeneous ordering processes do not lead to a single or homogeneous tourism destination, but to multiple versions of it. In chapter 4, I described three versions of a tourism destination in the town of Pai: an ethnic tourism destination, a hub for hippies and international backpackers, and a Thai romantic tourism destination. Pai in these three versions has different identities and spans different geographical scales, while these also coexist and perform together. The representational and non-representational readings of postcards from Pai enabled an understanding of the construction of these three versions of Pai as a tourism destination. These different versions not only resulted in multiple images and identities of the tourism destination Pai, but also meant that the roles and forms of human and non-human objects differed. For example, the postcards of Pai constructed in different networks vary in both in content and form. Similarly, in Chapter 6 I discussed the multiple versions of tourism in Pattaya, such as beach resort tourism, sex tourism, domestic tourism and MICE tourism. This multiplicity of Pattaya divided the destination into different spaces, such as Wong Ammart beach, North Pattaya beach, Central Pattaya beach, South Pattaya beach and Jomtien beach.

In chapter 5, the multiplicity of tourism destinations was also illustrated through the emergence of multiple versions of floating markets in Thailand. These floating markets vary in terms of actors, products, buyers and vendors, time and space. The Damnersaduak floating market is connected to international tourism networks and became an international tourism destination that opens every day and where most vendors sell national souvenirs, such as woodcarvings and basketworks, to tourists. The Thaka, Ampawa and Bang Numpheng floating markets primarily interact with Thai tourism networks. However, these three floating market perform differently due to their local attributes. The Thaka floating market performs as a traditional floating market, since its traditional way of trading still exists. Ampawa and Bang Numpheng floating market are both specifically aimed at domestic tourists. Therefore, they open only during weekends and most products are based on Thai tourists' preferences. However, the Ampawa floating market is a restored market at the same location as it was originally, while Bang Numpheng floating market is a new market operated by the local municipality. Finally, private investors established the Pattaya floating market as a new market. Its connection with the Asian tourism network enabled it to operate every day and transformed it into the version that suits with the practices of Asian tourists.

7.2.4 Encounters and controversies

Following these three main findings, I also showed how tourism destinations change through encounters with new or other networks. However, the results of these interactions cannot be predicted. For example, the encounters of heterogeneous networks might lead to mutual strengthening, but also to controversies between networks.

First, the encounters might allow heterogeneous networks to collaborate and depend on each other as illustrated in the entanglement between floating markets in Thailand and tourism networks. It can be argued that the floating markets last or maintain their relational coherence as floating market because of their ability to co-perform with tourism networks. Another example is the merge between beach tourism and MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Events) that strengthened the hotel-based beach tourism in Pattaya.

In contrast, encounters between heterogeneous networks may also lead to controversies. For example, in Pattaya various versions of this tourism destination compete over the way spaces in Pattaya should be used. Similarly, the different definitions and discourses of Pai as a hotspot for backpackers and as Thai romantic tourism destination conflicted.

Conflicts might also lead to the waning of certain networks. For instance, most floating markets in Thailand degenerated after the development of the national economic and transportation networks. Similarly, Pai as an ethnic tourism destination declined and transformed after most hill tribe villages became part of the networks of transportation and infrastructure development that converted the area into an easily accessible place. The ethnic tours in Pai had to reduce their number of tours or had take tourists to more remote villages, which had been less impacted by modernisation. In chapter 6, I described how beach tourism in Pattaya encountered other networks, such as that of the night entertainment industry, and the influence of various natural and cultural entities, such as the beach road, local laws, sand and waves. These diverse networks with different spatial configurations led to encounters in which particular forms of tourism strengthened each other or collided in other cases, even leading to conflicts. As a result, on the one hand some spaces in Pattaya became 'spaces of negotiation', such as Pattaya beach as a complex and unstable beach space. In other cases, conflicts led certain forms of tourism to segregate themselves from others. For instance, in chapter 6 I also showed how some parts of Pattaya, such as Wong Amaat beach, became 'spaces of prescription', more stable spaces where certain modes of ordering dominate and other modes are 'othered'.

The encounters between the actor-networks as well as their entanglement with new or other networks induce the continuous changes of tourism destinations. As a result of encounters, certain actors might

re-negotiate their roles and relations with other actors. For example, introducing tourism souvenirs and changing the opening times of Thaka floating market after it encountered the tourism networks illustrate how the market had to reconfigure in order to be able to function as a tourism destination and at the same time as a floating market. The relocation of Damnernsaduak floating market from Ludplee canal to Ton Kem canal also shows the result of an encounter between the local network and the network of tour agencies, who decided to reconfigure the floating market in order to gain more power and financial benefits.

7.3. Discussion

This thesis used actor-network theory (ANT) as an alternative approach to study tourism destinations. Although an ANT approach has its limitations in not being able to provide general explanations, by means of the case studies I have been able to challenge both conventional understandings of tourism development as well as the role of governmental planning and steering.

7.3.1 Beyond conventional approaches to tourism destinations

Until recently tourism studies had little interest in the variety of practices enacting multiple versions of tourism destinations (Framke 2002; Ren & Blichfeldt 2011; see also Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011). For more than forty years, the study of tourism destinations has been dominated by a conventional understanding, which conceptualised tourism destinations as fixed territorial geometrical spaces packed with tourist attractions and products (Davidson & Maitland 1997; see also Framke 2002; Hall 2008). A destination was seen as a collection of tangible and intangible components that share a common image or identity (Cooper et al. 2005; Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011). Furthermore, the economic geography approach generally describes the pattern of tourism destination development as changing from one stage to another. Many economic geography models, such as Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle model and Prideaux's (2000) resort-development spectrum model, claim that carrying capacity is an important variable in destination development. When tourism development exceeds certain physical, social, economic and/or environmental levels, this will restrict the growth of tourism destinations and may even lead to decline. Although I do not completely disagree with this argument, the problem with the development is not just simply about exceeding a certain level level of resource usage, but also about the controversies about the rights to use the resources and how to use them. In this thesis I argued that multiple configurations of a tourism destination co-exist at the same time. Tourism destinations therefore often are 'spaces of negotiation' (Murdoch 1998) and controversies may take many different forms. The cases of Pai and Pattaya show that the development of heterogeneous, transforming networks of people, non-human entities and spaces over time makes tourism destinations complex. This

leads to disagreements about the definition of the tourism destination or the use of space. Furthermore, the floating market case also demonstrated that actors do not have fixed roles, as they encounter and take part in heterogeneous networks. In this broader view, confronting ambiguous futures is therefore is a rather inevitable consequence of a tourism destination's nature.

7.3.2 Multiplicity as an alternative approach for tourism destination management

Conventional tourism management views tourism at a destination as a system. In brief, its tourism destination development refers to increasing number and quality of tourism facilities. In line with this view, strategies based on the marketing approach, which sees a tourism destination as a product, are based on four Ps (Product, Price, Place, and Promotion). Dominated by these concepts, tourism development plans in Thailand have mainly been focused on the 'authenticity' of a tourism destination as a unit. Over the past several decades, the main strategies of Thai authorities, such as TAT, were looking for new tourism possibilities in places where tourism is undeveloped, then supporting local governments and the private sector to invest in tourism facilities, and finally using their channels to distribute and promote those tourism products. Even recent plans, such as the Ministry of Tourism and Sport (MoTS)'s national tourism development plan (2012-2016), in which tourism destinations in Thailand are grouped into 8 clusters (see chapter 3), still demonstrate the influence of these conventional approaches.

By demonstrating in this thesis that tourism destination development is not that straightforward and that these destinations should rather be seen as 'being constructed' by heterogeneous networks of human and non-human entities, traditional approaches are questioned. An ANT perspective opens new possibilities for thinking about tourism development and the role of human and non-human elements. The empirical chapters in this thesis show how these elements have multiple roles in the construction of alternative configurations of tourism destinations. Pai is not limited to being a place for trekking tours, it can also be a backpackers' hub and a romantic tourism destination. The floating market does not always have to be a cultural and historical tourism destination; it can also be a recreational one. These empirical cases show that a tourism destination can emerge and evolve in multiple ways. Therefore, the strategies for tourism destination development should not be limited to 'looking for new tourism opportunities' and 'facilitating tourism investment', but can be 'redefining and transforming destinations and entities into their new versions' as well.

7.3.3 Multiple roles of particular actors

In this thesis, I have argued that tourism destinations are constructed through an assemblage of multiple actors. The roles of particular actors, such as local governments, national authorities, local people, media and technology, are not predetermined. For example, Thai authorities play very different roles in the construction of tourism destinations. In the cases of Damnernsaduak and Thaka floating markets, TAT, the national tourism institution, played a significant role in the initial setting of both floating markets, by assembling tourists, tour agencies, investors, and local authorities. TAT also provided funds for local authorities and institutes to support their roles in the construction of the tourism destinations. The local governments were asked to manage the tourism destinations. In Bang Numpheung on the other hand, the local government was the owner of the floating market, while the Ampawa and Thaka local governments performed as managers. At Pai the local government seemed to be absent from the development process.

Furthermore, even if the authorities did succeed in their efforts to construct tourism destinations, it was only temporary. The cases of Thaka and Ampawa floating markets show that the authorities faced difficulties in maintaining their control over the tourism destinations. In other words, Thai tourism authorities, who seem to be strong in marketing, have a problem with long-term management. Thailand is said to have problems regarding tourism regulations, safety, ground transportation, human resources, and environmental sustainability (World Economic Forum 2014). Tourism laws are claimed to be under par and this would be obstructing the private sector (Ministry of Tourism and Sport 2012). These issues illustrate the complexity of tourism development as it blends with laws and policies that might not directly be related to tourism, with new transport or communication technologies, and political or natural crises. As a result, tourism destinations in Thailand have changed, deteriorated or have been rejuvenated. They were also faced with unforeseen developments, such as the growth of sex tourism, which had to be incorporated in existing developments. In sum, roles of actors are not pre-given but unfold during the complex development of tourism destinations.

7.4 Suggestion for future research

This thesis focused mainly on analysing the dynamics of tourism destinations through relational practices. The results of this study also generate questions for further research, which were now beyond my scope. The following research topics deserve further attention:

(1) Effects of media and information and communications technology (ICT)

Nowadays, media and ICT play a powerful role in tourism. This study identified roles of media and technologies in the development of certain tourism destinations in Thailand, for example how movies were part of the construction of a new version of Pai. However, it did not fully explore the workings and consequences of these kinds of objects. Media and ICT have become more and more significant in the world of tourism, not in the least because they have the ability to make new connections. People are not only able to connect with tourism and tourism destinations faster and easier, but new actors are also able to play important roles in tourism practices. There are several innovations deserving of our attention, for example smartphone apps and the sharing economy. Nowadays, smartphones and their various apps are important tools for traveling. Smart phones and their apps can be used in all sorts of ways, such as for making reservations for accommodations and transportation, and for translation purposes. They even play the role of tour guide, introducing tourist attractions and recommending restaurants. ICT also enabled the emergence of the sharing economy, which is the peer-to-peer-based activity of consumption coordinated through community-based online services (Hamari et.al. 2016). The smart phone apps and the sharing economy – think of Airbnb, for example – significantly changed the way tourists interact with hosts and destinations. Therefore, future research could further explore the socio-technological configurations of tourism and its relations with tourism destination developments.

(2) Global networks

The analysis of tourism destination development in this thesis mainly focused on the performance of actors on the national and destination level. It rarely touched on how global actors or networks, such as global economic networks, international governmental relationships, international tourism chains and operators, and global crises influence the ordering of tourism destinations. Therefore, I would like to suggest research on how global networks influence the transformation processes of tourism destinations. This can for example be done by focusing on the role of these global networks on destination developments such as those examined in this thesis, but also through examining cases such as the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS). The Mekong River is portrayed as a unifier for the six countries it flows through: Thailand, Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia, Vietnam and China. Since 1992, there have been collaboration programmes of these nations as well as international organisations, such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and UNESCO. Future research could use GMS as an example to study the role of global actors and networks in tourism planning and development.

(3) Tourism planning and policies

Since the main focus was on analysing the nature and dynamics of tourism destinations in Thailand, the role of tourism planning and policies was only addressed in the way it influenced the development processes of particular tourism destinations. However, tourism planning and policy development, as well as their implementation do deserve further attention. Referring to the first, special attention should be paid to what is present and absent in policies and plans, then asking ‘why’ and ‘how’. Presence and absence of, for example, environmental or economic issues or particular interests of local communities, may disclose conflicts, as well as open up debates on the sustainability of tourism developments. Studying their implementation shows how they are transformed when used in practice. Some of the cases in this thesis already showed that changes do occur when policies and planning documents are implemented. This also raises new questions about the actors and practices involved.

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SUMMARY

Thailand is one of the world's most famous tourism destinations. The success of Thailand as a tourism destination has raised scholarly interest. However, most of the studies focus on the management aspects of tourism. This research is intended to contribute to the understanding of tourism destination development in Thailand by discussing its complexity and focusing on the socio-material relations underlying tourism development processes. In order to do so, I applied insights from actor-network theory (ANT), also known as 'sociology of translation' or 'relational sociology'. This approach rejects the idea that 'social relations' are separate from the material and natural world, and attempts to include the non-human (nature, technology, objects et cetera) in the analysis by concentrating on relational materiality.

Through this ANT framework, a tourism destination is seen as a product or an effect of network activities. Networks of non-human entities, such as airplanes, accommodations, passports, souvenirs and attractions, and human actors, such as entrepreneurs, governmental officials and tourists themselves, create these destinations. Furthermore, ANT allows us to discuss tourism destination development as an ongoing, dynamic process in which competing and complementary practices arise, evolve and disappear. Thus, a tourism destination is not static and there can be multiple versions of it.

Assuming that development is a result of practices performed within a particular context, this study is based on three empirical case studies: the town of Pai, the city of Pattaya and floating markets in Thailand. The main research question is:

How did Pai, Pattaya and the floating markets in Thailand develop as tourism destinations?

In these three case studies, ANT served as a framework for collecting and analysing data. The main focus of this thesis is to examine how tourism destinations work, how they are assembled, enacted and ordered; how they are held together. As a data-collecting tool, ANT provides methods to trace processes that construct tourism destinations. I did a desk study, made participant observations and conducted in-depth interviews to study human and non-human actors involved in tourism destination development as well as their socio-material relations. The results are presented in three empirical chapters (chapter 4 to 6 of this thesis).

Chapter 4 examines the nature of tourism destinations through representational and non-representational readings of postcards. I argue and illustrate that non-representational readings of postcards can and should be combined with representational readings to provide a full understanding of the construction of tourism destinations. Through both readings, I first demonstrate that Pai as a tourism destination has multiple versions that are enacted in different networks. The different versions of Pai

are constructed and performed by different groups of materials and actors, such as tourists associating with hill tribe villages, elephants, bamboo rafts, postcards, kilometre stones and signs. In line with ANT, I show that tourism destinations are defined as hybrids rather than as purely social or natural phenomena. Together, humans and non-humans enacted and ordered Pai consecutively as an ethnic tourism destination, as a hub for hippies and international backpackers, and more recently as a Thai romantic tourism destination. Although these three versions illustrate the development of Pai as a tourism destination, to a certain extent the three versions still coexist.

I also highlight how postcards can co-construct tourism destinations. In the first version of Pai, the postcards co-constructed and promoted the town as an ethnic tourism destination. The set of five postcards from the period bear the words 'Thailand' or 'North Thailand' rather than 'Pai', illustrating that in this version Pai was constructed as part of the more all-encompassing northern Thailand tourism network. It also illustrates that this version has gradually vanished, and has been taken over by other versions in which Pai itself is the focus of attention and postcards play a much more prominent role. In the second version, postcards reflect the backpackers' view of Pai, and in the third version they depict iconic elements of Pai. In other words, the postcards play different roles in each version of Pai as they co-produce multiple realities. These postcards have different meanings to Thai and international tourists and affect tourism in Pai in different ways.

Chapter 5 discusses the different paths of development of floating markets. This chapter shows how five floating markets (Damnersaduak, Thaka, Ampawa, Bang Numpheung and Pattaya) in Thailand – traditionally serving as central places for trade and exchange of agricultural products and as meeting places – remained more or less the same, disappeared, were relocated, and/or reappeared as tourism attractions. Using insights from ANT it became clear that they were and are not only ordered and reordered by people like vendors, buyers, administrators and tourists, but also encompass things such as canals, boats, homes, fruits, vegetables and souvenirs. In this chapter, I argue that the continuity of floating markets, whether as a food market or tourist attraction or both, resulted from a market's ability to perform as a fluid object that maintained its agency by changing its shapes and configurations over time. For example, the cases of Damnersaduak floating market and Thaka floating market illustrate that floating markets do not have clear-cut boundaries and stable identities. Furthermore, the varied entanglements with other networks (Damnersaduak's link with international tourism networks, the links of Thaka, Ampawa and Bang Numpheng floating markets with predominantly Thai tourism networks and that of Pattaya floating market with a wider Asian tourism network) led to different patterns of change and different configurations. These changes have not always been gradual or smooth. As a result, the five floating markets are all different versions of floating markets in Thailand. In order to preserve floating markets in Thailand, it will remain necessary to break away from one particular dominant way of enacting them.

The last empirical chapter, chapter 6, examines the multiplicity of a tourism destination and particularly explores its spatial consequences by looking at Pattaya, a popular tourism destination in Thailand. In doing so, I show how tourism networks and space influence each other, often in diverse and unforeseen ways. Space is constructed within networks of relations producing tourism and tourism is always a way of acting upon space. My research shows that different versions of Pattaya, such as a place for 'big spenders', sex tourists, gay tourists, sightseers and conference-goers, have different spatial configurations. Certain forms of tourism have segregated themselves from others, but more often, the different forms have strengthened each other or collided, even leading to conflicts. By using Murdoch's notion of 'spaces of prescription' and 'spaces of negotiation' I was able to gain an insight in these processes of inclusion and exclusion. I thus gained a better understanding of the spatiality of networks and was able to provide a fresh perspective on how tourism destinations develop. Different versions of tourism and tourism spaces not only emergence out of new forms of tourism, but also out of the way these different versions negotiate with other networks and act upon spaces. The absence or presence of human or non-human entities, such as a beach road or the quality of the sand, can also enable or obstruct particular actions of networks, with different consequences for the different beaches in Pattaya.

As show in the three case studies, ANT's main notions, namely ordering, materiality and multiplicity, allowed me to discuss how tourism destinations in Thailand work, how they are ordered and constructed as well as how they hold their agency as tourism destinations through processes of renegotiation and re-enactment. By employing ANT and its ontological perspective, tourism destinations are seen as fractionally coherent, or as ordering effects, which develop through, in and by heterogeneous relational networks. Consequently, tourism destinations are not set in stone. They are multiple things at once, and their configurations as well as their development patterns cannot be foretold.

The findings of this thesis challenge conventional approaches to tourism destination development by underlining the complexity of these destinations. First of all, the development of tourism destinations does not have to be the result of a fast process of establishing facilities and services through planning, but can also be a slow process emerging from continuous interactions between hosts and guests, or from particular arrangements of people and non-human materials. Secondly, the development processes can be both continuous processes of ordering, in which actors renegotiate their roles and practices that change tourism destinations, and discontinuous processes, in which new sets of relational practices redefine the destination, creating new versions of it. Thirdly, this thesis describes the various roles of materials and space in tourism destination development processes; studying these roles allows us to identify different versions or configurations of tourism destinations.

This thesis shows that tourism destination development is not as straightforward as most traditional approaches would have it be, and that these destinations should rather be seen as ‘being constructed’ by heterogeneous networks of human and non-human entities. Although an ANT approach has its limitations in not being able to provide ‘general explanations’, it opens new possibilities for thinking about tourism development and the role of human and non-human elements. The empirical chapters in this thesis show how these elements have multiple roles in the construction of alternative configurations of tourism destinations. Pai is not limited to being a place for trekking tours, it can also be a backpackers’ hub and a romantic tourism destination. The floating market does not always have to be a cultural and historical tourism destination; it can also be a recreational one. These empirical cases show that a tourism destination can emerge and evolve in multiple ways. Therefore, the strategies for tourism destination development should not be limited to ‘looking for new tourism opportunities’ and ‘facilitating tourism investment’, but can be ‘redefining and transforming destinations and entities into their new versions’ as well.

Chalermnat Pongajarn
Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS)
Completed Training and Supervision Plan



Wageningen School
of Social Sciences

Name of the learning activity	Department/Institute	Year	ECTS*
A) Project related competences			
Research Methodology: From topic to proposal	WASS	2010	4
Qualitative data analysis	WASS	2010	6
Masterclass interpretative analysis	WASS	2011	1.5
Critical social theory	WASS	2013	1
PhD Proposal	GEO	2010-2011	6
<i>'Emergence and consequence of multiple enactment of a tourism destination'</i>	WASS PhD Day	2011	1
<i>'Floating Markets in Thailand Same, Same, but Different'</i>	WASS PhD Day	2013	1
<i>'Tourism Destinations: ANT perspective'</i>	PhD Symposium, GEO	2011	0.5
<i>'Multiplicity of Pai as a tourism destination'</i>	PhD Symposium, GEO	2012	0.5
<i>'Tourism destination development in Pattaya'</i>	PhD Symposium, GEO	2013	0.5
<i>'Thailand as a tourism destination'</i>	PhD Symposium, GEO	2014	0.5
<i>'Tourism Destination Development in Thailand'</i>	PhD Symposium, GEO	2017	0.5
<i>'Postcard from Pai: multiple enactments as tourism destination development process'</i>	TSAC 2015, Uppsala, Sweden	2015	1
<i>'The development of Pattaya: spaces of prescription and spaces of negotiation'</i>	ICOT2015, UK	2015	1
B) General research related competences			
Introduction course	WASS	2011	1
Landscape conversations	GEO	2011-2015	1
Wageningen geography lectures	GEO	2011-2015	1
PhD Reading group	GEO	2010-2011	1
C) Career related competences/personal development			
Scientific writing	Language Services Wageningen UR	2011	1.8
Improving your writing	Language Services Wageningen UR	2013	1.2
Total			32

*One credit according to ECTS is on average equivalent to 28 hours of study load