The impact of tourism on the livelihood strategies of the Moken 'Sea Gypsies'

A case study on Koh Phayam, Thailand

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Table 2: List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
CBT	Community-based tourism
FTT	Fair trade tourism
HRW	Human Rights Watch
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PPT:	Pro-poor tourism
RT:	Responsible tourism
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

Foreword

A few years ago, a girl from my old high school in Wales posted a photo during a trip on a luxury liveaboard cruise in the Myeik Archipelago (Myanmar) of a man with goggles, smiling at the camera and rowing a boat (which I now know is a *chapan*). The caption described a sea gypsy tribe with expert freediving skills, extraordinary underwater vision, and who survived a semi-nomadic way of life for thousands of years.

I had never heard of the Moken before, but I was instantly fascinated. Soon I was reading books and articles on the Moken, watched documentaries and wanted to learn as much as I could. What I read of the Moken in Myanmar was very often quite negative: much violence, forced relocation, 'human zoos', human trafficking, prostitution and substance abuse. These disturbing images were then complemented with idyllic images of the Moken on their *kabangs*, or houseboats, beautiful jungle-clad islands with wooden stilted houses and talk of a 'lost tribe' being severely under threat as a result of 'modernity'.

This dichotomy triggered my interest, and I decided to write my bachelor thesis on the Moken's participation in tourism developments in the Myeik Archipelago. My perspective on the matter became more nuanced but I continued to feel that my knowledge was severely limited. Hence, I decided to continue down the same road and write my master thesis on the Moken - now with the option of doing fieldwork. It took a few months before I truly got started due to the politically complex situation of the Moken; most are stateless and research on the ethnic group is not exactly encouraged. Consequently I changed my original preferred research sites (either Lampi Island Marine National Park, Myanmar, or Mu Koh Surin Islands National Park, Thailand) to the small island of Koh Phayam (in Thailand, just below the Burmese border and not a national park).

In the end, everything worked out well but it would not have been possible without the help, contributions and suggestions of various people. First and foremost, my deepest gratitude to the Moken people of Koh Phayam. I feel incredibly honoured and humbled that I was able to spend almost three months talking, playing and working with you. I have learned an incredible amount, gained amazing experiences, and made new friends so thank you, thank you, thank you.

Second, I would like to explicitly thank Fiona and Philip for all the time, energy and support they spent on me and - with all the work in the village and everything else going I am eternally grateful for everything you provided. Your ensured that my stay and research went incredibly well, taught me so much and your energy, love, positivity and drive to do good will always stay with me. Kru Eang, thank you for your insights and calmness, Wut for all the jokes and the excellent translating, Tine and Jiab for your openness and kindness. I wish you all the very best and I am sure we will see each other again in the not-so-distant future. Finally, thank you Sow for your incredibly kind, humble and strong personality - I am incredibly lucky to have gotten to know you.

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Abstract

The Moken were traditionally a semi-nomadic sea-faring tribe who for centuries lived on their traditional houseboats, kabangs, whilst traveling along the south Andaman Sea from Myanmar to the Malay Peninsula. Currently, the majority of the Moken are stateless and settled in small communities in the south Andaman Sea. With increasing tourism numbers in Thailand this research aims to understand in what ways tourism impacts the livelihood strategies of the Moken by using qualitative research methods and the Moken community on Koh Phayam as a case study. Results suggest that tourism impacts the Moken in various ways, most notably in the form of income generating activities, which complements their main fishing livelihood. Thus, livelihood diversification is currently the main livelihood strategy. Other effects of tourism that need to be taken into account include increased wastage, production of structural forms of violence, exploitation of labour, disrespectful behaviour of tourists, increased participation in market forces (e.g. commodification), both cultural preservation and loss of culture, and (false) representation of the Moken. The analysis was conducted using Hall et al.'s (2011) 'powers of exclusion' (i.e. regulation, the market, force and legitimation) to which a fifth power was added, namely 'precarious citizenship'. The powers proved to be a useful tool for analysis - particularly in the context of the Moken who are in various other ways excluded - but complementing it with other theories is necessary for a more holistic understanding. Although it should be noted that not all forms of exclusion are necessarily negative, tackling the issue of statelessness and precarious citizenship could be a first step in mitigating the powers of exclusion. This research contributes to the current tourism literature due to the unique case study and the limited information available on the Moken, as well as the possibility of placing the analysis in the broader context of mobile cultures, indigenous groups and statelessness. In sum, this research suggests that tourism impacts the Moken livelihood strategies in a myriad of ways. Due to the fact that the Moken currently lack access to many tourism-related opportunities, the costs however seem to predominate.

1. Introduction

1.1 Coastal communities

Coastal communities around the world very often face similar challenges, ranging from changing political settings, the effects of climate change, fluctuations in economic stability, deteriorating ecological health, and reduced fisheries (Bennett *et al.*, 2014; Bennett *et al.*, 2015; Weigel *et al.*, 2014). The Andaman coast, which borders Thailand, Myanmar and the Malay Peninsula, contains 621 fishing communities, of which some communities are also considered to be indigenous. However, Thailand does not officially recognise the existence of indigenous cultures despite the country's support of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and the presence of an estimated five million indigenous people (equating to 7.2% of the total population) (Wessendorf *et al.*, 2019). The Chao Lay, or 'sea gypsies', of Myanmar and Thailand are one example of a group where indigeneity and coastal communities overlap.

The lack of indigenous status and recognition is just one of the challenges faced by such communities. In Thailand, many have had to adapt to changing institutional environments, conservation efforts, and the development of tourism and agricultural sectors (Bennett *et al.*, 2014). These developments are often regarded as new economic opportunities that have the potential for diversifying livelihoods and reducing pressure on (marine) resources (idem: 1). This has led to shifts in livelihoods, mostly occurring from subsistence livelihoods towards wage labour in different sectors such as agriculture, fisheries, tourism and plantations (Bennett *et al.*, 2016).

However, the developments and transitions such as those described above are often aligned with, sometimes unforeseen, challenges. These include, but are not limited to, unequal income distribution and land disputes (for case studies see for example Arunotai, 2012; Hall *et al.*, 2011; Quick & Green, 2018), "stereotyping and discrimination; rights to land, forests and resources; and rights to traditional occupation, livelihood and food security" - the latter three being key issues faced by indigenous communities specifically (Wessendorf *et al.*: 313). Combining the status of indigeneity and mobile cultures, such as the Moken Chao Lay, may complicate matters even further. Mobile cultures are "those ethnic minorities whose socio-cultural and economic moorings have been (historically at least) directly underpinned by deliberate territorial movement" (Quick & Green 2018: 647).

Although a plethora of research has been conducted on tourism in Thailand, it is still relatively unknown to what extent these developments impact mobile cultures. In general, tourism has become one of the fastest growing economic sectors and largest industries (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2016) and is actively promoted and used as a development strategy in both developed and developing countries (Afrodita, 2012; Sreekumar & Parayil, 2002). Pro-tourism arguments include its contribution to the alleviation of poverty, stimulating (economic) development, enhancing international relations and increasing awareness of the necessity of environmental protection (Afrodita, 2012; Carter *et al.*, 2015; Sreekumar & Parayil, 2002). Indirect benefits such as improvements in infrastructure and facilities (both for tourists and the local communities), legitimising environmental protection, and the regeneration of local crafts and traditional cultural practices (Afrodita, 2012; Harrison & Sharpley, 2017) have also been identified. Tourism literature mentions adverse socio-economic and environmental effects as well as challenges. Specifically, these include growing socio-economic inequalities, displacement of local populations, environmental degradation, loss of traditional livelihoods, and economic leakage (Carter *et al.*, 2015; Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2016; Henderson, 2003; Sreekumar and Parayil 2002).

Thailand is described by Cohen (2001) as a 'mature tourist destination', which comprises, amongst other things, massification: a shift from personalised to impersonal tourism. As in other Southeast Asian countries, tourism numbers in Thailand have surged over the years: 2018 reached a record high with 38.27 million tourists visiting the country, up 7,5% from 2017. In December 2018 alone, there were 3.85 million tourist arrivals (retrieved in May 2019 from Trading Economics, 2019). Unravelling how complexities using the powers of exclusion as developed by Hall *et al.* (2011) will help understand the challenges the Moken face whilst placing them in a broader context.

1.2 Case-Study: The Moken

The Chao Lay (the overarching term referring to three groups of 'sea nomads,' namely the Moken, the Moklen, and the Urak Lawoi) inhabit the coastal areas of the South Andaman Sea. Their general distribution is illustrated in the map below (Figure 1), but the focus of this study lies with the Moken who form the smallest population group. Approximately one thousand Moken live in Thailand (Arunotai, 2012) and two thousand in Myanmar. Traditionally, the Moken were a semi-nomadic sea-faring tribe who for centuries lived on their traditional houseboats, *kabangs,* whilst traveling along the south Andaman Sea. They depended largely on natural resources provided by the Andaman Sea whilst occasionally trading with coastal communities on nearby islands (Henley *et al.*, 2013; Robinson & Drozdzewski, 2016). The Moken's excellent maritime knowledge and freediving skills attracted traders and middlemen both in the past and present who use(d) the Moken's skills to collect valuable marine species such as sea cucumbers and pearls (ibid.).

Figure 1: Distribution of Chao Lay communities in South-western Thailand. The Moken have a population of ca. 1,000, the Moklen of ca. 4,000 and the Urak Lawoi ca. 7,000. Source: Adapted from Arunotai, 2012: 5 and Wikipedia.
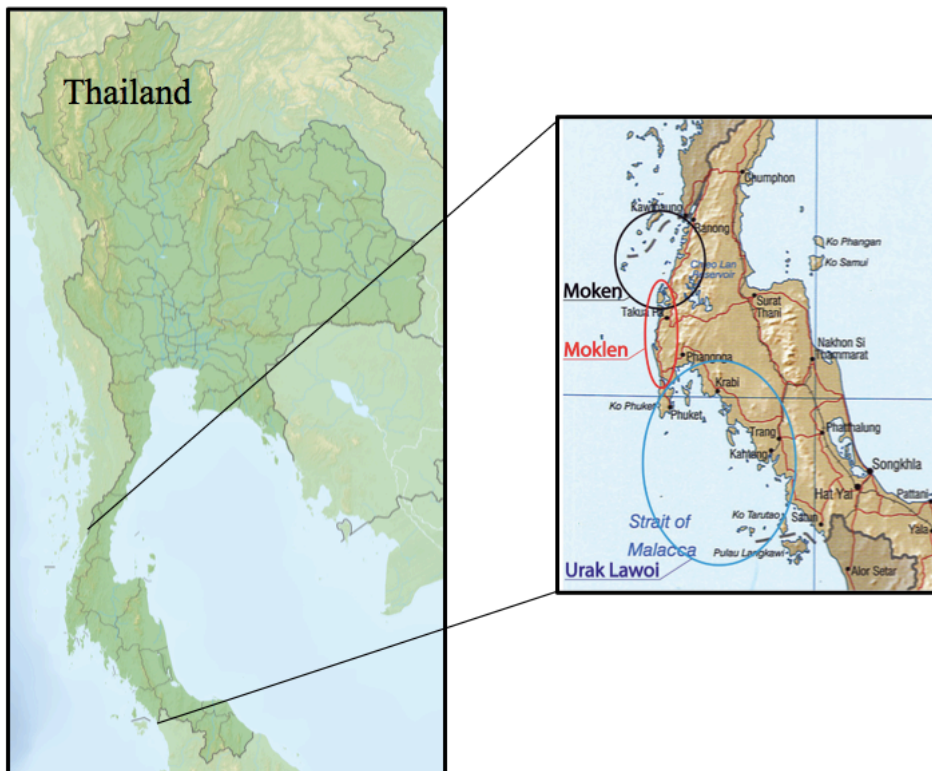
The Moken have not been studied extensively due to various reasons, including the politically sensitive discussion of the Moken's ambiguous citizenship status (the majority is currently stateless), their complex and largely unknown history (i.e. due to their nomadic past and absence of a written language), and the 'shy' nature of the Moken. However, the Moken's rich indigenous knowledge and oral history led to their high survival rate after the 2004

tsunami, which resulted in them becoming media attraction (Arunotai, 2006; Henley *et al.*, 2013; Robinson & Drozdzewski, 2016). Despite the media attention there is little (academic) data available; those who have written about the Moken often emphasise their traditionality and vulnerability (Robinson & Drozdzewski, 2016). Some scholars worth mentioning include Arunotai who published multiple articles in both Thai and English on the Moken's indigenous knowledge and history whilst also contributing to several working papers and reports (2006; 2012; UNESCO, 2001; UNESCO, 2012). Other authors include: Henley *et al.* (2013) who describe the Moken history and culture, Mcduie-Ra *et al.*, (2013) who explore post-tsunami reconstruction efforts, Robinson and Drozdzewski (2016) on the Moken's hybrid identities, and a few classical anthropologists such as Ivanoff (1994; 1999) and White (1922).

Current Situation
The majority of the Moken population is now settled on land, mostly in small communities on islands and on the mainland in southwest Thailand such as in and around Ranong city, Koh Phayam, Koh Lhao, Koh Sinhai, Koh Pra Thong, Khura Buri, Phuket (Rawai), Khao Lak and Koh Lipe (Arunotai, 2006; Sanglir, 2018). Data gathered through fieldwork suggests that there are no remaining Moken who still follow their 'traditional' nomadic lifestyle. As a result of their nomadic past and current difficulties in obtaining citizenship (see section 4.2), the status and presence of the Moken in both Myanmar and Thailand remains a very contentious debate (HRW, 2015; Mcduie-ra *et al.*, 2013; Robinson & Drozdzewski, 2016). As of 2017, more than half of the Moken population is stateless. Those who do not have citizenship sometimes have 'zero cards': an identification card for non-citizens that does not grant them any rights. The zero cards are, however, necessary for receiving secondary school education and healthcare within the province. From 2008 onwards, the Thai government changed its nationality law to allow stateless adults and children to apply for Thai citizenship[1]. However, the criteria are difficult to fulfil and bureaucracy, legality and corruption hamper the Moken's ability to procure a Thai ID (Arunotai, 2012).

The Moken communities and their ambiguous status are further influenced by other developments such as tourism, infrastructure and conservation efforts. Mu Koh Surin National Park[2] (Thailand) is an area where the Moken community comes into contact with mass (ethnic) tourism. Although not the study site of this thesis, the case has played a vital role in understanding the broader context. Instead, the small, relatively isolated island of Koh Phayam (located near Koh Surin) was chosen as the research site due to on-going tourism developments and the presence of a Moken community.

The Moken will form the focus on this study for several reasons. Primarily, very little research has been conducted on this ethnic group, and the literature that is available often presents a one sided image; it portrays them as a static, traditional, vulnerable and a rather primitive group where their culture needs saving (see Robinson & Drozdzewski (2016) for a brief overview). This research would like to nuance that. Secondly, the Moken are marginalised people who lack many rights. As such, it has become important to me to share the insights I have gained over the past year so that people are more informed of the situation. The aim is not to be activist, but rather acquaint the reader with the challenges faced and the impact of tourism on a remote island in the Andaman Sea. The analysis will be conducted using Hall *et al's.* (2011) powers of exclusion. Exclusion can take place in a myriad of ways and shapes social relations. Hall *et al.* (2011) define exclusion as "the ways in which people are *prevented* from benefiting from things" (p. 7), which the authors argue often comes about through different powers of exclusion (i.e. the market, force, regulation and legitimation). In addition, the Moken's precarious citizenship status impacts their daily lives and their opportunities within the tourism industry. As such, 'precarious citizenship' is a fifth power I have added to the powers of exclusion, which will form the core theoretical framework of this

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[1] See HRW, 2015 for an overview of the criteria.

[2] Mu Koh Surin National Park, Koh Surin, and the Surin Islands are used interchangeably throughout this thesis but refer to the official name 'Mu Koh Surin National Park'.

thesis. As a combination of the powers of exclusion, tourism and a mobile culture has not been done before, the research opportunity appears to be an exciting one.

1.2 Research Objectives & Questions

Until now, neither Koh Phayam nor the Moken community located there have been studied before (they have only formed part of broader research projects such as Arunotai, 2012; and Sanglir, 2018). This makes the current research a novelty as there is 1) no academic (English) literature on Koh Phayam; 2) no data illustrating how tourism has developed on Koh Phayam; 3) limited academic literature on the Moken in general (Arunotai, 2006; Robinson & Drozdzewski, 2016); 4) there is no academic literature on the impact of tourism on Moken communities. This case study is furthermore unique due to the precarious citizenship status of the Moken, and thus provides the opportunity to explore multiple challenges and complexities within one research site.

This research will largely be exploratory in nature and attempt to provide a nuanced view of tourism instead of labeling the tourism developments on Koh Phayam as simply positive or negative. Consequently, the objectives of this research are threefold: 1) to discern the Moken's livelihood strategies and the challenges they face; 2) to understand how tourism might enhance or mitigate these opportunities or and 3) to understand how powers of exclusions unfold in the Moken community on Koh Phayam.

Hence, the research question and sub-questions are:

How do contemporary tourism developments affect the changing livelihood strategies and the powers of exclusion of the Moken community on Koh Phayam?

1. *What livelihoods strategies do the Moken currently pursue and what challenges do they face?*
2. *How has tourism developed on Koh Phayam and how does this impact the Moken community?*
3. *How do the powers of exclusion shape the Moken community's opportunities in the tourism sector on Koh Phayam?*

These questions will be looked at, and ultimately answered, through a combination of empirical data and theoretical analyses. Chapter 2 highlights the main concepts and theories used, namely (ethnic) tourism, the powers of exclusion and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF). Chapter 3 focuses on the methods used, beginning with a brief explanation of the research site and scope, followed by the methodology which consisted of a qualitative, ethnographic approach. Chapter 4 and 5 lay out the relevant results (i.e. empirical data) obtained during fieldwork. More specifically, chapter 4 identifies the livelihood strategies of the Moken and the challenges they face, whereas chapter 5 looks at tourism developments on Koh Phayam and the impact it has on the Moken community. Chapter 6 explores how the powers of exclusion can be used as a tool for analysis. In addition, the limitations and contributions of the theories used will be highlighted. Finally, chapter 7 will conclude the thesis by bringing theory and practice together in order to answer the research questions and provide relevant recommendations.

2. Conceptual Framework

To understand how the powers of exclusion shape tourism's impact on the Moken community, and vice versa, it is useful to briefly summarise the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) and the narratives surrounding tourism. Three concepts within the tourism literature - namely *ethnic tourism*, *authenticity* and *commodification* - will further be explored as I assume they play a greater role in the Moken case specifically. The conceptual framework will then move on to the powers of exclusion identified by Hall *et al.* (2011), including the addition of a fifth power, namely *precarious citizenship*. This theory was chosen as a method for analysis as it tries to understand the processes and transformations that occur in social relations as a result of different powers. As the Moken can generally be considered a marginalised people, this research aims to see what powers drive the exclusion that takes place and whether tourism impacts these developments at all.

2.1 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF)

Livelihoods and livelihood strategies, central concepts to this thesis, are part of the SLF - a theory developed by Scoones (1998) which, despite a plethora of critique, is still used by many practitioners and academics alike (Chambers & Conway, 1991). These two concepts were used due to their tangible and pragmatic nature, but the theory contains many more elements which will not be discussed here (i.e. vulnerability context, livelihood assets, transforming strategies and processes, structures, capital and livelihood outcomes (Scoones, 1998)).

Livelihoods comprise the "capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base" (Scoones, 1998: 5). Livelihood strategies, on the other hand, are the result of a combination of the context, livelihood resources and institutional processes. They can be categorised into three 'groups', namely agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration (Scoones, 2015: 34). Ellis (1998) goes further by showing that these strategies and outcomes are composed of both natural-resource based (e.g. cultivation, livestock) and non-natural resource based (e.g. manufacture, tourism) activities. The current and potential livelihood strategies of the Moken - both natural and non-natural resource based - will be explored in chapter four.

Discussions on livelihoods proved to be a convenient way to interact with the local population and provided insights into otherwise unknown topics. In addition, using this theory allowed me to gain some insights into more politically sensitive topics by subtly questioning choices regarding livelihoods and power dynamics.

2.2 Tourism

As highlighted in the introduction, tourism has become one of the fastest growing economic sectors and largest industries in the world (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2016). In response to the concerns related to (mass) tourism, various alternative forms of tourism have been proposed over time to help guide a transition towards 'sustainable tourism'[3], such as pro-poor tourism (PPT), ecotourism, fair trade tourism (FTT), responsible tourism (RT), community-based tourism (CBT) and ethnic or cultural tourism (e.g. Stronza, 2001; Yang, 2011).

This thesis concentrates more on aspects of ethnic tourism as the Moken are an indigenous group of people with a rich history and culture – and their culture draws visitors. This type of tourism is strongly present in certain Moken communities such as Mu Koh Surin National

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[3] A discussion on sustainable tourism will surpass the scope of this research but see for example Carter et al. (2015)

Park and Lampi Island National Park (Henley *et al.*, 2013; Project Maje, 2004; UNESCO, 2001). Assuming that the Moken culture on Koh Phayam is (part of) the reason people visit the community, the following section will explore ethnic tourism more in depth.

2.2.1 Ethnic Tourism, Authenticity and Commodification

Ethnic, heritage, or cultural tourism (used in this thesis interchangeably) are often used as economic and cultural development strategies (and to promote regional socio-economic development) by governments whereby the representation of minority cultures is essential (Yang, 2011). Specifically, this type of tourism refers to "tourism motivated by a tourist's search for exotic cultural experiences, including visiting ethnic villages, minority homes and ethnic theme parks, being involved in ethnic events and festivals, watching traditional dances or ceremonies, or merely shopping of ethnic handicrafts and souvenirs" (idem: 562).

The ethnic villages which often form part of the tourist attractions not only intend to provide a recreational experience but also aim at displaying, preserving or restoring parts of a region's heritage, ethnicity, and cultural diversity. However, the diversity of cultural practices, histories, contemporary living, and the changing nature of cultures are often denied whilst stereotypical cultural images are sustained and promoted. This further embeds the idea that the minority cultures are 'less developed', 'primitive', 'pre-modern', and the "representations may help maintain a tradition of accepted beliefs that legitimise a system of oppression based on ethnic differences" (Yang, 2001: 563). An emphasis on vulnerability, poverty and protection of these cultures often goes hand in hand (Robinson & Drozdzweski, 2016).

Various authors have addressed some of the positive effects that resulted from the implementation of heritage and cultural development (including tourism) (see Korstanje, 2013 for a brief overview). Some of these benefits range "from social cohesion, pride, identity, resilience towards reduction in mortality rates" (Korstanje, 2013). In addition, cultural heritage has played pivotal roles in:

> "... processes of recovery and reconstruction not only in the wake of natural disasters, but also in the framework of post-conflict reconciliation endeavours. It clearly endows those afflicted with a newfound sense of purpose, identity and belonging. Cultural festivals, for one, have proven effective as opportunities to strike up dialogue to overcome barriers between different cultures" (Bandarin et al., 2011: 9).

At the same time, ethnic tourism increasingly commodifies and materialises culture and traditions into products (Yang, 2001). Through tourism, and more specifically cultural commodification, (indigenous) cultures such as the Moken are increasingly taking part in our current neoliberal economic system. This does not mean that these cultures are victims of neoliberalism[4] and the market economy; as Dlaske (2014) notes, the shift is much more than the "selling out [of] indigenous culture to global capitalism" (. 583). Instead, it forms part of an intricate network of "power relations and shifting positions of social actors" (ibid.). Continuing this thought, Koot (2018) argues that indigenous people need not necessarily be victims of more powerful market forces. His example of the Bushman brand shows that the branding – a process where an image (based mostly on Western ideas of who the people are) has become a financial asset in tourism - can in some cases enhance agency, be used strategically and can "reassert and even fortify their identity as indigenous people" (p. 232). Other cases illustrate that ethnic tourism performances can "create a sense of taking back

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[4] neoliberalism is often mentioned throughout this thesis as it is often a driving force behind development strategies, tourism, privatisation and commodification etc. (e.g. Arunotai, 2012; Koot, 2018). Neoliberalism is in itself a huge and complicated ideology, not without critique or varied interpretations. This thesis will follows the contemporary neoliberal political economy understanding of neoliberalisation; '[n]eoliberalisation has meant...the financialisation of everything' (Harvey, 2005: 33 in Koot, 2018: 23).

ownership of native representation through their participation" (Scaranegella 2005 in Koot, 2018: 232) and as such are not necessarily viewed as exploitative. Nevertheless, the (indigenous peoples') image in tourism has become a product with ideas attached to it, and as such is an example of commodification in a free market system.

As these discussions take place, so do those of (staged) authenticity and the 'fake nomad' which are largely fuelled by (often stereotypical) images of what such (mobile) cultures should entail. Kabachnik (2009) provides an interesting analysis on the discourses of 'the culture of choice' versus the 'culture of nature' regarding mobile cultures. The 'culture of choice' rhetoric (which understands nomadism and mobility to be a matter of choice) often sees nomadic cultures as being backward and an obstruction to leading a better, civilised way of life. The 'culture of nature' argument, on the other hand, argues that mobile cultures cannot stop or abandon nomadism because they are, ultimately, nomads; "nomadic groups are being prevented from staying in one place in part because of the dominant image of the universal nomad" (Kabachnik, 2009: 468). The author argues that this is a specific, limited perspective on nomadism which does not accommodate cultural change. In addition, inferiority of nomadic ways of life seeps through these representations, whilst at the same time prohibiting them from change (ibid). This 'culture of nature' perspective, where "seeing culture as a choice is not an option" (idem: 468), ties in with discussions on the authenticity of nomadic and/ or indigenous cultures.

To some extent both perspectives misunderstand nomadic practices. The culture of choice debate "seeks to assimilate and sedentarize while the latter [the culture of nature] wishes to prevent Gypsies and Travelers from 'settling down' as it does not see any option but for nomadism to continue" (Kabachnik, 2009: 461). Within these debates - which are largely led by non-nomadic cultures - contradictions take place such as the 'paradox of the settled nomad.' Here, the "veracity of their [mobile cultures] authenticity as "real" gypsies/ pastoralists/ indigenous people" take place (Prout & Green, 2018: 649). Noteworthy is that authenticity refers to more than just cultural artefacts, practices or settings (Wang, 1999). The search for authenticity and 'real' experiences is a strong driver for many tourists (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003: 173) which can sometimes (paradoxically) lead to 'staged authenticity,' a process whereby the 'tourist becomes ensnared in a contrived "tourist space" which presents "unchanging native traditions," "pristine cultures" and "exotic communities"' (King, 2018: 12).

In sum, cultural commodification, ethnic tourism, and the search for authenticity - amongst other processes - emphasise particular stereotypes of the 'other'. These stereotypes and (false) representations can lead to processes of exclusion and changes in social relations. Exclusion may be valorised on the basis of the differences highlighted between the 'primitive,' 'poor' and 'traditional' groups compared to the more 'developed' and 'modern' populations (Robinson & Drozdzweski, 2016). This may further an 'us and them' rhetoric - a prominent topic in (academic) debate surrounding 'exclusion' (e.g. Bauman, 2003; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003). Consequently, the next section will explain what is meant by 'exclusion' and what powers of exclusion were identified for the analysis.

2.3 Powers of Exclusion

The previous section has highlighted various ways in which tourism impacts (indigenous) communities and can lead to exclusion, but so far those forces driving processes of exclusion have not yet been discussed. Although many would assume that the counterpart of 'exclusion' is 'inclusion', Hall *et al.* (2011) argue that the antonym is actually 'access.' Access, as defined by Ribot and Peluso (2003) is "the ability to benefit from things" (p. 153), and Hall *et al.* (2011) build on that to define exclusion as "the ways in which people are *prevented* from benefiting from things" (p. 7).

Although new forms of exclusion might have developed over time, it is important to recognise that exclusion is not a new phenomenon. It does not occur randomly, nor does it happen on a level playing field. Furthermore, exclusion does not always have to be negative; it can create both security and insecurity (Middleton, 2012: 279). In addition, exclusion contains a 'double edge,' an example being that "inclusion for some means exclusion for others". The 'double edge' implies that exclusion is the normal state of affairs instead of an exception, and striving for access will undoubtedly include some degree of exclusionary power (Hall *et al.*, 2011).

The double edge is clearly prominent regarding issues of land; access for some will mean exclusion for others. However, caution should be given to avoid a romanticised or simplistic vision regarding a lost past where local communities had inclusive land relations which were "destroyed by capitalism, modernity and the state" (Hall *et al.*, 2011). Ideas like those can encourage a rhetoric of vulnerability and primitivism which may further marginalise the communities in question. Instead of blaming exclusion on capitalism, modernity or the state it is essential to note that exclusion is fuelled by certain power relations. Hall *et al.* (2011) identify four powers which they believe drive exclusion, namely regulation, the market, force and legitimation. However, they acknowledge that these are not the only ones at play, nor do they try to convey that the powers occur independently of each other. Instead, the authors argue that the powers reinforce each other and are intricately connected.

This thesis' main conceptual framework is based on Hall *et al.*'s analysis on the processes and powers that mediate access and exclusion (which, in their case, focuses on land). Within this research, however, the theory will be used more broadly for several reasons. Primarily, it is important to recognise that the Moken were, and to a certain degree are, still closely connected to the sea. As such, a sole focus on land could undermine this part of their culture. Secondly, most of the Moken are currently stateless which denies them of any right or claim to land. Third, this research aims to explore a possible connection between tourism and exclusion, which therefore requires a broader approach.

Hence, I propose to use an adapted understanding of these exclusionary powers by applying them to nomadic and 'mobile cultures' (Prout & Green, 2018). Kabachnik (2009) states that throughout history "it is evident that modern states, by means of legislation, the planning regime, and use of force, have dealt harshly with nomads," where "repression has taken many forms, from murder, to displacement, to various measures of assimilation and sedentarisation" (p. 461). This illustrates an interesting starting point where mobile cultures and exclusion come together to be used as analytical framework for exploring the Moken's situation on Koh Phayam.

In addition to (re)directing Hall *et al.*'s (2011) framework to focus on mobile cultures, I will include a fifth power of exclusion, namely 'precarious citizenship'. Statelessness plays a prominent role in the lives and livelihoods of the Moken and as such I want to explore whether this can be seen as a power on its own. For this reason, I have tentatively added it as a fifth power which will be explored below together with the powers: market, force, regulation and legitimation. The categorisation of these powers is for mere simplicity purposes – they are in no way separate and each has an effect on the others. However, conducting the analysis in this way may make it easier to understand an inherently complex situation where mobile cultures, statelessness and tourism come together.

2.3.1 The Market
The power of the market did not just spring up into existence by itself, but is formed by a collective support of regulation, force and legitimation. The market limits access to commodities (such as land) through price and can also create incentives to lay claims to ownership of these commodities (Hall *et al.*, 2011): "prices of certain of key commodities and services are critical to understanding the dynamics of exclusion" (p.18). The expansion of

boom crops is one such example (Hurni & Fox, 2018), but market powers are also visible within tourism.

Within (ethnic) tourism, cultural commodification – the process in which cultural and traditional aspects (e.g. objects, practices, activities) are transformed into products - is increasingly taking place (Yang, 2001) and a prime example of the market at play. This process is often paired with a shift from subsistence-based livelihoods to a cash-based livelihood and a market-based economy. Ideally when commodification occurs there should be a balance of the degree of embeddedness of the product: too much and it will curtail access to the market, too little and there will be "high levels of economic leakage from the locality" (Saxena *et al.*, 2007: 356). Such commodities are part of larger networks, but "disembedded networks potentially run the danger of generating structures of production and marketing that lead to the commoditization of people and natural and human artefacts by 'non-local actors' effecting change and control from a distance" (ibid.). My assumption is that these structures may (re)enforce the power relations Dlaske (2014) talked about and consequently affect the degrees of exclusion or accessibility of certain individuals or groups of people.

2.3.2 Force
Effecting change and control by non-local actors also occurs through force. Exclusion by force refers to exclusion "by violence or the threat of violence, and is brought to bear by both state and non-state actors" (Hall *et al.*, 2011: 4). This method is visible in many cases around the world and concerns many different people, both on an individual and a collective level (see for example Arunotai, 2012; Wessendorf *et al.*, 2019). Force is a crucial part of regulation, and modern nation states often claim that they are the only actor allowed to use force legitimately. In practice, however, there are a plethora of actors (e.g. state officials, the military, police officials) who abuse their access to force and violence. An additional important aspect to note is that "force, too, is not a monopoly of the powerful and well-connected; it is also used by the poor, and by smallholders, at a variety of scales" (Hall *et al.*, 2011: 4).

Although outright violence is common, it is not a necessary feature of how force can exclude people. Implicit force, or the threat of violence, can be very effective. The actors who have access and the power to use force can use such intimidation to persuade others in a certain direction; "the possession of means of violence, then, can create a climate in which force acts quite effectively without ever being used" (Hall *et al.* 2011, 17). Using force or the threat therefore can also have an effect on the livelihood strategies of people. For example, through the creation of (marine) protected areas local communities are often restricted in their natural resource use and their traditional livelihoods. When overstepping national laws (which in many cases contradict each other (Hall *et al.*, 2011)) local populations are penalised through, for example, arrest or forced relocation (Wessendorf *et al.*, 2019). Ultimately, force is most effective when it takes place on a proximate scale (when one party or actor can do physical harm to another party or actor), but it can also be used at a distance in the form of pervasive threats (Hall *et al.* 2011: 19). Moreover, regulation plays an important role in in the legitimising claims of the use of force.

2.3.3 Regulation
Regulation is not only important when it comes to force, but it forms an integral part of the broader concept of exclusion. Here, the "role of the state, legal instruments and zoning in setting conditions of access and use, and forms of ownership" are emphasised (Middleton, 2012: 279). These regulations can be understood from a land use/ ownership perspective, as Hall *et al.* (2011) do, or encompass broader forms or regulations that affect and influence mobile cultures. Simply put, regulation "refers specifically to the rules - formal and informal - that govern access and exclusion" (Hall *et al.*, 2011: 15). The authors continue by distinguishing four main components of regulation regarding land, namely: 1) boundaries; 2) land use; 3) ownership and permitted types of claims and 4) rule-backed claims to land (ibid).

Issues of boundaries and territoriality are particularly visible when taking nomadic cultures into account. As Prout and Green (2018) note, "mobile cultures have been subject to legislative regulations by their encapsulating states that have attempted to significantly control and curtail their movement" (p. 649). Globally, various mobile groups have experienced "rigorous spatial ordering" (Shamir, 1996: 236) as a result of state policies. These processes occur for various reasons: control over and curtailing of movement (e.g. Shubin, 2011); enclosing populations in particular zones to urbanise and/or settle them (e.g. Shamir, 1996), as development initiatives or as a requirement for protecting pristine environments where mobile cultures are often situated (e.g. Arunotai, 2012; Prout & Green, 2018).

Due to state based regulations, and in some cases "individual choices to engage with dominant culture economies and institutions, many mobile cultures are now comparatively sedentary" (Quicke & Green, 2018: 649). This has, amongst other things, led to the 'paradox of the settled nomad' - an interesting debate where the (in)authenticity of the nomadic culture is explored (idem) as explained in section 2.2. These types of regulations impact (mobile) cultures in various ways. One such example is land dispossession due to the "lack of recognisable signs of ownership and settlement (e.g. fences, settlements, etc.) [which] was/has been the basis on which mobile people groups were/are deemed to have no legitimate territorial claims" (Prout & Green, 2018: 650).

In addition, many (mobile, indigenous and marginalised) groups "experience difficulties in accessing and engaging with mainstream social, economic and political institutions, or deliberately avoid them" as a result of certain regulations (Prout & Green, 2018: 650). Where official data exists on these mobile people, the numbers point to "higher rates of poverty, lower rates of educational attainment, and poorer housing and health outcomes compared with the majority populations that surround them" (idem: 650). These issues are further intensified by (lack of) access to citizenship, which is central to the Moken case.

2.3.4 Precarious Citizenship

Although not a power Hall *et al.* (2011) identify, I suggest to review the concept of 'precarious citizenship' as an exclusionary power on its own; this because statelessness is in part a lack of inclusive regulation whereby a part of the population was not recognised during state formation (Lori, 2017). Precarious citizenship leads to the exclusion of certain population groups such as minorities, refugees or labour migrants and refers to "people who are unable to gain access to secure citizenship rights and instead inhabit ad hoc and temporary legal statuses for protracted periods" (idem: 3). This uncertainty is "primarily experienced by two groups: (1) migrants and (2) internal 'others' who are not recognised by the states in which they reside" (ibid). As the majority of the Moken population is stateless, highlighting this ambiguity is crucial when attempting to understand the broader context.

The term 'precarious' nowadays often refers to economic insecurity, where "erosion of social protections and labour rights" are some of the issues described (Lori, 2017: 4). Unlike Somers who "focuses on the *content* of citizenship (rights)", I will, like Lori (2017), use the concept to try and understand the challenges people face when trying to obtain a citizenship status and living their lives without one. A precarious legal status is often coupled with other precarious matters, most notably employment and livelihoods. These can affect all manners of an individual's life, including, but not limited to, costs in healthcare, education opportunities, employment opportunities, affordable housing and increased domestic violence as well as psychological traumas (ibid.).

As mentioned, there are two main groups that experience precarious citizenship, namely migrants and internal 'others'. The latter refers to minorities "unrecognised during state formation" (Lori, 2017: 6) and this applies to the case of the Moken. Different factors - structural, institutional, and individual - affect one's citizenship status. The diagram below (Figure 2) illustrates these causes of precarious citizenship, but will not be delved in further

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as it surpasses the scope of this thesis. They are, however, important to keep in mind when contextualising the case study of the Moken.

Figure 2: Causes of the Inability to Access Citizenship (Lori, 2017: 6)
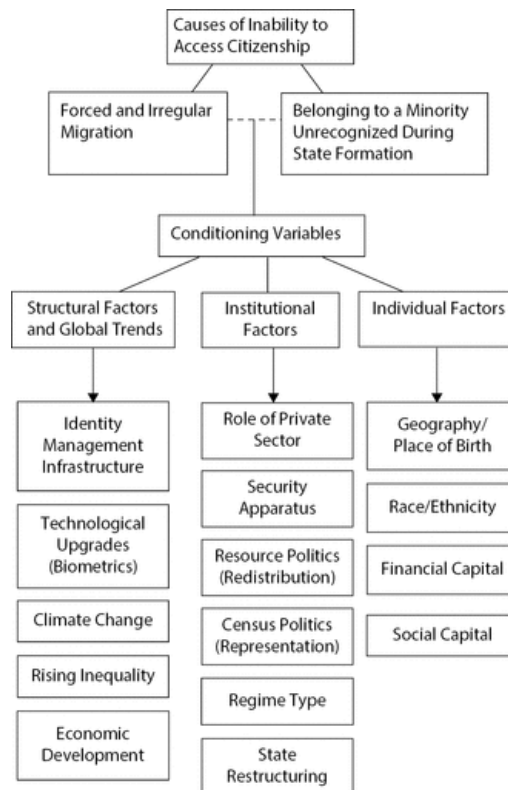
2.3.5 Legitimation

The different powers highlighted above are often justified by use of the last power, namely legitimation. Legitimation "establishes the moral basis for exclusive claims, and indeed for entrenching regulation, the market and force as politically and socially acceptable bases for exclusion" (Hall *et al.* 2011: 5). Legitimation and justification of any form of exclusion is a powerful, but not uncontested, tool. It involves a range of different actors and takes place on a variety of scales - from the global to the local (ibid.). The normative justifications used by actors may differ case by case, but a recurrent theme within mobile culture literature is that of stigmatisation, which is often justified by ethnocentrism (Arunotai, 2012; Prout & Green, 2018). Ethnocentrism can be defined as "a positive ingroup bias that reflects the systematic favouritism of the home nation or its members over other nations" (Kock *et al.*, 2019: 428). Stigmatisation on the one hand, and romanticisation of people or cultures on the other, are both able to valorise processes of exclusion.

Legitimising claims on actions geared towards mobile cultures may also come to the fore through discourses on the 'culture of choice' versus the 'culture of nature' (Kabachnik, 2009) as discussed in section 2.2. These rather static understandings of culture may also (un)intentionally (re)inforce romanticised images of indigenous cultures constructed on the basis of certain stereotypes. Certain groups may feel that there are real, authentic and purer nomads compared to inauthentic ones. As these types of labels often come from non-nomadic people (ibid.), differences between 'traditional' and 'developed' population groups can be emphasised and valorise processes of exclusion (Robinson & Drozdzweski, 2016). In addition, claims of vulnerability or 'saving' a culture may be legitimised by a narrative that assumes modern society is 'destroying' the traditional culture. However, these representations and images and may also be used by indigenous or minority cultures to their advantage as Koot (2018) illustrates in his case of the Bushmen.

3. Methodology

3.1 Scope & Research Site

The case study is located on Koh Phayam, a small island, approximately ten kilometres long and five kilometres wide, located in Ranong Province in southwest Thailand. The island is just south of the Burmese border and 35 kilometres from Ranong city, making it a melting pot of different cultures: Thai, Burmese, foreigners and the Moken. The total island population is approximately six hundred, but fluctuates throughout the year depending on the tourism high- and low seasons. The high season corresponds with the dry season, from November until April. The other six months consist of the monsoon season with virtually no visitors arriving on the island.

Figure 3: Koh Phayam pinpointed on a relief map of Thailand (Adapted). Source: Wikipedia

Koh Phayam has two main roads, one from north to south and one from east to west. They are connected by numerous smaller tracks. Many are not paved, and cars are prohibited, meaning that the main mode of transport is motorbikes. Large rubber plantations are scattered around the island, as are cashew nut trees (a yearly cashew nut festival is held in March). Mangrove forests form a large part of the coastal environment and are protected. The island is home wildlife as well, including hornbills, monitor lizards, monkeys, deer, snakes and boar (Spooner, 2013). Stable electricity and Wi-Fi/ internet services remain infrequent ("Koh Phayam Island, Ranong, Thailand," n.d.) although since February 2018 most places are now connected to the grid. However, there are numerous places that rely on generators or lack electricity in general.

The east coast of the island contains a small village built around the main pier. Here, various forms of accommodation (including a hostel, homestays, resorts, and bungalows) are present, as well as a plethora of restaurants and small shops. The two most frequented beaches are Aow Yai (Long Beach) and Aow Khao Kway (Buffalo Bay) (Spooner, 2013) and these are dotted with resorts, bungalows, restaurants and bars. On the west coast of the island, at the very south of Aow Khao Kway and just over the tidal inlet, is a small Moken settlement of approximately 155 people. In addition, the estimated 200 Burmese and 300 Thai make up the remaining local island population.

**Figure 4: A map of Koh Phayam with the current infrastructure.
Source: OpenStreetMap contributors (adapted).**

The number of inhabitants in the Moken village fluctuates throughout the year as community members often go away for fishing, work, or to visit relatives. There are Burmese Moken, for example, who travel between their home island in Myanmar and Koh Phayam a few times a year. There is also frequent travel between the islands of Koh Phayam, Koh Chang and Koh Lhao (all located in Ranong Province) as well as between those islands and Koh Surin (Phang-Nga Province). However, travel to Koh Surin occurs on lesser extent as it became an established national park in 1981 with more local authorities present. In addition, the Moken cannot legally travel between provinces due to their lack of Thai ID, which will further be elaborated on in chapter four.

12.3% of the Moken population on Koh Phayam is under 5 (see Annex B), although anthropologist dr. Narumon Arunotai says the fertility rate of the Moken communities has decreased. The Moken traditionally did not have any surnames, only first names. However, the late Queen Mother gave all the Moken in Thailand surnames based on the islands they were from as a sign of gratitude for all the lives they saved during the tsunami (Henley *et al.*, 2013). On Koh Phayam, demographic statistics from 2018 show that 84 people have the surname *Thaleluk'k,* meaning 'deep sea' and illustrates that they come from Koh Phayam, and 41 are named *Pramongkit* which means 'fisherman' and illustrates that they come from Koh Chang or Koh Lhao.

Koh Phayam was chosen as a research site due to its small size and it being a growing tourist destination. In addition, Koh Phayam is not a national park so relatively few local authorities are present compared to other sites such as Koh Surin National Park. Fieldwork took place from late November 2018 to late February 2019.

Most of the Moken children go to Koh Phayam School, the official Thai school on the island. However, there is also an informal school located in the Moken village. This Learning Centre currently has three secondary school students, around six kindergarten students and some pre-schoolers. Classes are taught by one Thai and two foreigner teachers. The secondary school students in the Learning Centre have classes in Thai, English, math, history, aspects of Moken culture and developing different skills (e.g. chicken rearing, horticulture, baking). As lessons on the Moken culture are not part of any official curriculum, the Learning Centre uses some materials developed by participants of the Andaman Pilot Project. Information that is taught through these books is then double checked with the village elders. As the Moken language does not have a written form, the Moken language classes write down the words phonetically in Thai. The teacher and researchers I spoke to hope that in this way, (parts of) the Moken language and culture will be preserved.

The Learning Centre is run with the help of two NGOs. The first is STAMP, a Christian NGO who helped purchase the land the Moken currently reside on. Two of the (non-Moken) teachers working at the Learning Centre and living in the village are providing their services through this organisation. The second organisation is a non-profit called All for Villages. One of their (foreign) volunteers teaches English at the Learning Centre and helps the community in other ways, such as fundraising and donations. Two of these teachers ended up being key-informants for my research, which will be explained in the section 3.2.1.

3.2 Methodology

The case study at Koh Phayam was exploratory and qualitative in nature, largely ethnographic, and conducted in two main stages. The first stage concerned an analysis of secondary sources, whereas the second stage consisted of primary data collection, mainly through (participant) observation, informal conversations and semi-structured interviews. Although Koh Phayam was the research site, a short trip to Moken village on Mu Koh Surin National Park was made as well. This community will briefly be described in section 3.5 as I believe it contributes to this current research as a case study we can learn from. The tourism developments are much more advanced than at Koh Phayam, but there are comparable aspects. Hence, it can provide us with insights into the way tourism is conducted and the impact it has on other Moken communities.

3.2.1 Primary Data Collection: Field Work

Informal conversations

Informal, every day conversations were a main data-gathering tool. I engaged in informal conversations with Moken community members - especially children - from Monday to Thursday for two and a half months. Outside of school hours (including most weekends) I also conversed with the children in conjunction with other activities such as craft making, surfing or tutoring. Daily informal conversations were held with other actors, including restaurant owners, bartenders, resort owners and tourists from both Thai and foreign ethnicities. The informal conversations were not recorded as they were spontaneous and I appreciated the openness an informal setting provided. However, notes of the conversations were taken as soon as possible.

(Participant) Observation

Participant observation is common within ethnographic studies and formed an integral part of my own methodology. Lofland and Lofland (1995) define participant observation as "the process in which an investigator establishes and sustains a many-sided and relatively long-term relationship with a human association in its natural setting for the purpose of developing a scientific understanding of that association" (Lofland & Lofland, 1995: 18). As Verschuren *et al.* (2010, p. 225) point out, "this method is especially suited for gathering data when studying complex and more or less subconscious processes, processes of power and control, communication patterns and conflicts." Furthermore, if the researcher is viewed as an

outsider, the quality of data can be jeopardised. Participant observation can help mitigate this effect as the researcher participates regularly in daily activities (Verschuren *et al.*, 2010). Though it is a very time consuming and difficult method, it is very productive.

In general, gaining entrance and trust with participants is one of the main challenges researchers encounter (Boeije, 2010). For this reason, I established contact with a volunteer teacher of non-profit organisation prior to my arrival. As I read that the Moken are generally shy people who are wary of outsiders (e.g. Arunotai, 2006; Arunotai, 2012), I realised it might be difficult to build up and maintain trust without having a key informant. In addition, I personally felt uncomfortable arriving at a research site with certain expectations and intentions in mind, but not reciprocating by helping the community in some way. Therefore, I aimed at helping out in the Learning Centre four days a week and whenever else it was necessary or the opportunity provided itself.

In the Moken village I observed two 'gatekeepers': people who "know how the target population thinks, behaves and, importantly, how to live according to the rules" (Boeije, 2010: 61). Both were foreigners and (volunteer) teachers at Learning Centre from two NGOs. They had a wealth of knowledge and were very helpful during my stay. However, I do not claim these were the only gatekeepers; rather, they were the only ones whereby language barriers between the respondents and myself did not play a role.

At the Learning Centre, I worked as a volunteer teacher during my ten week stay on the island. Here, I helped and led preschool classes as well as young adolescents. With the latter, informal conversations in English were key as it helped them improve their conversational abilities and it helped me obtain data. The level of English was basic, and translations were often necessary. In addition to participating in classroom sessions, I helped cook lunches and participated in other extra-curricular activities with the children.

Interviews

Alongside participant observation I conducted seventeen semi-structured interviews. This method of interviewing implies certain flexibility compared to structured interviews. For example, questions and topics are prepared beforehand but it allows for more interaction, questions for clarification, following up on answers etc. Guiding questions were developed after some time in the field, and actual interviews only took place after seven weeks as I wanted to establish a proper trust basis. After several interviews and conversations, the questions became more specific as I became more knowledgeable on different matters. This further iterates the appropriateness of semi-structured interviews as it allows for a certain degree of flexibility and potential deviation from different topics.

Interview respondents were selected using a snowball sampling approach, 'a nonprobability sampling procedure that involves using members of the group of interest to identify other members of the group" (Adler & Clark, 2014, p. 125) or discerned after observation and/ or informal conversations. In addition, three key informants (people who are most knowledgeable of the relevant organisation or issue and with whom an interview is conducted (Lavrakas, 2008)) were crucial to my research. Respondents were a variety of actors, including Moken community members, teachers, and people working in the hospitality sector. However, they will remain anonymous throughout this research.

3.2.2 Secondary Data Collection: Literature Studies

Secondary data was collected using a wide range of sources, including limited (academic) literature, websites, documents and short movies/ documentaries. An explorative and comparative literature approach was used to gain understanding of previous studies on tourism, livelihood strategies, exclusion, and mobile cultures. A search result in March 2019 using the WUR Library database and the keywords 'Moken' AND 'Thailand' resulted in twenty articles, of which only a handful were relevant. Noteworthy is that some articles in Thai exist (found on Google Scholar) but due to personal language barriers it was not possible

to consult these. Literature on different mobile and indigenous communities provided a good starting point for the research and helped the analysis process after fieldwork was conducted.

3.3 Reflection

Despite my attempts at conducting solid, ethical research and data collection, there are several limitations that need to be addressed. Primarily, one of the main challenges I encountered in the field was the language barrier I shared with many Moken and Thai people. This meant that it was necessary to get a translator who spoke Thai, English and Moken. There was only one person on Koh Phayam who had relative fluency in all three languages - namely a sixteen-year-old Moken boy. Although he did an excellent job at helping me, the interviews I conducted with Moken community members need to be interpreted with caution as 1) we did not achieve literal translations, but instead he summarised the respondents' answers, and 2) either he lacked the vocabulary in one of the languages or words simply did not exist, such as the word 'culture' in the Moken language. As the translator was in a pubescent phase, it depended on his mood quite often if, and of what quality, an interview would be conducted. However, I think this research and method of data collection was educative for the both of us

The quality and depth of the interviews was also dependent on the ethnicity and background (especially the educational background) of the respondent. The interviews that were conducted with the Moken community members tended to range from five to twenty minutes with very short and direct answers. I speculate that this is in part due to a lack of trust towards outsiders and a lack of formal education received, and as such most adults are illiterate and perhaps felt some unease when answering questions. As such, I would argue that the interviews provide a limited representation or overview of the Moken community as it was nearly impossible for me to go into answers in depth during the time I had there.

Secondly, my participant observation and continued presence in the Learning Centre may have had unintended (negative) consequences as some aspects of my involvement share certain similarities with volunteer tourism. Although it was not volunteer tourism at such, my short-term research may have affected the children I worked with as there was some level of attachment created between the children I frequently engaged with and myself. A plethora of research is available examining and illustrating the motivations and consequences of volunteer tourism (see for example Bargeman *et al.*, 2018; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2017; Rosenberg, 2018).

Third, an unintended consequence of my research was creating curiosity in tourists who asked what I was doing on the island. One the one hand, these conversations made people aware of the Moken, their culture and challenges, but on the other hand it also resulted in a slight increase in tourist traffic as some tourists wanted to village. If they were adamant on visiting, I suggested they buy some crafts to support the Moken. Consequently, my research and presence did impact tourism geared towards the Moken.

Lastly, my position as a researcher comes from a Western background where topics such as human rights, minimum wages, discrimination and exploitation are often addressed and have a normative underpinning. This is thus one aspect that illustrates the subjectivity and bias of my role as a researcher. Due to the limited time for fieldwork, I was not able to truly delve into these topics and better understand the Moken's perspectives. This limitation also has an effect on the data analysis as it is evidently conducted from a privileged, western background.

3.4 Data Analysis

After fieldwork was conducted, a qualitative content analysis was used. Primarily, the (empirical) data was organised including interview transcriptions, note taking and listening to the interview audio recordings. Next, interviews were roughly coded as the aim was not to develop a strict code tree, but rather to identify themes and elements. Interpretation and evaluation of the data took place, as did a critical examination of my own biases and subjectivity. Ultimately, the end product was a master thesis, which should provide new

insights   into   the   Moken   lives   and   tourism.

3.5 Mu Koh Surin National Park

As I had the privilege of spending a few days in the Moken community on the Surin Islands, I believe that providing a brief description of the area will have some an added value to this thesis. To begin with, the Moken communities on Koh Surin and Koh Phayam have some stark differences and these are useful to illustrate - particular with respect to the (growing) tourism sectors in both areas. Secondly, both cases can provide (both positive and negative) lessons learned which may help improve the situation for other case studies. Third, there is quite a lot of literature available on the Moken of the Surin Islands due to the Moken's infamous survival of the 2004 tsunami (Robinson & Drozdzewski, 2016). Since then, the Surin Islands have become a prime tourist destination, with some describing the Moken village as a human zoo (Henley *et al.*, 2013).

Figure 5: Koh Phayam and Koh Surin in southwestern Thailand. Source: Google Maps (adapted)
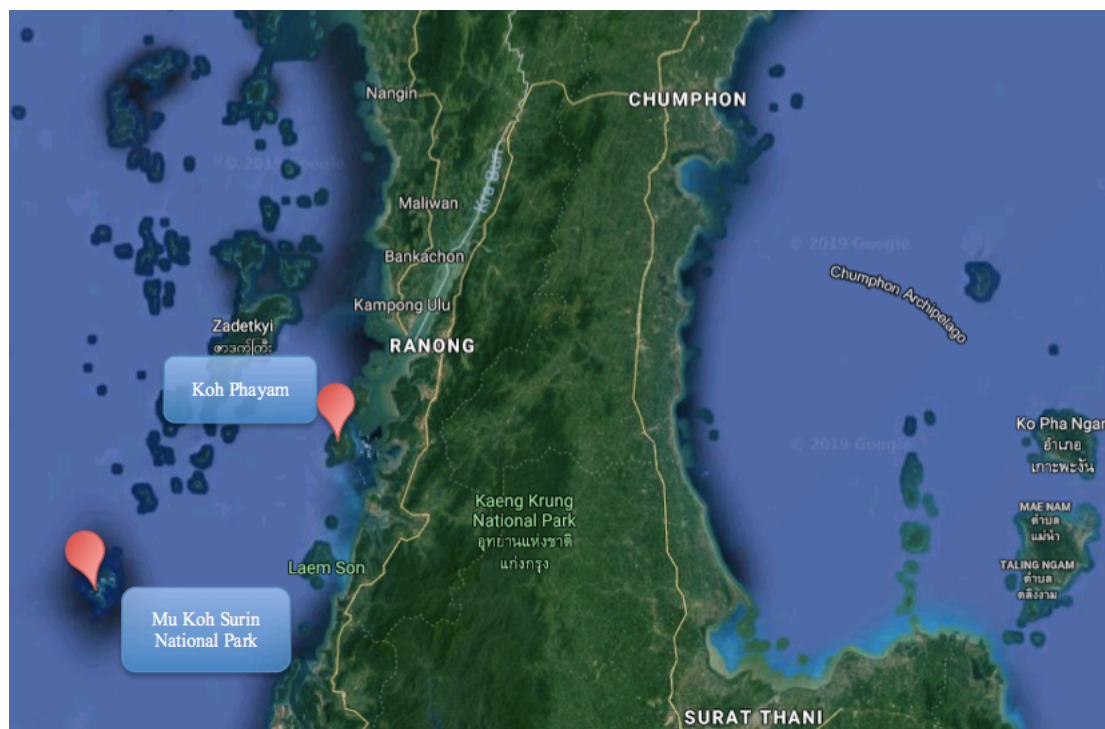
Mu Koh Surin National Park is an island group located a few hours south of Koh Phayam and in Phang-Nga province (see Figure 5). The national park is able to accommodate overnight-stay tourists in either bungalows or tents in one of two bays (Phumalee *et al.*, 2018: 3). On Koh Surin Tai (the southern island), a small Moken settlement is located on the beach in one of the bays. There are approximately three hundred people living there, but this fluctuates between seasons. During the high season, for instance, it is busier as more Moken come from other islands to profit from tourism. Other than the twenty or so Moken who work for the National Park Headquarters, there is no form of employment. The only other way to earn a cash-based income is through the sale of crafts. Every morning, stands with souvenirs and handmade crafts (bracelets, wood carvings, earrings etc.) are set up in the 'main street,' a path through the stilted homes. The moment the first tourist boats arrive, the adults disappear and retreat into their homes, leaving the children to sell the crafts. On average, an astonishing three hundred tourists arrive in the small village on a daily basis, equalling the total Moken population there.

When I was there, a significant number of tourists who arrived at the island were partially dressed or wearing swim costumes. Many tourists took photographs of people without asking, climbed onto stairs into homes, and bargained for the crafts that were sold. Such behaviour

was not uncommon according to the group members I was traveling with and happened on a daily basis. According to those same actors, tourism at Mu Koh Surin Islands is currently mismanaged, largely unregulated and unsustainable. The Surin Islands provide massive economic benefits to tour operators and the national government, with the Moken village being one of the park highlights and a prime destination for ethnic tourism. However, the Moken community gets exploited by state and non-state actors alike and gets denied many rights. These include restrictions on mobility and property rights, the presence of child labour at the National Park headquarters and the lower than minimum wage salaries (also issued by the authorities). Restrictions are further intensified as a result of Koh Surin's national park status, and as such its natural resources are protected. In practice this means that the Moken can hunt and gather some species during the monsoon season, but they are not allowed to do so during the tourist season, nor are they allowed to sell their catch (Henley *et al.*, 2013).

In contrast to this setting, the lives of the Moken on Koh Phayam are quite different. Primarily, Koh Phayam is not a national park and so the Moken are allowed to hunt, fish, and harvest more products than on Koh Surin. In addition, they are allowed to sell their catch and so they often do, including prawns, fish, crabs, sea cucumbers and shells. Additionally, prior to the 2004 tsunami, the Moken villages in Mu Koh Surin National Park were located in different bays on the islands. After these settlements were wiped out, reconstruction efforts led to the creation of one village in Au Bon Yai bay with houses built in orderly lines and positioned further on the beach (thus not standing in water as they previously were). This new layout "not only disregarded important cultural traditions, it created problems with hygiene, contributed to the spread of disease. And of course, it was a huge fire hazard" (Smillie, 2019). In addition, this new settlement made it easier for tourists to visit.

Figure 6: The Moken village in Mu Koh Surin National Park, Thailand.

Moreover, popular media shared (incorrect) information which included a 100% survival rate of the Moken. Nuances were lost; in reality it was only the community on Koh Surin where not one Moken perished. Nevertheless, word was out and the news led to a massive influx of media and tourists who wanted to see and experience this tribe in person (Henley *et al.*, 2013). The image of the Moken became one dominated with traditionality, primitiveness and vulnerability (and in need of (cultural) protection) (Robinson & Drozdzewski, 2016).

Fifteen years later, another tragic incident led to the destruction of the majority of the Moken village. Two days after I left the village on Koh Surin, a devastating fire burned 61 houses to

the ground, leaving just fifteen houses, the health clinic and school intact. 273 people were left homeless, with all belongings and savings gone (Smillie, 2019). Different actors pushed for the Moken to be involved in the decision-making and state-led reconstruction efforts. However, this did not happen and, similar to the tsunami aftermath, it was perceived as a 'one-sided operation': "there has been consultation between provincial government, the national park and navy, but not, it appears, with the Moken" (ibid.). The new (architectural) changes can be found on the Moken Islands website (www.mokenislands.com) where clear disadvantages for the Moken are outlined, as well as the apparent preferences of the government towards stimulating and aiding the tourism industry. A quote from the head of Koh Surin National Park provides a stark illustration:

> *"Talking to reporters on his recent visit to the decimated village, Putthapoj Khuphrasit [the head of Koh Surin National Park] dismissed concerns about safety, pointing – somewhat irrelevantly – to the fact that the park employs Moken people. "We provide them with breakfast and lunch," he offered, adding: "The village elders are able to stay at home and make souvenirs to sell to tourists. They have what they need." (Smillie, 2019)*

Now that the context of the Moken on Koh Phayam and Koh Surin have briefly been explained, we can go more in depth into the livelihood strategies they pursue, the challenges they face and how tourism affects the two.

Figure 7: Tourists heading back to their speedboats after spending approximately thirty minutes in the Moken village.

Chapter 4: Current Livelihood Strategies & Challenges

4.1 Current Livelihood Strategies

Over the past few decades, the Moken's livelihoods have shifted from subsistence livelihoods towards wage labour and a more cash-based economy. Fishing has in many cases replaced more traditional forms of hunting; instead of using spears and harpoons, for instance, nets and cages are now frequently used. In addition, the traditional *kabangs* have been replaced with long-tail boats equipped with engines. This gives the boats more power and reach, but simultaneously makes the Moken more dependent on external resources such as petrol.

On Koh Phayam, most of the Moken have multiple sources of income, often dependent on the time of year (interview a, 14 Jan. 2019). However, throughout the year their main livelihood strategy remains to be marine resource extraction (fishing, hunting and gathering of marine creatures) for both subsistence and sale. Both men and women take part in these activities and tasks are often shared. Fishing trips range from several days to several weeks, but bring along unintended consequences. As the number of children going to school has increased, so has the amount of women staying home to take care of the children. This has led to issues such as substance abuse and gambling, developed partially as a result of a more sedentary lifestyle (see section 4.2 for more details). Noteworthy is that only two families in the Moken village are able to make a living off fishing: a Thai family and a Moken family (interview a, 14 Jan. 2019). This makes other families dependent on other sources of income or working on someone else's boat. Occasionally, the Moken fishermen/ women will catch or harvest sea creatures (the species depends on the time of year), which are then sold around Koh Phayam.

Despite a significant decrease in the number of marine species available and caught (such as prawns), the Moken are paid less than they previously were by shop-, restaurant- and resort owners. In the dry season of 2017-18, for instance, the Moken were paid 300 baht per kilo of prawns (equivalent to about US$9.5). During the 2018-19 season, they often got paid 200 baht per kilo (approximately US$6.5). According to one woman, this exploitation is a result of the Moken lacking access to a network of alternative buyers, being shy, and their need of cash which prevents them from demanding higher prices. In response to this, she would often buy, or encourage her friends to buy, the catch at a 'fair' price.

In some cases fishing jobs were preferred over jobs provided in the hospitality sector. One woman quit her job at a restaurant after one day because the jellyfish season started. Here she would reap the rewards straight away as she got paid by the hour (interview b, 14 Jan. 2019) instead of waiting for a monthly salary. Non-Moken interview respondents did not always understand this decision-making as the security of a long-term job was abandoned for a temporary job (interview, 16 Jan. 2019; interview b, 14 Jan. 2019). Other community members quit their jobs within the hospitality sector because of the extremely long working days (in the high season more than twelve hours) with minimal pay. As an example, one woman received a salary of 5,000 baht (the equivalent to approximately US$160) for one month's work under the aforementioned conditions. As one respondent stated: *"I was horrified to hear about [person Z's] wife working at [Resort X] and that she only got paid 5,000 baht! And all those hours! But they know they can get away with it because the Moken need the money." (Interview, 6 Jan. 2019)*

However, tourism developments have also led to other employment opportunities. Some community members work menial jobs within the hospitality industry with better pay or had past work experience there. In almost every case, however, the Moken would receive salaries less than their Thai or Burmese counterparts. Moreover, the number of Moken community members working in the tourism sector was definitely a minority.

Other tourism-related livelihoods included construction jobs and the production and sale of handicrafts (mainly macramé bracelets and necklaces). Most of the crafts were displayed on a makeshift structure and mainly contributed to the income for women and children. Other crafts included ashtrays made from recycled cans, recycled cotton bags with pastel decorations, and postcards with drawings on them. These crafts were sold in the Moken village (see Figure 8) as well as various other locations around Koh Phayam which one of the non-profit volunteers arranged.

Figure 8: Children hanging up crafts in the Moken village.

As an additional form of income some community members have small shops inside their homes where basic products are sold such as snacks, oil and candy. Other activities that are not particularly a source of income, but do contribute to the household, are repairing and adjusting fishing nets, horticulture (although only done by a few Moken), taking care of chickens amongst other things. Noteworthy is that some Moken family members have sought employment elsewhere (outside of Koh Phayam). Lastly, bartering is still part of the Moken's local lifestyle and economy. However, it is important to recognise that the Moken have been reliant on money in the past as well - it is not something that developed over the past few years.

A sedentary lifestyle, increasing tourism and a shift towards a more cash-based economy has not come without challenges. The difficulties the Moken face range from socio-economic marginalisation to environmental and political challenges. The following paragraphs will highlight the challenges identified by the Moken interviewed, informal conversations held with other actors as well as my own interpretations and observations.

4.2 Challenges

Employment
The main and foremost challenge identified by the Moken themselves and external actors was the lack of work. Employment opportunities, particularly in the formal sector, are limited or unattainable for most community members as the majority lack citizenship status. In addition, ethnocentrism is prominent (thus ensuing discrimination against the Moken), which has also

led to exploitation[5] of Moken community members. This is visible in the low prices they received for their catch, as well as their low salaries in the hospitality industry.

This is not unique for the Moken situated on Koh Phayam. The twenty or so Moken working at the National Park Headquarters at Mu Koh Surin National Park, for example, also receive less than minimum wage. Here they are employed for menial and unskilled labour such as cleaning and receive a daily salary of 200 baht, whereas minimum wage is 380 baht per day or 300 per half day.

Fishing

Fishing was another main issue the Moken and external actors identified. In the past, it was said, the fish were plentiful and it was easy to pick and choose. Nowadays, it is difficult and there are days when no fish are caught. Different responses include: "*If there are no crabs, no money also*" (interview a, 9 Jan. 2019); "*All the time, now, the crab, the prawn, is not very much*" (interview, 15 Jan. 2019); "*Sometimes we go out fishing but no fish*" (interview, 8 Jan. 2019); "*In the past there were many fish and crabs. It was very easy. Now it's very hard*" (interview b, 9 Jan. 2019).

Fish stocks have been depleted as a result of large-scale commercial fishing at the Andaman Sea coastline (Hook & Vechakij, 2013). In addition, these commercial methods destroy artisanal fishing tools such as the use of crab cages. The occasional dive tourist appears to be problematic as well as sometimes those cages are sabotaged (ibid.). In addition, tensions also exist between the Moken and other fishermen - particularly those from Hat Sai Dam who have started placing their nets around Koh Phayam. Due to the lack of income generated from the sea, the Moken are now spending more money on petrol and boat repairs than they get back from their catches - adding an additional challenge and illustrating that their main livelihood is not sustainable anymore.

Infrastructure

The (lack of) infrastructure in and around the Moken village is a challenge for various reasons. Primarily, a functioning waste management system does not exist, there is hardly any running water (leading to spread of diseases (interview, 23 Jan. 2019) and lack of toilets (interview, 5 Feb. 2019)), and hardly any electricity except for the small solar panels which are enough to power a single light and charge small devices such as phones. Secondly, there is currently no way to make your way across the tidal flat which connects the Moken village to the other side of the bay. This means that people (particularly children) either have to walk/ wade across the tidal flat if it is low tide, or at high tide swim across or use the hand made raft. The raft is a precarious matter as it frequently breaks, and towards the end of my fieldwork there was no raft to speak of anymore as it had been washed away during high tide.

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[5] The term exploitation in this thesis refers to exploitation of labour - a theory mostly associated with Marxists. Simply speaking, it argues that "profit is the result of the exploitation of wage earners by their employers" (definitions.net, n.d.) as the intrinsic value of a product is dependent on the amount of labour that has been spent in the production of such a product. The labour put in by workers is not accurately reflected in the wages earned because the employer takes some of that value in the form of profit. However, this theory has been critiqued by, for example, von Böhm-Bawerk, who argues that "capitalists do not exploit their workers; they actually help employees by providing them with an income well in advance of the revenue from the goods they produced" (ibid.). Despite its critique, exploitation here is used to represent the asymmetry between workers and employers.

Figure 9: Drone photograph of the Moken village and the unfinished bridge over the tidal flat.
(Edited © Unknown)

Efforts were made in the past to connect the southern part of the island (where the village is located) with the rest of Ao Khao Kwai. The foundation of a bridge was built, but for reasons unknown (though the dominant narratives tend to blame it on corruption) it was never finished (see Figure 9). Currently, the only connection between the Moken village and the rest of the island is a small dirt track that goes up and over a mountain, past a beach, across the island and to the pier. During the rainy season from April to November, the road becomes virtually inaccessible as the mud is washed away. This prevents many people from accessing resources on the rest of the island or getting to the pier.

This relative isolation on the island has multiple effects. All the Moken I spoke to wanted the bridge to be finished as it would allow children to go to school without having to swim. In addition, it would make access to the local clinic, the pier and shops much easier. On the other hand, the isolation limits traffic in and around the village, limits the number of tourists visiting, and perhaps adds to preserving some aspects of the Moken's way of life. Whether this cultural preservation and protection of the Moken people should be a (legitimate) argument for keeping the status quo will further be discussed Chapter 6 (Discussion).

The notion that the Moken need protecting from outsiders was a dominant narrative by non-Moken actors. Hence, they were more reserved when we talked about the hypothetical completion of the bridge. Their main concern would be the increased traffic and tourist numbers. In particular, two key actors stated that the Moken community was not ready for this type of influx and development and believed it would be necessary to enhance the resilience of the community first while simultaneously making them aware of the potential consequences. Only with proper management would the bridge bring potential benefits to the village. Without it, it might have overwhelming and unprecedented impacts; the most worrisome in their opinion was that the Moken would become a tourist attraction, not unlike the Moken on the Surin Islands. However, the Moken who were interviewed and spoken to did not show any particular concern to these matters.

Education
Access to, and quality of, education is another issue that was identified. As mentioned, the relative isolation and lack of infrastructure make it difficult for children to go to school -

particularly during the rainy season. Although Thailand has a law in place where any child, no matter the origin or the legal status of that child, has a right to twelve years of primary education (interview a, 14 Jan. 2019), it says very little about the quality of education or the trade-offs that exist. According to different sources, there is a lot of physical, sexual and psychological abuse present at the school on Koh Phayam. Discrimination by school administrators, other students and parents of local Thai students happens regularly. In addition, the Moken language is not allowed to be spoken at school nor are the Moken's kinaesthetic learning styles supported. After graduating from Grade 6 children have to transfer to other schools on the mainland if they want to go receive secondary school education. Again, abuse and discrimination is present which has resulted in some Moken students returning to Koh Phayam without secondary school education.

During their time of formal schooling, the Moken students go through processes of assimilation. Dr. Arunotai, a well-respected anthropologist from Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok stated that "institutions act to socialise these people to become Thai and to forget – and in many cases become ashamed – of who they really are" (Rook & Vechakij, 2013) - a process that can be attributed to 'determined Thai-isation where becoming Thai goes hand in hand with nationalism, nation-building and ethnocentrism (Arunotai, 2012: 11). Furthermore, indigenous (ecological) knowledge is lost through processes of assimilation, modern science, a centralised education system and the incorporation of neoliberal market systems (interview a,14 Jan. 2019; Arunotai, 2006; Arunotai, 2012; Sanglir, 2018).

The education provided by the Learning Centre does, however, appear to instil more confidence and pride in the Moken children as well as develop their (vocational) skills. Their English conversational abilities and their knowledge of math, for example, helps them interact with tourists and allows them to sell crafts. Nevertheless, their precarious citizenship status remains an issue and will be discussed below.

Precarious Citizenship

The Moken's precarious citizenship status (i.e. statelessness) has an impact in many aspects of daily life and was identified as a challenge by multiple actors, but interestingly, these were all non-Moken actors. According to 2018 demographics statistics, the Moken community on Koh Phayam currently has forty-nine people with Thai ID cards, seventy people with zero cards (which does not equate to having citizenship), and thirty-nine people with no identification cards. Arunotai (2012) identified three determining factors for this statelessness, namely bureaucracy, legality and corruption, and these came to the fore in various conversations.

One of the teachers highlighted some of the issues they have been struggling with in the Moken village. Primarily, bureaucracy and corruption is a challenge as there are families who have all the necessary requirements but their paperwork is still unprocessed at the Ministry for Home Affairs after more than two years. Furthermore, the promise made by local authorities that zero cards would be changed to official Thai ID cards after ten years has not been followed through (interview a, 14 Jan. 2019). The bureaucracy, including the rotation of staff and "the difficulty and complexity of considering non-documentary [non-documented] data such as family oral history, midwife witnesses etc.," have all led to the delay and neglect of the nationality requests (Arunotai, 2012: 7).

However, families that paid a fee have received their ID cards, even though they might not be legitimate candidates. Fees paid to the intermediary persons for obtaining a Thai nationality (illegally) are usually between 1,000 and 10,000 baht (US $30-320), depending on the amount of people applying for citizenship. It is expensive and prohibits poorer Moken (who were, in many cases, born in Thailand) to obtain citizenship. As a result some of the Moken are very unsatisfied and lost trust in the state due to these forms of corruption.

Being stateless or a citizen is an interesting matter as both statuses can be advantageous or disadvantageous in different regards. Advantages of getting Thai citizenship include getting "healthcare coverage, ability to apply for work in the formal sector, registration for their boats, freedom to travel throughout the country without having to file a request to the authorities, etc." (Arunotai, 2017: 6-7). In addition, having Thai citizenship would allow Moken students to obtain further education such as going to universities or technical schools. Overall, receiving citizenship would enhance the Moken's agency as they would have autonomy over their movement and not necessarily be restricted to one island or province. The Moken might even return to their nomadic ways if they obtain citizenship, one interviewee responded, as they would be able to travel again and search for fish and move around if they cannot find anything (interview a, 14 Jan. 2019).

However, by getting Thai citizenship the Moken will face other difficulties and lose some of the privileges they have now. Some of these include: 1) the Moken will have to vote, even though many do not know how the elections work or what to vote for. This brings about corruption and/ or patronage as they might vote for the one that pays them the most; 2) They might get enrolled in the Thai army even though they do not want to go; 3) They will lose many of their 'sea benefits' (i.e. harvesting of marine creatures such as sea cucumbers or certain shellfish). These are normally protected under Thai law and thus the Moken will not be exempted from this anymore. Instead, they will need to apply for a permit; 4) They will have to register their boats which costs money (breaking this law will result in fines); 5) They will lose their right to free healthcare, as with citizenship they will need to pay a small fee. Although these costs are very low, as the Moken would fall under the least-privileged citizenship category, the fact that there *are* costs now means that there are Moken who do not want Thai citizenship anymore (interview a, 14 Jan. 2019).

Other Challenges

The Moken's precarious citizenship status also affects their access to land. Previously, the Moken community was located at the northern end of Buffalo Bay, but as the Moken lack citizenship rights they were unable to get title deeds for the land they had been using for centuries. After the tsunami, the Moken were forced off this land by the new Thai owner to make way for tourism developments as this would now become one of the best and most frequented tourist spots on the island.

As described in the introduction, several NGOs helped the Moken establish a new village on the southern end of Buffalo Bay - an area very difficult to access which meant that real estate developers or other actors in the tourist industry had not bought the land yet. In addition, the area was chosen due to its relative isolation and as such it helps protect the Moken community from outside influences. The Moken's inability to procure property rights or land titles means that they will remain reliant on the goodwill of others to continue living on the land they are currently settled on.

Discrimination and stigmatisation was a further challenge identified. Abuse is common and acts of violence are also prevalent. This type of discrimination was not limited to schools, but racist acts and remarks were also common in shops, on the street, by police, hospital employees etc. Evidently, these sentiments were not just present on Koh Phayam where the Moken and other residents inhabit the same island, but also in other parts of the province.

Lastly, a challenge which has not been explicitly outlined above is 'tourism', and in particular unsustainable or unregulated tourism. Tourism (developments) on Koh Phayam and its impact on the Moken community will be the focal point of the following chapter. Although there are many challenges associated with tourism, different actors on Koh Phayam (including some Moken) see opportunities for future livelihoods and development. Hence, these perspectives will be unravelled below.

Chapter 5: Tourism & Livelihood Strategies

5.1 Tourism Developments on Koh Phayam

Koh Phayam is considered by various websites and guide books to be an island 'off the beaten track' still hidden from the vast tourism numbers that engulf the islands of Koh Tao, Koh Samui, Koh Phangan or Koh Lipe. Koh Phayam has been coined 'Thailand's Secret Getaway' (Burch, 2016), 'Like Koh Samui in the 1970s' (Neubauer, 2015), and 'Thailand's Last Paradise' (van Brederode, 2018, own translation) as well as other idyllic and exotic descriptions.

Despite changes in infrastructure, accommodation and food and beverage options over the past few years, many tourists still find the island to be relaxed, secluded and hidden. The widening and paving of one of the main roads on the island, however, led to much frustration and feelings of dismay by residents and tourists alike. The general sentiment towards this type of development and construction tended to be negative and many believed that in the case of road construction, the money would have been better spent elsewhere. One Thai resident believed that the unfinished bridge should have been the governor's priority: *"They need to make bigger road! For what? It's the bridge! Why they not do? It's crazy, you know."* (Interview, 17 Jan. 19).

The increased amenities and overall popularity of Thailand as a tourist destination, many of whom are searching for 'off the beaten track' experiences, have led to changes in the type of tourism on Koh Phayam. The community vibe with interaction of different ages and ethnicities has been replaced by mostly rich (European) tourists and those in search of more luxury (interview, 6 Jan. 2019). Koh Phayam's increasing popularity and developments have become a cause for worry. One tourist voiced his concerns in a petition where he strives for more sustainable tourism. The two goals:

> *"1. To protect Koh Phayam by introducing appropriate measures to counter the dangers arising from over-exploitation by mass tourism, and promote sustainable tourism, in harmony with its beautiful natural environment.*
>
> *2. This sustainable, „balanced" tourism should support and work alongside the local people of Koh Phayam, in order to enhance and respect the economic and social aspects of their traditional way of life." (Rubbert, 2018)*

Ultimately, the goal is to prevent over- and unsustainable tourism, and instead keep the island relatively basic. Here, a perhaps romanticised view of Koh Phayam is provided as the quote below illustrates.

> *"For most people visiting Phayam on a regular basis, there is a genuine respect and interest in the Thai culture. Rather than expecting 5-star luxury and western comforts, it appeals to those who are happy to settle for more basic accommodation and a slow-paced lifestyle. It offers a rare opportunity to glimpse what it might have been like to be traveling in Thailand at the dawn of the backpacking era, more than 20 years ago. Due to this, we feel it is important to try and protect it from over tourism which could change it into a typically tourist-centric destination, with all the problems, that sadly you find all over Thailand and Asia at this time. As a community we are not interested in jet-skis, shopping malls, luxury accommodation with swimming pools etc. and the ubiquitous 7/11. This type of tourism can be counterproductive and destroys what made a place special in the first place. It can also have a hugely negative impact on the natural environment." (Rubbert, 2018)*

Noteworthy is that the petition often mentions the local community and local population. However, after speaking to tourists and residents alike, it did not become evident that the local population was consulted. In fact, most of the Thai residents I spoke to about this petition did not know if its existence. Importantly, in the entire petition no mention was made of the Moken people, even though they also form part of the local population. Moreover, the Moken did not know of the petition's existence. Despite these facts (and that the vast majority of the tourists had never heard of the Moken), tourists were readily signing the petition - a matter which raises some questions. Should tourists become more aware of what constitutes 'the local community' (and if so, how)? What impacts would increased visibility and knowledge of the Moken have on the Moken community?

Currently, the number of tourists visiting the Moken village fluctuates a lot. Some days it only involves a handful of tourists; other days it goes up to a hundred tourists a day. Tourists were of different ethnicities with Westerners (mainly white Europeans) being the majority, followed by Thai tourists. Some tourists behave in a disrespectful manner (see section 5.2). As a result, one of the teachers put up signs in front and around the village with 'do's and don'ts', that driving on motorcycles is prohibited, and a poster with a bit of information on the Moken culture.

5.2 Attitudes & Perceptions of Tourism
The Moken

Overall, the Moken I talked to had a positive attitude regarding the tourists that would come into their village. The Thai word for 'tourist' was not used during conversations; instead, tourists, volunteers and foreign (non-Thai) residents, were called *farang* (foreigner). No differentiation was given between *farang* who work on the island and tourists. This appears to signify a relative carefree attitude regarding the non-Moken population.

Several respondents liked tourists coming into the village as they played with the children and gave them candy. In addition, they would sometimes help out by teaching in the school, buying things from the small shops in the houses and occasionally giving tips. Two people also mentioned that it is good that the tourists come and see how the Moken live and what they do. Furthermore, one woman liked that with tourists coming in to the village, the Moken were able to see different body types and shapes. As they are not allowed to travel, this is a way for them to learn about other cultures.

Several respondents also mentioned that they liked that the tourists bought crafts. However, even though both adults and children make crafts (particularly bracelets and necklaces) I did not observe any adults selling these to tourists from the place they were on display (next to one of the classrooms). Only one household appears to take a more proactive approach in the sale of items and interacting with tourists. This particular house has a small crafts stand on their porch, whereas other community members rarely communicate or interact with tourists. Instead, sales are conducted by children, the non-profit volunteer and during fieldwork, occasionally myself.

What was found to be negative about tourism in the village was that tourists often do not wear (proper) clothing. This was voiced as problematic not only by the Moken on Koh Phayam, but also by the Moken on the Surin Islands. Almost on a daily basis were half naked people visibly walking through the village, often wearing nothing more than swimming costumes. As one Moken woman put it, "*it's not good for the children to see*" (interview, 8 Jan. 2019). Another problem identified with tourism (again, on both islands) was that of disrespectful behaviour concerning photography. Tourists often took photos of adults and children without asking permission and this becomes especially problematic during intimate moments such as breastfeeding.

Other Actors

The views of non-Moken actors regarding tourism and tourists visiting the Moken village differed depending on their ethnicity. Thai actors I spoke to (who were all employed in the hospitality industry) did not think negatively of tourists on Koh Phayam or of tourists visiting the Moken village. In fact, some Thai residents suggested and encouraged visits to the Moken village as it they thought it was part of the local culture: *"It's local people [the Moken] you know. You come to Thailand, you must look. Yeah, it's good."* (Interview, 17 Jan. 19).

A Thai man who owns a bar also encourages visits to the Moken village and shows the way as he has many people asking about them. In his opinion, it is okay for tourists to go to the village as this has been going on for a long time. He says these visits have become normal for the Moken - you cannot change that. In addition, he states: *"They [the Moken] have nothing to do also, they just spending time around. Playing cards, doing something like that."* (Interview, 15 Jan. 2019).

Foreign residents, on the other hand, tend to have a different perspective on the situation. These actors, who mostly work in the tourism industry as well, generally did not approve of tourists visiting the Moken village. The general sentiment was that they believed the Moken were not something to look at; it should not be a 'human zoo' (interview, 6 Jan. 2019; interview, 13 Jan. 2019; interview b, 14 Jan. 2019). One person stated: *"I have always stressed, especially now that I have a restaurant, that the Moken are not a visitor's attraction or a human zoo. They need to be treated with respect."* (Interview, 6 Jan. 2019).

Most tourists I spoke to about my research did not know about the existence of the Moken but became interested after hearing about their history and culture. The tourists who already planned on going to the village or asked about it tended to have several reasons: 1) the Moken village is marked as point of interest on many maps; 2) recommendations by restaurant/ resort/ bungalow owners and employees; 3) it is part of the top-10 list on TripAdvisor (as found on March 2019); and 4) they simply want to go from A to B by passing through the village.

5.3 Current and Future Livelihood Strategies Related to Tourism

The current activities the Moken engage in which are (in part) related to tourism can be found in Chapter 4. Briefly, these activities consist of working in the hospitality sector, entrepreneurial activities (i.e selling handicrafts, having a kiosk), working in construction, and selling seafood to restaurants and shops. Moreover, there is some optimism that tourism will provide the community with more (economic) benefits, albeit when managed properly. These new ideas will be discussed below.

Primarily, a small shop is the process of being constructed in the Moken village. This will allow Moken children to sell their handmade crafts as well as some beverages. Second, the surfing industry appears to be a viable option for additional income generation. Many of the Moken children are good surfers, and with proper English they may be able to give surfing lessons to tourists. One restaurant owner currently rents out surfboards where part of the proceeds goes back to a non-profit (All for Villages), which then supports the Moken community. In addition, the Andaman coast and Phuket area have become increasingly popular as a surfing destination with Thai/ foreign residents and tourists (Martin, 2010: 268). Third, tour guiding was a potential activity mainly suggested by actors who did not reside on Koh Phayam (in particular researchers from Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok). However, there was not much enthusiasm from the Moken or the teachers regarding this activity. Fourth, the development of a 'living village/ museum' was proposed by a non-Moken actor who believed this would allow for an additional form of income while simultaneously preserving the Moken culture and educating visitors (interview b, 14 Jan. 2019). Lastly, a community based tourism project was proposed whereby shared activities

take place such as homestays, cooking classes, fishing trips etc. However, most of these propositions have not yet been further developed.

5.4 What does this mean in practice?

As most of the ideas described above were suggested by outside (non-Moken) actors, these need to be critically examined and perhaps take 'lessons learned' from the past as well as taking the current situation on Koh Surin into account. As ethnic and heritage tourism has become increasingly popular globally (Korstanje, 2013; Yang, 2001), the way Moken culture is viewed and ultimately represented is of utmost importance.

Primarily, I attempted to gain an understanding of the Moken's perspective on their culture. Immediately I stumbled across a problem: the Moken language does not have a word for 'culture' (albeit not that my translator knew of). This resulted in me explaining what culture meant, and as such the following paragraphs need to be interpreted lightly as my understanding of what constitutes 'culture' may have influenced the respondents' answers. The majority of the respondents highlighted several important elements of their culture, which included the *kabang,* or boats, the Moken language, nature and the spirits. Those who did not believe the Moken culture was important mainly attributed this to their lack of respect of the spirits. Due to the past help of Christian NGOs, the presence of a church and two missionaries in the village, many Moken have converted to Christianity. One respondent did not know if the Moken culture was important anymore because there is *"no more stories and no more talking"* like in the old days (interview c, 9 Jan. 2019). In addition, there are numerous families where the children barely speak Moken and some do not speak the language at all. Robinson & Drozdzweksi (2016) also observed this loss of language and language transferal during their research.

The non-Moken people I spoke to found the Moken culture to be of importance and highlighted the boats, fishing and mobility to be crucial elements. Interestingly, there appears to be a certain clash between how outsiders view the Moken culture (and what they feel is important) and how the Moken view this. For example, there was a sentiment that the crafts that were sold needed a brand name and logo. One suggestion made by a non-Moken resident was the name, 'Children of the Sea' (English translation of the Moken phrase) with a *kabang* as part of the logo. However, when this idea was shared in class the children did not like it: 'we were not born at sea', was the response of one Moken boy.

Not only does this example illustrate a contrasting perspective between the Moken and non-Moken people, but it is also part of a broader process of a culture in transition. Members of the older generations have a strong connection to the sea and their *kabangs*, and many would like to return to this way of life. This sentiment and traditional image was projected, encouraged and promoted by non-Moken actors who strongly believe that this part of the Moken culture is essential and needs preserving. Yet the younger generations do not necessarily feel this way. When asked what they wanted to do after school, the Moken children I talked to mentioned getting a job, a house, helping the Moken people, surfing, staying at home, working in bungalows (classroom session 10 Jan. 2019; interview, 23 Jan. 2019) but not one mentioned living on a *kabang*, fishing or being at sea.

The above illustrates a rather static view of Moken culture by outside actors, which was only opposed by two people I talked to. One key actor was a teacher at the Learning Centre who openly acknowledges that the Moken culture changes (as does every culture) and that we need to accept and work with that. As a result, he tries to teach people horticulture and how to rear chickens, shows them the benefits of a fibreglass boat (in contrast to a wooden boat), and tries to find ways in which the Moken community can benefit from tourism instead of being exploited by it. Another actor (a foreign restaurant owner) iterated similar views:

> *"They [the Moken] are less nomadic, which is probably what a lot of people want: more security, a job, a home. Now issues like alcoholism are prominent,*

so we shouldn't force them to stay a certain way. Like the freediving... it's very sad that those skills are being lost but maybe they don't even want to be free divers. We're imposing too many of our own views on them that aren't necessarily better or will make them happier." (Interview, 6 Jan. 2019)

These contrasting perspectives have consequences on the Moken community and how outsiders view (and represent) them. It also an example of uneven power dynamics as the dominant image of the Moken is not the same as how the Moken see themselves. This particularly comes to the fore in tourism, and brings about various challenges.

5.5 (Potential) Challenges regarding tourism

The on-going discussion on culture sets the scene for some of the challenges discerned such as (false) representation, authenticity and commodification. These challenges are not only present in the Moken village on Koh Phayam, but are especially prominent in the more traditional and well-visited Moken communities such as the one on Koh Surin.

Through literature research (e.g. Project Moken, 2012; Robinson & Drozdzweski, 2016) and fieldwork it became evident that certain actors (e.g. academics, teachers, tourists) view the Moken people (and culture) as vulnerable and in need of protection. They advocate the wish for the Moken to retain their nomadic existence and traditions and overemphasise parts of their (past) culture. These same actors encourage a fishing livelihood (despite the challenges the Moken encounter: foremost the absence of fish) and efforts for Moken cultural preservation, try to reinforce the Moken's connection with the sea, and some even try to reintroduce a nomadic lifestyle. As the example of the Moken handicrafts logo illustrates, what outsiders consider the Moken identity to be might not be in line with the Moken's own visions (see chapter 6).

In addition, there is a discrepancy between the activities tourists can participate in, such as learning how to spearfish, and the actual activities the Moken can engage in to support their livelihoods. The activities can in many cases be considered a re-enactment of more traditional practices that state regulations now prohibit. For example, one aspect of a three-day 'Moken Immersion' activity on Koh Surin includes: "Moken guides who will show us many of the reef species they harvest as part of their daily diet" (Nature Ed., 2019). Not mentioned is that the Moken are prohibited from harvesting these sea creatures - particularly during the tourist high season (Henley *et al.*, 2013) - thus questioning the extent of 'authenticity'. Although the Moken village of Koh Phayam is in many ways different from the one on Koh Surin, there are certain similarities between the two such. This includes an overemphasis of the Moken culture being traditional and (semi-)nomadic by external actors. However, such a traditional and nomadic lifestyle was not substantiated by my own empirical data, or what the studies of Robinson & Drozdweski (2016) or McDuie-Ra *et al.* (2013) concluded. In particular, different elements of 'modernity' (such as smartphones) and a sedentary lifestyle on land are ignored by many actors but in reality are enjoyed by many - especially the younger generations. Although perhaps with the best intentions, these external actors appear to be imposing their vision or understanding of what the 'authentic' Moken constitutes on the Moken community themselves whilst conveying this view to the broader public.

The increased commodification of culture and practices (often paired with (false) representation) has also led to certain challenges. Primarily, the procurement of materials for the crafts and the sale itself goes through an intermediary person who also deals with cash transaction. Although these transactions occur in a relatively transparent manner, it has resulted in some levels of distrust from both the children and adult community members. Secondly, the notion of favouritism has become an issue as not all children get equal opportunities and access to the resources needed for craft making or other activities (e.g. surfing). Some actors have voiced concerns over potential inequality. Likewise, participation in other initiatives (which tend to emphasise aspects of traditionality) such as those set up by Project Moken on the Surin Islands can also lead to inequality as not everyone has the

opportunity to participate and not everyone afford to represent themselves in the 'traditional' ways which are often expected by outside actors (Robinson & Drozdzewski, 2016).

In addition to the aforementioned challenges, increasing (unsustainable) tourism numbers also have more general effects. Primarily, the production of waste on the island has increased and as Koh Phayam lacks a functioning waste management system, most is disposed of in an unsustainable manner (i.e. burned or dumped on the ground). However, some plastic is collected and recycled. One Moken boy identified 'rubbish' as a main challenge (interview, 5 Feb. 2019). Garbage is a big concern on Koh Surin as well. In the Moken village, waste is dumped behind the houses and the national park authorities pay Moken to dispose of the garbage produced by tourists in illegal garbage dumps in three different coves. It is prohibited for visitors to go to these sites (Henley *et al.*, 2013: 144). Secondly, there is ambiguity over the ownership rights of the land where the Moken on Koh Phayam are currently based. Due to their lack of property rights, land accumulation by external actors and subsequent displacement of the Moken population is a legitimate concern. More general challenges attributed to increasing tourism developments identified by Moken and non-Moken actors as well as my own observation include water shortages, environmental degradation (e.g. deforestation), inflated prices, loss of traditional livelihoods, and economic leakage. How these challenges have emerged and are fuelled by the powers of exclusion (or not) will be explored in the following chapter.

6. Discussion

So far, this research has introduced the reader to the Moken, their livelihood strategies and the challenges they face as well as tourism developments on Koh Phayam. When putting the Moken in a broader context it is essential to include the aspect of statelessness, by which the majority of the population is affected. We have seen that the Moken are excluded from various aspects of everyday life and that structural challenges persist.

However, exclusion is not inherently negative - nor is it a new phenomenon. The previous chapters provided an initial starting point for illustrating the contradictions present within exclusion - in other words, exclusion's double edge. It would be too simplistic to assume that the powers do not have conflicting, or contradicting, effects. To explore this further, the first step consists of placing the empirical and secondary data under the relevant powers. As such, the five principal powers outlined in the conceptual framework (the market, force, legitimation, regulation, and precarious citizenship) will constitute the core of this thesis' analytical framework, supplemented by other theories and concepts when necessary.

Although the data and powers are categorised, the aim is not to illustrate that these are separate elements because, in line with Hall *et al.* (2011), I believe that the powers do not follow each other but instead are inextricably interlinked. We will see that throughout the analysis the powers of exclusion overlap; although one section might try to understand the context from a particular angle (i.e. power), elements and aspects from the other powers will undoubtedly come to the fore. Similarly to the powers, the empirical evidence should not be viewed in isolation but instead requires a holistic understanding.

6.1 The Market
Using the market as an analytical tool studies on tourism and marginalised groups is nothing new but did prove to be very relevant. The driving force of the market is visible in different aspects of tourism, for example through income generating activities, employment opportunities, increased wastage, cultural commodification amongst other things. Negative aspects of a market-based mechanism and unsustainable tourism, such as economic leakage, can also be observed (both on Koh Phayam and on Koh Surin).

Generally, Thailand's economic policy favours neoliberal capitalism and this is used in the country's current national development agenda. However, Arunotai (2012) argues that this hegemonic ideology is a key force driving the marginalisation and contemporary conflicts of the Chao Lay (i.e. the Moken, Moklen and Urak Lawoi) in Thailand. The dominant neoliberal ideology and discourse has had multiple effects, including: turning land into an important capital, promoting extensive development of the tourism industry, and commodifying and alienating other aspects of Chao Lay life and cultural identity such as the sea (ibid.). Such neoliberal policies have also set the stage for practices like land grabbing which Harvey (2006) has coined 'accumulation by dispossession' (see section 6.2).

Furthermore, Arunotai (2012) argues that neoliberal capitalism contradicts with the Chao Lay's lives, culture and values which are based on sharing, non-accumulation, conflict avoidance amongst other things. However, this notion of non-accumulation voiced by different actors (scholars and lay people alike) was not particularly visible in the Moken communities I visited, as a clear dependency on a market-based economy was present. Through the consumption of crafts or products in small kiosks, by giving donations, or indirectly through employment opportunities, tourists support such a capitalist system. As a result, luxury items such as smartphones, iPads, flat screen TV's were present in many households on Koh Phayam and Koh Surin (although more so on Koh Surin). The Moken often purchased these items after a period of short-term labour. Two respondents explained that if a Moken wants a particular product, such as a phone, (s)he will work really hard until

the money is earned, for example by catching jellyfish, and then quit their job (interview, 15 Jan. 2019; interview, 16 Jan. 2019). This then affects potential employers who often have different work ethics and find sudden absence to work unacceptable. Hence, some now consider the Moken to be unreliable employees (interview b, 14 Jan. 2019; interview, 16 Jan. 2019). This reality contradicts with the traditional, vulnerable and primitive image the media (and even academic papers) highlight and emphasise.

The traditional image set out by (mostly) non-Moken actors is a phenomenon not uncommon around the world. The exotic, traditional and vulnerable image of the Moken is in many ways commodified and capitalised on, as the Moken-led activities on the Surin Islands – or the example of the logo on Koh Phayam – illustrate. One type of commodification that is visible amongst other (indigenous) cultures is branding. Koot (2018) argues that branding does not always represent an exploitative situation where the indigenous group is a victim of the market, but that in some cases branding is used strategically and provides agency. A potential result is an even stronger identity as authentic indigenous people (ibid.).

However, the Moken on Koh Phayam do not seem to be using branding or promoting this exotic image as other indigenous communities globally might. As the results sections highlight, it is the non-Moken actors who strengthen and reaffirm the 'exotic', 'primitive,' 'traditional,' and 'sea based' image and brand. The discussion on the logo for Moken crafts is a clear example of a disconnect between the image the Moken have of themselves, and the image that outsiders (want to) portray. In addition, questions on authenticity arise as the projections of the Moken culture by external actors and popular media might not be in line with the realities experienced by tourists and the Moken themselves. Nevertheless, this ambiguity also leaves room for manoeuvre and strategic actions.

Although market-based mechanisms have a similar nature on both Koh Phayam and Koh Surin, the extent of these mechanisms – particularly commodification – differs per island. Consequently, it is useful to explore 'lessons learned' from one case and perhaps apply, or use them to understand, another. When looking at cultural commodification specifically, the process was much more evident on Koh Surin. This commodification is encouraged by different actors: *the state* (while retaining strict policies on mobility, hunting, gathering and fishing) keep the Moken in orderly lined houses in one bay, partly to facilitate tourists visiting the community; *tourists* and the *operators* consume various products or practices (e.g. participation in Moken activities such as learning how to row a chapan, walking around the Moken village tourist 'stage', consumption of crafts etc); and finally by the *Moken* themselves through the production and sale of their handicrafts. However, despite Moken participation in these forms of commodification, it appears that they are, for the most part, are largely excluded from financially benefiting from these neoliberal strategies. Instead, the Moken and their traditions are promoted for entertainment which some non-Moken actors I spoke to (residents on Koh Phayam, for instance) have coined 'human zoos'. To some extent there is a contribution to these mechanisms by various actors - NGO workers, academics, tourists, the state, and the Moken themselves - as they (perhaps unintentionally) promote such neoliberal strategies.

The above illustrates some of the contradictions present in neoliberal capitalism, particularly regarding tourism. On the one hand it allows people (i.e. the Moken) to participate in the broader market, become visible and ultimately 'develop.' However, structural inequalities persist, economic leakage takes place, and exploitation (of labour) occurs. The commodification of the Moken (e.g. crafts) is a prime example where the tensions between neoliberalism, authenticity and 'development' become visible. It would be interesting for future research to explore if, and how, the Moken actively use branding to gain particular (political) advantages. However, it is important to highlight that the market is inextricably linked with the following power addressed - namely force - although this relationship might not be as obvious and visible from the start.

6.2 Force

The power of 'force' can be understood and interpreted differently. The more obvious and common understanding, which refers to "the rending of flesh with the intention of harm" (Nordstrom, 2004: 60), is present in different literary sources, particularly in newspapers and some academic articles (e.g. Arunotai, 2012; Wessendorf, 2019; Democratic Voice of Burma News, 2004; Henley *et al.*, 2013; Project Maje, 2004). Although not explicitly visible during this research, it does not mean that this understanding of force, or the threat of violence, is absent on Koh Phayam but merely that I did not encounter it in the field.

However, in the broader context it should be noted that there are documented cases of violence, forced relocation and human rights abuses of the Moken in southern Thailand and in neighbouring Myanmar. According to different sources, such as The Irriwady (17 Feb. 2004) and the Democratic Voice of Burma News (2004), the Moken were forced to live on land and in 'human zoos' (Democratic Voice of Burma News, 14 Jan. 2004). One quote illustrates:

> *"Before the [Salon/ Moken] festival, sea gypsies were rounded up and detained on designated islands by Burmese soldiers who forced them to perform for tourists, and the local Burmese living along the Andaman Coast were told by military authorities to attend the festival to bolster audience numbers."* (Democratic Voice of Burma News, 20 Feb. 2004)

This illustrates the physical aspect of violence which is a common, and obvious, interpretation of the concept. However, the quote also hints at a broader process at hand, namely capitalist tourism and the structural violence that ensues which Büscher & Fletcher (2017) have come to coin 'destructive creation'. Adding to this, there are scholars who's understanding of force and violence encapsulate more than just physical or material elements, but also "symbolic, epistemic, structural etc." that create "unequal power relations between 'hosts' and 'guests', particularly in built tourism environments" (Devine & Ojeda, 2017: 605). More specifically, Büscher and Fletcher (2017) argue that "tourism can become a form of (structural) violence in its own right" and identify three forms of structural violence, namely "the systematic production of inequalities, waste and "spaces of exception"" (p. 651).

I will briefly delve into these three forms of structural violence as they help understand the Moken case better. To begin with, tourism, while producing inequalities, also *depends* on inequalities (Büscher & Fletcher, 2017). This inequality takes on different forms - economically, racial and/ or culturally. An important foundational element of inequality is that "tourism as a commodity is socially alienated from its producers," often in the direct form of "alienation when local communities are (violently) expropriated from the land to make space for tourism" (Büscher & Fletcher, 2017: 657). In addition, the global tourism industry runs on cheap, relatively unskilled labour who work to serve the wealthy. As Robinson (2008) notes: "tourism as it is practiced in global society takes for granted this division between the rich and the poor and the 'right' of the wealthy to be waited on by the poor… One person's leisure is another person's work, and these relations are not reciprocal" (p. 131).

The production of inequalities through tourism is visible on Koh Phayam. Primarily, hospitality services and other elements of the tourism industry on the island depend on cheap labour. As chapter four and five have shown, this is mostly provided by Burmese migrants and in some cases Moken individuals. These people, who provide the labour that keeps the tourism sector running, often earn less than minimum wage mainly due to a deeply rooted hierarchy in Thai society; ethnocentrism is prominent and is often used as a means of justification for the exploitation of racially and/ or culturally different people.

In addition, accumulation by dispossession - often in the form of land appropriation by outsiders - was also evident. As section 4.2 highlights, the Moken were forced off their

ancestral land after the 2004 tsunami to make way for tourism developments. This process, with this being a small-scale example, is what Naomi Klein would call this 'disaster capitalism' where "disasters have become the preferred moments for advancing a vision of a ruthlessly divided world" (Klein, 2007). Currently, the Moken still do not have any property rights which makes future land appropriation (in particular as a result of growing tourism developments) not an unlikely scenario.

The second form of structural violence Büscher and Fletcher (2017) identify is the production of waste. As section 5.5 highlighted, waste management (in part due to rising tourism numbers) has increasingly become an issue on Koh Phayam and Koh Surin. The third form of structural violence is the production of 'spaces of exception.' In tourism, this equates to the 'tourism bubble' which "shields people from the two preceding forms of structural violence" (see Büscher & Fletcher, 2017: 661). In this bubble, the conventional rules do not apply anymore as they take place in spaces of exception. Perhaps tourists walking into peoples homes and taking photographs without permission is an example of a situation regarded as a 'space of exception.' It seems unlikely that similar behaviour would occur in the guests' places of origin.

In addition to what the authors advocate, I would argue that the above forms of violence might actually produce a different form of waste, namely 'human waste' or 'wasted lives.' Bauman's (2004) concept of *wasted lives* illustrates how processes of modernity, including order-building and economic growth, have created a 'surplus,' 'excessive,' and 'redundant' population; in other words, wasted lives. These superfluous people, such as migrants or refugees – or the Moken -, "cannot be included in the modern economy as workers or consumers" (Spijkerboer 2017: 27). In the Moken case, there are clear examples that support the processes the production of inequalities, waste and spaces of exception – as well as the Moken's transformation into a good for consumption by the hegemonic power (e.g. 'human zoos) (see next section). Rather than the waste referring to environmental damage, as Büscher & Fletcher (2017) do, the production of human waste through tourism would be an interesting (theoretical) starting point for future research.

As this thesis has illustrated so far, the Moken can in many ways be considered a superfluous people - their precarious citizenship being one such aspect. They are not alone, however: in January 2014, Thailand boasted an estimated 506,000 stateless people, most originating from ethnic minorities (Human Rights Watch 2015). Force, and in many ways structural forms of violence, have had an impact on these communities and as Buscher and Fletcher (2017) have illustrated, tourism plays a key role herein.

6.3 Legitimation

Structural violence, wasted lives, discrimination – amongst many other ideas and practices – continue to occur as a result of legitimation and justification. Legitimation "provides the indispensable normative underpinning to rules, rights to buy and sell, and violence that makes them seem legitimate" and sometimes even makes them seem "so much part of the natural order of things that they are not up for debate or analysis" (Hall *et al.*, 2011: 196). Nationality, territoriality and ethnocentrism play major roles in the different claims to land, exclusion, environmentalism and so forth.

Nationality has been a key driving force in the legitimising claims of the Moken's exclusion; there is a general superiority-inferiority complex between the Thai-Moken populations. It became evident that lower wages for Moken, discrimination, stigmatisation and (physical, sexual, psychological) abuse were not considered out of the ordinary and their exclusion was in large part normalised. However, my position as a researcher comes from a Western background where issues such as human rights, minimum wages and discrimination are often addressed and this contributed to (unintentional) normative and biased understanding of the topics. Due to the limited time for fieldwork, I was not able to fully delve into these topics and understand them from the Moken's perspectives.

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More generally, much mobile culture literature includes recurrent themes such as discrimination and stigmatisation whereby the normative justifications are often related to ethnocentrism, a process "which leads citizens to think their values are superior to the rest of world" (Korstanje, 2013). Nomadic hunter-gatherer peoples around the world (under which the Moken would traditionally fall) are in many cases seen as backward and primitive, and constructions of mobile cultures in general are often collectivised as a problem (Prout & Green, 2018; Sigona, 2005). These issues are clearly present amongst non-Moken and Moken actors. As chapter four illustrates, racism, discrimination and stigmatisation occurs in schools, hospitals, shops, workplaces and even openly on the street. The frequency of these practices further perpetuates a sentiment of negative self-worth amongst the Moken.

Ethnocentrism of non-Moken actors should be looked at with care, especially regarding the increasing growth of tourism. In Korstanje's (2013) essay, one of his arguments states "that ethnocentrism over-valorises the role of minorities since they are marked under certain etiquette (Afro-American, Latin-American, Asians, aborigines, or even cultural tourism)" but meanwhile those same cultures are occulted by the existing privileged actors. Throughout history ethnocentrism has played an important role in creating and upholding asymmetries between human beings, leading to a physic and symbolic-violence known as labels or stereotypes (ibid.). By labeling or naming 'the other,' legitimacy is gained and kept in place by the hegemonic power. Korstanje (2013) argues that "this represents a way of intellectualising the otherness by means of different symbolic mechanisms denoting expropriation, legitimacy and authority" whilst at the same time being a functioning part in the market. In other words, 'the other' (e.g. the ethnic group, the minority) becomes subject to commoditisation within cultural tourism processes, which "transforms them in an elaborated-good ready for consumption" (Bauman, 2007 in Korstanje, 2013).

6.4 Regulation
Access and exclusion are often governed through regulation, often prominently visible in issues surrounding land use and ownership. The Moken's inability to procure land title deeds have briefly been touched upon in sections 4.2 and 5.5. This exclusion from the land market is a result of a) the Moken's precarious citizenship status which does not allow them to own land or have any title deeds; b) land prices are very costly; 3) the 'prime' destinations have been claimed by developers, mainly to accommodate increasing tourist numbers. A further challenge is the lack of clarity on who owns the land on which the Moken village is currently located. Contradicting laws and bureaucracy play a large role in this ambiguity. Despite this, however, several non-Moken people I conversed with shared a desire for the land to be transferred to the Moken community. It struck me that such a sentiment reflects a rather ethnocentric approach where it is thought that poor and smallholders want a 'commons'; yet we should not forget that many "do not always engage in community-oriented defence of the commons, and that they often *want* private property in land for themselves" (Hall *et al.*, 2011: 14).

Regulation further permits those processes of commodification (such as land) to take place, particularly since neoliberal capitalism is Thailand's dominant ideology. Arunotai (2012) argues that neoliberal capitalism is a key force driving the marginalisation and contemporary conflicts of the Chao Lay in Thailand. She identifies three main reasons within neoliberal capitalism that prevent the Chao Lay from obtaining access to land: "1) The Chao Lay traditionally do not claim ownership of the land; 2) the sense of ethnocentrism among the local and mainstream population towards Chao Lay is so strong in certain areas that the plight and rights of the Chao Lay have been overlooked; and 3) the Chao Lay are a non-literature culture whereas land titles and other laws are based on literacy and official documents" (Arunotai, 2012: 13). More generally, this dominant ideology also allows for "accumulation by dispossession" and the production of different forms of violence such as structural inequality and waste. These examples illustrate that the powers of exclusion are not separate

categories or work in isolation; rather, they continuously interact, overlap and (re)enforce each other.

Before we move on, however, it is noteworthy that there does not seem to be any regulation concerning the amount or type of tourism on Koh Phayam according to various actors I talked to including teachers, entrepreneurs, tourists and academics. This is viewed as worrisome by some as the general sentiment is that unregulated tourism equals unsustainable tourism, which in turn would have negative impacts socially, environmentally, and economically. The petition set up by one of the tourists is a plea for increased regulation and promotion of sustainable tourism. Yet if the recommendations from the petition are taken into account, one of which states that "this sustainable, „balanced" tourism should support and work alongside the local people of Koh Phayam, in order to enhance and respect the economic and social aspects of their traditional way of life" (Rubbert, 2018), it begs the question whether (and to what degree) the local population, including the Moken, will be taken into account and consulted.

6.5 Precarious Citizenship

Finding a balance such as the one described above and working towards sustainable tourism (debates on the definition and concept aside) can be especially difficult when it comes to a group of people who are not officially recognised by the state. In addition, the dominant representation of the Moken (i.e. sea based, traditional) is in many ways prevented from being a reality, such as the impacts of restrictions on their mobility and their livelihoods, due to their precarious citizenship status. As argued in the conceptual framework, the issue of precarious citizenship undeniably plays a prominent role in the lives of the Moken. It is particularly this power that is laden with contradictions and 'double-edged swords.' Access (or lack of access) to one thing usually has both costs and benefits tied to it, as the example of boat registration in section 4.2 illustrates.

Having citizenship can provide improvements in safety, security and livelihood opportunities whilst at the same time sustaining or enforcing the feeling of a 'disconnected' citizen. This can impact the Moken's 'lived culture' such as their daily Moken language use (Robinson & Drozdzweski, 2016). Moreover, "legal recognition as a resident of Thailand and citizen with rights does not necessarily equate to a sense of belonging and affinity" (idem: 549). Many interviews and informal conversations (by Moken and non-Moken actors alike) highlighted the Moken identity as being significantly different to Thai culture. Therefore, more is needed than solely providing the Moken with citizenship if the aim is to integrate them into Thai society. How to find a balance between integration, assimilation, cultural preservation, and autonomy would be an interesting point of departure for future research.

A potential way to engage with the challenges regarding statelessness, livelihood strategies and tourism is self-determination. Self-determination can be interpreted in many different ways (see Nine, 2010; Dietrich & Wündisch 2015; and Buchanan, 1991 for example), but I will follow Buchanan's (1991) understanding where "self-determination... emphasises the ability of a group to determine its future in terms of its cultural and social practices rather than its political status" (p. 34). However, in order to achieve this it is necessary to have rights that concern political autonomy, which he believes is not a right in itself but instead a guiding normative principle. Important to stress is that self-determination does not protect against cultural change; culture is, in the end, something dynamic and not fixed. However, self-determination can protect against "domination consisting of the non-consensual destruction of the group's cultural practices and the values those practices express" (Buchanan, 1991: 46). This process can be understood as the *cultural* conception of self-determination (Draper, 2016).

Self-determination is closely related to the 'right to have right' and the 'harms of statelessness' (see, for example, Arendt 2006). Contrary to solely providing the right to citizenship, which would take two things into account, namely: 1) the lack of human rights

protection, and 2) alienation from the political community, self-determination may also protect against 3) the loss of one's entire political community and 4) risks to cultural integrity (Draper, 2016). Ultimately, populations who are confronted with statelessness will be able to determine "*how* they are to live out their futures as self-determining peoples" (idem: 35).

With regard to the Moken, self-determination may help improve their current lifeworlds, increase their agency and help them partake in the tourism industry without being the subject of 'exotic' entertainment. However, as section 6.1 argues, it is imperative that such processes are nuanced: they do not necessary imply an exploitative situation one where those people "are victims of more powerful forces in the market" (Koot, 2018: 231). Although it was not strongly evident from my empirical data, Robinson & Drozdzweski (2016) found that other Moken communities "individuals and groups have employed strategic identities towards different aims and desires" (p. 549). The authors, similarly to Koot (2018), illustrate that in some cases identities (and in Koot's words, 'branding') are used strategically by (indigenous) populations, which can increase their agency and potentially result in an even stronger identity as authentic indigenous people. In particular, this may be a process that takes place within tourism.

By now it should be evident that the representation and branding of the Moken differs between the Moken on Koh Phayam and Koh Surin as well as by the actors involved. The dichotomy is to some extent more visible with the Moken on the latter island. Here, the Moken are labelled and portrayed as traditional, primitive and vulnerable people in a myriad of ways. One only needs to shed a glance at the websites of NGOs trying to 'help' the Moken such as www.projectmoken.com or www.mokenislands.com in order to be convinced that the Moken still live a (semi-)nomadic, sea based existence as the vast majority of the images and information available highlights these aspects. A hybrid identity - one that Robinson and Drozdzewski (2016) advocate as containing multiple layers and being "multiple, fluid and partial" (p. 538) - has not been embraced by many of the actors who are somehow involved in the lives of the Moken.

The Moken-led activities on Koh Surin, such as rowing the *chapan* and spear fishing, which are promoted by several NGOs and CBT-supporting agencies fall under the stereotypical and traditional practices of the Moken culture. The Moken, however, are prohibited from these practices in daily life by regulations set up by the National Park authorities and as such are only used for re-enactment purposes. Nevertheless, these activities do generate a cash-based income within the neoliberal system the Moken are now part of. Ignoring or blatantly criticising such participation in the current system would undermine the Moken's agency and autonomy. Ultimately, it is crucial to acknowledge the Moken's hybrid identities, to view these complexities from a holistic and interdisciplinary perspective and recognise that there is not one solution or outcome. The following section will attempt to explore the limitations and contributions the theories discussed have provided to the overall case study.

6.6 Putting Theory and Practice Together

As the powers of exclusion identified by Hall *et al.* (2011) were based upon land dilemma's in (rural) southeast Asia, the theoretical framework was limiting in some aspects and was not fully applicable to the Moken case study. When discussing regulation for instance, the Moken case requires some exploration of maritime law and regulations (unfortunately surpassing the scope of this thesis) as their main livelihoods depend on the sea but ambiguity exists due to their precarious citizenship status. Moreover, if some Moken were to return to their nomadic lifestyle, then access to mobility and the sea is a necessary aspect to consider and an interesting point of departure for future research.

Nevertheless, the powers of exclusion are useful in understanding processes and social relations between the Moken and external actors, as well as observing power (im)balances. In addition, using it as a framework when conducting fieldwork helped me gain structure and direction. During my research, however, it became evident that using these powers to try and

understand the impacts of tourism is difficult – especially with a case study such as the one Koh Phayam. If the case study would have been based on Koh Surin, I believe it would have been a more valuable tool for analysis due to the extremes that are prevalent there. The latter is a case of largely unregulated, mass tourism where the costs and benefits are not evenly distributed at all; here, the powers of regulation, force, the market, legitimation and precarious citizenship more clearly come to the fore.

On Koh Phayam, however, tourism has not developed to such an extent that the Moken are clearly benefiting or harmed by it. Nor does tourism particularly exclude or give access to opportunities that come along with tourism. Instead, the impacts appear to occur in a more nuanced manner. As the previous chapters have shown, tourism provides a form of additional income but the Moken largely use livelihood diversification as a livelihood strategy. In other words, tourism supplements their livelihoods and income to some extent, but for the majority of the population it does not provide enough capital to rely on it completely. Non-Moken actors, such as teachers, academics and NGO workers, play(ed) an important role in emphasising the scale and potential of tourism. They are trying to find ways to harness the (economic) potential of tourism by developing or improving certain activities such as craft making, surfing, and tour guiding. However, since the majority of the Moken on Koh Phayam still heavily rely on the different (human, social, economic and physical) capital of these external actors, it is unlikely that these activities (and potential livelihoods) will be deemed sustainable any time soon.

However, I would argue that caution needs to be taken when encouraging greater participation in tourism and the neoliberal capitalist system – it may enhance new forms of exclusion or aggravate the forms that are already present. Unregulated and unsustainable tourism growth on Koh Phayam could lead to, for example, land grabbing for conservation purposes (e.g. 'green grabbing' (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012)) or tourism expansion (i.e. accumulation by dispossession) - both of which are visible on Koh Surin. In addition, a critical view should be provided by various actors (including academics, practitioners and lay people) on the impact that (cultural) commodification and branding may have. Ideally, tourism would provide the Moken with sustainable livelihood options as the livelihoods they currently rely on (such as fishing) are increasingly becoming unattainable.

Livelihoods and livelihood strategies are a core part of this thesis and, of course, the SLF. Although the SLF contains many more elements than the ones used here (i.e. livelihoods and livelihood strategies), the aim was not to use this approach in a theoretical sense. Instead, it was the pragmatic nature of the framework that appealed to me and helped the research design and process. The SLF has, despite its critique, been a useful research tool due to its focused outlook. In addition, it allowed me to discern more politically sensitive topics (such as discrimination and statelessness) by subtly questioning choices regarding livelihoods and livelihood strategies.

However, there are some shortcomings concerning the framework which would be appropriate to highlight. Primarily, as Sakdapolrak (2014) notes, there is an "imbalanced consideration of the structure - agency relation" where the livelihoods approach is implicitly permeated "by a methodological individualism and the notion of rational and strategic actors who use their assets in order to reach clear ends and maximise their utilities" (p. 20). In a culture where (traditionally) collectiveness, sharing and non-accumulation are key, this approach is limiting as it fails to understand that not all actions are strategic, that there are structural constraints that may influence certain actions or choices, and it "prevents intra-household understanding of the dynamics and conflicts" (Prowse, 2010).

In addition, SLF lacks a critical approach to structures of domination and power imbalances. Moreover, SLF poorly recognises spatial and temporal dynamics (Sakdapolrak, 2014) and as such processes of globalisation (Scoones, 2009) and multi-local livelihoods and trans-local developments (de Haan & Zoomers, 2003) have not been incorporated sufficiently in the

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livelihoods approach. In order to understand how the statelessness, loss of mobility and cultural changes have come into place within the Moken culture, it is of vital importance to take the broader structures, networks and spaces into account. This is where the powers of exclusion and SLF complement each other, as the powers aim to understand social relations and transformations. As this research was mostly exploratory in nature and focused on tourism, further research could delve much deeper into these topics.

In a broader context, the powers of exclusion and tourism do tie in neatly within the debates on mobile cultures and particularly in the discussion on 'culture of choice' versus 'culture of nature' (Kabachnik, 2009) as highlighted in the conceptual framework (section 2.3). Legitimation plays an important role here. Debates on nomadic cultures led by outsiders are often divided into the 'culture of choice' narrative, in which nomadism is considered a choice, or the 'culture of nature' where nomadism is considered to be an essential part of those cultures – meaning that without the aspect of mobility the culture is not 'really' nomadic. Both discourses, however, leave little room for a self-determining people.

Moreover, those discourses also support the stereotypical images that have become so typical for indigenous and nomadic cultures. Tourists who wanted to visit the Moken and arrived with preconceived notions of a primitive, exotic tribe further reinforced this idea. The idyllic setting of the Surin Islands only seems to validate those images further, although the 'authenticity' of the village is questionable. The rather traditional setting of Koh Surin cannot be found to the same extent on Koh Phayam and the Moken on the latter island hardly to the traditional image justice. Strikingly though, the photos that can be found on Google are mostly of the children and the few stilted wooden houses located in the village compared to the 'modern' (concrete) homes in which the majority lives. This illustrates a certain fascination with the 'exotic' while falsely representing the lives of the Moken (at the very least on Koh Phayam). However, I would like to emphasise again that this does not mean that the Moken are passive victims: they too have agency and play a role in their own (cultural) representation.

In sum, it has become clear that aside from the Moken's exclusion of particular (natural) resources which is mediated through different forces, exclusion also takes place on a cultural level. The latter is for example reinforced by (ethnic) tourism, although certain benefits, such as income generation and cultural preservation, also prevail. When it comes to providing the Moken with access to certain resources, there does not appear to be one solution. As the issue and complexity of their precarious citizenship has shown, simply providing them with an ID card will not solve any problems on a structural level. However, working towards self-determination might be a step forward in the right direction.

7. Conclusion

This research has attempted to illustrate the complex relationship between tourism and the Moken by using Hall et al.'s (2011) 'powers of exclusion' and the concepts 'livelihoods' and 'livelihood strategies' as developed by Scoones (1998). Although tourism on Koh Phayam is still relatively limited (seen for instance by the lack of infrastructure), it has developed rapidly over the past few years. This has had an impact on the Moken - and more specifically on their livelihood strategies.

Concisely, tourism impacts the Moken in a myriad of ways - but these impacts cannot simply be labeled as positive or negative. Primarily, tourism currently provides the Moken with (limited) forms of income through, for example, craft making or menial labour in the hospitality sector. Future projections by mostly non-Moken actors of increasing tourism developments include greater participation and more opportunities for the Moken to work in the tourism industry. Secondly, a shift in livelihoods has occurred over the past decades from a largely subsistence livelihood to one based on a cash-economy and wage labour. Consequently, the Moken's main livelihood strategy is *livelihood diversification* - with the predominant livelihood mostly depending on fishing but closely followed by tourism-related activities. Third, challenges have arisen with the growth of tourism. These include, but are not limited to: exploitation of labour, increased production of waste and inequality, disrespectful behaviour of tourists, environmental degradation and contentious issues regarding commodification and (false) representation. Although many argue that the Moken culture is being lost and needs 'saving', tourism has (to a limited extent) led to forms of cultural preservation and understanding. In addition to these impacts, the Moken's precarious citizenship status not only prevents them from gaining access to formal employment opportunities and mobility, but it also prevents them from having property rights. This makes land dispossession (e.g. due to tourism developments) a realistic concern. Although it should be noted that not all forms of exclusion are necessarily negative, tackling the issue of statelessness and precarious citizenship could be a first step in mitigating the powers of exclusion. In sum, this research argues that tourism impacts the Moken livelihood strategies in various ways - including both costs and benefits. Due to the fact that the Moken currently lack access to many tourism-related opportunities, the costs however seem to predominate.

The different processes and transformations were analysed using powers of exclusion. The analysis suggests that neither the livelihoods of the Moken nor tourism developments on Koh Phayam are very sustainable. The former has issues largely related to exploitation, unsustainable (commercial) fishing practices, and the unsustainability of handicraft making (the whole process is run by an intermediary person, thus creating dependencies and hindering capacity building and community empowerment). Within tourism development issues regarding a lack of regulation and increasing pressure on natural resources (e.g. water shortages, increased wastage, environmental degradation) can be observed.

To counter the challenges the Moken face and the (in part unsustainable) developments that occur on the island, several ways forward have been identified. Primarily, the issue of statelessness and precarious citizenship urgently needs to be addressed. Bureaucracy, corruption and ethnocentrism are major obstacles when it comes to obtaining citizenship and these should be challenged. Policies rooted in multiculturalism can perhaps help achieve a greater understanding of not only the Moken, but minorities and indigenous cultures in general. This would include an understanding of the "multiplicity of 'Thai-ness'" (Arunotai, 2012: 24), but also recognising the hybrid identities of the Moken. With a citizenship status (despite the cons attached to it), the Moken could regain their rights to mobility and ability to partake in formal labour. Although a resolution "on the revitalisation of Chao Lay livelihoods" was passed by the Thai cabinet in 2010, in practice much of the work has been disrupted due to "political instability and frequent changes of [the Thai] government" (idem:

17 and 24). Redirecting efforts to encourage the implementation of this resolution would help the Moken continue their (traditional) practices, including harvesting of sea creatures, and preserve aspects of the Moken culture while simultaneously providing them with citizenship rights.

In addition, proper management and planning concerning tourism will be necessary as the Moken will likely come into more contact with tourists (and perhaps gain more access to the tourism industry) due to increasing visitor numbers coupled with the unreliability of fishing as a livelihood, which means shifts in livelihoods are necessary. In order to prevent a situation such as on Koh Surin, where mass tourism brings disproportionate costs with it (most notably a huge waste disposal problem and salaries below minimum wage for the few Moken who work for the National Park Headquarters), alternative forms of tourism should be looked into. Moreover, with the increasing popularity of (ethnic) tourism it would be beneficial to explore past, present and future trends in order to identify best practices and lessons learned. One option could be community-based tourism whereby the community can harness benefits from tourism (Giampiccoli & Saayman, 2016; Tolkach & King, 2015). However, there is a need for a more networked, collaborative approach in the Moken village as well as greater community engagement than is currently the case.

Prior to implementation of such initiatives, however, a critical stance and context-dependent research is necessary. Firstly, more research is needed on the impact of tourism on the Moken communities; particularly in order to form a more holistic understanding of both the extent of tourism in those communities and its effects. Furthermore, to prevent accumulation by dispossession and further marginalisation, more effort should be undertaken to understand and question "how present [land] ownership was defined and claimed" (Arunotai, 2012: 24). I would speculate that, ideally, providing the Moken (individually or as a community) with land titles could pave the way to greater agency, autonomy and self-determination. Lastly, in addition to pure academic research, research is needed for empowerment and capacity building as well as for concrete policy recommendations.

In conclusion, this research has demonstrated the complex situation of the Moken people on Koh Phayam, the tourism developments that have taken place on the island and their impacts. Tourism affects the Moken and their livelihoods in a myriad of ways, and these developments - as well as the broader context in which the Moken are situated - often contain inherent contradictions. Hall et al. (2011) talk about exclusion's double edge, and this concept allows us to explore *how* processes of exclusion take place and what this means in practice. Prime examples include the Moken's precarious citizenship status and (ethnic) tourism, which, as this thesis has shown, are not inherently negative. However, finding ways to work with these contradictions will be necessary in order to improve the relationships between the Moken and other actors, improve aspects of the Moken's lives in general (e.g. access to basic services), acknowledge the existence of (Moken) hybrid identities, and ultimately work towards self-determination. As in many places around the world, finding a balance between people, profit and nature – particularly in the context of tourism - is a delicate matter but one that needs to be dealt with urgently.

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Appendix

Appendix A. List of Interviewees

Table 3: List of Interviewees

#	Date	Gender (M/F)	Approx. Age	Place	Ethnicity	Translator Used	Type Interview
1	8 Jan. 2019	F	20's	Moken Village	Moken	Yes	Semi-structured
2	8 Jan. 2019	F	20's	Moken Village	Moken	Yes	Semi-structured
3	8 Jan. 2019	F	40's	Moken Village	Moken	Yes	Semi-structured
4	9 Jan. 2019	F	60's	Moken Village	Moken	Yes	Semi-structured
5	9 Jan. 2019	F	50's	Moken Village	Moken	Yes	Semi-structured
6	6 Jan. 2019	F	30's	Restaurant	Foreign	No	Semi-structured
7	10 Jan. 2019	F, M, M	10's	Moken Village	All Moken	No	Group interview
8	13 Jan. 2019	M	Unknown	Resort	Foreign	No	Semi-structured
9	14 Jan. 2019	F	Unknown	Restaurant	Foreign	No	Semi-structured
10	14 & 15 Jan. 2019	M	40's	Moken Village	Foreign	No	Semi-structured
11	15 Jan. 2019	M	20's	Bar	Thai	No	Semi-structured
12	16 Jan. 2019	F	40's	Moken Village	Thai	No	Semi-structured
13	17 Jan. 2019	M	20's	Bar	Thai	No	Semi-structured
14	23 Jan. 2019	M	10's	Tutoring classroom	Thai/ Moken	No	Semi-structured
15	26 Jan. 2019	F	Unknown	Resort	Thai	No	Semi-structured
16	5 Feb. 2019	M	Unknown	Moken Village	Moken (Burmese)	Yes	Semi-structured
17	5 Feb. 2019	M	10's	Moken Village	Moken (Burmese)	Yes	Semi-structured

Appendix B. Demographics of the Moken village on Koh Phayam

Table 4: Moken village demographics of 2018, Koh Phayam.

What	Amount
Citizenship	
# of people with Thai ID	46
# of people with zero-ID	70
# of people with no ID	39
Age	
Children < 5	19
Children 5 - 18	44
Adults > 18	72
Unknown Age	20
Total Population	155
Sex	
# of women	84
# of men	71
School	
# of children registered in school	45