

Tourism Demonstration and Value Change

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ABSTRACT

This paper studies the empirical views and opinions of local residents towards the socio-cultural effects of tourism and both queries and extends theory related to the demonstration effect and within that perceived change in values. The research is applied to Pattaya, Thailand, a destination that has been subject to foreign tourist contact over a 50-year period. Changes are specifically related to 'foreign' tourists rather than domestic tourists. The tourism demonstration concept is made operational through qualitative in-depth interviews with a spectrum of local residents. Contrary to previous assumptions, tourism demonstration is muted in its effect on value change. This has implications for management and destination development. Copyright © 2013 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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INTRODUCTION

Tourism can be thought of as an attractive development that stimulates employment and investment, improves economic structure and makes a positive contribution to the balance of payments and regional and national growth (Pizam, 1978; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Ap and Crompton, 1998). However, tourism also involves potentially negative social, cultural, political and environmental effects (Greenwood, 1972; Edelmann, 1975; Smith, 1977a, 1977b, 1989; Varley, 1978; Fujii and Mak, 1980; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Pizam, 1982; Pizam and Milman, 1984; Cater, 1987; Sharpley, 1999; Alleyne and Boxill, 2003; Andriotis, 2003; Chhabra *et al.*, 2003; Mbaiwa, 2004). Social effects are often framed around changes in the day-to-day life among residents in tourism destinations – e.g. the structure of the family, religion and increases in crime. Cultural effects are focused around changes in dress, food and social relationships, as well as changes in the production of cultural practices and artefacts (de Kadt, 1979; Wyer *et al.*, 1988; Picard, 1990; Mansperger, 1995; Grünewald, 2002; Mbaiwa, 2004;).

However, Sharpley (1999) comments that it is difficult to distinguish between changes and effects that are specifically social and those that are cultural and, in this paper, socio-cultural effects are considered *in toto* instead of looking at them as two separate effects. Mathieson and Wall (1982) used a three-way lens for looking at such effects – through a focus on the tourist, the host and tourist–host relationships – and this paper focuses on the latter two categories. The framework that is used is the 'demonstration effect'. Although there has been debate concerning the meaning of the term, we use a working definition that it refers to the perceived change in the attitude, values, behaviour and consumption patterns of the residents 'in which tourists and the things associated with them become models for the hosts' (Nash 1996, p.24). The research is applied

to Pattaya, Thailand, and the change is specifically related to 'foreign' tourists rather than domestic tourists.

Following the lead of previous researchers, Fisher (2004, p. 430) points out that 'The difficulty with the demonstration effect involves understanding how, why and when it occurs'. Nevertheless, as with previous researchers, Fisher has yet to make operational the conceptual understanding, so that it can be examined in practice. This leaves room for research that furthers empirical work on the demonstration effect. Accordingly, this paper studies the views and opinions of local residents towards socio-cultural effects of tourism with a concentrated focus on the demonstration effect and within that perceived change in values. A case could be made for the sole treatment of any of the elements of the tourism demonstration effect (attitude, values, behaviour or consumption patterns), but 'values' is chosen because of the variety of sub-elements that are contained within its conceptual and empirical boundary and the opportunity that affords for depth and discussion. Analysis of the hosts' views and opinions is used to draw out from their perspective the 'how' and 'why' and 'when' questions posed by Fisher. In doing so, the disaggregation of the demonstration effect (called for by Bryden, 1973) also emerges from the hosts' perspective. Hence, the contribution of this paper is to make operational the concept of the tourism demonstration effect; to determine, in relation to value change, the extent to which it occurs, if it occurs at all; and to examine the extent to which other modernising influences cause value change. This makes a contribution to methodology, provides empirical evidence that questions theory and has resultant implications for management and development.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Cohen (1988) commented that much literature assumes the occurrence of three change elements: commoditisation, authenticity and demonstration. More than 20 years later,

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such a categorisation still has its value. The width and depth of research on commoditisation and authenticity are in stark contrast to that on the demonstration effect. Smith (1993) argued that the demonstration effect is seldom mentioned, and it seems that, with the notable exception of Fisher (2004), it has ceased to create a buzz of excitement. However, there are unresolved gaps in empirical evidence and theoretical understanding.

There is much comment about the positive and/or negative impacts that tourism demonstration might create. Early studies suggest that some of the most visible, common social effects of tourism include the introduction of foreign ideologies and ways of life into relatively traditional or isolated societies. In other words, as a consequence of the direct interaction between local residents and tourists, the local residents begin to change their attitudes, behaviours, values and consumption patterns 'to imitate those of the tourists' (de Kadt, 1979 p.65). Andronicou (1979, p. 248), with reference to tourism in Cyprus, recognises 'no positive evidence at all that the demonstration effect of tourism was detrimental'. More recently, Andriotis (2003), in a review of tourism in Crete, a not dissimilar tourism environment, details a mix of supposed negative and positive social impacts from tourism that relate to the tourism demonstration effect.

However, tourism might be one of the many factors influencing change. De Kadt (1979, p. 66) states that 'In most places other forces such as radio, television, the press or commercial advertising, which have usually been identified with demonstration effects or with cultural dependence, are present alongside the tourists.' McElroy and de Albuquerque (1986), in a Caribbean study, find that tourism may influence host consumption behaviour, but that tourism's effect is considerably weaker than and not easily distinguished from the more encompassing influences associated with social modernisation. Papadopoulos (1988) argues that demonstration agencies other than tourism affect social change in Crete, including newspapers and television, emigrants and Greeks studying abroad. Smith (1993) expresses this view more generally, and Nash and Smith (1991) warn against statistical or other associations leading to dubious causal relationships. They continue that 'The fact that other kinds of input (industrialization, migration, education, or commercial development) often have not been ruled out as causal factors does not deter some people from making statements about the impact of tourism' (Nash and Smith, 1991, p. 15). Smith (1989: x), in the preface to the seminal *Hosts and Guests*, indicates overall that 'tourism is not the major element of culture change in most societies'.

Meethan (2003, p.14) considers the tourism demonstration effect to be a 'naïve fallacy'. He draws attention to the potential of globalisation to create a world culture linked to 'the ubiquitous spread of western forms of consumerism' (Meethan, 2003, p. 12). Although stating that it is a matter of interpretation as to whether there is an 'epochal shift' in the relationship between culture and place, Meethan nevertheless concludes that 'whichever way we want to spin it, the evidence indicates a substantive move from more or less place bound cultures to cultural forms that are increasingly diasporic, transnational or translocal'

(Meethan, 2003, p.14). He continues that that place is still important for locals as well as tourists, but the notion of places as cultural containers, not in a situation of ongoing flux, is a romantic view; and he strongly argues against the suggestion of cultural change as a result of cause and effect from tourist–host contact.

Fisher (2004, p. 428), in his review of extant work, is not so virulent about the tourism demonstration effect even though he acknowledges that it is 'a vague concept, the results of which are hard to isolate from other factors'. He draws attention to how it has been intuitively accepted by many observers. It is the view of the authors of this paper that the reliance on conceptual intuition explains the halt in recent discussion of the term. One common element in much of the writing on the demonstration effect, from Fisher (2004) and Meethan (2003) through de Kadt (1979), is that there has been very little attempt to make the concept operational. Burns (1999) asserts that the empirical evidence of the tourism demonstration effect is somewhat weak. Many of the contributors in de Kadt (1979) were practitioners of one sort or another who made general statements with little commentary on research method. Fisher (2004) and Meethan (2003) do not undertake empirical work.

Accordingly, the major contribution of this paper is to move beyond conceptualisation and to empirically describe, analyse and interpret the demonstration effect through the views and opinions of 'the other', in this case, the local residents of Pattaya, Thailand. The paper seeks to determine whether and to what extent foreign tourists influence change in the values of hosts and whether and to what extent other modernising influences cause change.

METHODS

Researchers have often examined the socio-cultural effects of tourism in a specific place. Over the last four decades, there have been a number of sociologists and anthropologists who have studied the dynamics of the tourist system on a specific regional or local area basis (Greenwood, 1972; Nettekoven, 1979; Macnaught, 1982; Dearden, 1991; Teo, 1994; Moore, 1995; Andriotis, 2003; Mbaiwa, 2004; Gentry, 2007). This paper follows this tradition and is devoted to the demonstration effect in relation to the residents of Pattaya, Thailand.

Before the advent of tourism, in a familiar temporal pattern, Pattaya was once a small, quiet fishing village. The start of the Vietnam War (American War) in the early 1960s led eventually to a new role for Pattaya as an official place for rest and recreation. Pattaya began to develop itself as a tourist destination and, in the 1970s, had established both a domestic and international tourist market (Bangkok Post 1981). By the 1980s, Pattaya faced various problems, such as pollution, high cost of living and prostitution with the associated negative press and reputation (Forbes, 1980; Thitsa, 1980; Mingmongkul, 1981; Bangkok Post, 1982; Manaviboon, 1988). It was said that the resort had become a dream destination for single men who wished to enjoy sun, sand, sea and sex. But Pattaya started a process of regeneration during the mid-1990s and, in spite of the Asian

economic downturn in 1997, managed to increase its number of foreign tourists. Both public and private organisations worked together to create a new image, and Pattaya continued to grow through domestic and international promotion. Since 2000, there have been numerous local and global shocks to the market including the 9/11 (2001), the Bali bombing (2002), SARS (2003), the Asian tsunami (2004), worldwide recession post-2008 and the reporting of Thai political instability (2008-2010). However, as of 2012, despite dips in visitor numbers connected with the above, Pattaya has remained resilient. There was a growth in visitor numbers from 7 million to 8 million in 2011 and a further growth in 2012 with the development of the Russian, Chinese and other Asian markets (Channagan, 2012).

This study is descriptive, exploratory and explanatory in nature. Qualitative in-depth interviews with local residents form the basis of the primary fieldwork. Local residents are defined as people who are living and working in Pattaya for greater than one year. They comprised of 'natives' of Pattaya City and 'Thai in-migrants', a basic division suggested by participants; the children of the two groups (native children of Pattaya City and Thai in-migrant children); and 'those girls', mainly Thai in-migrants who are bar girls and prostitutes. The use of the term 'native' carries pejorative overtones in the English language – but the local residents used the term without such a sense. Thai in-migrants come from all parts of Thailand and outnumber the 'natives'. It might be anticipated that the low-level antipathy between the various sub-groups of local residents might bias the responses. But the use of invective was rare, and 'those girls' were tolerated by the other local residents.

The usefulness of a qualitative approach in socio-cultural research is well established (Bryman, 2008; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003), and the depth interviews generated much descriptive data, within the field setting, concerning what the interviewees thought, felt and did (Kvale, 1996). The choice of a case study approach based on Pattaya followed the tenets of good practice outlined by Yin (1994) as it involved the investigation of a contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context and used theory to guide data collection, analysis and interpretation. During a first period of fieldwork, 15 interviewees were recruited from a purposive sample of local residents that deliberately included some government officers, leaders and members of social and community clubs as well as other residents such as teachers and street sellers. The use of a purposive sample is encouraged when working with comparatively small samples, as in case study research, and when a judgement call is needed to select appropriate participants that will enable the examination of the research objectives (Saunders *et al.*, 2007). In this research, the purposive research was felt to be appropriate and representative of local resident views and opinions.

During the second period of fieldwork, 12 interviewees from the preliminary fieldwork were again interviewed. In addition to this, interviews were also conducted with 16 new interviewees – so in total – during the second period of fieldwork, interviews were conducted with 28 interviewees. These included 18 individual interviews and four small group interviews. Seven of the interviewees were

'natives' of Pattaya City who were born and had lived in Pattaya City for a long time. Twenty-one interviewees, on the other hand, were Thai who had in-migrated to Pattaya from many parts of Thailand for work and business reasons. The field researcher was a resident in Pattaya for four months, and the interviews were halted some time after saturation was reached, as evident from the repetition of themes among each of the different sub-groups of participants. This was based on a judgement by the field researcher that, in conjunction with two research colleagues, interviewing further the participants would not yield relevant new data.

The interviews lasted between 30 and 90 minutes and were conducted in the Thai language. The interviews concentrated on the local residents' views and opinions regarding the elements of the tourism demonstration effect. Fisher (2004, p. 440) supports, but does not make this approach operational, stating that the questioning of local respondents 'would help to differentiate between the decisions resulting from the tourism demonstration effect and those from other acculturating factors'. Some local residents talked about values such as respect or religion without a prompt, whereas some needed a brief follow-up prompt. The questions and prompts from the field researcher typically proceeded as follows: 'Do you think the values of the local residents of Pattaya City have changed?' '(If so) what values have changed?' '(If so), who has changed values?' '(If so), how have values changed?' '(If so) why have values changed?' '(If so) when did values change?' and so forth. This allowed the opening up of discussion points that interested the interviewees while also ensuring that a framework was maintained related to the (potential) tourism demonstration effect.

Interviewees were not asked to detail the country origin of the foreign tourists. In the last decade or so, a wave of new foreign tourists from within neighbouring countries of South East Asia has arrived in Pattaya and Thailand in general, so that there is a declining reliance on western guests. But interviewees tacitly considered foreign tourists as those from outside their region – principally from Europe, Australia and New Zealand. In most cases, the interviewees gave permission for the interviews to be recorded. Analysis followed the procedures of Strauss and Corbin (1990) with the creation of codes and themes from the raw transcribed data.

The research is reliable or dependable (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) inasmuch as it was carried out systematically and comprehensively. The findings correspond in part with the theory already established in the literature but also challenge an existing theory. The method and approach yield a considerable volume of useful data and are open to application in other destinations. As regards validity, Collis and Hussey (2003) state that there are a number of different ways in which validity can be assessed. 'Triangulation' is one such way (Denzin, 1970; Bryman, 1988; Hartmann, 1988), and information gathered from various quarters is employed in this study to enhance understanding. This includes existing academic literature; secondary data *in situ* (newspapers, government and other reports, guide books and statistical sources) and primary data (views and opinions) collected

via the qualitative interviews from the cross section of local residents using the purposive sample. All of the above were also complemented by the extensive period of residence in Pattaya during the field study period.

FINDINGS

Prior to fieldwork, the likelihood of linking theory with empirical evidence in Pattaya appeared unpromising. A range of researchers had sought to grapple with an attractive intuitive concept but had not managed to move forward as anticipated. But that is not the case in this research. The local residents of Pattaya expressed their views and opinions on the four elements of the tourism demonstration effect that were suggested in the existing literature – attitude, values, behaviour and consumption patterns – and were able to distinguish the effect of tourism from other modernising influences. As explained in the introduction, this paper focuses below on the findings relating to values.

In previous studies, the tourism demonstration effect is seen to have an influence on the values of the local residents through changes in sub-elements such as local way of life, culture and tradition, festivals, closeness and relationships, materialism, belief in religion, respect for elders, social structure and family relationships. The interviews in this study generated information on all of the above. Local residents concentrated their views and opinions on specific changes in sub-elements, although they also commented on factors that influenced change (Table 1).

The commentary below is substantiated with relevant and representative quotes as displayed in Table 1. Attention is drawn to the questions and prompts detailed in the Methods Section above and how, even though Table 1 deals with themes, those themes are closely linked to the questions and prompts.

Interviewees stated that the sub-elements 'local way of life' began to change from the 1980s. 'Natives' shifted their occupations from working in farms to investing in businesses such as hotels, apartments and restaurants (Table 1: #1). The reality of employment type and, in some instances, economic necessity (not just influence) caused change (Table 1: #2). A simple and easy lifestyle (as recalled by interviewees) was replaced by one that was more competitive.

In the view of many interviewees, a second sub-element – Thai 'culture and tradition' – was abandoned in favour of the so-called western culture. The extreme is seen with 'those girls' who are considered by some to have discarded their own culture (Table 1: #3); but both the native children of Pattaya City and Thai in-migrant children (especially those from poor families) also ignore their own culture and tradition and tend to accept the western culture more than before, despite the efforts of Pattaya City Hall (Table 1: #4). The cause of change, as with other sub-elements, is thought by the local residents to be multifaceted and not just related to employment and contact with foreign tourists. Local residents (whether Thai in-migrants or not and including children) watch American films and television dramas or music channels such as MTV, and interviewees constantly referred

to such influence on change (Table 1: #5). Additionally, for the 'natives', change is also caused by the Thai in-migrants who bring their own ways from other parts of Thailand (Table 1: #6).

Interviewees consider that traditional festivals (spoken about by interviewees as a separate sub-element) have changed in form and character and the way that local residents attach value to them. In Pattaya City, *Wan Lai* or *Songkran* (Thai New Year) normally starts on 19 April every year. Traditionally, people who participate in the festival gently pour water over other festival goers – or on the hands of the elders – as a symbol of blessing. Recently, however, the festival has become so popular that there are people from different places, both domestically and internationally, travel to Pattaya City to participate. Instead of pouring water gently on each other, ice-cold water has been thrown onto passersby from cars that have been fully loaded with buckets of water and ice cubes. There is no 'gentle touch of blessing' but aggressive 'slap' and 'groping' (Table 1: #7). The result is lower numbers of local residents (both 'natives' of Pattaya City and Thai in-migrants) who want to participate in the festival. Instead, they try to get out of Pattaya City during the festive season (and Thai in-migrants are, in any case, more disposed to return to their home area during such times). Or if they do not go away, they try to stay in their homes and avoid participating in the festival.

Kong Khao, which is normally held on the last day of *Wan Lai*, has also changed its festival form (Table 1: #8). But the interviewees recognised that tourism and foreign tourists are neither the key nor the only factor of change. In the case of *Kong Khao*, it has, above all else, just proven difficult to pass on traditions to the next generation (Table 1: #9) because many 'natives' of Pattaya City have passed away, and others have moved away (including sometimes the 'natives' children of Pattaya City, who may be studying in boarding schools away from home). Moreover, it is recognised that culture and tradition never stays still, and festivals continue to change over time, whether caused by foreign tourists or not.

The 'community' in Pattaya City, a further sub-element recognised by interviewees as subject to change, is not considered to be as close-knit as before. To the 'natives' of Pattaya City, Thai in-migrants (and foreign expatriates) are just strangers who come to earn money from their hometown. Therefore, as long-term resident 'natives', they have no intention of getting to know such people. In addition to this, many of the interviewees claim that the relationship among neighbours does not exist. Neighbours have become just acquaintances who happen to live in the same block (Table 1: #10). However, such an estranged relationship is only true among those who live in certain areas, particularly in the centre of Pattaya City. Some 'natives' of Pattaya City, who live in areas located outside the centre (such as Na Klua), have a different view (Table 1: #11). The strength of resistance to change, whether related to foreign tourists or other influences, is affected in this as well as other sub-elements by the different circumstances of the sub-groups, particularly the spatial congruity and comparative stability of the 'natives' compared with Thai in-migrants.

Table 1. Values – local resident views and opinions

Way of life – employment		
1	Member of the 'Sawangboriboon Foundation'	'In the past... most of the people worked in farms, planted vegetation and also worked in the cassava starch factory, things like that, fishing in the sea and things like that. (Then) the 'natives' of Pattaya City shifted to... people shifted to do business about apartments, hotels and things like that. It has been changed to the tourism direction.'
2	Teacher from Pattaya School 9	'For them ('those girls'), if they don't do it, they'll be starving themselves (and) there's the example of their friends who have foreign husbands and it's completely changed their lives. Therefore, they think that if they are still living within (the old) set of rules then they'll be starving themselves to death. So, it's better to jump into it.'
Culture and tradition		
3	Teacher from Pattaya School 9	'...if they are prostitutes like that, it is because they themselves...they themselves do not see the importance of Thai culture. They adopt the Western culture of "being more open" and the Thai culture of "being conservative" is deliberately ignored.
4	Government officer from Pattaya City Hall	(As regards) the children in Pattaya City '... we are trying to encourage them at the school to preserve (their) Thai culture, but I'm not sure what they are like when they go outside the school. At the schools nowadays, they have to show respect... we use our teachers to look after them, to watch over them... we are trying to preserve things like this (culture and tradition)...'
5	Teacher from Pattaya School 9	'Sometimes they (children) might not really get (glean) things from the foreigners ... it is easier for them to come into contact with various kinds of media, such as TV, magazines and the Internet.'
6	President of Pattaya Business	'Definitely it's not only the tourists (that brought change in the way of life)... there are also the Thai in-migrants who came to work here - people from Bangkok, people from the Northeast, people from other places who came here. They brought their culture... and whatever.'
Festivals		
7	Banker	'People (who participated in the festival) would gently pour water over the others or on the hands of the elders as a symbol of blessing. (But now) I don't dare to walk. It's scary. It's scary on "Wan Lai"...very scary. Girls cannot go out... I don't go out during Wan Lai. I don't dare even to go in a car and go round the city. No.... I'm scared. They... they didn't just pour the water on us, they slap and grope us...'
8	Tourist policeman Pattaya City	'People have become too busy with their everyday life to participate in this traditional festival ('Kong Khao'). (But) government officers never give up trying...'
9	Mayor of Pattaya City	'Those people who know about the festivals are no longer here... we are having problems in passing it (knowledge) on to the next generation. In the past... people aged 60-70, when they communicated with Chinese gods, they knew Chinese language. They probably knew. But in this generation, some of them know, some of them don't. So it has become like they don't know.'
Community		
10	Employee from Pattaya.com magazine	'(In the past) there were only the 'natives' of Pattaya City and wherever you went, you'd know whose child was that and where did that person live. We would know each other. (However), sometimes now we don't even know our neighbours.'
11	Resident who lives in Na Klua (native area Pattaya City)	'Mine...my community, right? Mine is still pretty much the same. It's a community and when we arrange any activity, I'll have my group coming to participate and help out.'
Religion		
12	Street vendor	'People stay away from the temple more than before. They have no faith.'
Respect		
13	Street vendor	'(The children) do not show respect for their elders like before ... they never bend down their heads...no!'
14		'In the past... the previous generation... we weren't allowed to argue with the parents, right? We'd get hit and would be punished. We had to stand still there... just stood there and could not do anything. But now, it's different. They argue back!'
15	Owner of Royal Palace Hotel (native Pattaya City)	'It depends on the school. If it's a Thai school, then it's the same. They still pay respect to the elders as normal. They pay respect to the national flag. They "Wai". But if it's an international school, then there's no such thing. There's not even paying respect to the parents.'
16	Undergraduate	'Like my parents for example, they start to work at 2pm and finish at midnight like that every night... day and night. I have to wait for my mum until midnight, at around 1am or 2am. Then, I have to get up at 6-7am in the morning or something like that to go to study. So I won't get to see my mum in the morning. And when I come back, I won't see my parents either. It's like living alone.'
Social structure and family relationships		
17	Government officer from Pattaya City Hall	'I believe that the 'natives' here are not like that, right? Because they still have their relatives around to rely on. They have a house here. At least they have rice to eat, right? They have their relatives to borrow things when they need. But what a pity for people from other places...'
18	Teacher from Pattaya School 9	'...in an urban society like this, it's so difficult to find the word "helping" among the people in the same group or the same community because the relationship is so fragile. We are too afraid to ask them (others) to look after our children like in the rural areas or the upcountry. We feel that they have enough responsibility.'

Over the years too, say the interviewees, the local residents have begun to lessen their religious beliefs. In times past, Thai would go to the temple almost every day to do 'good deeds'. They have begun to lose faith in religion and do not bother to go to the temple like before (Table 1: #12). It is widely viewed, also, that there is a concomitant change in the moral standards and dignity of the locals and young members of the community. However, the lessening in religious beliefs among adults is attributed more to media and people's busy work commitment, rather than contact with foreign tourists. Foreign tourists frequently wish to see beautiful temples and the Thai's way of life in those temples, and they do not wish to change things.

Respect also seems to be under threat. In Thai culture, children are *bound* to show respect to adults. If they come across someone older, they have to bow and do the *Thai Wai* (a Thai style to greet people or apologise by pressing two palms together in a prayer-like fashion, slightly bending over). In addition to this, if adults say something, children have to listen quietly and are not allowed to argue at all. Also, if the young speak to someone older, they are not supposed to call that person by name. Instead, they have to show respect by addressing that person as 'brother' or 'sister'. However, the young in Pattaya (both native children of Pattaya City and Thai in-migrant children) are not perceived to show respect for their elders like before (Table 1: #13).

In addition to this, many of them (both native children of Pattaya City and Thai in-migrant children) have started to show emotion when adults tell them off (Table 1: #14). They do not listen to their parents and are not afraid to argue back. Moreover, the children (both the native children of Pattaya City and Thai in-migrant children) have begun to use impolite language and call the adults by name more often than before. The view is also expressed that education may yet act as a counterbalance if the children go to a local school where they are taught to show respect to elders, to perform the *Thai Wai* and to bow when they walk past adults (Table 1: #15). But there is some complexity here because many native children go to international schools, where Thai culture is ignored and western culture is promoted (and absorbed) – and yet – it is the native children who resist change more than Thai in-migrant children.

But because the interviewees agreed that there is a lessening of respect for elders among both native children of Pattaya City and Thai in-migrant children, foreign tourists are not viewed as the key change influence. Most parents in Pattaya City do not really have time to look after their children, and this is especially so among Thai in-migrant families (Table 1: #16). The children are not as close to their own parents as before. People have to work hard to survive (whether in the tourism industry or otherwise). Therefore, if the parents come back home tired and show aggressive emotion at home, the children (specifically, the Thai in-migrant children) begin to copy such behaviour. They do not copy aggression from foreign tourists because they are not in proximity to foreign tourists at times when they might observe aggressive behaviour (such as at night in bars).

With regard to the final sub-element – social structure and family relationships – it was once normal for people to live in a large extended family where family members stayed together in the same household. However, this is not the case now in Pattaya City – and the relationship among family members has changed. The lifestyle of the local residents of Pattaya City has become a city lifestyle – and particularly so for in-Thai in-migrant families (Table 1: #17). Traditional help groups have been broken by the new lifestyle (Table 1: #18), and the social structure and family relationships no longer resemble what they were within living memory when the American servicemen arrived for rest and recreation. But once again, foreign tourists are not viewed in all subgroups as the only or even the key influence on this sub-element of changing values. This will be discussed further below.

DISCUSSION

Fisher (2004, p. 430) notes that to evaluate the demonstration effect successfully 'involves understanding how, why and when it occurs'. An examination of the demonstration effect as a holistic entity is not as useful as splitting it into its constituent elements. In addition, it is also highly beneficial to consider the effect as it relates to resident subgroups.

The 'natives' local way of life linked to tourism employment in Pattaya has changed. They have shifted their occupations from fishing and working in farms to investing in businesses such as serviced apartments, restaurants and hotels. These findings provide support to existing literature (Jafari, 1974; Archer, 1975; Boissevain 1977; Noronha, 1979a, 1979b; Macnaught, 1982; Smith, 1993; Wall, 1996; İncirlioğlu and Çulcuoğlu, 2004; Gentry, 2007). This develops value change by creating a more competitive, materialistic and urban lifestyle – change also found in existing literature (Greenwood, 1972; Huit, 1979; Wu, 1982; Kousis, 1989; Smith, 1989; Dearden, 1991). This is an example of value change directly related to occupational change rather than tourism demonstration. However, the media in the form of television, movies and the Internet is also deemed by local residents to cause value change, especially as regards to religious observance, sexual freedom and monogamy. Additionally, a further non-tourist cause of change on the 'natives' is deemed to come from other local residents (Thai in-migrants). In part, this is a demonstration effect, although not a tourism demonstration effect.

There is some similarity and some difference in what is influencing the change in values of Thai in-migrants. 'Tourism' again is a key influence. Thai in-migrants who originate from many parts of Thailand also demonstrate different values to one another. However, it is perceived that for Thai in-migrants 'economic necessity' also has a clear role in value change, and such a category is sufficiently distinct to form a separate category from the more general category of tourism. Thai in-migrants are less well-off than their native counterparts, and economic necessity keeps the in-migrants apart from family, friends, other in-migrants and also the native population. Finally, among Thai in-migrants as with 'natives' the media is also

seen as an influence on the changing values of Thai immigrants, particularly with regard to religious observance, divorce and monogamy.

The demonstration effect of foreign tourists caused by face-to-face contact is muted when considering the general population of 'natives' and 'in-migrants'. By contrast, a focus on 'those girls' illustrates a very strong direct influence of foreign tourists (especially boyfriends). The values of 'those girls' are perceived to be changed more than any other subgroup, and the dominant cause of change is the foreign tourist. 'Those girls' are set apart from 'natives', fellow Thai in-migrants and even, because of their work schedule, their own families. They are the subgroup that is most dependent on foreign tourists and have very limited resistance to their ways because of instability and a lack of linkage beyond and within their subgroup.

On the other hand, native children, with comparatively passive contact with foreign tourists, are influenced far more by friends and family. They stay in close contact with the family even though family rules aggravate them. The media is also a main influence on their value change, especially as regards to religious observance and sexual activity. The native children tend to go to the temple less often and have lost faith in religion compared with the native children in the past. For them, virginity is no longer important. The media influences them more than it does to their parents even though they are aware of the way that the media can manipulate them. Finally, there are some clear differences between Thai in-migrant children and native children. The in-migrant children are subject to faster change and lesser resistance. The influence of friends is far greater than that of the family, and the resultant effects are wider and stronger. The media intrudes their everyday life (as with their parents), but its influence is stronger than on their parents and is most definitely stronger than the tourism demonstration effect. Fisher (2004, p. 432) speculates on the 'backstage' effect of the media in stating that '(whilst) tourists may be seen by local people on a regular basis, they are less likely to be invited into private homes than other examples of Western, affluent lifestyles'. This is certainly demonstrated empirically in Pattaya.

According to Duesenberry (1949) and Nurkse (1953), the strength of resistance to change depends on the strength of desires, the level of contact and communication, the strength of community culture, as well as how strong the barrier is against association between individuals of different status. Fisher (2006) adds that something that is deeply embedded in a culture or has a deeply embedded meaning for the individual can be fiercely protected from change or can only be changed within culturally specific boundaries. All such elements are evident from the findings of this study, and the resistance to change can be summarised as a function of group stability–instability and a linkage to the wider community, friends and family. Fisher (2004) theorises that individuals can be constrained by their peer group and the society in which they live, especially if they are rooted in that society. Empirical evidence from Pattaya reveals that the 'natives' are more deeply attached to the values of their hometown than the in-migrants, and so, it is harder for them to change quickly, whether the force for change is tourism demonstration or something else.

CONCLUSION

This study developed an operational framework for the investigation of the tourism demonstration effect. Fisher (2004, p. 430) was absolutely correct in stating that it is necessary to know the 'how, why and when' of the demonstration effect – and not just the 'what'. There is a need to seek depth and specifics – from local resident commentary – rather than width. Through the adopted approach, interviewees (local residents) opened up their thoughts and were able to share their views and opinions on what influences them to change their attitudes, behaviour, values and consumption patterns. When dealing with human behaviour, views and opinions are difficult to control and are more or less variable from occasion to occasion (Kerlinger, 1970; Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Additionally, views and opinions of people can change over time (Zikmund, 2003; Bryman and Bell, 2007). However, according to Kvale (1996), in order to understand what people think and how people feel, it is best to talk to them. This research was wary of what Tosun (2002, p. 232) calls a 'small talk' but successfully applied in-depth interviews with the primary objective of getting the interviewees to share their views and opinions about the tourism demonstration effect in Pattaya, Thailand.

This facilitated the second contribution of the study. The paper provides empirical answers for many theoretical questions. It identifies a complex, but not insuperably complex, range of tourism and non-tourism influences that have occurred among the host population in a destination that has been subject to foreign tourist contact over a 50-year period. Moreover, both tourism and non-tourism influences apply differently to distinct subgroups of residents, and the tourism influence is often not linked to demonstration. For the most part, because tourism, tourists and the things associated with them are important in creating value change, the non-tourism influences are stronger than has often been intuitively assumed.

Such an explanation is congruent with the post-modernist view of tourist (and local resident) experience. Local resident subgroups respond in different ways to tourism, tourist and other influences, and so subjectively negotiate meaning, in a similar way that tourists do in other studies (Uriely *et al.*, 2002; Wickens, 2002). Uriely (2005, p.200) argues that there has been 'a movement from contradictory and decisive academic discourse, which conceptualises the experience in terms of absolute truths, toward relative and complementary interpretations.' The earliest writers on the demonstration effect had an uncritical acceptance of its truth. Later, theory queried its absolute reality, and this is empirically verified in this study.

The third contribution is a practical one for planning and destination development. As social exchange theory suggests (Ap, 1992), the supposed negative impacts of tourism development play a role in the backlash against it from residents, public policymakers and other stakeholders. Occasionally, researchers have commented on the favourable effect of tourism demonstration (Andronicou, 1979; Andriotis, 2003). However, the lesson from Pattaya, Thailand, with over 50 years of tourism development, is that other modernising influences are strong alongside tourism

demonstration, sometimes even stronger, and that those who would stifle tourism development should be more aware of other non-tourism change elements. Anti-tourism forces sometimes have a powerful voice, but the sort of results presented here, if found elsewhere, can act as an evidence-based counter to the critics. They can also act as a stimulus for destination managers to engage or re-engage with local residents. Individuals collectively form a community but if their comparatively positive views and opinions are not given a voice, then the dominant, accepted and often negative paradigm about tourism development fails to represent the ongoing reality. Destination management is greatly enhanced by positive host-guest relations, and so, any nascent or latent positivity needs to be nurtured and encouraged.

There is a need to extend this work to foster comparison with other locations in different geographical contexts and with different histories of tourism development, social, cultural, economic and political situations. In this study, the media emerged as a major influence on change, and additional research might concentrate more exclusively on the relative role of the media and tourism, including social media. Further research might also focus on the variant views and opinions that resulted from local residents with differing lengths of residence or occupation or community position. The direct voice of 'those girls' would also be worthwhile specific additional research.

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











































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