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Tourism policy implementation in the developing world : The case of Phuket, Thailand.

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Tourism Policy Implementation in the Developing World: the Case of Phuket, Thailand

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Abstract

Tourism is growing rapidly in many developing countries, often encouraged by the view that tourism can overcome many of their economic difficulties. Tourism policy and planning is especially vital in these countries so as to avoid resource depletion, unsafe activities and inefficient development. Yet there remains only a limited research literature on tourism policy and policy implementation in the developing world. This study investigates the practical application of tourism policies in a developing country, with a particular focus on the sources of any gaps between tourism policies and their implementation.

The study's approach involved developing a conceptual framework of issues related to tourism policy implementation, with this drawing on research on policy implementation in both developed and developing countries. This conceptual framework integrates ideas from several disciplinary fields and it recognises the integrity of both top-down and bottom-up approaches to implementation. The framework is applied to evaluate the application of three tourism-related policies in the case of Phuket in Thailand, with the policies being for the management of entertainment venues, the control of development in protected areas, and for beach safety. Attitudes to the implementation of these policies, including to the causes of any gaps between policy intent and practice, were assessed based on the views of actors involved in the policy processes and their effects. Relevant primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews, document analysis and field observation. The study findings are used to evaluate the value of the conceptual framework.

The study indicates that the three tourism-related policies were implemented in Phuket through a centralised policy system, with much control resting with national government and its officials. There was only a limited degree of local involvement, local consultation, and of evaluation and revision of policy based on local experiences. Many of the actors involved in Phuket's policy processes experienced difficulties related to bureaucratic administration, overlapping jobs, resource scarcity and lax enforcement. Many of them also noted how policy implementation was affected by Thailand's organisational culture and the people's socio-cultural values, including the prominence of hierarchical social relations and the potential for clientelism. The results also

highlight the difficulties of enforcing regulations that might have limited the economic development of Phuket's tourism sector.

This study contributes to our understanding of practical issues surrounding tourism policy implementation in developing world contexts. It also adds new theoretical insights, such as by demonstrating the value of a hybrid perspective on tourism policy implementation. This 'hybridity' recognises the complexity and uncertainty of policy implementation by combining both top down and backward mapping approaches to the subject.

*To my family: my parents, Col.
Montree Krutvecho and Aree
Krutvecho, for giving life,
unconditional love and support, as well
as my brother, Manu Krutvecho and
his family, for educating me about the
entertaining side of the world.*

*To Anisak Isarolarn for his patient
love and constant understanding that
give me strength to study the world.*

Acknowledgements

Contents

List of Abbreviations

AFIO	Armed Forces Information Office
BOI	The Board of Investment of Thailand
BSO	The Better Social Order Policy
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
ECNEQ	The Enhancement and Conservation of National Environment Quality
FSNTDAP	The Feasibility Study for National Tourism Development Action Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
IMETF	Institute for Management Education for Thailand Foundation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MoE	The Ministry of Education
MoFA	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoI	The Ministry of Interior
MoLSW	The Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare
MoNRE	The Ministry of National Resources and Environment
MoPH	The Ministry of Public Health
MoSTE	The Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment
MoTS	The Ministry of Tourism and Sport
MoUA	The Ministry of University Affairs
MP	Member of parliament
NESDP	The National Economic and Social Development Plans
NGSTI	The National Geographic Sustainable Tourism Initiative
NIEs	Newly Industrialised Economies
NPC	National Police Council
ONEP	Office of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy and Planning
ONRE	Office of Natural Resources and Environment (Area 15)
PAOs	Provincial Administration Organisations
PCC	Phuket Chamber of Commerce
PPAO	Phuket Provincial Administration Organisation
PPO	Phuket Provincial Office
PRD	Public Relation Department
PTA	Phuket Tourism Association
TAOs	Tambon (Sub-district) Administration Organisations
TAT	Tourism Authority of Thailand
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1   Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study considers the implementation of policies for tourism development in developing countries. In many developing countries, tourism and especially international tourism is commonly used as a tool to stimulate economic development through income and through jobs to replace or complement other industrial and agricultural industries (Britton, 1982). However, tourism may result in complex impacts for developing countries, including politically, economically and socially. It is now widely recognised that governments need to plan and manage tourism growth and its impacts. This is partly because the experience of tourism varies between countries depending on its forms and the different capacities of destinations and governments. The nature of tourism development in a developing country often leads to substantial debates, since tourism is a fast-growing and multi-faceted industry. Governments in these countries may be faced by considerable challenges relating to the characteristics and impacts of tourism. Tourism in the developing world is often institutionalised and manipulated predominately by bureaucratic initiatives (Liu and Wall, 2006). There are also issues of limited attention being paid to the varied stakeholders and the local dimensions in tourism policies and planning (Singh *et al.*, 2002). It is also evident that many tourism policies are designed to result in increases in visitor numbers rather than real national and social improvement and greater equity (Kaosa-ard *et al.*, 2001). Systematic policy frameworks are needed to handle potential or existing negative impacts associated with tourism development. However, systematic structures alone cannot ensure the effectiveness and achievement of policy implementation or the overall success of tourism development. Tourism-related policies and plans thus may or may not generally meet their desired intentions.

This study therefore focuses on the practical issue of the implementation of policies for tourism development in developing countries. The study is set in the context of Phuket, a major coastal and seaside resort destination in Thailand. In 2004, Phuket received over three million international visitors and over one million domestic visitors (TAT region 4, 2005), this being one-fourth of overall international visitors to Thailand (12 millions international tourists and 73.18 million domestic tourists) (TAT, 2005).

With its rapid growth of 'mass' tourism, Phuket is at a high risk of experiencing various negative impacts commonly associated with such development. These risks include uncontrolled natural resource destruction, high crime rates and pollution (and even climate change) (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998; Raksakulthai, 2003). Attention is thus given in this research to existing tourism policies in Phuket and to their implementation. Three areas of policy are selected partly on the basis of their importance for the development of Phuket's tourism. The policies are: firstly, the Entertainment Venues Policy, also known as the Better Social Order (BSO) policy; secondly, the Enhancement and Conservation of National Environment Quality (ECNEQ) policy on protected areas in Phuket; and, finally, the 2001 National Government policy (Tourism Section), and its specific application in a beach safety project in Phuket is examined.

These three tourism-related policies are employed to illustrate and examine policy implementation in Thailand. The wider applicability of the approach used in this research on the implementation of tourism policy in developing countries is also considered.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF TOURISM POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Although there is a substantial literature on tourism policy and planning (Gunn, 1988; Inskeep, 1991; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Hall, 2000), little attention has been paid to tourism policy implementation. Much of the literature on tourism policies and destination management outlines descriptively certain principles for tourism policies (Gunn, 1988; Inskeep, 1991) or it adopts a normative or prescriptive stance, suggesting the approaches that may be most effective in relation to specific objectives (Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Hall, 2000). While this literature may provide useful rational models against which to compare reality, it does not provide detailed insights into the real world of applied policies and management or into the practical obstacles that are encountered. Many of the more critical contributions to the field focus on assessments of goals, objectives and outcomes, on organisations and their activities, or on values, power and interests (Edgell, 1990; Johnson and Thomas, 1992; Hall, 1994a; Hall and Jenkins 1995; Hall, 2000; Gunn, 2002). But very few of them examine in detail the character of policy and regulations in practice on the ground or the varied obstacles to their implementation. Significantly, policy implementation has been a more fruitful research avenue in other fields of public policy studies, such as in development studies, law and criminology, although these fields have largely been developed from western viewpoints and experiences.

Policy implementation broadly refers to putting policies into practice, or to a series of governmental decisions and actions directed toward putting an already decided mandate into effect (Lester and Stewart, 2000). It is generally the policy process stage almost immediately after the passage of a law, when various actors, organisations, procedures and techniques must work together in order to put the adopted policies into effect in an attempt to attain policy goals. Gaps between policy intentions and practices may result in non-implementation and unattainable policy outcomes, resulting in resources, time and expertise being wasted in the earlier formulating of policy (Elliott, 1997). For some specific policies, their non-implementation contributes to a failure to control or to find solutions for potential problems or existing difficulties. Tourism policy implementation requires much more attention from researchers since this is a key consideration in tourism development.

Poor tourism policy implementation is likely to lead to long-term adverse consequences for the society and economy of the destination, possibly including a decline in the area's attraction for tourists. Policy-implementation gaps may also frustrate the objectives of democratically elected policymakers and limit their ability to work for the 'common good' (Hall and Jenkins 1995). Importantly, gaps between policies and regulations and their practical application are often depicted as a particularly problematic issue in developing countries (Jenkins, 1980). The issue can be manifested in a proliferation of illegal street traders, the poor enforcement of building regulations, tourism development in areas zoned for other land uses, night clubs that stay open after their legal hours, and frustrated attempts to clamp down on sex tourism (Harrison 2001; Seabrook, 2001; Mason, 2003). These problems can also lead to deterioration in the environment and in public safety, consequences that affect local people as well as tourists. Several obstacles may contribute to these difficulties being particularly severe in developing countries. These can include generally lower standards of living, complex bureaucracies, less strong democratic institutions, a proliferation of laws, differing priorities between higher and lower tiers of management, and a tradition of paternalistic patron-client relations (Clapham, 1985; Snider, 1996; Turner and Hulme, 1997). A degree of anarchism in aspects of social life may even be ingrained within the culture of some societies (Dimitrakopoulos, 2001; Go and Jenkins, 1997; Tang *et al.* 1998). An improved understanding of the causes of gaps between policies and regulations and their successful application may help tourism policymakers and managers to reduce these gaps and to regulate and control the development of the tourism industry and its impacts more effectively.

1.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

Given a particular interest in policy implementation and the paucity of research on the implementation of tourism policies in the developing world, this study investigates the implementation of tourism-related policies and the potential gaps between policy intentions and what happens in practice. The overall research aim is *to critically examine the implementation of selected tourism related-policies, planning and regulations in Phuket in relation to the sources of gaps between policies and their implementation, with the intention of developing a theoretical perspective on this issue that may be applied in other contexts.* In achieving this aim, the study developed three more specific objectives:

1. To critically review the research literature on policy studies and tourism policies concerning implementation, notably in relation to the causes of any gaps between policy intentions and practice.

2. To develop, apply and refine a theoretical framework to analyse policy implementation and the causes of any gaps between policy intentions and implementation in developing countries. This includes its application for a case study of tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket, Thailand, and the assessment of its wider potential applicability in the developing world.

3. To examine three tourism-related policies and regulations affecting the tourism industry in Phuket, Thailand. This includes evaluating the views of relevant stakeholders about tourism policy implementation and about the causes of any gaps between policy intentions and policy implementation in Phuket, Thailand.

This study therefore seeks to understand tourism policy implementation and to examine its practice and the potential gaps between intentions and practice in relation to the developing world. It draws on relevant theoretical and conceptual ideas developed in various disciplinary fields and it evaluates the issues through empirical research on Phuket, a major tourism island and resort in Thailand. It also seeks to develop a new theoretical framework to understand tourism policy implementation more fully. The theoretical framework stresses that policy implementation in developing countries and the related potential obstacles can be best understood when examined in relation to the

varied relationships affecting them. Following its application in Phuket, the study suggests that the theoretical framework can be applied in other similar contexts.

The study is premised on the contention that research that abstracts a single issue from its socio-economic, cultural, institutional and political context may lose a fuller understanding of relevant processes and meanings, and that this can lead to misinterpretation. The study thus explores these obstacles through a detailed case study of the implementation of tourism policies and regulations in the context of the tourist island of Phuket in southern Thailand.

1.4 THE CASE STUDY CONTEXT

Thailand covers an area of 513,000 square kilometres and it has a population of over 62 million (Bowie and Unger, 1998; Dixon, 1999). Having escaped from Western colonialism, Thailand has traditionally relied on an absolute monarchy as the basis for its political system. Kings, royal family members and his administrative officials are central to both the ideology and reality of political rule (Jumbala, 1992). Yet political power and representative government in Thailand are being tested by a variety of socio-political forces. Despite recent efforts to decentralise, there is still a unitary government, characterised by a highly centralised system that grants limited local autonomy in terms of functions, area, staffing, funding and decision making (Weist, 2001).

The predominantly agrarian-based economy and society contributed in the past to the development of a strong social hierarchy and an emphasis on respect for elders, 'superiors', and patrons (Pornpitakpan, 2000). Buddhism is the national religion, practised by the majority of Thai people. During the 1980s and before the 1997 Southeast Asian economic crisis, Thailand was viewed as a country with a rapidly growing economy, and it became known as a new 'Dragon' (Warr, 1993; Phongpaichit and Baker, 1995). The government attempted to develop the country through a New Industrialised Economy (NIE) system, and as a result the country was rapidly transformed with market-led integration, technical revolutions in production and improved transport and communication (Falkus, 1995). It, however, depends heavily on foreign economic aid, military hardware and financial investment (Wicks, 2000). Under the impacts of these several forces, Thailand is clearly divided between urban and rural societies, with tensions for the country's traditional socio-cultural dimensions. Buddhist teachings are no longer pivotal, with western materialist values becoming more prevalent. Further, tourism was recognised from the Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP) (1977-1981) as having substantial potential benefits

(Ratanakomut, 1995), and currently it is a major export industry for national and regional economic development, in some ways regardless of its environmental and socio-cultural impacts.

Phuket, an island known as 'the Pearl of the Andaman Sea' (TAT region 4, 2003), has been a major international tourist resort in Thailand since the 1980s, and especially after the government's annulment of tin mining concessions, with tin previously being its main source of wealth (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005). Nowadays, tourism is the island's economically largest activity. It is undoubtedly the dominant sector of the economy, and very many of the 261,386 registered residents benefit directly or indirectly from this industry (Kontogeorgopoulos 1998; Cohen, 2001), and especially from the hotel and restaurant sectors. The next largest sectors are wholesale, retail, entertainment and recreation, and manufacturing (BOI, 2002). A much smaller proportion of the population are employed in agriculture in the mountainous interior of the main island. Tourism has also become a major source of income. In 2000, Phuket generated 62 billion Baht revenue from tourism, ranking only second to Bangkok (Raksakulthai, 2003). It also accommodates one third of foreign tourist arrivals in Thailand (IMETF, 2002), with most being from the East Asia region, notably from Malaysia (the top inbound market), followed by Japan, China and South Korea respectively. International tourists of European origin rank second behind the East Asia region, these mostly being from the United Kingdom and Germany (TAT, 2005). In contrast, domestic tourism comprises only half of the foreign visitor numbers due to Phuket being a relatively high-priced destination for domestic tourism. According to IMETF (2002), Gross Domestic Product per capita in Phuket is 2.5 times the Thai average. The wage level is also 1.6 times the national average, and there is also a low unemployment rate on the island.

The province of Phuket is located in the west of the southern region of the Andaman Sea coast, and it includes 32 small islands (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2004; TAT region 4, 2005). At its widest points, the main island of Phuket is 21.3 km and 48.7km across, with a total land area of 538.72 square kilometres. It is connected to the mainland by two bridges. Over 70 percent of Phuket is mountainous, and it is fringed by the natural beauty of sea and beaches. Much of the tourism development is concentrated behind the various beaches on the west coast (see Figure 1.1). The most popular tourism centres there are Patong Beach, Phuket Town, Kata Beach and Karon Beach.

Figure 1.1 Phuket Province in southern Thailand

Phang Nga Province

The Yacht Haven
Phuket Marina

Hat Mai Kao

Phuket
Airport

Koh Ngam

Hat Nai Yang

Naka Yai

Hat Nai Thon

r-orest Reserve

Koh Naka Noi

Bang Tao Beacn

Pansea Beach

Surin Beach

A   Phuket Boat
Lagoon

Koh Rang Noi

Laem Sing Beach

Kamala Beach

Koh Rang Yai

Koh Maphrao

Bangkok
Phuket
Hospital
*

Patong Beach

Koh Sirae

Phuket Town

Sea *Gypsy*
Village

Karon Beach

Cape Panwa

Kata Beach

Kata Noi Beach

Chalong Bay

Phuket Aquarium

Koh Lon

Nai Ham Beach

Rawai Beach

n

Koh Maiton

0

Koh Kaew

Koh Bon

Koh Hei

large scale tourism development (seaside resort)

historic preservation area

medium-scale tourism development

residential areas

natural reserves, wildlife sanctuary, national park

7

Muang is the district of Phuket with the highest population, with just under 166,000 residents, whereas the least populated district is Krathu, where various famous beaches are situated. Although Phuket official population is recorded at 261,386 (Phuket Provincial Office (PPO), 2003), the actual population is estimated at between 1.6 to two million people (Srepaotong, 2002; TAT region 4, 2003). As Raksakulthai (2003) observes, the island is a net importer of migrants, with a significant portion of the population coming over from the mainland. There are a high number of unregistered people who have migrated to work in Phuket and its tourism-related sectors. Some live in Phuket without legal registration documents as required by Thai law, while others, on a daily basis, work and travel to and from their homes in neighbouring provinces, notably in Phang-nga Province. The income per head of Phuket province is ranked the highest in Thailand's Southern region, and seventh and sixth in Thailand as a whole in 1998 and 1999 respectively (BOI, 2002; IMETF, 2002). As a result, Phuket residents have a reputation as being well educated and wealthy. Phuket tourism revenue over the last decade soared by 22% per annum and the number of visitors rose by 10.3% per annum, higher than the Asia-Pacific and world averages (IMETF, 2002). The numbers of visitors and hotel rooms have also rocketed. These are presented in Table 1.1. It should be noted that this study relates to the period prior to the impact on Phuket and the wider region of the recent tsunami disaster.

Table 1.1 Selected Phuket tourism trends, 1997-2004

Tourism Trends	Year							
	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
No. of visitors	2,401,631	2,660,420	3,083,208	3,459,573	3,789,660	3,990,702	4,050,077	4,793,252
Thai	747,718	779,167	915,406	961,093	1,077,275	1,164,560	1,303,291	1,209,561
Foreigners	1,653,913	1,881,253	2,167,802	2,498,480	2,712,385	2,826,142	2,746,786	3,432,741
Revenue (million Baht)	42,692.48	42,692.48	55,714.36	62,248.70	69,669.34	72,599.42	73,263.70	85,670.63
Thai	5,034.38	5,034.38	7,810.46	9,148.88	10,410.98	11,380.69	3,427.68	13,488.26
Foreigners	37,658.10	37,658.10	47,903.90	53,099.82	59,258.36	61,218.73	59,836.02	72,182.37
Number of hotels	293	293	303	344	510	510	549	579
Number of hotel rooms	18,959	17,952	20,150	19,574	26,759	26,637	31,302	32,076
Average length of stay (days)	4.17	4.30	5.07	4.90	4.96	4.95	4.93	4.86
Thai	2.77	2.85	3.51	3.57	3.63	3.72	3.82	3.89
Foreigners	4.78	4.88	5.70	5.38	5.46	5.43	5.44	5.20

Source: TAT (Region 4) (2005)

While tourism has brought tremendous economic growth, it has also had adverse economic, socio-cultural and environmental consequences, with some being directly attributable to poor implementation of the policies and laws intended to control and regulate the industry's impacts. Much of the tourism-related development has taken place without compliance to planning controls. There are also health and safety problems related to tourism-related activities, notably road and beach safety. Crime rates are high, including offences relating to sex tourism. In addition, there are controversial issues of environmental degradation and climate change, such as changes in rainfall, sea level and coral bleaching, that may be attributable to tourism, at least in part (Phongsuwan, 2002). There are also some concerns over declining tourist spending per day, growing materialism among locals, and over Phuket becoming a 'cheap' destination (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998; PPO, 2003; Raksakulthai, 2003). It is also widely recognised that many laws are being by-passed or ignored. In fact, it can even be said that it is not always clear that there are tourism policies and planning intended directly to tackle tourism's impacts on Phuket. Most regulations have resulted from the existing national policies on tourism-related issues and environmental issues. The private sector in particular has considerable freedom from meeting public regulatory requirements. Despite various national policy initiatives, to many it is evident that in some respects Phuket is deteriorating, regardless or perhaps partly because of its growing tourist numbers. More details on the region's tourism development as well as its administrative context are explained in Chapter Five.

1.5 DEFINITIONS

Some terms that are used frequently in the study require initial clarification. Firstly, the term *policy implementation* is used to signify a policy that is being put into practice so as achieve policy goals. Secondly, the terms *developing world* and *developing country* refer to relatively poor nations that often have wide income gaps between a wealthy minority and poverty among the majority. They usually face problems of unemployment and high population densities (Clapham, 1985). They are sometimes considered to be countries whose gross national income (GNI) per capita falls under the world mean of USD 5120 (World Bank, 2005), and Thailand's GNI per capita is USD 2540 (World Bank, 2004). Thirdly, a *tourism policy* relates to a managerial framework, structure or guideline that applies to tourism or tourism-related activities. Fourthly, the term *stakeholder* denotes "any group, person or organisation that is affected by the causes or consequences of an issue" (Bryson and Crosby,

1992:65). In this instance they are groups or individuals who are directly or indirectly affected by tourism policy implementation issues. Finally, the term *tourism authorities* refer to those state and quasi-state institutions and their personnel who are involved in tourism planning in Thailand, including the TAT and Tourist Police.

1.6 OVERALL RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study's methodology is discussed in Chapter Four, which provides details of the specific approach, methods and techniques that are employed. A constructivist paradigmatic approach was considered appropriate since the study involved learning about tourism policy implementation in Phuket through the personal experiences and perspectives of participants in policy formulation or policy implementation processes. Ontologically this perspective involves a focus on the social constructions of the mind, and it is predicated on the belief that there exist as many such constructions as there are individuals (Creswell, 2003). Epistemologically this approach proposes that the findings of the study exist because of the interaction between observer and observed and because of the researcher's attempts to understand the views of others and then to interpret them. Methodologically the adopted view involves a hermeneutic and dialectic process involving the observer and observed, with the observer seeking to create the constructed reality of the observed and to gain their own appreciation of it (Guba and Lincoln, 1989:43-44). In other words, the study findings and their analytical realities are reconstructed through the eyes, minds and perceptions of studied stakeholders, with this being interpreted by the researcher.

The selection of research methods was greatly influenced by the research objectives, the issues under consideration, and the researcher's preferences and available resources. This study adopted both inductive and deductive approaches, such as through the development of deductive ideas based on the literature review and an evaluation of practice based on inductive data collection processes. The study was based on a case study design based on Phuket so as to draw the research boundary and to gain 'deeper' insights and understanding of the phenomena being studied, including their basis in politics, administration and socio-cultural issues. Qualitative methods were used to critically examine the policy implementation processes, including in-depth interviews with stakeholders and some field observation. Other data collection was sought from documentation and archival records. The approach was also designed to address the research objective to understand tourism policy implementation through in-depth study of three tourism-related policies and regulations. Interview data were also

collected for five stakeholder groups, based on public sector representatives from national, provincial and local levels, tourism authorities and agencies, and the private sector. These were analysed and interpreted through the use of a constant comparative approach, which meant the interpretation was comparative, iterative and flexible. The method of Framework Analysis was used to examine the interview transcripts for their content, which involved an initial manual sifting and the use of NVivo computer software. The final analysis and synthesis of the research findings are presented in five results chapters: Chapters Six to Ten.

1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The study is organised into eleven chapters. Chapter One provides an overall introduction to the thesis and it sets the scene for the research area, the study's aims and objectives, the research process and the thesis organisation. Chapter Two identifies previous research in the field and it highlights key supportive theories used in the research. It provides a selective, critical review of published research related to the issue under investigation. Chapter Three discusses the conceptual framework developed for the study that is then applied and evaluated subsequently through the results chapters and final chapter. It identifies key concepts that guide the research. Chapter Four explains the research strategies and methodology used in this study to achieve the research aims and objectives, the approaches taken to the fieldwork, and the strengths and limitations of the research approach. Chapter Five reviews the general context to case study, with a particular focus on Phuket's public administration and culture and on the three tourism-related policies chosen for detailed evaluation. There follow five results chapters. Chapter Six discusses the involvement of the respondents in the three tourism-related policies in order to provide the necessary context to their multiple views on the 'social reality' of tourism policy implementation. It also identifies and evaluates the stakeholders examined in the study. Chapter Seven focuses on the structural and political issues affecting tourism policy implementation on Phuket, including consideration of aspects of Thai politics and the Thai political system that have influenced tourism policy implementation in Phuket. Chapter Eight examines institutional issues relevant to tourism policy implementation in Phuket, notably the relationships among public organisations, and between them and non-public sector organisations. Chapter Nine explores issues of policy clarity, including clarity of roles and responsibilities, and of access to resources for tourism policy implementation in Phuket. Chapter Ten directs attention to the influence on Phuket's tourism policy work

of public attitudes and of complex socio-cultural issues. Finally, the overall conclusions and implications of the study are discussed in Chapter Eleven. This concluding chapter presents a synopsis of the research findings, discusses the value of the conceptual framework developed for this research, explores issues affecting research perspectives on tourism policy implementation in developing countries, and identifies some alternative research directions. Figure 1.2 provides an overview of the thesis structure and of the links between them.

Figure 1.2 The thesis structure

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │    Chapter One      │
                    │    Introduction     │
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    │  Review of   │ │The Conceptual│ │   Research   │
    │  Literature  │ │  Framework   │ │ Methodology  │
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             ▼                     ▼
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    │  Chapter Five    │  │   Chapter Six    │
    │The Case Study    │  │The Respondents and│
    │   Context        │  │   the Policies   │
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│and        ││tional     ││Resources  ││Socio-     │
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│in Policy  ││ting       ││tation     ││Policy     │
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│tation     ││Related    ││           ││tation     │
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            │Conclusions and          │
            │Implications             │
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1.8 CONCLUSION

Tourism policy is imperative for every country that wishes to employ tourism for regional and national economic development. This study investigates tourism policy implementation processes, relationships and effectiveness. It also strives to comprehend the causes of any gaps between tourism policy intentions and their implementation in order to establish whether there are a key processes affecting this issue. Using a

constructivist paradigm, the case of Phuket in Thailand was chosen for an in-depth assessment of tourism policy implementation. Multiple research techniques were used to provide rich data to investigate the complexities of implementation for three selected tourism-related policies. In-depth interviews were used in order to gain insights into the issues through the viewpoints of various involved stakeholders. The next chapter investigates the existing research literature and theoretical ideas relevant to the subject area under investigation.

Chapter 2   Review of Literature

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews previously published research and other academic materials relevant to the study area of tourism policy implementation. The chapter also serves as an overview of the field and assesses the merits, deficiencies and gaps within this academic literature. It examines theories pertinent to the subject of tourism policy implementation including studies situated in a developing world context. The chapter provides a critical basis for this research. The review reveals that tourism policy implementation has received limited attention in the literature. This is perhaps unsurprising as the study of tourism policy is a relatively new area of academic enquiry. A careful search for relevant literature was thus carried out, both within tourism studies and beyond the field of tourism. In summary, this review draws on policy science, implementation theory, third world studies, politics, and inter- and intra- organisational relations, and related socio-cultural considerations.

There are six interconnected themes in this tourism policy implementation study. These themes make up the chapter's structure and are presented in sub-sections. The first section examines the nature of public policies and regulations and related processes and networks. This is followed by a discussion of the literature on tourism policy nature, processes and implementation. Third, there is a discussion of literature related to the three selected policies in this study; tourist safety, tourism and environment, and tourism and entertainment. Subsequently, studies of policy implementation in areas beyond tourism are considered. The fifth section examines aspects of public administration, key influences affecting administration and policy implementation in developing world contexts. The sixth section outlines the principles of tourism development and policy in developing countries where the synthesis of tourism policies; their objectives, impacts and policy implementation are reviewed.

This review aims to add more knowledge and understanding to the under-researched area of tourism policy implementation. This review also intends to demonstrate whether the existing theories and rationales, mostly from the developed world are sufficient in examining tourism policy implementation in developing world contexts. The review of public policies and regulations is discussed in the following section.

2.2 PUBLIC POLICIES AND REGULATIONS

Perspectives from studies of public policy are core theories for this research. This section thus examines the study and nature of public policy and regulations with further exploration of other crucial aspects such as process and networks which are discussed later in this chapter.

2.2.1 The study of public policies and regulations

Research on public policy and regulations has been published for many years, receiving significant attention from the 1960s (Dye, 1984; Lester and Stewart, 2000, O'Toole, 2000). This research was initiated predominantly in the developed world, notably the United States and Europe. Three periods may be identified to reflect the developing emphasis in public policy research. Firstly, a great deal of attention was paid to public policy formulation in the 1960s, whereas between the 1970s and 1980s, the emphasis was on public policy implementation (O'Toole, 2000). Finally, from the 1990s, the trend shifted towards studies of policy optimisation and the achievement of policy goals and outcome (Lester and Stewart, 2000). Since the 1980s, particular attention has been paid to environments affecting the policy cycle and the threats or opportunities for policy outputs and outcomes (Dye, 1984; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). It is noteworthy that studies of policy implementation can be traced to the 1970s. However, these have dealt more with factors affecting policy implementation, with very limited attention to how a policy works in 'the real world'. Consequently, studies of public policy have lacked a focus on issues that impinge on how policy works on the ground and especially in a range of political, economic and socio-cultural settings (Younis, 1990). The identification of this gap contributed to the specification of this study.

Various terms used by scholars in the field of policy studies need to be clarified. These are presented in Table 2.1. Those terms are sometimes used interchangeably and at other times in an attempt to impose a particular meaning on a specific term (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; McCool, 1995).

Table 2.1 Some recognised policy analysis terms

> 1) Policy science: the application of knowledge and rationality to perceived social problems (Dror, 1971:49)
>
> 2) Policy studies: the nature, causes and effects of governmental decisions for dealing with social problems (Nagel, 1988:219)
>
> 3) Policy evaluation: the broad title given to judging the consequences of what governments do and say (Dubnick and Bardes, 1983:203)
>
> 4) Policy analysis: a form of applied research carried out to acquire a deeper understanding of socio-technical issues and to bring about better solutions (Quade, 1989:4).

In this study, attention is given to Hogwood and Gunn's (1984:24) seven general typologies of public policy study approaches or interests. These are policy content, policy process, policy outputs, evaluation, information for policy making, process advocacy and policy advocacy. These are shown in Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1 Types of public policy studies
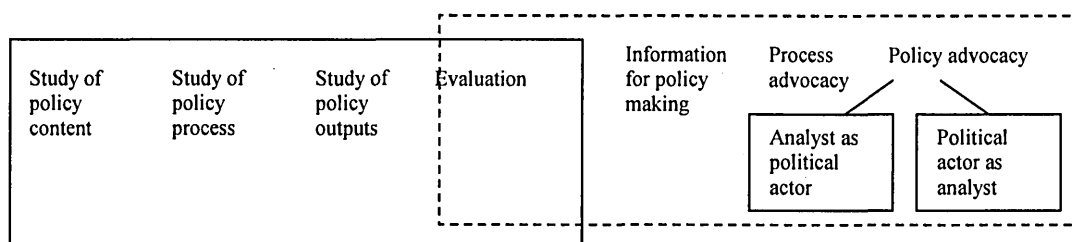
Source: Hogwood and Gunn (1984:29)

The classification in Figure 2.1, illustrates different emphases in public policy research. According to Hill (1997:3-5), policy content first seeks to describe and explain the genesis and development of particular policies. Secondly, policy process offers descriptive propositions that focus on stages through which issues pass and assesses the influence of different factors on the development of the issue. Third, policy outputs seeks to explain why levels of expenditure or service provision vary between countries or local governments. Fourth, evaluation studies strive to assess the extent to which specific policies have achieved their objectives. This often includes a discussion of ways to improve understanding of factors that shape policy as well as providing information for policy-making in the future. Fifth, information for policy making involves marshalling data in order to assist policymakers reach decisions. Sixth, process advocacy seeks to improve the nature of policy-making systems and finally policy advocacy involves the analyst in examining specific options and ideas in the policy process, either individually or in association with others.

Evidently, there are multiple theories, approaches and models introduced by a variety of scholars in the policy studies field (Dror, 1971; Dubnick and Bardes, 1983; Dye, 1984; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; Nagel, 1990; McCool, 1995; Parsons, 1995; Lester and Stewart, 2000; O'Toole, 2000). Their approaches consequently represent various levels of policy research, reflecting complexity in contemporary societies and the need for greater understanding of public policy (Nagel, 1990; 1995).

There are also many definitions of a public policy which, according to Hogwood and Gunn (1984), is often subjectively defined. Broadly, public policy predominantly engages with governments deciding what to do or not to do with an issue affecting the nation (Sampson, 1983; Dye, 1984; Hall, 1994a; Parsons, 1995). The Concise Oxford English Dictionary (1998:854) describes the word policy as "a course of action adopted and pursued by a government, party, ruler, statesman etc and any course of action adopted as advantages or expedient". More public policy definitions are displayed in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2 Various public policy definitions

" The relationship of a government unit to its environment" (Eyestone, 1971: 18 in Anderson, 1984:2)	" A policy... consists of a web or inaction rather than specific decisions or actions" (Easton, 1953:130 in Hill, 1997:7)
"A public policy is developed by governmental bodies and officials" (Anderson:1984:3)	"A set of interrelated decisions...concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation..." (Jenkins, 1978:15)
"What governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes" (Dye, 1984)	"The concept of policy denotes... deliberate choice of action or inaction, rather than the effects of interrelating forces." (Hill, 1997:7)
" A projected programme of goals, values and practices" (Lasswell, 1979)	
"Any public policy is subjectively defined by an observer as being such and is usually perceived as comprising a series of patterns of related decisions to which many circumstances and personal, group, and organisational influences have contributed". (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984:23-24)	"Public policy is " a set of related decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of gaols and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where these decisions should, in principle, be within the power of these actors to achieve" (Jenkins 1978:15)

Although there is a range of definitions, public policy is ultimately identifiable in its concern with government and its focus on governments' decisions and their processes in dealing with issues of concern that may have impacts on both public administration and society (McCool, 1995). In this particular implementation study, public policy may be defined as a purposive course of action followed by an actor or a set of actors in dealing with matters of concern (Anderson, 1984). More pragmatically, public policy is here defined as a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems (Pal, 1992:2).

Given the nature of implementation processes, the definition of policy should also cover the relationship of governmental units and their environments such as intra- and inter-organisational relationships and relations with non-governmental agencies to achieve policy objectives. According to Hall (1994a) a policy by its very nature thus engages in bargaining, negotiating and collaborating either from inside and outside the institution to achieve its goals. This implies a diversity of potential variables affecting the policy outcome especially at a practical level, including considerations of culture, beliefs and citizen attitudes.

Clearly, public policy does not involve only governments but also other groups, actors and elements within its environment (Dye, 1984; Gouldson and Murphy, 1998). Various actors evidently interplay and interweave within the public policy process and relationships. The size of the actor groups or networks depends on political systems, forms of government, the nature of policy and interests in particular policy issues (Dye, 1984; Jenkins, 1993). Recent literature and policy practice also show growing interest in local communities, private entrepreneurs as well as other non-public organisational involvement, participation and voices in the policy process (Wolman and Goldsmith, 1992; McCool, 1995; Smith, 2003). They can be empowered by either consulting, meeting or expressing preferences in policy formulation (Percy-Smith and Sanderson, 1992), which may help in bridging the gap between people and policy. This is because their views are derived from local realities and situations which are useful for policy realisation on the ground.

Public policy issues range from the trivial to issues of great importance. They can also be either broad or specific (Lane, 2000). Governments usually have a number of policy issues that are designed to address different issues, problems and externalities in the society. These include the definition of property rights, restricting certain activities and imposing taxation, for example (Johnson and Thomas, 1992). Other types of public policies with different objectives are shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Types of policies

Type of policy	Policy's goals
Distributive	To promote benefits (judged to be socially desirable)
Redistributive	To distribute wealth or other valued goods in society
Regulatory	Regulating behaviours (e.g. crime and environmental protection)
Liberal	Ensuring greater levels of social equality
Conservative	Opposing social change or to preserve the status quo
Substantive	To deal with substantive problems e.g. highway construction, environmental protection and payment of welfare benefits.
Procedural	Relate to how something is going to be done or who is going to take action e.g. the Administrative Procedures Act which describes the rules making procedures to be used by agencies.
Material	To either provide concrete resources or substantive power to their beneficiaries or impose real disadvantages on those adversely affected.
Symbolic	Appeal more to cherished values than to tangible benefits e.g. national holidays that honour patriots, policies concerning the flag, and religion in schools.
Collective (goods)	Public policy can embody collective goods which are those benefits that cannot be given to some but denied to others (National defence and public safety) (nationalisation)
Private (goods)	Public policies can also embody private goods which are those goods that may be divided into units, and for which consumers can be charged. (privatisation)

Source: Drawn from Lester and Stewart (2000: 8)

Some types of policy can be as effective as laws whereas others may be challenged by a variety of influences in its contexts (Blom, 2001). In other words, some policies are less effective depending on their boundaries, dependencies, resources and environments within its particular area. Policy enactment thus does not ensure its effectiveness since it may be seen as a tentative solution (Lewis and Wallace, 1984). It is thus self-evident that public policies do not implement themselves rather they are designed to be managed and put into practice within complex political, economic, and socio-cultural environments (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984).

Various policy instruments are adopted and applied in the policy implementation process. A set of techniques by which governmental authorities exercise their legal or designated power in attempting to enforce and implement a policy is therefore common (Vedung, 1998). There are a number of policy instrument typologies proposed in the academic literature. These are presented in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 Typologies of policy instruments

1) Schneider and Ingram (1990): authority tools, incentive tools, capacity tools, symbolic tools and learning tools.

2) Bengston *et al.* (2004): public ownership and management, regulations and incentives.

3) Windhoff-Heritier (1987:27), judging from the level of coercion, the usual policy instruments exercised by government include mandatory and prohibitory rules and permissions, incentives, supply, persuasion and information, and finally examples.

It is important to note that although policy instruments warrant analysis, they are not the cornerstone of this study. However, policy instruments associated with regulations are significant to this study, and deserve brief explanation. Relatively little

has been written on the specifics of regulations (Lewis, 1996). More exploration has focused on the area of law and legislation (McEldowney and McEldowney, 1996; Gouldson and Murphy, 1998; Furse, 2002; Tromans and Fuller, 2003). The defining characteristic of regulation is its obligatory and coercive nature (Weiss, 2000). Regulations usually entail an authoritative relationship between the individuals or groups being regulated and the government or its agencies (Stone, 1982). They are often backed by negative sanctions or the threat of sanctions. As a result, various groups will engage in conflict, bargaining, and negotiation (Weiss, 2000). Regulatory policy thus involves a direct choice as to who will be indulged and who will be deprived (Cranston, 1987).

Regulations may be designed to be flexible (Lewis, 1996). Without mechanisms for implementation, regulations will have only limited effectiveness. Financial and human resources are crucial for enforcing action and monitoring of laws and regulations (Weiss, 2000). Cranston (1987) additionally observes that legislative effectiveness also depends upon factors such as the nature and subjects of its mandate and the economic and social underpinnings of the conduct involved. A clear rationale and clear legal structure are also required for a regulatory system. There is also dependence on the personal qualities of the regulator who interprets and implements regulations in society to ensure fair legal procedures (Weiss, 2000). Similarly, the available resources to the organisations, the legal mandate and the supporting values and principles which are derived from the national culture and a shared political vision are crucial factors that determine the effectiveness of regulatory systems (Berg, 2000). It is unsurprising that some studies indicate that regulation is in itself an inherently inefficient process (Benston *et al.*, 2004). Both internal and external factors as well as environments that affect the achievement of public policy, its instruments and regulations give rise to the need to understand policy as practiced from a critical position.

2.2.2 Policy processes

Policy implementation is only one process within a whole complex public policy life cycle. It is evident that there are various policy processes involved within a political system involving institutions, groups, parties, actors, functions, and legislation in policy-making (Dye, 1984; John, 2000). Although policy scholars have identified a range of policy processes, this study has adopted two broad ways of looking at policy processes. The first of these is concerned with the different stages from the birth of a policy to its termination. This manifests a logical path within the policy cycle proposed

by a number of scholars (Dye, 1984; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; Patton and Sawicki, 1986). This study adopts the 'conveyor belt' of Lester and Stewart (2000), whose policy process classification is shown in figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 The policy cycle
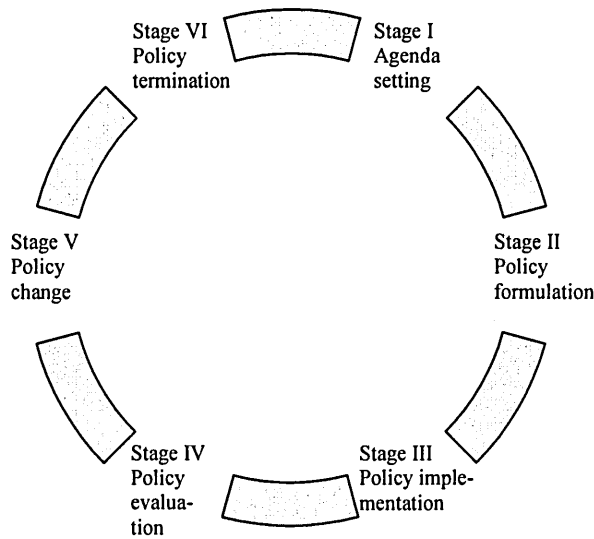
Source: Lester and Stewart (2000)

Consistent with the above policy cycle, agenda setting can be simply viewed as the identification of public demand for government or the definition of a problem area in society (Dye, 1984). This usually involves a list of subjects to which government officials are paying some serious attention at any given time (Kingdon, 1995). Policy formulation entails devising, selecting and developing approval for legislation and its enactment (Parsons, 1995). This is where political behaviours can affect the policy output since the process of policy formulation may be influenced or forced by various groups notably governmental institutions, political parties, elites, pressure or interest groups as well as public opinion (Hall, 1994a; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Hall 2000; Lester and Stewart, 2000). It can also be affected by geographical, historical and socio-economic conditions (Lester and Stewart, 2000). Policy implementation refers to a series of governmental decisions and actions directed toward putting an already decided mandate into effect (Lester and Stewart, 2000). It practically involves creating bureaucracies, allocating resources and enforcing laws. Next, policy evaluation is concerned with the result of a public policy after it is implemented (Nagel, 1998). Apart from finding out their effectiveness, it is also important to investigate actual impacts of legislation or the extent to which the policy achieved or failed to achieve its intended

21

goals (McCool, 1995). Next is the stage of policy change which is the newest conceptual development in the policy cycle developed by Sabatier and Mamanian (1983). This refers to the point at which a policy is evaluated and redesigned so that a new policy process starts again (Lester and Stewart, 2000). Finally, policy termination is an apparatus for ending outdated or inadequate policies. According to Lester and Stewart (2000), unworkable policies need to be eliminated through either functional, organisational, programme or policy termination. In sum, this adopted model looks at public policy as a political activity under the light of government and its administrative system. It appears to have less response to smaller, unorganised and inactive interest groups with fewer channels of communication to government officials (Dye, 1984). There are some uncertainties even where the policies are well-organised, widely utilised, adequately financed and generally supported by major interest groups (Lewis and Wallace, 1984). These contribute to questions on whether policies actually work and have beneficial effects on society and also to the responsiveness of the policy process.

The second way adopted in understanding the policy process in this study is to consider internal and external factors, relations, and policy environments. The process may vary with specific emphasis such as organisational processes: examining intra-organisational processes and inter-organisational dynamics (Hill, 1997). Policy processes in dynamic environments where there is a complex pattern of decisions actions, interaction, reaction and feedback may also be considered as well as input and output models of the political system with consideration of policy environments, social, economic and political influences (Hall, 1994a; Jenkins, 1993). Influenced by Easton (1965), the second policy process entails policy inputs, mediating variables, the political system, policy outputs and finally policy outcomes. Attention is also given to elements of each process notably resources, support, organisational networks as well as environmental variables that can variably affect each process at times. This is shown in Figure 2.3 overleaf.

Figure 2.3 Jenkins's system model of the policy process

Environment   Environment   Environment

Inputs   Mediating   The political system   Policy   Policy
           variables   outputs   outcomes

| Demands/ resources/ support/ etc. | Groups/ parties/ organisa-tions etc. | The decision system / Organisational network | | |

Environmental
variables:
Socio-economic
Physical
Political
NB Environmental
variables vary with
times.

Environment   Environment

Environment

Source: Jenkins (1993:40)

This second model for examining policy processes shifts attention towards policy environments and other variables that may affect policy outcomes. This reflects a transformation in some places of 'traditional' government control to new forms of governing that seek to engage non-government entities (Hall and Jenkins, 2004). This policy process is consequently a process of bargaining, competition, persuasion and compromise among interest groups and governmental officials over policy issues (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). This indicates a more careful and responsive appraisal of the real impact of public policy.

In conclusion, a public policy is understood by considering not only its logical path but also by examining the operation of a political system and how such a system maintains itself and changes overtime (Jenkins, 1993). The process can be identified by a variety of activities which occur within the political system. Nonetheless, the increased emphasis on policy linkages, environments and networks enhances an improved understanding, management and operation of complex public policy issues and problems. The place of networks in public policy studies is the subject of the next section.

2.2.3 Policy and policy networks

Public policy involves interaction between various institutions, actors and individuals within complex policy networks. A focus on such networks is increasingly common in policy studies. Policy networks exist as links between actors within a particular policy domain (Marsh, 1998a). Research attention on policy networks emerged in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s (Jordan, 1990) and also in Europe (Peters, 1998). The American literature has emphasised the micro-level, dealing with personal relations between key actors rather than structural relations between institutions (Marsh, 1998a) whereas the European literature focuses more on inter-organisational theory (Rhodes, 1990). Generally, policy networks entail a communications and relationship network of those interested in policy such as government authorities, legislators, business interests, lobbyists as well as academics and journalists (Mc Farland, 1987). There are thus patterns of interaction and resource exchange between agents within the network which may influence policy outcomes (Dowding, 1994).

Specific network issues in connection with policy implementation involve relationships, co-ordination and cooperation of intra and inter-organisational interests within and across sectors. Policy today is often made in a process involving a plurality of both public and private organisations (Pearce, 1992). Although governance becomes more feasible within policy networks, in which public and private corporate actors are linked in a non-hierarchical way to exchange resources and to co-ordinate their interests and actions (Borzel, 1997), there are potential complexities in a policy network in practice, particularly the recognition of potential conflicts between public and private sectors. Different goals among individuals within and between interest groups and with public sector agents may be substantial issues for policy networks (Hall, 1994a). Liaison with other agencies may be critical for policy achievement, and for resource acquisition, notably money, staff and authority (Njoh, 1996). Blockages may result in frustration and lead to conflict (Heffron, 1989). Those conflicts may lead to a breakdown and disruption in organisational and inter-organisational relations (Pearce, 1992).

Inter and intra-organisational networks may also be affected by environmental conditions. As Turner and Hulme (1998) observe, organisational environments may consist of economic, cultural, demographic and political factors. The implication of social, political and economic change for institutions and institutional capacities is growing (Hay, 1998). These exogenous changes can affect the resources, interests and

24

relationships of actors within networks (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). They affect the supply of money and resources and the distribution of power within a network. Changes in these factors can also produce tensions and conflicts which lead to either breakdowns in the network and failure in developing new policies (Marsh, 1998b).

To conclude, networks in public policy making are concerned with co-operation and consensus building. Most importantly, attention should be given to the relationship between policy networks and implementation networks since they may not be the same actors. It is possible that those involved in the implementation network may not be in the policy network, or vice versa. This may complicate policy implementation (Marsh, 1998b). Effective management and co-operative relations of policy networks are key to policy success.

2.3 TOURISM POLICY, PROCESSES AND IMPLEMENTATION

This section reviews literature on tourism policy. Although research on tourism policy is developing, specific areas on its processes and implementation are under-researched. Three aspects are to be consecutively discussed, covering areas of tourism policies, tourism policy processes and tourism policy implementation.

2.3.1 Tourism policy

Tourism policy can be a problematic area for research in policy studies (Edgell, 1990; Hall, 1994b; Kerr, 2003). This results from the complex nature of both policy science and the tourism industry. The industry is widely known as being complex with many various sectors, fragmented organisations and individuals involved. It has become increasingly complex in recent years reflecting the consequences of globalisation processes, such as trade liberalisation and global business alliances, wars and terrorist acts (Hall and Jenkins, 2004). Like other public policy areas, tourism policies can be too broad to discuss holistically. Research attention is therefore typically addressed at specific tourism policy areas such as infrastructure policy, domestic and international tourism policy, education and training policy for tourism, cultural policy, marketing policy, transport policy and visa policy etc (Inskeep, 1991; Jefferies, 2001).

Research attention to political and public policy dimensions has received relatively little attention in the social science of tourism (Hall, 1994a; Wilkinson, 1997). Politics and public policy in tourism studies appears to lack coherent development and a broad comparative perspective (Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Kerr, 2003). There is also an absence of tourism scholars with a policy studies background resulting in a lack of critical engagement with public policy theory (Hall and Jenkins, 2004). There is thus

little in-depth analysis of tourism policies. More development in relation to theoretical developments, empirical understandings and the extent of published works in tourism policy studies therefore are required (Hall and Jenkins, 2004). This will help in understanding the causes and consequences of tourism policy decisions and of the policy itself. This is a particularly important issue for heavily visited destinations, particularly in developing countries, in order to assist in the development of policies to manage the disruptive impacts of tourism.

Much tourism policy research has focused on economic aspects. Early tourism policies unintentionally lacked and excluded awareness, understanding and recognition of the broad range of political, environmental and social implications for tourism (Fayos-sola, 1996). Governments from national to local level often paid too much attention to marketing and promotional aspects of tourism influenced by the lure of economic benefits rather than the potential negative impacts (Edgell, 1990). However, wider recognition of the impacts of the multi-faceted and multi-sectoral tourism industry and a shift of policies in modern tourism has resulted in more attention to other aspects of tourism (Hall and Jenkins, 2004). Tourism policy research is now more focused on social, economic and environment impacts of tourism, the well-being of residents as well as the competitive focal point of entrepreneurial tourism strategies (Edgell, 1990; Inskeep, 1991; Fayos-sola, 1996). The evolution of tourism policy studies as presented by Hall (1994a), Hall and Jenkins (1995) and Hall (2003) demonstrates the evolution of tourism policies. This is shown in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5 International tourism policies from 1945 to present

Phase	Characteristics
1945-55	Dismantling and streamlining of the police, customs, currency and health regulations that had been put into place following the Second World War
1955-70	Greater government involvement in tourism marketing to increase tourism earning potential
1970-85	Government involvement in the supply of tourism infrastructure and in the use of tourism as a tool of regional development
1985-late 1990s	Continued use of tourism as a tool of regional development, increased focus on environmental issues, reduced direct government involvement in the supply of tourism infrastructure, greater emphasis on the development of public-private partnerships and industry self-regulation.
Late 1990s-present	International tourism policy marked by international regulation and agreement with respect to matters such as the environment, trade in goods and services, investment and movement of people.

Source: Hall (2003: 323)

Similarly to public policy analysis more broadly, there are numerous definitions of tourism policy with a common emphasis on government actions in achieving certain

tourism related aims and issues. For instance, Hall and Jenkins (1995) look at tourism policy as a managerial framework, structure and guidelines for government activities in relation to tourism, whereas Doswell (1997) sees tourism policy as an overall set of guidelines leading to subsequent action. In this study, tourism policies are seen as being guidelines for the rest of the planning process to control or manage tourism development and its related issues.

Tourism is often seen as being primarily a matter for private enterprise in which government involvement follows recognition of its growth, prosperity and benefits as well as impacts for nations politically, economically and socially (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997). Two broad ways can be adopted to understand government involvement and its policy in tourism. First government intervention is seen as imperative in improving and developing a fast-growing, multi-faceted, multisectoral and economic leading industry (Godfrey and Clarke, 2000). Second, and following a shift from the 'traditional' public administration model, tourism is seen as a 'public good' requiring a corporatist policy model with an emphasis on efficiency and relations with stakeholders (Hall, 1999; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Hall and Jenkins, 2004). This recent transformation manifests the increased emphasis on governance through 'network structures as a 'new process of governing' or a 'changed condition of ordered rules', or the 'new method by which society is governed' (Rhodes, 1997:43).

Scholars also have various views towards how a tourism policy should be read, managed and implemented (Edgell, 1990; Inskeep, 1991; Lickorish, 1991). Recent development shows that tourism policy should include environmental and socio-cultural concerns, and conservation and protection of the physical environment and the uniqueness of the country's heritage, history and culture (Edgell, 1990; Inskeep, 1991; Lickorish, 1991; Hall, 1994a; Hall, 1994b; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Doswell, 1997, Hall, 2000; Gunn, 2002). Policies are also seen as a vital means to monitor various tourism impacts since development may evolve to be uncontrolled mass tourism (Bosselman *et al.*, 1999). It is undeniable that tourism therefore requires careful planning and management (Godfrey and Clarke, 2000). This is because tourism can generate adverse effects under ill-planned and mismanaged guidelines.

While tourism policies are generally created as a mechanism for managing the development of the tourism industry, regulations are similarly needed for legal control over its activities (Inskeep, 1991). Regulation of the tourism industry can either come from local governments in the form of planning restrictions, national governments in the form of laws relating to business practice, professional associations in the form of

27

articles of affiliation, or international bodies in the form of international agreements and guidelines to governments (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Usually, regulations are imposed by governments in a top-down approach. They serve as the form of mandatory actions, prohibitions and punishments giving clear behavioural signals to the industry (Hjalager, 2002:472). Regulations can therefore be highly political and contested by the affected parties of the tourism industry

Basic tourism law and specific regulations may include hotel standards and classification systems, building construction, land use zoning, tour and travel agency operations, and tour guide services (Doswell, 1997). Some regulations are commonly utilised to restrict visitor actions, access, times and numbers, types of visitor activity permitted, noise levels, speed limits, permits, lease and licence requirements and codes of practice (Orams, 1996), and are usually posted on signs, notices and written materials.

Criticism manifests that the tool of regulations is one which allows specific groups to take control of the industry (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). There is argument around regulation that represents a power struggle between different interest groups especially in developing countries where top-down government and bureaucracies are dominant (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Scheyvens, 2002). Also, it is very hard to communicate the need for regulations especially in the light of potential tourism business opportunities being predominant in most developing countries. Shepherd (2002) even argues that it may be easier to discuss rules and regulations within the tourism industry in a more developed country context. Like policy proclamations, regulation impositions do not always guarantee that they are actually enforced. An input to determining the future tourism legislation and regulations requires successful implementation of the policy, plan and continuing management of tourism (Inskeep, 1991).

On the whole, tourism policy and its regulations are difficult and complex, involving various groups of organisations, sectors and actors where complications tend to occur. According to Inskeep (1991) and Gunn (2002), tourism policy must be dynamic in the sense that the changing environments must be adjusted to as the policies are formulated and implemented. This is because the multi-faceted tourism industry can cause a policy to shift in one direction or another. The growing concern with socio-cultural and environmental aspects of tourism policy cannot be treated as a ready-made formula to ensure effective development and management of the tourism industry.

2.3.2 Tourism policy processes

Literature on tourism policy processes is limited (Hall, 1994a; Hall and Jenkins, 2004). As earlier discussed, the tourism and public policy literature generally is developed insufficiently in terms of concepts, frameworks, approaches and theories (Kerr, 2003; Hall and Jenkins, 2004). In other words, the variety of policy frameworks, combined with conceptual and theoretical approaches to tourism policy have yet to be examined thoroughly. According to Kerr (2003) the deficiency in the understanding of the connection between tourism theory and policy formulation is connected with the emergent nature of tourism theory and limited connections with professional practices, which are embryonic in some countries. The deficit in the study of tourism policy processes may also derive from substantial methodological problems in conducting political and administrative studies of tourism and the lack of official interest in conducting research into policy processes in tourism (Richter, 1991; Hall, 1994a; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Kerr, 2003; Hall and Jenkins, 2004). Although research into policy making has received growing attention, specifics on tourism policy processes are still under-researched. It seems that the tourism industry is growing more rapidly than the understanding of tourism policy-making and processes (Kerr, 2003).

It is evident that governments have long had responsibilities and roles in determining and framing policy for the tourism sector (Inskeep, 1991; Pearce, 1992; Hall, 1994a; Doswell, 1997; Gunn, 2002), partly because policy affects the entire country and its communities, or because it is done through its prevailing hierarchical and political systems. In the past, laissez-faire tourism development by the private sector led to relatively limited intervention by governments in policy-making for tourism (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997; Gunn, 2002). Today, there is more recognition that tourism policy involves a multiplicity of participants and provisions (Kerr, 2003), and that some government involvement and intervention are thus necessary (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999). As Williams and Shaw (1998:230) note, the very nature of tourism (with its heavy spatial and seasonal polarisation typically) requires some forms of government policy intervention whether it is for distributive or ameliorative purposes. After all, governments can exercise their legitimate power to provide the political stability, social structure and the legal and financial framework to enhance and improve the progress and development of tourism (Kerr, 2003).

Various forms of government intervention in tourism are introduced by many scholars such as the provision of infrastructure, planning, zoning and training (Edgell, 1990; Inskeep, 1991; Hall, 1994b; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Hall, 2003). Nonetheless,

they generally tend to emphasise economic management (Doswell, 1997). The larger the area and the higher the level of administration, the more lengthy and wide-ranging the policy statements tend to be (Godfrey and Clarke, 2000). Nowadays, the system of government is not the sole determinant of state intervention (Holloway, 1998). Policy determination is in essence influenced by economic and political ideologies as well as from the multi-sectoral industry (Jefferies, 2001). Tourism policy-making is now an arena of competing and complementary values and interests which contributes to the involvement of various groups who play a vital role in tourism policy decision-making (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Governments are thus encouraged to consider community involvement in tourism and its policy (Murphy, 1985). This is not only for their role in tourism development but also in the policy decision-making process itself so that governments are not seen as imposing policy on people. Here, national and community objectives prevail over individual, group or sector interests while still recognising the rights of business interests to be considered (Elliott, 1997). Policy making therefore pulls into the policy community diverse institutions with diverse interests (Elliott, 1997). Weaknesses such as uncooperative relations in one area may have a disproportionate effect on tourism policy outputs and ultimately the policy outcomes.

The impacts for the policymaker in the decision-making process vary from country to country (Liu and Wall, 2006). The process is in dynamic environments where there is a complex pattern of decisions, actions, interaction, reaction and feedback (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Like other public policy processes, some scholars see tourism policy process as stages of formulating a policy others pay attention to variables or elements that are influential to the process. Processes of tourism policy formulation as conceived by different scholars are compared in Table 2.6. According to Hall and Jenkins (1995), a key issue to understand the tourism policy process is to acknowledge the interest groups who play an important role in influencing and determining the policy direction, as well as recognising values and ideologies that have great effect on deciding policies (Gunn, 2002; Kerr, 2003).

Table 2.6 Different views of tourism policy process

Sources	Tourism policy process
Jenkins (1978:22)	The policy process engages with Inputs (resources, demand and supports), Mediating Variables (involvement and influences of groups), the Political System (parties and organisations as, the decision system and organisational network), the policy output and the policy outcomes.
Hall (1994a:49-51)	A model of policy making process is where four important elements relevant to specific tourism policy issues. These include interest groups, institutions, significant individuals and institutional leaderships. This is where each particular policy development should be set upon the interaction and competition in determining tourism policy choices. Much consideration of policy process has been in terms of an adapted input-output model of the political system derived from the work of Easton (1965) which differentiates between policy demands, policy decisions, policy outputs and policy outcomes.
Akehurst (1992)	The process of well-designed tourism policy starts from recognising the gaps, identifying the policy problems with a clear understanding of the nature of the tourism product, agree and establish objectives (the policy problems) as a basis for what needs to be done and what the policy is seeking to achieve, establish and agree clear objective priorities, establish and place into the national context, the roles of national governments, national tourist organisations, local governments and private-sector businesses, establish the effective co-ordination and implementation of agreed programmes to solve identified policy problems and finally monitor and evaluate action programmes by identifying the precise personnel and time scales involved. It is thus explicit that there are institutional arrangements leading to intergovernmental and inter-organisational relations across different sectors; public and private.
Lamb and Davidson (1996)	Tourism policy formulation includes clear definition of issues and purposes, a consensus on vision and goals of tourism development, amalgam of all sectors affected by policy preparation and utilising the best recent research and technical information. The process is greatly influenced by external environmental variables notably socio-economic, physical and political variables.

Despite the emergence and recognition of policy networks, policy processes are often conducted at central level in many countries. The fragmented structure of the tourism industry makes it harder to form a strong lobby to encourage governments to formulate policies in favour of the industry (Elliott, 1997). Identification of roles and responsibilities of involved parties to implement, develop and monitoring tourism, are often unclear (Gunn, 2002). The balance of power between the central state, regional and local levels and flexibility in the light of changing circumstances are aspects to consider for policy success (Hall, 1994a; Godfrey and Clarke, 2000).

In conclusion, the extent to which tourism policy making should be developed is affected by various factors due to the dynamic nature of tourism development as well as the interdependent tourism policies. Despite similarities to public policy cycles in other domains, tourism policy is formulated by interactions between various sectors and many institutions and individuals that vary greatly from nation to nation. Even though tourism policy-making and administration is predominantly carried out by government or governmental agencies, recent trends have seen a shift to better networking with other involved sectors (Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Mowfort and Munt, 1998; Scheyvens, 2002; Singh et al., 2002; Hall and Jenkins, 2004). Smooth processes and well developed networks will enhance successful tourism policy in practice.

2.3.3   Tourism policy implementation

There is little published academic research on tourism policy implementation. The area has been under-researched and there is little evidence that implementation is

being addressed in tourism policy research (Zhang *et al.*, 2002), with much of this literature continuing to focus on the basic principles of tourism policy. As Hall (1994a:7) notes, much contemporary discussion of tourism policy development has failed to consider the political dimensions of tourism policy and the action or implementation of policies in specific contexts.

Policy implementation is complex as it calls for the meshing of political and social acceptability with economic and technical feasibility and administrative reality (Pigram, 1993). According to Edgell (1990), policy formulation and implementation are difficult to separate on a consistent basis, with the realisation of a policy commonly engulfed with complications (Kerr, 2003). The study of policy implementation therefore requires a more thorough and deeper understanding of the relationships, nuances and tensions between the various actors in the policy process (Jenkins, 1978). Implementation also entails time and effort from both public and private sector interests o ensure development activity has a focus, based on policy goals and objectives, ives, not ust some haphazard responses (Godfrey and Clarke, 2000). Successful tourism psm policy implementation thus involves various elements and mechanisms reflecting specific political, social and local considerations. Table 2.7 lists some of these elements that are influential on tourism policy implementation.

Table 2.7 Influences on tourism policy implementation

Sources	Influences on tourism policy implementation
Akehurst (1992)	1) Identification and articulation of policy problems (objectives) that are agreed by all parties from national to local levels. 2) Consensus among all involved parties on what a policy or policies are seeking to achieve. 3) Possible disagreement about which policy problems are most important. 4) Possible disagreement on how each problem can be solved and on the roles to be played by public and private sector organisations. 5) Possible disagreement about how to monitor and evaluate implementation and action programmes.
Hall and Jenkins (1995)	1) Rigorous and comprehensible techniques. 2) Detailed, cognitive and linguistic studies for different groups of actors 3) Knowledge of the countries and differences 4) Utility of undertaking work to deploy adaptive strategies of implementation
Pigram (1993)	1) Structures 2) Operations 3) Finance
Ioannides (1995)	1) The climate (of distrust) between the government and local communities.

In this research, three broad areas can be emphasised in tourism policy implementation. These are firstly, co-ordinated networking, second, the influence of various external factors and finally, the adequacy of the resources necessary for implementation (Baum, 1994a; Akehurst, 1992; Pigram, 1993; Hall, 1994a; Ioannides, 1995; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Elliott, 1997; Tosun, 2000; Zhang *et al.*, 2002; Puppim de Oliveira, 2003). A clear understanding of tourism policy can not only improve a

government's tourism policy-making process, but it can also enhance the theoretical understanding of the political dimensions of tourism (Zhang *et al.*, 2002:38).

First, it is noteworthy that governments may have the obligation of creating and implementing policies that plan tourism, however tourism policy may fail without support from the tourism industry (Gunn, 2002). Government strategies, guided by policy, may specify the actions that are necessary to implement a policy, but coordinating and consultative mechanisms linking different levels, committees, councils, working groups and task forces which involve public sector bodies and agencies and private sectors organisations and associations, or a combination of the two may also be necessary for successful implementation (Doswell, 1997). It is vital that non governmental organisations and tourism stakeholders assist, co-ordinate, cooperate and collaborate to realise a particular tourism policy in practice (Pearce, 1992). In other words, tourism is a highly interdependent field (Kerr, 2003). Policy implementation usually requires actions by local institutions. It is important that tourism organisations provide good co-ordination and leadership (Godfrey and Clarke, 2000). The connections between public, private and community interests are therefore important in managing tourism (Murphy, 1985; Milward, 1996; Bramwell and Lane, 2000).

Second, tourism policy implementation also depends on various external factors. The stances of political and economic power holders or brokers on the tourism industry are critical (Kerr, 2003). It is therefore important to recognise political theory and values that explicitly or implicitly underlie public policy decisions (Hall, 1999). Policy implementation therefore depends on the prevailing environment, the politics, the economy, the cultural and social conditions that apply at the time of its conception and gestation (Hall, 1994a; Puppim de Oliveira, 2003).

Finally, the implementation of tourism policies also requires resources to be available. These include qualified personnel, financial resources, and effective powers and authorities in charge (Doswell, 1997). As Pearce (1992) observes resource acquisition and resource scarcity need to be taken into account in the implementation of tourism policies. This is a particular consideration in developing countries where resources are typically scarce (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Gaps in implementing policies and regulations are very likely to occur where there is poverty, bureaucracy and corruption (Hall and Page, 2000). This will also be addressed in a later section of this chapter.

It is evident that tourism policy and implementation has received limited research attention. It requires a full understanding of the policy arena, community and

socio-cultural considerations (The views of stakeholders, communities and local environments must therefore be considered.) Policies need to be dynamic to allow for possible modifications resulting from changing circumstances. Tourism policy implementation therefore needs to piece together the tangible policy resources with the institutional and individual co-operation of stakeholders and their cultural values. The next section introduces three specific tourism policy areas that are used to illustrate this tourism policy implementation study.

2.4 SPECIFIC TOURISM POLICIES

Three policies have been selected as case studies of tourism policy implementation in this research. The three policies are tourism and safety, tourism and the environment and finally tourism and entertainment.

2.4.1 Tourism and safety

Until recently, the investigation of safety in connection with tourism has been limited. However, attention to this subject in the literature and empirical research are increasing. Tourist safety is vital for tourism policymakers and managers (Edgell, 1990; Hall et al, 2003; Michalko, 2003). In some circumstances, tourists may be seen as 'portable wealth' (Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996), with their apparently glamorous and hedonistic activities and lifestyle, thus compromising their personal safety. Personal safety may also be a key decision-making criterion for a choice of holiday destination. A major aspect of safety concerns is related to health (Edgell, 1990). However, scholars are increasingly recognising other considerations such as the threat of terrorism and war at particular destinations (Hall et al., 2003; Floyd et al., 2003; Kingsbury and Brunn, 2003; Wilks and Page, 2003). Most tourists will understandably not go to a destination where their safety and well-being may be in jeopardy (Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996). Destinations viewed this way are likely to suffer a significant decline of overseas tourist numbers (Hall et al., 2003), and at times, affect proximate destinations.

There is a need for more research on policies aimed at combating crime, accidents and attacks on tourists (Beirman, 2003; Hall et al.,2003). This is reinforced by the impact on tourism of global events such as the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, the American-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, the Bali bombings in 2002 and recently the Asian Tsunami disaster in December 2004 (Hall and Jenkins 2004). As a result, health and security (safety) issues in tourism are becoming major tourism policy concerns at national and international levels (Edgell, 1990). The

successful implementation of such policies is critical if the tourism industry is to grow qualitatively and quantitatively (Edgell, 1990).

It is important that authorities at all levels of government and the private sector must design policies as well as develop a range of strategies to reduce the possibility of accidents and crime against tourists (Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996). Some vital strategies for tourist safety may include regulations, education and management approaches. Here, government agencies play an important role in the monitoring and management of tourism, involving other specific organisations and law enforcement agencies (Orams, 1999). In some cases, government agencies and national tourism organisations simply provide travel advisories to intending tourists (Beirman, 2001). In other cases, they develop marketing strategies for destination image development to restore confidence in the destination (Beirman, 2003). This is because an image of tourist safety and security in a destination is necessary for tourism development (Wilks and Page, 2003). It is therefore evident that ensuring the safety of tourists as well as preventing disease and accident risks as far as it is possible is essential for a tourist destination.

2.4.2 Tourism and the environment

The environment impacts of tourism have received much research attention and are often concrete (Holden, 2000; Tribe *et al.*, 2000). This is because the environment is unarguably the most fundamental element of the tourism product (Inskeep, 1991). Without a quality environment, destinations lose their attractiveness (Inskeep, 1991). There is no doubt that the way in which tourism uses the environment today will have consequences for its future (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997). A poorly planned tourism industry may thus contribute to tourist destination degradation (Gartner, 1996).

Tourism policy needs therefore to pay particular attention to environmental planning (Bosselman et al, 1999). This should aim to prevent environmental problems from arising in the first place, rather than trying to remedy problems after the event (Inskeep, 1991). Environmental policies for tourism have been promoted by international agencies at least since the 1980s (Cooper *et al.*, 1998; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Dowling and Fennell; 2002). The terms 'responsible', 'green', 'eco' and 'sustainable' have all been applied to tourism policy in recent years (Weaver, 1998; Dowling and Fennell, 2002; Fennell, 2003; Diamantis, 2004). Examples of natural environmental management approaches for tourism include the designation of protected areas such as nature reserves, wilderness areas, national parks and protected landscapes and seascapes (Eagles and McCool, 2002). In some destinations, a policy of

concentrating tourism development is applied as a means of managing its environmental consequences (Bosselman *et al.*, 1999). Notions of sustainable development and consumption applied to tourism are now widespread with more 'responsible' travellers actively and increasingly seeking unspoiled environment as holiday destinations (Shaw and Williams, 2002).

Environment-related tourism policies are complex. Environmental factors should not be taken in isolation, nor should they be an after-thought in policy decision-making processes (Dowling and Fennell, 2002). They require detailed research, an understanding of environmental characteristics and the use of various, and often specialised techniques and principles. As Eagles and McCool (2002) state, environmental policy development and implementation related to tourism further require sophisticated planning, management procedures, a well-coordinated set of stakeholders and monitoring and evaluation procedures to be in place. Implementation and enforcement must also occur at both institutional and individual levels (Shepherd, 2002). In other words, policies must include not only a statement of intent that guides actions and management plans, but also information for all stakeholders to help in implementing the policy (Eagles and McCool, 2002). This is because unmanaged and uncontrolled tourism development may lead to severe and irreversible environmental consequences (Pearce, 1989). Given the importance of this subject, a tourism related environmental policy is included in this research.

2.4.3 Tourism and entertainment

Entertainment may be related to tourism through tourist attractions and products which can either be natural or artificial, nodal or linear, sites or events (Holloway, 1998). In fact, every kind of tourist attraction can entertain tourists in various ways (Cooper *et al.*, 1998). According to Hughes (2000:13), the word entertainment refers to a wide variety of activities such as watching television, playing games at home, listening to music, cinema visits and going to clubs, discos and concerts. Usually, most entertainment is provided by commercial enterprises and sold to consumers to make money rather than as an expression of human creativity (Hughes, 2000). The scope of this study lies around the night entertainment sector, including nightclubs, bars, and pubs.

Although entertainment facilities are important in attracting tourists and sustaining their enjoyment in a destination, there has been a paucity of research specifically on policies relating to entertainment as a tourist product. This may stem

from a perception of entertainment as a secondary tourism trade (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997). However, entertainment appears to have a close relationship with other elements that fulfil the hedonistic lifestyle of tourists. That is, young people may be strongly influenced by entertainment factors when considering a holiday (Sellars, 1998). Drugs have also played a part in some young people's holiday choices since the 1960s. (Sellars, 1998: 612). Furthermore, many young and unattached tourists may choose holidays that provide increased opportunities for sex (Bharath *et al.*, 1998; Clift and Forrest, 1999).

Nowadays, recreational sex and drug use are associated with particular holiday destinations (including Phuket, Thailand). Policymakers are understandably concerned to address these issues. Here, visitor management techniques may be developed to deal with undesirable tourist behaviour (Ryan, 1998; Shackley, 1998). However such policies' effectiveness is heavily dependent on the extent to which they are enforced and policed.

Tourism policies have evidently evolved to reflect the global and dynamic nature of tourism demand. Implementable and workable policies are required to manage, solve or alleviate the arising and ongoing issues in this fast-growing, complex and important industry. This research will therefore investigate the nature of tourism policy implementation and how it works 'on the ground'

2.5 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

This section reviews the policy studies literature on the area of implementation. Published research on policy implementation has been investigated for its potential contributions to this study. Attention is given here to the ways in which policy implementation has been studied, policy implementation approaches and variables that are influential in the implementation of policy. The review is organised into three subsections.

2.5.1 The study of policy implementation

The study of policy implementation has been led by western theories and analytical frameworks, mainly from the US and Europe. Scholars in public policy studies suggest that policy implementation research has developed since Pressman and Wildavsky's groundbreaking work on Oakland, California during the late 1960s (Hill, 1993b; O'Toole, 2000; Lester and Stewart, 2000; Allen, 2001) with the contributions of Van Meter and Van Horn in 1975 also being influential (Younis, 1990). Although it is evident that implementation studies nowadays occupy an important and robust position

in policy studies and research (Winter, 1999), there is no general theory of implementation that commands broad agreement, that is researchers continue to work from diverse theoretical perspectives employing different variables to make sense of their findings (O'Toole, 1986:182-3). Most importantly, there is little research undertaken to address the implementation problems on the ground, especially in different national, political, economic, and socio-cultural environments (Jasanoff, 1991; Puppim de Oliveira, 2002). There has also been a lack of cross-national comparative studies (O'Toole, 2000). Since policy implementation issues, techniques and mechanisms vary between countries, it is thus crucial to concentrate on acquiring and broadening understanding of policy implementation, and in particular the political, economic, organisational, cultural and attitudinal influences that may affect the way a policy is interpreted, implemented and enforced (Dunbar and Villarruel, 2004).

While many case studies have been carried out, they have not always added to knowledge that will assist in understanding implementation processes, deficits, gaps and failure (Fimister and Hill, 1993; Hupe, 1993; Allen, 2001). Generally, implementation studies can be categorised into three different generations (Lester and Stewart, 2000). Briefly, the first generation of studies examined how single authoritative decisions were carried out. The second generation studies were concerned more with explaining implementation successes and failures (Sabatier, 1993; Lester and Stewart, 2000). A third generation of research into policy implementation aims to explain why behaviour varies across time, policies and units of government. According to O'Toole (2000: 271), this third generation is designed to overcome the conceptual and methodological problems that many scholars agree to have impeded progress in this field. That is, from 1975 to the 1980s, researchers began to emphasise policy implementation and to develop analytical frameworks that identify factors that contribute to the realisation of policy objectives, while in the 1990s the emphasis shifted to policy optimisation studies or analyses that seek to establish what makes for a successful or effective policy (Gogging *et al.*, 1990; Sabatier, 1993). Nonetheless, much of this literature has not focused directly on policy implementation on the ground rather it has investigated variables that affect implementation processes (Matland, 1995). There is therefore a significant need for policy implementation research under 'real' circumstances, with different policy areas and different environments.

Similarly to tourism policy research, definitions of policy implementation vary. However, they do share an emphasis on the realisation of a set of plans or goals. Table

2.8 presents the shared characteristics of definitions introduced by four different scholars.

Table 2.8 Definitions of policy implementation

"The carrying out of basic policy decisions, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of implementing executive orders or court decisions". Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983:20)

"Putting policies into practice or a series of governmental decisions and actions directed toward putting an already decided mandate into effect". (Lester and Stewart, 2000:7)

"What develops between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of government to do something or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action" O'Toole (2000: 266)

"(Definition 1) Implementation = F (Intention, Output and Outcome) where implementation refers to the bringing about, by means of outputs, of outcomes that are congruent with the original intention(s)", and " (Definition 2) Implementation = F (Policy, Outcome, Formator, Implementer, Initiator, Time). (Lane, 2000:97-99)

This study adopts a simple definition of policy implementation as 'putting policies into practice' (Lester and Stewart, 2000). This may either include a series of governmental decisions and actions directed toward putting an already decided mandate into effect or a series of networking actions to achieve the policy goals.

Implementation is perhaps the most important and difficult part of the policy process. This may be due to oversimplified assumptions and a view that a policy will implement itself after its formulation (Lewis and Wallace, 1984). Practically, the implementation of policy frequently involves exchanges, it is also open to dispute and negotiation between organisations at different levels of government, or between centre and periphery, or between the public and private sectors (Cline, 2000). Policy implementers are responsible for operating, mediating and negotiating between conflicting groups (Flynn, 1993; Greed, 1996). At times, there are issues of inadequate funding (Nixon, 1993). Additionally, complex legal situations may also affect policy implementation (Lewis and Wallace, 1984, Greed, 1996; Lane, 2000). Policy implementers therefore need to adopt various tactics in finding an effective means of application, often by either looking for alternative means of fulfilling the original intentions of their plans or incorporating professional expertise and good judgement in order to avoid being overwhelmed by the various changes and problems that occur during the implementation process (Greed, 1996). The implementation process is evidently highly political and time-consuming (Hupe, 1993; Flynn, 1993).

The fact that central government does not really execute its own policies is another problematic consideration. Since implementation on the ground is mainly

carried out by local authorities, public corporations, firms or other agencies (Lewis and Wallace, 1984), it is evident that the divisions and distances between organisations render implementation complication and uncertainty (Lipsky, 1980; Hupe, 1993; Bergen and White, 2005). According to Lewis and Wallace (1984), implementation difficulties are often exacerbated by growth in the scale of government, which causes new interrelationships within government and between government and other organisations and agencies. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) suggest that the possibility of successful implementation may be 'less than 50 percent' as the implementation process passes through several hierarchical levels. However, it is undeniable that policy implementation is also dependent on the central government as a provider of policy instructions, instruments, resources and statutory power within government institutions (Gogging et al., 1990). Strategies for policy implementation may thus include being programmed and adaptive (Lewis and Wallace, 1984). The former involves carefully defining goals, assigning responsibilities, and laying down clear and detailed programmes of activities. The latter allows flexibility for the implementers in cases where varying circumstances are found in practice (Berman, 1980). Putting policy into practice therefore is not easy (Hill, 1993b). This must be taken into consideration especially when implementing a policy in different countries and in different policy fields.

2.5.2 Policy implementation and approaches to implementation process

So far, it has been noted that policy implementation commonly involves a variety of actors, organisations, procedures and techniques whose relations and performance affect the whole policy process and outcomes (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984 and 1993; Parsons, 1995). The implementation process is therefore a complex process of planning, inter-organisational relations, coordination, communication and promotion that are necessary in order to achieve policy goals (Lewis and Wallace, 1984; Jasanoff, 1991). Fundamentally, five main activities typically occur in the process of implementing a policy. These are the passing of enabling laws by the state, administrative rule making, deploying resources, monitoring and enforcement, and the redesign of policies (Lester and Stewart, 2000). In other words, policy implementation involves enacting the regulations, delegating the authority to run the policy programme, funding the programme and hiring sufficient staff to provide for adequate implementation (Parsons, 1995). Sufficient time, cooperation of the implementing organisation's members, adequate accompanying resource level and the satisfactory

40

performance of tasks to carry out the intent of the law and specific policies are also important factors in policy implementation (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980; Hupe, 1993; McCabe, 1994; Morah, 1996). The possibility of violations to what is required to comply with the policy must also be taken into account (Lewis and Wallace, 1984).

There are several broad types of agents involved in a complex implementation relationship (Hjern and Porter, 1993). These may include the bureaucracy (administrative agencies), the legislature (legislative bodies) who are involved in formulating as well as implementing policy, the courts that enforce legislation through the judicial process, pressure groups that seek to influence the laws and regulations in ways that benefit them, and community-based or local organisations that implement public programmes at the local level (Lester and Stewart, 2000). This emphasises that policy and its implementation are predominantly and traditionally a government-led role limited to policymakers and governmental implementers. Possible implementation mechanisms therefore generally include classic technocrats, instructed delegation, bargaining, discretionary experiments (policymakers supports and delegate authority to implementers) and bureaucratic entrepreneurship (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980:54).

However, it is commonly stressed that the existence of governmental actors does not ensure effective policy implementation outcomes. There might be a struggle with the differences between the planning, implementation and development processes since values among policymakers are not necessarily shared by officials who must implement the policy (McCabe, 1994). According to Greed (1996), the planners, planning authorities and implementers may not be located in a key position in relation to the decision-making hierarchy. They may therefore not be in a position to influence cooperation at different levels. Street-level implementers or bureaucrats may be far from central government, resulting in governments lacking total control over the system (Hupe, 1993; Nixon, 1993; Greed, 1996).

By its very nature, implementation may not be achieved at an early stage. Policy itself can only be a tentative solution to a problem because it entails putting the policy hypothesis that is adopted to be tested against the reality of the specific environment (Lewis and Wallace, 1984). Policy should therefore be subject to correction, negotiation and uncertainty (Lewis and Wallace, 1984; Lane, 2000). Implementation is thus part of a policy action continuum in which an interactive and negotiative process takes place over time between those seeking to put policy into effect and those upon whom its application depends (Barrett and Fudge, 1981:25). Implementers hence cannot be certain in advance of successful policy outcomes.

It is increasingly argued that policy implementation must be flexible and experimental and pay the fullest attention to its wider environment (Gogging *et al.*, 1990; Jenkins, 1993). Early attention to the requirements of implementation enables the participants to tackle the problems that are likely later to create misunderstandings, conflicts and delay (Dye, 1984). According to Lewis and Wallace (1984), unpredictable circumstances can be reduced by implementers identifying at an early stage the conditions under which policy objectives may be successfully translated into action. Furthermore, implementation requires an implementation structure, appropriate implementation mechanisms, a delivery system, institutional capabilities and an appropriate institutional setting (Hjern and Porter, 1981). Significantly, when the outcome of a policy is uncertain, the implementers must expect to adjust its content from time to time (Lester and Stewart, 2000). Feedback is also another essential implementation mechanism. This generally comprises of two types: negative feedback that corrects deviations from the original objectives, and positive feedback which rewards implementation of a policy as intended (Lewis and Wallace, 1984). As Greed (1996) sums up, effective implementation can be promoted through using a range of tools, including negotiation, management techniques, legal measures, political lobbying, cooperation with the private sector and the application of professional expertise and experience. Its success occurs when government requests are complied with by their agencies, when agencies are held accountable for achieving specific measures of success, and when local goals are achieved (Ingram and Schneider, 1990).

Debates about 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to policy implementation are common in the literature (Hill, 1993b; Sabatier, 1993; Matland, 1995; Parsons, 1995; Lester and Stewart, 2000) A top-down approach, or even combinations of top down and bottom-up elements, is regarded as being required for policy-making in order to identify, manage and distribute the policy objectives and the necessary resources and powers (Matland, 1995). Top-down theorists see policy designers as the central actors and concentrate their attention on factors that can be manipulated at the central level (Barrett and Fudge, 1981). Their models see implementation as being concerned with the degree to which the actions of implementers and target groups coincide with policy goals (Sabatier, 1993). They often see local actors as impediments to successful implementation. Top down policy research therefore commonly includes an emphasis on the clear definition of policy goals, the minimisation of the number of actors, the limitation of the extent of change necessary and the allocation of implementation

responsibility to an agency sympathetic with the policy's goals (Hill, 1993b; Sabatier, 1993; Parsons, 1995).

Such approaches however, may well be undermined at the local level in unstable or unpredictable contexts. As Hill (1997) notes, the local level must be heeded and worked with by the central government. Three sets of criticisms of top down approaches are therefore introduced. Firstly the model takes 'official' language as its starting point. Secondly, top-down theorists have been accused of seeing implementation as a purely administrative process, ignoring the political aspects (Hogwood and Gunn, 1993; Matland, 1995). That is, policy can be obscure, ambiguous and even meaningless and local implementers and local people may have to cope with a mountain of legislation without proper local negotiation and compromise (Barrett and Hill, 1984; Hill, 1997). Finally top down models have been criticised for their exclusive emphasis on the statute framers as key actors (Parsons, 1995), and neglect of other actors (Barrett and Fudge, 1981). A potential new approach to this problem is therefore to find ways of accommodating and monitoring the behaviour of lower-level actors and being more responsive to local messages about policies and their implementation)(Hupe, 1993).

While it is widely accepted that policy is normally made at 'the top' and is largely implemented at 'the bottom', it is often contended that if a policy is to be implemented locally, people at the local level are then the appropriate policymakers as this is where the problems are really understood (Hjern and Hull, 1982). According to Matland (1995), policy implementation occurs at two levels: at the 'macro-implementation' level (centrally located actors devise a government programme) and at the 'micro-implementation' level (local organisations react to the macrolevel plans). Most implementation problems stem from the interaction of a policy with the microlevel institutional setting where there are contextual factors within the implementing environment that can completely dominate rules created at the top of the implementing pyramid (Matland, 1995). For these reasons, policy designers may be unable to control implementation (Berman, 1978). If local level implementers are not given the freedom to adapt the programme to local conditions, it is likely to fail (Nixon, 1993).)

'Bottom-up' theorists therefore emphasise target groups and service deliverers (Elmore, 1978 and 1980; Barrett and Fudge, 1981; Hjern and Porter, 1981; Hjern and Hull, 1982). Bottom-up theorists start with analysis of the multitude of actors who interact at the operational (local) level on a particular problem or issue (Sabatier, 1993). In other words, their research is predicated on the significance of the relationship

between actors involved in a policy or problem area and the limitations of formal hierarchies in such conditions (Parsons, 1995). A bottom-up approach demonstrates how easily the aims of central initiatives are undermined at the local level through interactions, conflict, power and empowerment (Hill, 1993b; Parsons, 1995).

Bottom-up models are subject to two criticisms (Matland, 1995). The first is normative criticism associated with the control that should be exercised by actors whose power derives from their accountability to sovereign voters through their elected representatives. The second criticism is methodological involving an overemphasis on local autonomy. Also, according to Sabatier (1993:280), bottom-up theorists are "not primarily concerned with the implementation (carrying out) of a policy *per se* but rather with understanding actor interaction in a specific policy sector". Matland (1995) contends that top-down models are more appropriate in the early stage of planning whereas bottom-up perspectives are more relevant at later stages of the implementation process. The different approaches have relative advantages as explanations in different contexts (Sabatier, 1986). In fact, the top-down and bottom-up concepts are not mutually exclusive. The 'realities' embodied in these models can be applied through research that combines elements of both approaches (Degeling, 1993).

According to Parsons (1995:463), there are also hybrid theories that see implementation as evolution, learning, as part of a policy-action continuum, inter-organisational analysis, part of a policy sub-system and as public sector management. There is also an emergent combination of top-down and bottom up models (Matland, 1995). This research combines the top-down unit of analysis with bottom-up concerns with socio-economic conditions and constraints 'on the ground'. This attempt, initiated by Elmore (1982), is associated with forward and backward mapping. Forward mapping consists of the clarity of a given policy's objectives, detailed implementation means and explicit outcome criteria. Backward mapping fundamentally involves studying behavioural changes at the local level linked to a policy's implementation (Elmore, 1985).

Policy implementation therefore may not be understood solely from one agreed theoretical approach (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; Parsons, 1995; Hill, 1997; Lane, 2000). There are in fact many other political science approaches, theories and processes that can explain how policy is made and implemented (O'Toole, 2000). This has led to several research designs along with a variety of implementation models. Some of these models are more relevant to this research than others. Selected theories and approaches to understanding policy implementation are summarised in the Table 2.9.

Table 2.9 Selected implementation theories, rationales and processes

Selected implementation theories, rationales and processes	Descriptions
Institutional approaches (John, 2000:15-16)	Concerned with political organisations (parliaments, legal systems and bureaucracies), structure, policy decisions and outcomes.
Group and network approaches (De Bruijn and ten Heuvelhof, 1995; Kickert *et al.*, 1997; John, 2000; Lester and Stewart, 2000)	Entails associations and informal relationships, both within and outside political institutions that shape decisions and outcomes. Two characteristics of networks are explained, firstly, Pluriformality; some networks are in a single organisation and some are related to many organisations, thus, a network's treatment depends on its nature. More pluriform networks are less likely to be successful in policy implementation. Secondly, Self-contained networks are likely to be self-protective from exogenous conflicts. More self-contained networks may be more successful therefore in implementation due to their agreement on goals.
Socio-economic approaches (O'Toole, 2000)	Deals with socio-economic factors that determine the decisions of public actors and that affect policy outputs and outcomes.
Substantively Weighted Analytical Techniques or SWAT (Meier and Keiser,1996)	A set of refinements in the use of statistical inference to take into account interests in improving performance. SWAT was used in a cross-state analysis of policy implementation and its key contribution was to argue for the desirability, under some circumstances, of examining outlier cases distinctively in multivariate modelling in order to see what they might reveal about unusual combinations of production factors in high-and low-performing instances
New Public Management (NPM) Peters (2000)	Suggests that the government should "steer, not row", and asserts that policy tools, the management of tools and their problems should be explicitly recognised.
Policy interaction model Chackerian and Mavima (2001)	Resources are regarded as an important instrument in successful implementation, low costs and synergistic resources facilitate achievement. In other words, with political agreement and low implementation costs, the programme will be quickly implemented.
Institutional Analysis and Development (Ostrom, 1999)	Institutional analysis that is largely based in a rational-choice perspective and goal of understanding the emergence and impact of variegated institutional forms. It offers benefits for better clarification of implementation action including multi-actors and multi-levels involved.
'Governance' approach (Kickert et. al, 1997; O'Toole, 2000).	Multi-actor network patterns that emphasise the multi-layered structural context of rule-governed understandings, along with the role of multiple social actors in arrays of negotiation, implementation and service delivery.

It is clear that policy implementation is an extremely complex process, lacking a simple and linear process. It also involves complex political, administrative and economic contexts in which social, local and behavioural influences are vital. Research on policy implementation has, in many respects entered a mature stage with increasing publication of relevant research that is relevant to this study. Although weaknesses in the field remain apparent (O'Toole, 2000), theories on policy implementation can complement each other and be part of an overall explanation (John, 2000). Attention to implementation approaches is mainly given to both top-down and bottom-up theories which have influenced this study's conceptual framework. This is discussed in the next chapter. The next section deals with underlying influences on implementation success.

2.5.3 Potential influences on implementation success

Since little has been said in the context of the developing world, existing influences and barriers to policy implementation from a western perspective are explored here. A wide range of typologies and variables derived from various studies of implementation have been developed since the late 1970s (O'Toole, 2000). The variables considered range from initial management to resource allocation, actors,

institutional structures, as well as unpredictable extrinsic factors which are major influences on policy implementation (Matland, 1995; Lester and Stewart, 2000).

Top-down research in this regard has focused on how governments put their policies into practice and on the policy objectives, while bottom-up perspectives have been applied to studies of the significance of policy environments, the network of actors involved in service delivery, local implementation and socio-cultural factors. Examples of a top-down perspective include Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), Hill (1993a) and Cline (2000) who pay attention to policy objectives and performance, planning, and structural and bureaucratic agents. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) also suggest 16 variables related to policy implementation within three major categories: the tractability of the problem; the ability of the state effectively to structure the implementation process; and the variables that affect implementation that are not directly part of the state. Further details of these scholars' variables are presented in Table 2.10.

Table 2.10 Top-down perspectives on policy implementation success

Sources	Top-down perspectives on policy implementation success
Van Meter and Van Horn (1975 in Lester and Stewart, 2000)	1.Policy standards and objectives 2.Policy resources (funds or other incentives) 3.Inter-organisational communication and enforcement activities 4.Characteristics of implementing agencies (e.g. staff size, degree of hierarchical control, organisational vitality) 5.Economic, social and political conditions 6.The disposition of the implementers
Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983)	1.Availability of valid technical theory and technology 2.Diversity of target-group behaviour 3.Extent of behavioural change required 4.Clear and consistent objectives 5.Incorporation of adequate causal theory 6.Financial resources 7.Hierarchical integration with and among implementing institutions 8.Decision-rules of implementing officials 9.Recruitment of implementing officials 10.Formal access by outsiders 11.Socio-economic conditions and technology 12.Media attention to the problem 13.Public support 14.Attitudes and resources of constituency groups 15.Support from leaders 16.Commitment and leadership skills of implementing officials
Hill (1993a)	1. Planning and co-ordination 2. Information systems 3. Resource management 4. Reduction and improvement
Cline (2000)	1.Technical competence...of bureaucratic agents 2.The enforcement of illegitimate political preferences by the agents 3.The structural characteristics of the implementing institutions 4. Communication between policymakers and subordinates

From a bottom up perspective, there are varying degrees of distinction between policy formulation and policy implementation (Lewis and Wallace, 1984; Matland, 1995). Bottom up perspectives recognise that implementation is a complex phenomenon involving a number of actors, organisations, procedures and techniques (Lester and Stewart, 2000). Attention is thus given to the nature of implementation that is subject to change and adaptation over time and in different situations (Lewis and Wallace, 1984). Some studies best demonstrate the features of bottom-up approach. These include identification of locally adverse limitations over a project's implementation (Oxford Polytechnic, 1985), recognition of public consultation and harmonisation within

implementing arenas (Greed, 1996) and the importance of external circumstances and good co-ordination among the networks of actors in the implementation structure (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; Lewis and Wallace, 1984). Further details of these factors are summarised in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11 Bottom-up perspectives on policy implementation success

Sources	Bottom up perspectives on policy implementation success
Hogwood and Gunn (1984); (1993); Parsons (1995)	1. The circumstances external to the implementing agency do not impose constraints. 2. Adequate time and sufficient resources are made available to the programme. 3. The required combination of resources is available at each stage of the implementation process. 4. The policy to be implemented is based upon a valid theory of cause and effect. 5. The relationship between cause and effect is direct and there are few if any, intervening links. 6. Dependency relationships are minimal. 7. There is understanding of, and agreement on, objectives. 8. Tasks are fully specified in correct sequence. 9. There is perfect communication and co-ordination. 10. Those in authority can demand and obtain perfect compliance.
Lewis and Wallace (1984)	**1. Structural adjustment:** Implementation of large-scale structural change requires substantial institutional capabilities and robust inter-organisational relations. **2. Industrial turbulence:** The different types of adjustment problems require appropriate handling to maintain the momentum for change without provoking counter-productive conflicts. **3. Supply management:** It is essential to be clear at what level problems should be addressed to carefully design adequate policy resources.
Oxford Polytechnic (1985)	**1. Resource problems:** Instability of resource allocation, staff limitations, the contextual nature of the major resource problems **2. Problems arising from powers and policy intentions:** The nature of planning powers; the ability to sustain consistent support for policies over time; plan modification, disagreement and conflict among several tiers **3. Problems arising from interests in the policy:** Opposition, delays, reluctance and external agencies. **4. Problems arising from physical site characteristics:** Localities, maintenance, externality effects.
Greed (1996)	1. Harmonisation of all current built environment legislation 2. Full public consultation and participation over the contents 3. Redefinition of the scope and nature of planning to include the insides as well as the outsides of buildings 4. The promotion and provision of statutory powers for a wider social and economic agenda. 5. Great emphasis on how people use cities in planning education 6. Reinvestment in local government and greater funding for public works, physical infrastructure and social infrastructure 7. Greater liaison between the different areas of planning, especially on local government committees and initiatives. 8. Introduction of social impact assessment (SIA) for all new schemes 9. Greater control and monitoring. 10. Clearer support for development-led planning 11. Greater representation of community interests in planning appeals 12. More effective organisation of the levels of planning authorities. 13. Proper research is required on the actual needs of the public. 14. Introduction of timetable plans to enable the co-ordination.

Top-down and bottom-up perspectives both generate useful variables for research on policy implementation. Many, if not most, administrative arrangements involve a delicate balance between central and local government (Hill, 1993a). This study does not claim to be exclusively top down or bottom up. Both approaches contribute to this research. Despite the large number of variables, they have some shared characteristics. They are all concerned with structures, administration, organisations, actors from central to local levels and local or external circumstances. Predominantly derived from western theorists, this study will recognise variables from

different countries, notably a developing world context. Five issues can be emphasised here to highlight the significance of understanding policy implementation across national boundaries. These are presented in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12 Issues of different national environments for policy implementation

1) Environments in other countries can be more complex and unpredictable due to their distance away from the implementer.
2) Environments seem to have unfamiliar connections compared with others – greater so-called environmental turbulence.
3) The national economic conditions might have an influence on financial resources and possible cutbacks.
4) There is the transnational dimension itself.
5) Policy implementation depends greatly on the administrative limits, strategies and styles in each country. In some countries policy implementation may be relatively insulated from external influences, especially from pressures for community involvement.

Source: Lewis and Wallace (1984).

In conclusion, there are various potential variables influencing policy implementation. The paucity of research in different national contexts is noted. This highlights the need for implementation studies in different countries, and notably developing countries. It also calls for more attention to socio-cultural and organisational cultures as well as local environments. This research aims to contribute to the under-researched area of not only tourism policy studies but also policy implementation studies in developing world contexts more generally. The nature of developing countries is discussed in the following section.

2.6 DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

This section discusses the developing world context in relation to policy implementation. Three areas are highlighted. These are public administration in developing countries, key influences on public administration and, policy implementation in developing countries.

2.6.1 Development and public administration in developing countries

Developing countries are often defined as being the world's relatively poor, lower income, nations in contrast with industrialised nations (Lea, 1988). The term has also been used to indicate those countries not belonging to Western (Capitalist) or Communist political systems (Morrish, 1983). These nations are also distinguished using other terms, such as underdeveloped countries, the 'Third World', poor countries, the South, and Less-Developed Countries (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). According to Todaro (1982:xxi), 'Third World' nations are economically distinct from the advanced 'Capitalist' '(First World)' and (former) 'Socialist' '(Second World)' countries. It is difficult to accurately define such a broad and all-embracing term, but some general

48

features and circumstances are often identified. A common characteristic is the wide gap in incomes between a wealthy minority and the poverty of the majority of the population (Liu and Wall, 2006). Countries in the developing world frequently face such problems as poverty, high unemployment, high population densities and deficient sanitation and health care (Clapham, 1985). Developing countries also mostly rely on agriculture and primary products, such as raw materials and agricultural goods, for their main earnings from foreign trade (Harrison, 1992b). Although it is necessary to acknowledge the increasing wealth of some countries in South Asia and the Pacific Rim (Mowforth and Munt, 1998), in each of the regions of the world, there are relative levels of development which makes the concept of developing countries a very broad one (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997).

It is important to note that urbanisation has dramatically taken place in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America (UN, 1974). For instance, some countries are newly regarded as economic-fast-growing developing nations such as the 'Asian Tigers' (Chen, 2004). This is due to rapid economic growth as compared with other poor countries. Interestingly, while urban development assists with economic productivity and poverty alleviation, it can also result in problems for these countries. These problems include a growing disparity between rich and poor and the promotion of western materialistic lifestyles in some Third world countries (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). As Tosun (2001) states, the processes of globalization also have far reaching economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental consequences for developing countries.

Many developing countries have a shared history of colonisation by Western countries, particularly in Africa. This has resulted in post-colonial public administrations that reflect this colonial past (Turner and Hulme, 1997). Other countries that escaped colonialism, such as Thailand, have held on to their indigenous and strongly hierarchical administration systems, in some cases derived from monarchies (Clapham, 1985). Developing countries mostly became independent from colonial powers in the 1950s and 1960s (Hughes, 2003). After World War II, many of these countries experienced conflicts and frequent military coups d'etat, and such political institutions as parties, bureaucracies, and other political organisations have often remained weak and unstable (Clapham, 1985). Developing countries followed the traditional model of public administration both during and immediately following independence (Hughes, 2003). It is unsurprising that strongly hierarchical and authoritarian political authority is almost ubiquitous in most developing countries

(Tosun, 2000; Tosun, 2001). As a result, strict hierarchies are the norm, public administration is centrally concentrated and all the familiar bureaucratic conditions of service prevail.

Due to their highly centralised political system, decision-making usually begins and ends at the top, while implementation occurs at the bottom (Saxena, 1996). The public policy framework mostly involves autocrats, officials, elites and political leaders (Hughes, 2003), and they possess power over their civilians and exercise their powers in accordance with formal national legal criteria (Turner and Hulme, 1997). In the worst cases, according to the World Bank (1997:2),"powerful rulers act arbitrarily, corruption is endemic, development falters and poverty endures".

Clapham (1985) observes that public administration systems in developing countries are typically held together by oaths of loyalty and kinship ties as opposed to more professional systems of administrative grades and functions. Political leaders in developing countries often need to maintain coalitions involving a range of related parties and groups due to the weakness and instability of political regimes (Murray, 1997). The building of coalitions with social classes, institutional groups, trade unions and small organisations is clearly important for administrative stability in developing countries (Clapham, 1985). Major political risk may occur if some alliance members are missing. Often, the military is regarded as a particularly powerful group that is influential to a country's politics and administration (Samudavanija, 1992; Laothamata and Macintyre, 2000).

Efficiency in public administration in most developing countries is not only influenced by its historical centralisation but also through undeveloped democratic political regimes. Many developing countries have commonly adopted the rhetoric of democracy. However, this has often taken a nominal, limited or a semi-democratic form (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983; Samudavanija, 1989; Suwannathat-Pian, 2003). Centralisation and command-and control government is a threat to democracy (Epp, 1997). Developing countries are often *de facto* ruled by strong interest groups and associations who seek to use their positions to obtain positions of power and economic benefits (Clapham, 1985). There is often no middle group to balance the power of the political rulers and the success of governmental administration depends ultimately on non-governmental institutions (Epp, 1997).

There however appears to be a transformation in developing countries public administration systems. For instance, the concept of decentralisation has gained increasing importance in some developing countries over the past two decades (Turner

and Hulme, 1997). This is viewed as a key to improvements in the planning and implementation required for development and to facilitate effective participation in the process (Gow and Morss, 1988). The emergence of new governance approaches is also attributed to growing pressure for participatory decision-making, local empowerment and collaborative approaches in developing countries (Turner and Hulme, 1997). Nevertheless, it is criticised that decentralised approaches will not guarantee success and compliance with local policies (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983). In some cases the traditional hierarchies are as strong as ever (Garnett *et al.*, 1997), and continue to manage these countries by reactive responses to crises and by fire fighting (Brinkerhoff, 1996a; 1996b).

It therefore appears that their previous history of colonisation has done little to prepare developing countries for the democratic organisation of public administration and their politicians too often have little experience of democracy and little commitment to democratic political processes (Cammack *et al.*, 1993). Developing countries are too often dominated by high-level bureaucrats and influential interest groups. Centralised public administrative systems thus seem hard to change. Although transformation and transition in developing countries public administration is being witnessed, the question is how much and how quickly developing countries, can adapt to change.

2.6.2 Key influences on public administration in developing countries

It is evident that public administration in developing countries relies heavily on central governments and their agencies. Governments unsurprisingly play important roles and responsibilities in many aspects of the national development (Cammack, 1997). With authoritarian governments lacking democratic pressures and expectations, most developing countries experience political instability, which stems from circumstances such as changes in ruling personnel, allocation of power and resources (Clark, 1974). Under their weak political development, their public administration is often exacerbated by discontinuity in governmental and administrative performance and unaccountability (Harrison, 1992b). When state capacity is low, its performance of political actions is correspondingly low. This greatly affects policy implementation success. However, the lack of government capacity and political systems are not the only key influences on public administration. This study considers influential factors that impinge on the effectiveness and efficiency of public administration in developing countries. It is proposed that these involve three broad categories; economic, political and administrative and finally, socio-cultural influences.

First, developing world countries usually suffer from a lack of capital, expertise in developing political and economic potential and insufficient infrastructure (Snider, 1996). Their low levels of development and need for capital often results in severe deficits in the balance of payments with chronic problems of depreciating currency values and heavy reliance on foreign aid or loans (Lea, 1988). A large proportion of their export earnings must often be used to pay foreign debt, rather than for new economic and social development (Goldstone, 2001). Not only may this contribute to general managerial problems, it may also result in a small number of well-trained experts in various policy fields due to an inability to invest in staff development (Koch, 1997 in Schyvens, 2002). Ultimately, these resource deficits will lead to a lack of effective planning and implementation of plans (Scheyvens, 2002), as well as less attention to other important issues such as the environment and social development (Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Harrison, 2004).

Second, since many developing countries are exercising a relatively centralised and autocratic system for their public administration (McCargo, 2001), decentralisation and new governance systems not being favoured (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983; Cammack *et al.* 1993). Their traditional political system thus hinders reforms to effective public administration. When instructions are not clear, due to the inadequacies of their political system or erratic political leaders, a serious imbalance can arise (Hughes, 2003). Significantly, public administration in developing countries is susceptible to corruption since officials typically exercise a substantial amount of power (Huque, 1996). There are evidently possibilities for acquiring improper benefits by interpreting and bending laws, policies and regulations in favour of certain groups or individuals (Clapham, 1985). Public officials also often suffer from low wages, irregular payments and limited support (Brown, 1989). Corruption and patron-client relationships can therefore flourish. While corruption is known as "the use of public powers in order to achieve private goals", clientelism can be referred as "fundamentally a relationship of exchange in which a superior (or patron) provides security for an inferior (or client), and the client in turn provides support for the patron"(Clapham, 1985: 50-55). A key reason for corruption in developing countries also includes the inheritance of cultural values based on a strongly patrimonial history. For complex public administrations in developing countries, radical decentralisation and new governance may not always be the best solution as the good intentions and intended policy networks can easily fall apart.

A final proposed influence on public administration is issues related to socio-cultural values in developing countries. Although the distinctive cultural and historical setting found in each nation create cultural differences (Mortan, 1996), there are some broad similarities in the cultural characteristics found in developing countries. These include the importance of religion, kinship and the influence of nepotism, cronyism and clientelism (Clapham, 1985; Saxena, 1996). Some specific cultural characteristics may inhibit public administration (Komin, 1991). For instance, a diverse ethnic composition of a developing country's population may also complicate public administration at central and local levels (Lewis and Wallace, 1984). This directs attention to socio-cultural issues in policy implementation research. This study discusses the case study specific socio-cultural issues in chapter Five.

2.6.3 Policy implementation in developing countries

Although scholars of policy implementation are unable to ignore the domination of theory developed in the West, policy implementation in developing countries can be largely different from the developed world. This study proposes three considerations relating to policy implementation in developing countries. First, their administration and organisational arrangements are regarded as vital constraints to effective policy implementation in developing countries (Morah, 1996). According to Inskeep (1991), their centralised form can be more difficult than a more decentralised administration. A highly centralised government administration may result in policies and regulations being less strictly enforced in remote areas as a consequence of their long distance from centres of policy-making (Brinkerhoff, 1996b). Their bureaucratic system may become an obstacle to swift actions needed at local level (Morah, 1996). Second, their economic weaknesses may constrain developing country governments from implementing policy (Cammack *et a.l*, 1993). Finally, their socio-cultural contexts are complex, which may also have a significant bearing on the climate for policy implementation.

As previously discussed, there has been limited research on policy implementation in developing countries. Developing world literature is abundant instead in aspects of development. From limited available sources on policy implementation in developing countries, scholars tend to focus on aspects of administration, institutions, resources and socio-cultural life. Lack of financial and staff resources, unaccountability of public administration such as poor power delegation and limited public involvement, and complex traditions and cultural values are potential complications for policy implementation (Gow and Morss, 1988; Crosby, 1996; Morah,

1996; Synder et al., 1996; Brinkerhoff, 1996a, 1996b; Garnett *et al.*, 1997). Table 2.13 displays some research on policy implementation in developing countries.

Table 2.13 Research on policy implementation in developing countries

Sources	Influential factors to policy implementation
Garnett et al., (1997) (Zambia)	1. Co-ordination among the involved parties (in particular at the very top levels, which often resulted in poorly written policies). 2. Limited financial resources.
Gow and Morss (1988) (Developing countries)	1. Politics 2. Economics 3. Institutions 4. Personnel 5. Participation 6. Historical factors 7. Local participation 8. Lack of consensus 9. Ethnicity
Crosby (1996) (Developing countries)	1. Resource accumulation 2. Clear requirement for policy implementers to work with other agencies in co-operative or collaborative arrangements in order to release the necessary resources.
Tong et al. (1999) (China)	1. Administrative autonomy 2. Competition for better employees 3. Recruiting and retaining qualified personnel 4. Measuring and evaluating performance 5. The emphasis of management training 6. Changing administrative cultures 7. Poor recognition of local conditions
Brinkerhoff (1996a) (Developing countries)	1. Ability to respond to the many obstacles to attaining wide consensus and support. 2. Ability to deal with external relationships and interdependencies. 3. Participation
Morah (1996) (Africa)	1. Administrative control 2. Policy resources 3. Inter-governmental and agency relations 4. The substantive nature of policy 5. Pressure politics 6. Consensus on goals 7. Clarity of goals and communication 8. The position of the actors 9. The complexity of causation 10. The theory of causation 11. Evaluation design 12. The participatory process 13. Uncertainties 14. The political and socio-economic context
Mortan (1996) (Philippines)	1. The complexity of the interrelationships between cultural values, administrative issues and economic problems
Hyden (1983 in Brown, 1989:370) (African systems)	1. The wider networks of support 2. Communication 3. Interaction among structurally-defined groups that are connected by blood, kin, community or other affinities.
Synder et al (1996) (Developing countries)	1. Stakeholders involvement 2. Building organisational capacity 3. Trainings 4. Resources 5. Changing agents 6. Communication 7. Enforcement and compliance
Brinkerhoff (1996b) (Madagascar)	1. Specification of roles 2. Co-ordination in policy implementation network 3. Reduced interdependencies 4. Shortening of the implementation cycle 5. Attention to building capacity
Puppim de Oliveira (2002) (Brazil)	1. Political support 2. funding 3. Institutional capacity 3.1 Involvement of non-governmental agencies in order to increase funding 3.2 Gaining political support at central governmental level before a development is proposed 3.3 Increasing competition among governmental agencies 3.4 Improving their capacity and work to secure local support 4. Support at local level
Garcia-Zamor (1990) (Developing countries)	1. Foreign aid 2. The overly centralised structure of their administration 3. An adherence to highly bureaucratic models
Livingstone (1990) (Developing countries)	1. Professional and technical training 2. Training in financial management and control 3. Administrative and management training
Hafez Awamleh (1990) (Jordan)	1. Financial and human resources 2. Technology and skills 3. Uncertainties and instability 4. Social understanding and co-operation 5. Uncontrollable markets 6. Adaptation to changing environments
Younis (1990) (Developing countries)	1. Solid or well-defined policies 2. Effective control and evaluation of implementation 3. Motivation and commitment to goal achievement 4. Financial resources 5. Red tape (Complexity of procedures) 6. Economic and political instability 7. Follow-up control in the process.

It is noticeable that there are numerous factors influencing policy implementation in developing countries. Policy implementation also varies depending on the nature of a policy, methods used as well as complexities in each country. Under confused, largely centralised pattern of public administration (Younis, 1990), policy implementation relies largely on interactions among the implementation network, collaborative actions and adequate resources (Brinkerhoff, 1996b). Recognising and understanding the root causes of gaps between policy intentions, and their practice on the ground manifests the significance of this research that aims at fuller and more articulated understanding of policy implementation with respect to tourism in developing countries. The next section examines the relationships between tourism, policy implementation and developing countries.

2.7 TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The focus of this final section is to establish and demonstrate the close relationships between tourism and public policy implementation in developing countries. This is also an area that has received limited research attention. For many developing countries, tourism has become a major economic sector (Mason, 1990). As travel to many developing countries has developed as a tourist market trend (Mill and Morrison, 1998), tourism has become widely regarded as a vital mechanism for national and regional economic development (Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Cornelissen, 2005). In the meantime, tourism has also created various impacts in developing countries (de Kadt, 1980; Lea, 1988; Hall, 1994b; Burns and Holden, 1995). As a result, tourism policy and implementation in developing countries deserves more analysis and understanding. The study considers four connections between tourism policy and its implementation in developing countries. These include tourism policy objectives in developing countries, tourism development and impacts in developing countries, tourism policy processes in developing countries and finally tourism policy implementation in developing countries.

2.7.1 Tourism policy objectives in developing countries

Although tourism is not new in many developing countries, it has relatively seen as an economic panacea (Oppermann and Chon, 1997). Within the highly competitive and unreliable world of agricultural trade and due to the supposedly easy income earnings from the tourism industry, many developing countries have promoted

international tourism with a view to capturing its potential economic contribution (WTO, 2001). Tourism is thus treated as part of a national economic development programme (Ghimire, 2001; Harrison, 2001a). Accordingly, policy incentives have been designed to attract foreign capital and income in developing countries (Pearce, 1992). Developing country governments commonly aim to influence tourism through economic, fiscal and investment polices (Oppermann and Chon, 1997; WTO, 2004). Many policies are 'foreign-market oriented', focusing mainly on extracting income from foreign tourists (Kaosa-ard *et al.*, 2001).

The policy emphasis on developing a tourism industry in developing countries is often in response to encouragement from international agencies. As Goldstone (2001) observes, many international organisations such as the World Bank, United Nations and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have stressed market-oriented policies to boost foreign exchange and development in less-developed countries with particular emphasis on how service-sectors such as tourism could be an important source of revenue. International tourism from the developed world to developing countries is therefore seen as contributing foreign exchange earnings to help in overcoming infrastructural, locational and economic disadvantages in developing countries (Oppermann and Chon, 1997). As a result, tourism is one of the few sectors of international trade in services which developing countries have consistently sought to promote (Goldstone, 2001). It is seen as an invisible export industry which differs from agricultural and mineral exports (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997). It is claimed that tourism incurs lower risks, duties and levies, and lower development and production costs than other agricultural and industrial sectors (Lea, 1988). According to Peppelenbosch and Tempelman (1989), many developing countries simply adopt tourism as an easy way out for foreign currency, by using their available resources to attract people from the developed countries. In other words, they are almost forced to utilise their available resources to survive in the competitive global context (Lea, 1988). It is thus unsurprising that developing countries accord tourism as a high priority in addressing their developmental challenges such as poverty, high unemployment and indebtedness (Scheyvens, 2002). This is why third world tourism seeks to encourage and influence tourism from the first world (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Nevertheless, there are also other social and environmental reasons that motivate developing countries to become involved in tourism. These are summarised in Table 2.14.

Table 2.14 Motivations for tourism development in developing countries

Aside from the economic dominated reasons, attention is also given to national prestige promotion and conservation (Jenkins, 1980:23).

Tourism policy objectives also involve maintaining and improving the image of an area, its environment, the quality of life, maintaining and improving links both within and between nations (Baum, 1994a:186).

Despite some changing perspectives on policies for tourism in recent years (Hall, 2003), an emphasis on economic development persists. As elsewhere, governments have primary responsibility for tourism policies and regulations in developing countries. This however does not ensure their effectiveness. It is evident that strong control and effective policy implementation by governments are critically necessary to prevent and manage such issues as social exploitation, resource deterioration and landscape destruction. An understanding of tourism development impacts is critical, and this is highlighted in the following section.

2.7.2 Tourism impacts in developing countries

There are many examples of how the tourism industry in developing countries can be self-destructive, especially without proper systematic planning (Cater, 1991). Academic research on tourism since the 1970s has included much more recognition and analysis of the negative consequences of tourism development (Lea, 1988; Mowforth and Munt, 1998). It is not only the natural environment but also historical, cultural and built environments which are experiencing degradation as a result of tourism (Mason, 1990; Gartner, 1996). Critics are urging more effective management of tourism development in the developing world, and especially in controlling 'mass tourism' (Scheyvens, 2002). As a result, since the 1980s an 'eco-tourism' approach has become popular in tourism development, with a focus on sustainability, education, local participation and tourism as an aid to conservation (Mowforth and Munt, 1998:98-99). In developing countries where local control over the industry is often limited, three areas of impacts are commonly identified; economic, environmental and socio-cultural (Lea, 1988; Peppelenbosch and Tempelman, 1989; Mason, 1990; Harrison, 1992a; Gartner, 1996; Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Mason, 2003).

First, economic distortions associated with expected earnings and prospects from the tourism industry are experienced in many developing countries. The tourism economy in most developing countries faces leakage of earnings, inflation and dependency (Oppermann and Chon, 1997). Criticism is also pointed at the real value of jobs, employment, social service and infrastructure derived from tourism (Lea, 1988). It

is often contended that the economic contribution of tourism (derived from multiplier models) can also be exaggerated (Gartner, 1996). The economic costs and opportunity costs associated with tourism development may thus outweigh its contributions (Lea, 1988; Mason, 1990; Perez-Ducy de Cuello, 2001).

Second, tourism often results in types of development which can have physical and social repercussions in developing countries (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997). Even though positive evidence about tourism's contribution to conservation is evident, tourism's negative impacts on physical environments have also been widely identified (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1999; Holden, 2000). Most environmental impacts of tourism are associated with a wide range of destructive tourist activities such as physical effects on the natural environment, pollution, erosion, visual/structural change, exploitation and modification of wildlife and vegetation ecology systems (Lea, 1988; Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Benavides and Perez-Ducey, 2001; Mason, 2003). Recognition of these problems has led to increasing environmental policies and regulations emphasising concepts of sustainability in tourism development planning (Cater, 1991). Many developing countries, as a result have attempted to tap into this burgeoning global demand for more sustainable and nature-based forms of tourism (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003a). However, it is also evident that there seem to be contradictions between mass tourism growth and an 'eco-tourism' approach as practiced in many developing countries (Cater, 1996; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Dowling, 2000; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005).

Finally, on the socio-cultural side, tourism in developing countries is often portrayed as being essentially negative, with an emphasis on its role in the transfer of western materialist, capitalist and consumerist values (Goldstone, 2001). Criticism thus focuses on tourism's role in changes in the structure, values and traditions of society in developing countries (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997). Broad impacts of international tourism on socio-cultural conditions in developing countries often highlighted in the academic literature include 'host and guest' interrelationships and the ways in which cultural change is influenced by tourism (Lea, 1988:62). For instance, international tourism can be a threat to cultural heritage, since there is evidence of commercialisation of certain aspects of physical and non-material culture (Lea, 1988; Oppermann and Chon, 1997, Mowforth and Munt, 1998). This can be seen through transition in customs; cultural events and changes in physical culture such as traditional art and artefact production (Cohen, 1995). Furthermore, international tourism in some developing countries is also closely related to the increase in sex tourism (Mason, 1990; Ghimire, 2001; Montgomery, 2001; Seabrook, 2001). Poorly managed international

58

tourism can also be linked with various kinds of crime, disease generation, drug abuse and a rapid undermining of the values and norms in destination areas (Scheyvens, 2002). Hostility and resentment in a host society towards tourism are thus possible in some cases (Gartner, 1996; Mowforth and Munt 1998).

Tourism impacts have clearly drawn more research attention than policy implementation. New and emerging governing systems may enhance a more effective and participatory approach towards tourism control and management. However, given the complex nature of developing countries and the tourism industry, tourism policy implementation is not straightforward. The next section considers tourism policy processes in a developing world context.

2.7.3 Tourism policy process in developing countries

There has been limited research on specific dimensions of tourism policy processes in developing countries. The shortcomings of tourism policy processes in the developing world are associated with the limited study of tourism politics and tourism policy (Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Hall and Jenkins, 2004). However, it is apparent that the policy process in developing countries is commonly dominated by central government and its agencies, often in hierarchical and bureaucratic systems, developed from their past public administration (Hughes, 2003).

According to Hall (1994a), tourism policy processes in developing countries are often designed to serve the interests of politicians, business and elite groups. In other words, the decision-making is limited within the government and governmental agencies at central level leading to little attention to pressure groups at local levels (Murphy, 1985; Hall, 1994a). Tourism policies and planning are commonly exercised in a top down manner from central to regional, provincial and local levels (Greed, 1996). Given the nature of public administration in the developing world, policy processes and performance are often prioritised for only national politicians, bureaucrats and powerful interest groups (Hall, 1994a). Tourism policy-making has become an arena of competing and complementary values and interests due to its perceived economic benefits (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Business, as an interest group, is often regarded as being in a privileged and strong position since business performance affects employment, prices, inflation, production, growth and the standard of living, which are all indicators of a government's success in the public policy process (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). In contrast, powerless interest groups receive less influence and benefits from the tourism industry and its policy processes. Gaps are therefore increasing and cooperation

among them is difficult, which may all have direct impacts on the policy process (Hall, 1994a).

As previously discussed, literature on tourism policy in developing countries has tended to emphasise the generality of policy-making or policy formulation as a whole (Jenkins, 1980; Hall, 1994a). Other processes such as implementation, monitoring and evaluation have received little recognition (Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Elliott, 1997). While implementation can be viewed as the most difficult process for policy in the real world, policy evaluation is also an important consideration for policymakers, administrators, and researchers as systematic approaches to evaluation that attempt to determine the cause-and-effect relationships and rigorously measure the impacts of public policy (Anderson, 1984). With economic deficits, a lack of skilled staff and bureaucratic public administration, the tourism policy process in developing countries is therefore often dominated by powerful or higher-ranking group of people, and involves limited public involvement and lacks monitoring and evaluation process (Clapham, 1985; Synder et al., 1996; Brinkerhoff, 1996b; Puppim de Oliveira, 2002).

Tourism policy processes in developing countries has lacked public scrutiny and evaluation (Tosun, 2000). This may result in power abuse within the public administration. It is also a key reason why there are gaps between the decision-makers and people at local level. It appears that the success of tourism policy in developing countries is contingent on long term management, co-operation and participation, communities' needs and costs, the individual capability of policy practitioners and other exogenous influences (Baum, 1994a; 1994b; Hall, 1994a and Hall and Jenkins, 1995). More case studies and empirical research in the tourism policy process in developing countries are required. Such research will contribute to a greater understanding of tourism policy in the developing world context. The next section discusses specifics on tourism policy implementation in developing countries.

2.7.4 Tourism policy implementation in developing countries

Due to limited studies on tourism policy and politics in tourism, specifics on tourism policy implementation in developing countries are an under-researched area. Tourism policy implementation can be a troublesome area to research due to its paucity and lack of explicit theory or rationale (Hall and Jenkins, 2004). So far, it is generally clear that the proclamation of tourism policy does not guarantee successful implementation outcomes. It is also evident that under complex contexts of developing countries, despite attempts for public administration re-engineering, the developing

world experiences turbulent, dynamic and complex problems (Saxena, 1996). A combination of external and internal factors appears to prevent developing countries from significant improvements, including effective tourism policy implementation. These are commonly related to weak political systems, bureaucracy, poor economic performance, inequalities between individuals, groups and regions and complex cultural values such as patron-client relationships (Lea, 1988; Harrison, 1992a; Oppermann and Chon, 1997).

The available literature on tourism in developing countries is more related to fundamentals of tourism policy in developing countries (Edgell, 1990; Harrison, 1992a; Baum, 1994a; Hall, 1994a; Reid, 2003), tourism and public administration (Elliott, 1997; Buhalis, 1999), the economic role of tourism in developing countries (Jenkins, 1980; Ghimire, 2001), tourism impacts in developing countries (Lea, 1988; Koch and Massyn, 2001), tourism development in developing countries (de Kadt, 1980; Pearce, 1989; Tosun, 2000; Tosun, 2001; WTO, 2001), tourism sustainable development and community in developing countries (Singh *et al.*, 1989; Mowfort and Munt, 1998; Scheyvens, 2002; Singh *et al.*, 2002), and socio-cultural perspectives and sex tourism in developing countries (Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Harrison, 2001; 2004). Some of these contributions extend towards tourism policy implementation, and they mostly suggest unfeasible, difficult and ineffective implementation outcomes. Three main issues, which are related to political, economic and socio-cultural aspects in the developing world context, can perhaps be extended to explain tourism policy implementation in the developing world context.

First, most scholars in tourism policy and tourism development in developing countries emphasise that decision-making and the benefits of tourism development in developing countries are mostly taken by a small group of well-organised powerful people and elites to a larger extent than the developed countries (Elliott, 1987; Tosun, 2000). According to Elliott (1997), statutory organisations have been used as a prominent form of public administration management in implementing tourism development, especially from central to local levels. Tourism development and policy in developing countries largely relies on powerful central actors, businesspeople and foreign investors (Elliott, 1983; 1987 and 1997). Without the support of central agencies, implementation, as a result is impossible (Elliott, 1997). Issues of favouritism, nepotism and personality clashes in their political contexts clearly attribute to favour or to penalise other parties in the process. These problems from political culture can lead to lack of co-ordination and political commitment (Tosun, 2000). This coupled with the

61

lengthy process of bureaucratic administration, often contributes to slow implementation processes. In some developing countries, laws sometimes favour a small group of powerful people and elites and sometimes discriminate against the interests of the powerless majority (Tosun, 2000). In many cases, corruption occurs at all levels of the public sector (Clapham, 1985; Turner and Hulme, 1997). Politicians and governmental officers at central level can be reluctant to implement policies due to the implication for distribution of power and resources. In addition, national tourism organisations are usually responsible for tourism marketing and promotion which reflects a limited contribution to meeting general policy objectives or in contributing to meeting identified concerns within the national tourism industry (Edgell, 1990). According to Elliott (1987; 1997), public sector management and national political culture are significant constraints to the success of tourism policy implementation in developing countries.

Second, it is clear that developing countries tend to suffer financial resource deficits. This includes their inability to make sufficient returns on the resources utilised for development (Lea, 1988). Tourism in developing countries mostly involves external agencies, who take part in business and mostly prioritise commercial benefits (Tosun, 2000). According to Elliott (1997), due to low economic development, developing countries cannot reject decisions and support from businessmen, international tour operators and foreign investors. At times, external agents often have a close relationship with local government in order to boost their business performance and political profile (Lester and Stewart, 2000). These foreign and business dominations in the tourism industry are found to be a major issue over the loss of control and resources which may increase any adverse impacts of tourism development (Tosun, 2000). Failure of planners either to limit, or to implement plans, policies and regulations against those politicians, investors and developers is therefore evident (Buhalis, 1999). These problems of economic and legislation and institutional power are defined as structural limitation (Tosun, 2000).

Finally, tourism in developing countries is often not equitable for all actors involved in the process (Tosun, 2000). This is because elected representatives of fledgling democratic governments seem at times to have failed to represent their communities. In developing countries, community participation is often ignored and at least, regarded as a source of low-paid labour (Elliott, 1997). The community is hardly involved in, nor regularly benefits from the industry (Tosun, 2000). Furthermore, since the concept of participatory tourism development has not been fully adopted in

62

developing countries, tourism is therefore likely to be viewed pessimistically and tourism awareness in the community is low (Tosun, 2005). These cultural limitations are therefore associated with heterogeneous and fragmented communities in developing countries (Tosun, 2000). This shortcoming may contribute to limited capacity to handle development effectively. Policy implementers therefore require adequate knowledge and up to date information about socio-economic structures and local communities in tourist destinations (Mowfort and Munt, 1998; Tosun, 2000; Scheyvens, 2002). According to Elliott (1997), the policy implementation process in developing countries therefore requires more participation, collaboration and communication with the local community. This is a vital requirement for effective co-operation and communication in policy implementation that relies on educational development, time, human and financial resources and flexibility (Baum, 1994b; Elliott, 1997; Buhalis, 1999; Tosun, 2000; Reid, 2003; Sofield, 2003; Tosun, 2005; 2006).

The alleged poor performance of tourism policy implementation in developing countries is therefore unsurprising. Criticism does not only focus on economic conditions, but also on political, organisational and socio-cultural contexts. In developing countries, there are dilemmas between central government and local community, officials and close commercial associates, and the implementers and inadequate resources (Buhalis, 1999). Effective policy networks, skilled personnel, financial resources and understanding of political and socio-cultural values are thus critical for tourism policy implementation in developing countries. In sum, the paucity of tourism policy implementation research, coupled with the complex nature of developing countries explains why tourism policy implementation in developing countries deserves investigating in its own right.

2.8 CONCLUSION

Dominated by western theories, policy can be studied from different aspects and levels in various disciplines. Since it is evident that policy is largely government dominated, it is unsurprising that attention has focused on political issues, and policy actors and institutions. This also explains why there are numerous influential factors relating to policy implementation. Although top-down approaches to policy implementation have received more attention, recent studies focus more on policy processes, public administration and governance emphasising network structures in particular political systems. It is suggested that local involvement in the policy-making

process and formulation is receiving more attention. Bottom-up analysis is therefore becoming more recognisable and fashionable.

Developing countries are different from the developed world. They have particular and complex characteristics. These include centralised forms of political systems, colonial legacies, resource shortages due to poor economic development and complex political and socio-cultural values. It is also clear that tourism in most developing countries is viewed as an economic sector capable of combating poverty as well as a means for encouraging and improving the quality of life. It is also evident that tourism policies in developing countries are often fragile. Economic conditions in particular can be seen as a threat to the success of tourism policy implementation. Under their current form of mass tourism development, it is likely that their tourism policy will be ineffective.

Literature shows that not only has tourism policy implementation in developing countries been understudied, so too has the complex nature of developing countries. This research seeks to explore and understand the ways in which tourism policy implementation works on the ground in a developing country context. Using theories relating to public policy, politics, tourism, organisational relations and development in developing countries, this study's conceptual framework is developed. This is discussed in the following Chapter.

Chapter 3   The Conceptual Framework

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the conceptual framework that has been developed for this study. The framework is devised to accommodate the aims and objectives of the research and is based on the key literature that was reviewed in Chapter Two. Due to the limited research in the area of tourism policy implementation, the study framework is based on western theories and principles of policy implementation. However, the scarce literature on developing world policy implementation also informs the framework. Further bases for the framework are derived from development theories and other literature in the tourism field, with specific attention given to developing countries in varying socio-cultural, political and institutional settings. A review of the relevant literature helps with the identification of key concepts and parameters for the development of this conceptual framework. Therefore, this framework seeks to support research on the implementation of tourism policy from a developing world perspective. Fundamentally, this study aims to achieve an improved understanding of the complex issues surrounding tourism policy implementation in the developing world.

Three subsections outline the development of the framework, the related themes and their application to the study. The first section deals with the initial development of the conceptual framework which is influenced by the research aim and objectives, as well as by policy implementation theories and practices. The second section presents the seven themes of the study. This is followed by a comprehensive explanation of the framework's detailed elements within each broad concept. This seeks to explain their significance as the theoretical basis of this study. Next, the application of the conceptual framework, the interaction and interplay between the themes, and their systematic use in the study is explained. Issues arising from the framework for the study of tourism policy implementation within a developing world context are also suggested.

3.2 PURPOSE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework serves as a guide for the research approach and directs the critical examination of tourism policy implementation. In other words, it identifies relevant concepts that may help towards an improved understanding of how tourism policy implementation works in a developing world context.

According to Ticehurst and Veal (1999:32-33), the development of conceptual frameworks includes the identification of concepts and their definition, an exploration of the relationships between concepts and their operationalisation. In this study, seven broad concepts are identified, and consideration is given to the relationships between them. These links are shown using arrows in Figure 3.1 and are discussed in Section 3.4.

The study framework is devised to help investigate and analyse tourism policy implementation processes and underlying relationships in tourism policy implementation in developing countries. In practice, the framework assists in selecting the areas of literature to investigate, it assists in the identification of institutions and stakeholders to be involved in the data collection, and it also facilitates the development of the interview questions. Furthermore, it facilitates the analysis and interpretation of the empirical data, as well as the synthesis of research conclusions and implications. Finally, the framework is evaluated through its application in the research study process.

The conceptual framework is essentially the integration of literature, practices and realities that relate to the study research aim and objectives. The main aim of this research is to *critically examine the implementation of selected tourism policies, planning and regulations in Phuket in relation to the sources of gaps between policies and their implementation, with the intention of developing a theoretical perspective on this issue that may be applied in other contexts.* Literature on policy science and tourism studies, mainly from North America and Europe, has influenced the framework's development. Some of these western theories may be related to practices, politics, economic and socio-cultural aspects of tourism policy implementation in developing countries. Consistent with the discussion that follows in Chapter Four, elements of both induction and deduction are evident in the framework. A case study of Phuket is used to investigate the process and patterns of tourism policy implementation in a developing world context.

Three specific research objectives influence the development of the framework's conceptual themes (as presented in Table 3.1 and Chapter One). The objectives are concerned with the investigation of policies and regulations for tourism in Phuket, the views of stakeholders affected by these policies and regulations, towards their implementation, and of course the evidence of any gaps between policy intentions and practices. Importantly, the focus is on developing a conceptual framework which is

based on a greater understanding of tourism policy implementation in a developing world context. Consequently, the seven interconnected concepts emerge and are refined as the study's theoretical framework. Each theme is linked with a number of key elements which will be discussed later.

Table 3.1 The specific objectives of the research

1. To critically review the research literature on policy studies, tourism policies concerning policy implementation, notably in relation to causes of any gaps between policy intentions and practice.

2. To develop, apply and refine a theoretical framework to analyse policy implementation and the causes of any gaps between policy intentions and implementation in developing countries. This includes its application for a case study of tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket, Thailand, and the assessment of its potential wider applicability in the developing world.

3. To examine three tourism-related policies and regulations affecting the tourism industry in Phuket, Thailand. This includes evaluating the views of relevant stakeholders about tourism policy implementation and about the causes of any gaps between policy intentions and policy implementation in Phuket, Thailand.

The framework, with its seven interconnected concepts emphasises the need to understand tourism policy implementation from a developing country perspective. To date, there has been little consideration given as to whether existing western theories are useful and applicable in a developing world context. In other words, the theories developed in the west reflect a developed world context and they may not be directly transferable to a developing world context. Here, the conceptual framework focuses on the structural and political basis of developing countries. It then considers the significance of policy clarity and policy communication among policy networks as well as the relationships within and between organisations, notably public and non-public organisations. This is because the western public policy literature recognises the involvement and influence of organisational structure, communications and relationships of, among and between governmental agencies (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975; Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1983; Lewis and Wallace, 1984; Oxford Polytechnic, 1985, Hill, 1993b; Greed, 1996; Cline, 2000). The role of private sector and other key actors and agencies is also incorporated in the framework (Brown, 1986; Brinkerhoff, 1996a; Brinkerhoff, 1996b; Crosby, 1996; Mortan, 1996; Synder, 1996; Garnett *et al.*, 1997; Puppim de Oliveira, 2002). Attention is also given to other key considerations including lack of commitment to policy implementation, the scarcity of policy resources and socio-cultural issues (Dye, 1984; Younis, 1990; Morah, 1996; Turner and Hulme, 1997). It is argued that these are key considerations in tourism policy implementation in developing countries (Lea, 1988; Pearce, 1989; Pearce, 1992, Hall, 1994a and 1994b; Hall and Jenkin, 1995; Elliott, 1997; Mowfort and Munt, 1998; Hall, 2000; Tosun, 2000).

The framework is designed to be read from left to right. This reflects the traditional and prevailing top-down administrative system in most developing countries (a linear process). However, this conceptual framework may also be read from right to left or be seen as a reciprocal model. This is because the seven key concepts are interconnected and represent constant feedback in the policy implementation process. The conceptual framework is therefore influenced by a hybrid of top-down and bottom-up approaches to examine tourism policy implementation in a developing world context. The framework and its seven key concepts are shown in Figure 3.1 overleaf.

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Figure 3.1
Conceptual framework of

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The framework identifies seven interconnected concepts that may be used to examine the relationships involved in tourism policy implementation. The framework is not based on a single theoretical approach rather it is influenced by a combination of theories, rationales and practices. In other words, the conceptual framework demonstrates how policy implementation happens 'on the ground' or in a 'real world' setting. As discussed earlier, it suggests a predominantly top-down implementation approach reflecting the policy process in developing countries. However, 'bottom-up' approaches reflecting local involvement, participation, socio-cultural issues and constant feedback are equally vital in policy implementation research and practice. These are influenced by the empirical research of Morah (1996), Brinkerhoff (1996a), and Puppim de Oliveira (2002).

As is explained in the Literature Review, policy studies from the developed world has often focused on policy content, process, output and evaluation (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Other considerations from the Policy Studies literature include the positions of actors with different goals and policy preferences, agenda setting and policy termination (Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Lester and Stewart, 2000). Dye (1984) and Jenkins (1993) consider the policy process as a dynamic environment where there is a complex pattern of decisions, actions, interactions, reactions and feed back. It is therefore evident that various institutions, actors, individuals and networks may affect policy outcomes (Marsh, 1998a, 1998b). Coordination of networks and inter-organisational relations is thus critical, including those involving public and private sector interests. Conflicts may lead to a breakdown and disruption within and between organisations (Pearce, 1992). It is also important not to disregard the significance of organisational environmental conditions such as economic, cultural, demographic and political factors (Turner and Hulme, 1997). In brief, public policy making is about co-operation and consensus building which involves an exchange of resources between actors. Policy failure may result from the absence of those key actors as well as conflicts, insufficient information and poor environment conditions.

In many developing countries, tourism policy and development is strongly related to the economic dimensions of national and regional development (Oppermann and Chon, 1997), with a main objective of earning hard currencies from western tourists (Harrison, 1992c). Governments appear to give less consideration to the capacity, quality, size and impact of tourist industry development (Harrison, 1992b). As a result, mass tourism is encouraged and a number of negative and acute economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts from such development may result (Lea, 1988;

Gartner, 1996; Bosselman *et al.*, 1999; Oppermann and Chon, 1997). However, a need for more responsive and sustainable tourism development is increasingly recognised. The achievement of tourism policy and other public policies is influenced by prevailing forms of public administration and a wide range of political systems may be found in developing countries (Richter and Richter, 1985). Developing world governments typically employ a centralised political system with a concentration of policy making at central government level (Harrison, 2004). Here, governments have predominant roles and responsibilities for tourism development (Scheyvens, 2002). These political systems are often inherited from their past colonial experiences (Turner and Hulme, 1997). Where developing countries have not been colonised a centralised, hierarchical and bureaucratic public administration is often found based on monarchical or military rule.

The area of tourism public policy is complex. Tourism cannot be developed in isolation. Putting tourism policy into practice involves complicated processes within a variety of political, economic and socio-cultural contexts. All these factors must be taken into account in researching tourism policy implementation in a developing world context.

The theoretical basis of the conceptual framework is three fold. First, it can be used as a basis for research on tourism policy implementation, specifically with regard to developing world contexts. Second, it may explain the scenarios, links, gaps and relationships of how a tourism policy is implemented on the ground in a developing world context. Finally, it demonstrates key influences on tourism policy implementation in developing countries. The key concepts that appear in Figure 3.1 are addressed in the research objectives, and these are integral to an exploration of tourism policy implementation in developing world contexts.

3.3 THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK'S ELEMENTS

Seven conceptual themes are developed in this framework. These seven themes represent key considerations in tourism policy implementation in developing countries. Each conceptual theme contains interconnected elements that reflect on the ground policy implementation in a developing world context. The framework defines each conceptual theme and describes the relationships between them. The themes are subsequently related to the selection of research methodology, the development of interview questions and the way the results chapters are organised. The seven conceptual themes and their detailed elements are presented consecutively in the following subsections.

71

3.3.1 Structural and political issues

Governments have national responsibilities which require them to be involved in policy areas including tourism. Hall (2003) states that some issues and problems can only be managed by governments. With specific regard to tourism, Scheyvens (2002) comments that government involvement is crucial in tourism development. Furthermore, it is only governments which have the power to provide the political stability, security and the legal and financial framework which tourism requires (Elliott, 1997). They provide essential services and basic infrastructure. Also, it is only national governments which can negotiate and make agreements with other governments on issues such as immigration procedures or flying over and landing on national territory.

There are different types and levels of government. These include republican, democratic, and monarchical systems at national, regional and local levels. Governments may be active or passive in tourism development and management (Jefferies, 2001). Government is expected to perform many functions for the public good (Parsons, 1995). How these functions are performed, successfully or otherwise, depends upon the quality of its public sector management (PSM) (Flynn, 2002). Governments, and especially those in developing countries, have become involved in tourism mainly because of its perceived economic importance (Lea, 1988). In developing countries, governments are anxious to promote economic growth through tourism, and especially the encouragement of international tourism. This is evident by tourism's survival as one of the few growth industries that can provide scarce foreign currency, new employment, educational opportunities and the revitalisation of local traditions and cultures during periods of industrial and economic decline (Elliott, 1997).

Public sector management in many developing countries is renowned for the residual and ongoing influence of colonial and/or autocratic political systems (Clapham, 1985). It is suggested that this results in complex systems of hierarchy and bureaucracies (Singh *et al.*, 1989) where there is high risk of sluggishness and unaccountability of policy officers. Governments in many developing countries seem to have a limited ability to respond to their own country's obstacles as a result of their fledgling political development as well as a lack of skilled staff (Brinkerhoff, 1996a). Since governments are typically concentrated in the capital city, the concept of the devolution and decentralisation of power is underdeveloped (Turner and Hulme, 1997).

Local involvement in political and public policy processes is usually limited, and a passive stance to politics and related issues is common due to limited encouragement from policymakers and public officials. Policymakers are often those of

72

a high social class, high ranking officials or well-educated people (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1995). In other words, it is often elites and technocrats that dominate a developing country's polity. There are also old norms and rules that are formidable and strongly influential on public administration. Culturally, most developing countries tend to pay attention to seniority and patron-client relations (McCargo, 1997). Furthermore, political parties are seen to be weak compared with those in developed countries, mainly because of the fledgling development of democratic systems. Typically, and as a result of mainly agrarian economies, governments often have little economic and political capacity to promote economic development through non-agrarian sectors. These deficits have caused uncertainty and instability both economically and politically in many developing countries. Key elements of structural and political issues in developing countries are displayed in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Structural and political issues

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1. Structural and political issues in developing countries
This relates to the broad forms of politics that prevail in most developing countries. The nature of the political environment, background and framework may be influential factors, as well as the country's inherited political structure of governance.

2. State capacity in developing countries
There are issues of uncertainty, economic and political conditions, institutional arrangements, the efficiency of officials as well as the ability and fragility of government agencies to adapt to the changing environment nationally and globally. Techniques to deal with a difficulty or crisis are also vital since there seems to be a missing link with people at grass-roots level. The way public policy is implemented should be appraised, audited, valued and controlled.

3. Developing world political norms
Political norms in the developing world can be influenced by each country's roles, customs and traditions. Polity is often controlled by technocrats, well educated or privileged groups of people and the general population is rarely actively involved. It is not surprising that concepts of decentralisation and devolution have not emerged in many developing world countries.

3.3.2 Policy clarity and policy communication

It is widely accepted in the literature that public policy is complex and involves many underlying processes. This study involves multi-method, multi-disciplinary, problem-focused approaches related to policy processes, options, outcomes and decision making in particular tourism policy contexts (Lasswell, 1971 in Parsons 1995:xvi). Tourism policy is among the public policies that have particular complexities due to its multi-faceted nature. As a result of its inter-disciplinary nature, inter-institutional interaction takes place in tourism policy implementation (Parsons, 1995). Consequently, good co-ordination, information and communication are required.

Public policies involve complex problem solving requiring specialist resources and expertise which developing countries cannot always deliver. In many cases, policies

can be too broad and lack specific objectives and plans. This is compounded by the complexity of bureaucratic processes and hierarchical levels.

Another important factor is the language used in policy and how it can convey different meanings from central to local. It is argued by some scholars that ambiguity in public policy is sometimes unavoidable (Edelman, 1988). According to Parsons (1995), the language that surrounds problems and policies has a strategic function since it is a key element in the making of a problem and the defining of a solution. Words can obstruct understanding (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Vagueness and lack of direction may result in failure to either solve the problem or achieve the policy's goals and can therefore be counter-productive. Consistent with the nature of tourism, policy is often made to control the balance between the demand for its development and its unwanted consequences (Lea, 1988; Oppermann and Chon, 1997). Policy clarity therefore is a key issue in tourism policy implementation. According to Brunetto and Wharton (2003), policies need clear roles, instructions, legal instruments as well as being well instituted. This involves issues of law enforcement which may be relatively ineffective in the developing world. Influential factors of ambiguous and poorly communicated policies are listed below in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Policy clarity and policy communication

1. Policy language and communication
The language used in policies and the differing interpretations of it between central and local levels is crucial to the implementation outcome. Shared interpretation and understanding is vitally important and frequent reviews may be needed to avoid oversimplified assumptions of the policy and its implementation process. Clear, consistent and specific policy objectives are needed, as well as effective communication and shared understanding between policy networks.

2. Intention and nature of policies
Policy aims may be unrealistic or difficult to deliver and achieve.

3. Legal imperative
The role of supporting laws and regulations is critical for effective policy implementation and enforcement. It is necessary to ensure that the public is well informed.

3.3.3 Organisational relationships between and within governmental agencies

Since tourism policy involves interdependencies, it is necessary to consider both inter and intra governmental organisational relationships in tourism policy implementation. This involves the extent to which co-operation, co-ordination and collaboration exist within and between key agencies (Hall, 1994a). This may be undermined or facilitated by the public administration system.

Conflict among governmental organisations can result if relations are poorly managed. Weak communicative networks, liaisons, and links can lead to poor performance of public sector agencies and consequent problems in implementing policy.

Public administration in developing countries often appears to be poor in structure and in its chain of command (Harrison, 2004). There are too many hierarchical levels and too great an emphasis on top-down supervision (Singh *et al.* 1989). There is a need for clear roles for each organisation which can help in defining duties, obedience, power, control and intervention within their relationships. Without clear roles and duties complexity is increased resulting in problems due to overlapping responsibilities (Brinkerhoff, 1996a). Consultation and effective communication networks must be maintained to encourage harmonisation and to avoid or recognise conflicting agendas (Reid, 2003). It is also vital to allow and have access to information since this may support understanding for more effective policy implementation (Morah, 1996). In sum, it is not surprising that many developing countries have weak public sector management as a result of their structural limitations.

XThe success of public sector management also depends on power in and around policy and its implementation (Morah, 1996). For example, managers can fail to implement policies and development plans because they are not in complete control of the implementation process or factors affecting the process (Elliott, 1997). It is widely known that many developing countries feature patronage and clientelism in their public administration and in their relationships within and between government organisations (Clapham, 1985). Hence, there is a national political culture as well as an organisational culture that may constrain the administrative system (McCargo, 1997). This illustrates the possibility of inappropriate conduct as well as unsuitable job allocation which may have an impact on the policy implementation process. Misconduct and the limited capability of actors may lead to poor policy implementation. There may also be an emphasis on the economic benefits of tourism which may encourage corruption and other professional misconduct in the public sector.

As Elliott (1997:125) notes, organisations can have considerable independence, their own values, and follow their own objectives and self-interest. This reflects the potential faults in the public sector of many developing countries. The relevant factors discussed in this area are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Organisational relationships between and within governmental agencies

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1. Organisational relationships

Harmonisation among governmental organisations is crucial to successful policy implementation outcomes. There is a need for good coordination and cooperation among them. Actions include negotiation, communication, coalitions, and access to information, obedience and consultation. Since government agencies are often interdependent, it is important to avoid possible conflicts or incongruence that may be caused by their differing agendas. Ultimately, communicative and co-operative networks should be maintained for effective results.

2. Overlapping responsibilities

Similarity of tasks may result in confusion and disagreement among the agencies implementing policy and may lead to intervention from other organisations during the implementation process. It may also affect the quality of methods, procedures, actions and tools when implementing a policy. Hence function allocation as well as the role of actors must be made clear.

3. Statutory and autonomous powers

Careful designation of power is important and a clear chain of command must be established to avoid conflict among actors.

4. Organisational cultures

Specific organisational cultures in developing countries may affect the effectiveness of policies. The predominant organisational traditions, influenced by their political and structural traditions, include client-patron relations. This refers to the application of the principles of neo-patrimonialism to relationships between superiors and inferiors. In other words, it is a relationship in which patrons provide security for clients, and the client in turn provides support for the patron. This unfortunately can lead to corruption, misconduct and other wrongdoing such as inappropriate allocation of policy implementers and bypassing the law. This is believed to be partly shaped by strong nepotism and cronyism.

3.3.4 Organisational relationships between public sector and non public sector agencies

The public sector is the key actor in relation to national policy issues in developing countries. The public sector has power in policy-making as well as having most responsibility in putting policies into practice. However, non public sector organisations, interest and pressure groups as well as local communities are also widely recognised in the policy community (Lester and Stewart, 2000). According to the WTO (2000), tourism development involves the intervention of many different actors, both public and private sector. Public and private sector co-operation has become increasingly common in many countries and in many areas of tourism, notably in improving a destination's attractiveness, its marketing, productivity and the management of its tourism system (WTO, 2000). Co-operation and partnership are increasingly being advocated in the tourism sector to achieve business and community goals (WTO, 2003).

Stakeholder identification and involvement are being increasingly recognised as important. It is acknowledged that policymakers and policy implementers may not be the same group of people. At local levels, there may be powerful obstacles to tourism policy implementation if consultation, links and coordination of other tourism and local stakeholders are inadequate or not yet in place. The public sector is therefore required to maintain links with a diversity of non-public organisations involved in tourism

development and to strive to reduce fragmentation of the industry (WTO, 2003). It is evident that the private sector views public matters differently to the public sector. They typically focus on financial profits and management, while the public sector engages in activities with greater symbolic significance and must operate or appear to operate in the public's interest (Massey, 1993; Parsons, 1995).

It is important to note that cultures and values strongly influence the relationship between the public and non-public sectors. For instance, particular shared economic interests will typically result in formal and informal links and coalitions (Elliott, 1997). In some cases, non-public organisations can influence the implementing actions and processes of the public sector. This may be legitimate or it may be inappropriate. Profit-making organisations may be lured by corruption for commercial advantage (Elliott, 1997). Consistent with the values of patron-client relations, nepotism and cronyism in developing world contexts, it is evident that corruption may occur between public and non-public organisations for either personal or institutional reasons (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1995; McCargo, 1997; Murray, 1997). A consultation process therefore is needed to support co-operative relationships and effective co-ordination in the policy community. It is through this co-operation and partnership that a successful tourism industry is achieved. Table 3.5 outlines the influential factors in this category.

Table 3.5 Organisational relationships between public and non-public agencies

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1. Organisational relationships

Like governmental organisations, public and non public organisations are required to work together since tourism is multi-faceted and highly interdependent. Tourism policy needs business support to allow better implementation. Likewise, public and non-public organisations should maintain good consultation, coordination, cooperation, negotiation and access to information.

2. External circumstances

Public and non-public organisations may experience other uncontrollable external factors that can be intrinsically helpful and harmful to their policy process and network. This may include outsider influences, the media or press interests and international pressure.

3. Organisational culture

Like governmental organisations, there are specific organisational traditions that affect the relationship between public and non-public organisations. As discussed earlier, these include patron-client relation, nepotism and cronyism leading to corruption and other misconduct. Consequently, poor policy implementation as well as non-implementation may result.

3.3.5 Political will and commitment

Many developing countries are fairly new to democratic development and an independent system. In other words, their public administration, politics and most importantly their concepts of democracy are all at an embryonic stage. Political parties are often weak and lack a strong political philosophy (Elliott, 1997). This results in political uncertainty, poor public sector management as well as adverse effects from vested interests (Richter, 1992). Additionally, the government in most developing countries is often made up of a coalition of several political parties (Elliott, 1997). This consequently makes it difficult to reach unanimous agreement on national objectives, as well as policy in practice. When state capabilities are sub-standard and political philosophy is weak, public administration, its personnel, political will and commitment also appear to be poor. With a paucity of resources to run the country, civil servants are inadequately rewarded and as a result may be less motivated, thus affecting their performance.

With regard to patron and client relations, Elliott (1997) and Phongpaichit and Baker (1995) observe that officials from national to local level as well as politicians can be paid to support certain developments. This type of conduct protects influential or privileged groups of people since economic significance and vested interests may be more meaningful than professional and political roles and duties (McCargo, 1997; Murray, 1997). Poor policy enforcement is therefore not uncommon. Although political circumstances and public opinion can often encourage periods of more rigorous policy enforcement, society in the developing world tends to prefer the more lax routine and complacency returns (Seabrook, 2001).

As discussed earlier, citizens in developing countries are often politically inactive and pay little attention to policy participation or consultation processes. Often there is an absence of strong leadership or control from the government. Public organisations are more concerned with protecting and increasing their own influence rather than with actively pursuing public policy matters (Elliott, 1997:126). Priority is given to economic development in most developing countries, with less attention given to social management. Policies in most developing countries therefore tend to be more reactive than proactive, which often leads to more problems (Richter, 1992). Table 3.6 introduces influential factors affecting on political will and commitment.

78

Table 3.6 Political will and commitment factors

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1. Commitment
Since most developing countries are in the embryonic stage of development of their political system, notably democracy, it is evident that they have weak political philosophy. As a result of limited political driving force, there are signs of low motivation and commitment to policy achievement. Favouritism and loyalty in some political parties can also lead to incongruence and non-conformity. These factors have major impacts on people's willingness to work and be fully committed to their roles and responsibilities, most of which are required to achieve policy goals.

2. Enforcement
It is unsurprising that conformity and obedience in law enforcement may vary from level to level in a centralised system. If the political, administrative and legislative system in the country is weak coupled with patron-client relations, the level of compliance is relatively low. This can also be influenced by the priority given to economic importance by both the country and individuals.

3. Lack of monitoring and evaluation process
In most developing countries, there appears to be a lack of appropriate monitoring and evaluation in the policy process. There are limited activities or realistic plans for follow-up control resulting in an inadequate and ineffective policy process. This may be fundamentally caused by low commitment and lax enforcement.

3.3.6 Policy resources

Political instability is endemic in many developing countries where wars, inequality, conflicts and deprivation often lead to a scarcity of national resources (Richter, 1992). Poor public administration exacerbates the level of available resources for policy implementation and other public matters. Adequate resources are vital for policy implementation. Nakamura and Smallwood (1980) and Morah's (1996) definitions best illustrate the importance of resources for policy in practice, these include the availability of money, staff, time and power. Developing countries are of course relatively poor. They tend to borrow funds from various international agencies such as the IMF, OECD and the World Bank. National budgets for policy implementation may be extremely low, or even non-existent. In addition, although rapid population growth is a characteristic of many developing countries, large numbers of workers are unskilled (Morah, 1996). The number of manual working class people is high while those with qualifications and expertise are comparatively few (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Greater educational qualifications, experience and expertise are thus required in policy implementation. As noted by Scheyvens (2002), appropriate skills, knowledge and resources for developing tourism are often lacking at the community level. A recent trend is to rely on fewer staff but more efficiency. The government is however required to negotiate between their workforce and the cultural values that may be harmful to their performance, notably the importance of kinship and cronyism as well as the complexity of hierarchical supervision (Elliott, 1997). In developing countries, training and staff development are rare and need to be emphasised (Tong *et al.*, 1999), however this depends on government budgets and priorities.

Additional attention should also be given to staff motivation since the salary and welfare provision in most developing countries are typically inadequate (Brown, 1989). Power is required for policy to be implemented (Puppim de Oliveira, 2002). Access to information is also crucial for policy implementers, especially in the complex socio-cultural environments of developing countries. An adequate time-scale must be established for successful policy implementation. Developing countries are often less able to provide technical and ad hoc assistance (Morah, 1996). It is important that resources are thus made available and accessible, because they assist in acquiring qualified staff as well as technical and ad hoc assistance (Morah, 1996; Puppim de Oliveira, 2002). Modern technical resources can also facilitate and reduce the complexity of policy tasks from central to local level as well as speed up its processes (Morah, 1996). In conclusion, policy implementation in developing countries risks failure if an adequate level of accompanying policy resources is not available. The following Table gives a summary of the influential factors related to resource availability.

Table 3.7 Policy resource factors

1. Money
Finance is a key resource for policy implementation. Its availability and accessibility can empower implementers, especially at local level, to accomplish their work since implementing actions and activities may be costly.

2. Time
A sufficient period of time is needed to allow adequate opportunity for implementers to work, adjust and change how the policy works on the ground.

3. Information
This is concerned with the availability of reliable information among the policy community when implementing a policy.

4. Expertise
This involves a question of capacity and capability of implementers who may be unqualified, and the large number of unskilled staff in most developing countries. Importantly, poor staff performance may lead to uncooperative links among implementers. They seem to have limited training and education which are highly required to build up more expertise and more understanding within policy systems.

5. Other resources
The accompanying level of technical assistance, ad hoc assistance and psychological motivations are vital to implementation performance. These involve the provision, on a temporary basis, of qualified outside personnel to help with tasks when people with necessary skills are not available. This proactive support will benefit policy implementation and outcome.

3.7 Socio-cultural issues

Socio-cultural issues permeate national and public affairs. Not recognising these issues may lead to misunderstanding and conflict. Tourism is a substantial enterprise (Reid, 2003) that impinges on traditional and social institutions. Scholarly views on the effects of tourism on ritual and traditions as well as degradation of culture are numerous (Lea, 1988; Harrison, 1992a; Cohen, 1995; Gartner, 1996). As Harrison (1992b) states, international tourism in developing countries has been a key element in modernisation in which economic change has had ramifications at social and cultural levels. According to Harrison (1992b) and Reid (2003), tourism also contributes to the emergence of middle classes that display new-found affluence, a new criteria of social status, changes in basic social institutions such as the family, and reinforcement of the role of established political and economic institutions. The limitations on policy implementation in developing countries are often related to the complexity of cultural values (Mortan, 1996). Socio-cultural issues are therefore highly influential on development and policy implementation.

Participation of communities in tourism has attracted growing research attention (Murphy and Murphy, 2004). It is suggested that consultation with the community concerning tourism development encourages harmony, co-operation and support (Scheyvens, 2002). Nevertheless, community involvement in policy implementation in many developing countries is still weak. Moreover, the priority given to economic importance and social inequality may also contribute to competition among different social groups, notably the business community in the tourist industry. In other words, communities are typically heterogeneous, comprising different interest groups which may come into competition regarding the development of tourism (Scheyvens, 2002). Powerful groups can make it difficult for certain policies to be implemented that are seen to limit their business potential and performance. There may also be antagonism between the tourism industry and the residents of an area (Gartner, 1996; Reid, 2003). The rapidity of tourism development and growing levels of migration make it difficult for policymakers to address complex socio-cultural issues. These are commonly seen in the form of lax enforcement, corruption and social disparity, which can be formidable barriers to policy implementation (Elliott, 1997). It is thus sensible to say that national and local implementers are challenged to negotiate and find satisfactory levels of socio-cultural requirements for implementable and effective policy outcomes. Socio-cultural considerations are summarised in Table 3.8.

81

Table 3.8 Socio-cultural factors

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1. The community
There is a diversity of people living in a country. It is vital to understand community attitudes and opinions concerning tourism and the policy designated for the area. Tourism related aspects need strong local support, participation, harmony (consensus imperative), agreement as well as full public consultation to encourage the successful accomplishment of policy goals.

2. Socio-cultural and traditional values
Understanding a set of beliefs, morals and the way of life of society is an equally important factor for policy implementation. This includes the core of its culture, individualism, collectivism, locus of control, uncertainty avoidance, relationship orientation, sensitivity, repayment of favours, situation orientation, materialism and hedonism. There is a need for adequate recognition of complex and different religious beliefs which can be influential towards the policy process. Gaining an improved understanding of socio-cultural issues can be learnt by studying the community's cultural history. This will also improve understanding of society norms, cultural characteristics, and personal and interpersonal relationship in the society.

3. Significance of tourism to local economy
This is concerned with being aware of economic prosperity, opportunities and limitations in the given area. How much tourism contributes to the people, society and the area may explain how certain tourism policies are implemented.

3.4 THE APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK TO THIS STUDY

This framework is informed by the study's literature review. In this literature, policy implementation is typically seen as part of a linear process. Yet the framework also aims to reflect the realities of a developing world context and it illustrates how tourism policy implementation often works on the ground. With respect to the application of the conceptual framework, there are substantive and procedural aspects to consider. As earlier discussed, it examines the various substantial influences or concepts that typify policy implementation in developing countries. It also explores how tourism policy implementation works on the ground within developing world environments. The seven broad areas and their detailed elements are demonstrated and the many ways in which they can interact are illustrated (as shown by the arrows). It can thus be said that the framework is dynamic, interactive and recursive. It is again important to emphasise that although the framework is easiest to read from left to right, as the policy implementation 'stage' is indicated on the right-hand side, the framework can also be read from right to left as 'backward mapping'. This is because it takes into consideration the possible feedback from the local level (from the left hand side).

The framework can also be presented in different formats to show the equally interactive and recursive nature of tourism policy implementation. The framework is thus designed to be relevant in a developing world context.

With regard to the framework's operation, each broad concept is related to the others. From the left-hand side, the issues of structural and political limitations can be seen as key considerations in tourism policy implementation in developing countries.

82

These fundamentally affect policy implementation networks, communities, and instruments. There are three double-headed arrows in this area. Starting from the top, the first arrow conveys the structural and political influences that affect performance and have a relationship with the other six areas. The second arrow shows that these structural limitations can sequentially have an impact on policy clarity and communication, which later affects other areas. Finally, the last arrow represents the direct influence on tourism policy and its implementation. Regardless of other areas, structural and political limitations of developing countries can directly influence how policy is decided, made and carried out on the ground. It is also important to note that each arrow interacts with one another, representing reciprocal links and feedback within the policy implementation process.

The second movement area involves policy clarity and communication, and again there are three ways of reading this. In brief, not only may this area have major impacts on structural and political issues, but it may also directly affect the other five areas in the framework. The same rule applies to the other five areas, which include relationships within and between governmental organisations, public and non-public organisations' relationships, political will and commitment, resource issues and socio-cultural issues. They all interplay and are vital influences in policy implementation and other policy processes in developing world contexts.

In conclusion, the interactions of all seven themes in the framework demonstrate critical links that describe the way tourism policy implementation works on the ground in a developing world context. Implicitly, it also means that if some or all seven areas are 'improved', policy implementation outcomes may be more positive. Nevertheless, it may be impossible to achieve full implementation in the complex area of tourism. The exploration of detailed elements from Table 3.2 to Table 3.8 confirms these complexities in developing countries in relation to tourism policy implementation. Although this study seems to propose a more top down approach in researching tourism policy implementation in the developing world, the framework is designed to recognise 'bottom up' features.

The study therefore adopts a mixed approach to understanding tourism policy implementation in developing countries. Top-down approaches to policy implementation are widespread in developing countries. However, the advantages of local understanding and involvement from the bottom-up may assist in bridging gaps between policy intention and policy implementation.

Influenced by the discussions in earlier sections, the conceptual framework is applied to this study in various ways. Firstly, it directs the study into a wide range of information consistent with the research aim and objectives and influences the type of data to be searched and explored. Secondly, it assists in selecting methodological approaches in terms of collecting appropriate information concerning tourism policy implementation. Rich information obtained from qualitative methods provides a more comprehensive picture and understanding of policy implementation opportunities and problems in a developing world context. Third, under this structured, yet interactive and flexible framework, the interview questions are derived. The questions reflect the detailed elements of each area, and each question is also cross-checked, referenced and compared to avoid unnecessary duplication. Fourth, it provides guidance for data analysis as it requires the identification of significant themes for critical discussion and analysis. With the use of this conceptual framework, ten broad themes are developed to generate and categorise data to be interpreted, analysed and subsequently reported in the results chapters. Fifth, the title of each results chapter is also drawn from the theoretical framework. As a result, five results chapters are developed to elucidate critical analysis. These include the respondents and the policies, structural and political dimensions of policy implementation, institutional issues in implementing policies, policy clarity and policy resources and public attitudes, culture and policy implementation. Finally, in the conclusion chapter, the framework helps with understanding tourism policy implementation in Phuket, and transfers this understanding to the wider context of developing countries and the study of tourism policy and its implementation for the future.

The conceptual framework and its detailed elements demonstrate that this study, rather than labelling the developing countries as having ill-considered policy and poorly planned tourism development, instead seeks to understand 'on the ground' practices and the 'reality' of policy implementation in a developing world context. This conceptual framework considers the past and current experiences of both the developed and developing world to explain practical policy implementation in the real world, with particular regard to developing countries. It highlights examples of both positive and negative instances of tourism policy implementation in developing countries. In conclusion, the framework does not intend to simply add more factors to the study of policy implementation, nor to find solutions for poor implementation results. Instead, it critically explores the way in which policy implementation happens on the ground within specific contexts of developing countries, with the hope of encouraging further

thinking, discussion, research and study of tourism policy implementation in developing countries.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Consistent with the research aim and objectives, the study's conceptual framework is developed to explore and to understand tourism policy implementation in a developing world context. The framework is influenced by policy and implementation theories from the developed world, and it also considers the practices and realities of developing countries, including their socio-cultural, political, economic and institutional settings. The theoretical framework's elements demonstrate possible processes and links that may explain how tourism policy implementation works on the ground. The framework works as a guide and it directs the research methodology, data analysis interpretation, and writing structure, as well as generating research conclusions and implications. The framework aims to help one to understand and study tourism policy implementation on the ground. The framework may be applicable in other settings in a developing world context.

The conceptual framework plays a significant role in the design of the research methodology for this study. It influences the selection of research tools, the specification of interview questions and data interpretation. The research methodology is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4   Research Methodology

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter explains and justifies the research methodology used in the study, including the chosen research approach, methods, data collection and data analysis, in order to understand the issues under investigation. It also reports on practical limitations of the research and the reflexive approach used. Based on a constructivist paradigm, this study uses a case study approach combined with qualitative methods and techniques. It also collects material from multiple data sources to realise the research aim of understanding tourism policy implementation from a developing world perspective.

The chapter's ten sections discuss the study's multi-stage research process. The first section explains the overall research philosophy and locates this in relation to the quantitative and qualitative dichotomy. Next, it deals with the research strategy and case study approach, followed by consideration of the specific qualitative research techniques that were adopted. There is a discussion of research ethics in relation to preparation for the field work and its application. Details are provided of the sampling design, the interview schedule, the execution of field work through site visits, and the use of secondary data and documentation analysis. The last two sections discuss the approach to data analysis, the use of triangulation, the limitations of the research, and reflexivity.

4.2 THE RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

People tend be influenced in their thinking by particular set of concepts, although they are often unaware of the influences on their thinking. Thus research can be 'tainted' by concepts or theories that are unknowingly taken on board in the interpretations of data (Sayer, 1992). However, it is argued that presuppositions and biases can be addressed and examined through a systematic approach to research (May, 2001). At times researchers need to detach themselves from their own opinions and presuppositions, known as an 'epoche' process (Patton, 1990), in order to investigate the topic in an open manner, sometimes known as a 'bracketing' process (Patton, 1990). At other times, the researcher needs to explain and make overt their conceptual frameworks that influence their research.

It is widely accepted that philosophies have an important and at times ambivalent relationship with research. Good philosophy does not necessarily produce good research, nor necessarily help to make effective researchers, but it can enhance our ability to understand the social world (Patton, 2002). Philosophies and social theory inform our understanding of issues which, in turn, assist us to make research decisions and to make sense of the world around us (May, 2001). They influence the adoption of research strategies, the conduct of the research, as well as how the findings are interpreted (Delanty and Strydom, 2003). An awareness and consideration of how these relate to the research process is therefore critically important.

Researchers are also philosophers in the sense that all human beings are guided by abstract principles that combine beliefs about ontology, epistemology and methodology (Bateson, 1972:320 in Denzin and Lincoln, 2003), which are also key influences on social science research (Bryman, 2001). The ontological, epistemological and methodological premises behind research can be termed its 'paradigm', and they form an interpretive framework or basic set of beliefs that guides action (Guba, 1990:17). Unsurprisingly, various theoretical and philosophical perspectives in social inquiry have been introduced by different scholars (Crotty, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Bryman, 2001). The present study was located in relation to Lincoln and Guba's (2000) five paradigms for inquiry, that include positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, constructivism and participatory approaches. They are presented with brief details in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Basic beliefs of alternative inquiry paradigms

Issue	Positivism	Postpositivism	Critical theory	Constructivism	Participatory
Ontology	naive realism - real reality but apprehendable	critical realism - real reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable	historical realism - virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values crystallised over time	relativism - local and specific constructed realities	participative reality - subjective-objective reality, co-created by mind and given cosmos
Epistemology	dualist/ objectivist; findings are true	modified dualist/objectivist; critical tradition/communi ty; findings probably true	transactional/subjecti ve; value-mediated findings	transactional/ subjectivist; created findings	critical subjectivity in participatory transaction with cosmos; extended epistemology of experiential, propositional and practical knowing; co-created findings
Methodology	experimental /manipulative, verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods	Modified experimental/mani pulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods	dialogic/ dialectic	hermeneutic/ dialectic	political participation in collaborative action inquiry; primacy of the practical; use of language grounded in shared experimental context

Source: Adapted from Lincoln and Guba (2000:168)

Given the study's research aims, a constructivist paradigm appears most relevant, based on this paradigm's ontological, epistemological and methodological positions. This is because the constructivist perspective involves ontological relativism, epistemological subjectivism, and a methodology that is hermeneutic and dialectic (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). In other words, constructivism assumes that there are multiple realities, that the inquirer and inquired co-create their understandings, and that there is a naturalistic set of methodological procedures (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:35). Constructivist knowledge claims begin with the premise that the human and natural or physical world are different and they therefore must be studied differently (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). This is because human capacity evolves over time in its ability to interpret and construct reality (Patton, 2002). It is assumed that individuals seek to understand the world in which they live and work, in other words, that they develop subjective understandings of their experience, which are often negotiated socially and historically (Creswell, 2003). The key thread throughout this paradigm unsurprisingly is the emphasis on the socially constructed nature of reality (Patton, 2002).

Practically speaking, constructivism entails the criteria of credibility, trustworthiness, transferability and dependability, which replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and external validity and objectivity (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). In fact, constructivist, naturalistic and interpretive paradigms are specific terms given to an epistemology that contrasts with traditional positivist orthodoxies, since it is believed that the study of the social world requires a different research logic or procedure, one that reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural order. Its approach involves an interpretive stance, use of case studies and ethnographic enquiry (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). The flexibility of the constructivist paradigm also facilitates the use of multi-methods and techniques for data collection and analysis.

At an ontological level, the constructivist paradigm accepts multiple realities (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Creswell, 2003) and seeks to explain people's unique experiences (Crotty, 1998). This assessment of tourism policy implementation, therefore, is based on the views of stakeholders in the tourism policy community that are subjective and relate to the structural, political, institutional, attitudinal and socio-cultural influences upon them. This study rejects the positivist approach which is based on the notion of objective quantifiable data, with prediction and the control of the behaviour of others as its goal (Kvale, 1996; May, 2001).

At an epistemological level, constructivist is associated with a subjective view involving the knower and the inquired co-creating understanding (Denzin and Lincoln,

2003). In this research, various stakeholders told how they viewed the implementation of tourism policy, and the researcher as the inquirer interpreted that information and developed an understanding of that 'reality' in pursuit of the overall research aim. The approach adopted suggests that each way of making sense of the world is as valid and worthy of respect as any other, and it also depends on gaining a wider understanding of the background or context of other meanings, beliefs, values, practices and so forth that shape these views (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). This study thus reconstructed the multiple 'realities' of people's understandings of policy implementation based on the views of the different stakeholders involved. The assumptions behind Guba and Lincoln's (1989:44-45) view of how constructivists create their 'reality' or knowledge are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Primary assumptions of constructivism

- 'Truth' is matter of consensus among informed and sophisticated constructors, not of correspondence with objective reality.
- 'Facts' have no meaning except within some value framework, hence there cannot be an objective assessment of any proposition.
- Causes and effects do not exist except by imputation.
- Phenomena can only be understood within the context in which they are studied; findings from one context cannot be generalised to another; neither problems nor solutions can be generalised to another; neither problems nor solutions can be generalised from one setting to another.
- Data derived from constructivist inquiry have neither special status nor legitimate status; they represent simply another construction to be taken into account in the move toward consensus.

Source: Guba and Lincoln (1989:44-45)

At a methodological level, constructivism entails hermeneutics, or the art and science of interpretation (Ezzy, 2002), where individual constructions are depicted as accurately as possible (Guba and Lincoln, 1989) in order to obtain a common understanding of wider meanings (Kvale, 1996). Constructivism also involves dialectics, that is, the study of internal contradictions whereby the different constructions are compared and contrasted (Kvale, 1996; Guba and Lincoln, 1989). It assesses contradictions as factors of change and looks at the extent of association between knowledge and action (Kvale, 1996). The positivist views of validity are not accepted, with Patton (2002) contending that the interpretation of meaning should be characterised by a hermeneutical circle: our understanding of the views of individuals should take place through a process where these different meanings are related to more global interpretations. Hermeneutic inquiry entails involving oneself in the views of others, questioning those views during interpretation, and finally interpreting those views in the light of one's situation and frameworks (Kneller 1984:68). In the current

research full consideration was paid to the historical, political and cultural contexts which contributed to the views expressed about tourism policy implementation in the interviews. And theory and understanding was developed through a continuous dialectic movement between the views of respondents and the pre-existing interpretive frameworks (including constructivism) (Ezzy, 2002).

The emphasis of constructivism on subjective, multiple meanings meant that the research focused on qualitative methods. But the supposed dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative methods is always open to debate. The differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches have been explored by many scholars (Creswell, 1994; Brannen, 1995; Veal, 1997; Punch, 1998; Bryman, 2001; Yates, 2004) These two approaches or paradigms tend to have different underpinning philosophies that influence how reality is viewed, and the methods and techniques that are used (Veal, 1997; Patton, 2002). It is not contended that one method is necessarily better than another, rather that each understands the world in a different way. The choice of approach will depend on the research aim and objectives and the favoured philosophical paradigm and research strategies. In general, quantitative research asks 'why', whereas qualitative research asks 'how', which can both contribute greatly to knowledge (Corbetta, 2003:51-52). Some commonly identified differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches and methods of research are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Comparison between quantitative and qualitative research

	Quantitative research	Qualitative research
Research planning		
Theory-research relationship	Structured; logically sequential phases; deduction (theory precedes observation)	Open, interactive
Function of the literature	Fundamental in defining theory and hypotheses	Auxiliary
Concepts	Operationalised	Orientative, open, under construction
Relationship with the environment	Manipulative approach	Naturalistic approach
Psychological researcher-subject interaction	Neutral, detached, scientific observation	Empathetic identification with the perspective of the subject studied
Physical research-subject interaction	Distance, detachment	Proximity, contact
Role of subject studied	Passive	Active
Data collection		
Research design	Structured, closed, precedes research	Unstructured, open, constructed in the course of research
Representativeness	Statistically representative sample	Single cases not statistically representative
Recording instrument	Standardised for all subjects; Objective; data-matrix	Varies according to subjects' interests; tends not to be standardised
Nature of the data	'Hard', objective and standardised (objectivity vs. subjectivity)	'Soft', rich and deep (depth vs. superficiality)
Data analysis		
Object of the analysis	The variable (analysis by variables, impersonal)	The individual (analysis by subjects)
Aim of the analysis	Explain variation (variance) in variables	Understand the subjects
Mathematical and statistical techniques	Used intensely	Not used
Production of results		
Data presentation	Tables (relationship perspective)	Extracts from interviews and texts (narrative perspective)
Generalisations	Correlations; causal models; laws; logic of causation	Classifications and typologies; ideal types; logic of classification
Scope of results	Generalisability	Specificity

Source: Adapted from Corbetta (2003:37)

Given the research objectives and the constructivist paradigm, there was evidently an intimate relationship between the researcher, what was studied and the situational constraints that shaped the inquiry. These were not compatible with the quantitative method that produces results largely in numerical terms, that isolates them from their multiple relationships and interpretations, and that is often alleged to have neglected the differences between the natural and social world of socio-cultural constructions (Patton, 2002). This theoretical reasoning led to a qualitative method being adopted in this study.

Qualitative research is inherently multi-method in focus (Flick, 1998). But the main research methods for qualitative research may vary, although it often involves a range of interview styles and ethnography observation (Bryman, 2001). Three kinds of qualitative data collection are proposed by Patton (2002): in-depth, open ended interviews, direct observation, and written documents. Qualitative researchers, therefore, often attempt to describe and interpret some human phenomenon based on the words of the selected informants, the collection and analysis of documents, along with other research activities (Heath, 1997). They accordingly deploy a range of

interconnected interpretive practices (Bryman, 2001), hoping always to get a better understanding of the subject matter to hand (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Importantly, the use of these multiple methods demonstrates an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon being investigated, and this also facilitates a triangulation process that can increase the reliability of the research findings. The combination of methods and sources in a single study is best understood as a strategy that provides rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth for the inquiry (Flick, 1998).

Despite its basis in in-depth analysis using multiple methods, there are criticisms of the reliability and 'anecdotalism' of qualitative research methods (Silverman, 2000:10). Qualitative research can be criticised as being too subjective, difficult to replicate, restricted to very generalised findings, and lacking in transparency (Bryman, 2001:282-83). Qualitative research can rely too much on the researcher's skill and views about what is significant and important (Corbetta, 2003). It can be difficult to find standard procedures to follow since it is often based on an unstructured process. With the in-depth findings of small-scale research, it risks being accused of creating problems for generalisation, as well as scepticism as to how the researcher can reach overall conclusions (Veal, 1997). Significantly, Guba and Lincoln (1994) propose an alternative to the measures of reliability and validity in quantitative methods. They suggest two primary criteria to assess the value of qualitative research: these being trustworthiness and authenticity, and they are summarised in Table 4.4. These were kept in mind throughout the research process for this study.

Table 4.4 Criteria to assess the value of qualitative research

Criteria	Descriptions
Trustworthiness	Credibility: stressing multiple accounts of social reality.
	Transferability: being orientated to the contextual uniqueness and significance of the aspects of the social world being studied.
	Dependability: adopting an auditing approach and entailing complete records that are kept in an accessible manner.
	Confirmability: not overtly allowing personal values or theoretical inclinations manifestly to sway the conduct of the research and findings deriving from it.
Authenticity	Fairness: representing different viewpoints among members of the social setting.
	Ontological authenticity: arriving at a better understanding of their social milieu.
	Educative authenticity: helping members to appreciate other perspectives of other members of their social setting.
	Catalytic authenticity: an impetus to members to engage in action to change their circumstances.
	Tactical authenticity: empowering members to take the steps necessary for engaging in action.

Source: Adapted from Guba and Lincoln (1994)

4.3 THE APPROACH TO RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research does not make judgements about the success or failure of Phuket's tourism policy implementation, rather the research seeks to better understand varying 'truths' about this implementation based on the views of affected parties and the researcher's interpretation of this. The research is both descriptive and explanatory, and it also involves a combination of deductive and inductive approaches. In brief, the nature of the relationship between theory and social research in deductive research involves the researcher developing a hypothesis or conceptual framework on the basis of what is known about in a particular domain that then is applied in fieldwork. In contrast, in inductive research the researcher starts from the implication of his or her empirical findings in order to develop theory: the research findings are fed back into the stock of theory or into a certain domain of enquiry (Bryman, 2001:8-9). In sum, deduction entails a process of theory-observation-findings whereas in induction the connection is reversed: observation-findings-theory. In fact most research is partly inductive and partly deductive, often because some prior explanatory models are needed for data collection and also because it is not possible to develop theories without some initial empirical information (Veal, 1997). Although the present research contains significant deductive processes, it also included inductive processes at several points, especially in the use of various empirical findings from case study research in developing countries in order to develop the study's conceptual framework, and in the subsequent field work. In practice the study used an iterative process, intertwining back and forth between data and theory. The research was thus not solely or perhaps even primarily driven by a deductive approach. While the study is quite deductive in its research orientation, even that deduction also entailed elements of induction (Bryman 2001).

In accordance with the constructivist paradigm, the study used a case study approach. This is seen in its focus on the developing world context, its specific attention to the circumstances found in Phuket, Thailand, and its detailed assessment of the implementation of just three tourism-related policies. Yin (2003a:13) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context". A case study approach allows for an in-depth account of individuals in their setting, where chronological trends can be established and where interactions with the context can be observed (Denscombe, 1998). It deals with distinctive situations, the complex multivariate conditions found in those situations, and the multiple relevant sources of evidence (Robson, 2002; Yin, 2003a; 2003b).

93

Significant features of the case study approach are summarised in Table 4.5. A questionnaire survey approach was considered much less appropriate since the intention was to gain in-depth insights in a natural setting, based on understanding the entirety of the given phenomenon and situation, and there was no intention to seek representativeness (Denscombe, 1998). The utilisation of multiple or combined research methods to the topic also assisted with research triangulation, that helped to increase the study's likely reliability (Hakim, 2000).

In practice, this research first investigated issues of tourism policy implementation as a social phenomenon that naturally occurred in Phuket. Second, the investigated phenomenon was three tourism policies and the involvement of various stakeholders in their implementation in Phuket. Finally, there was in-depth investigation of the phenomenon using multiple methods. Although the case study spotlights just three policies in Phuket, it is argued that the insights into the related processes have wider implications for other contexts.

Table 4.5 Features of the case study approach

Features of case studies		
Depth of study	rather than	breadth of study
The particular	rather than	the general
Relationships/processes	rather than	outcomes and end-products
Holistic view	rather than	isolated factors
Natural settings	rather than	artificial situations
Multiple sources/methods	rather than	one research source/method

Source: Adapted from Denscombe (1998:32)

The case study approach was employed for its focus on processes and relationships (Robson, 2002). In other words, it helps to establish 'who', 'what', 'how' and 'why', questions that corresponded with the study's overall research aim. This approach helps to explore issues in depth and in context so as to generate or replicate theory (Finn *et al.*, 2000:81). The collection of evidence about what was going on about policy implementation provided an in-depth understanding of this phenomenon. The case study approach allowed for exploratory, explanatory and descriptive findings (Yin, 1993, 1994), and it revealed the subtleties and intricacies of social situations (Denscombe, 1998), namely the complexities of tourism policy implementation in Phuket. The case study approach also facilitated both theory testing and theory building (de Vaus, 2001), this being an important objective behind the study's use of an iterative approach to deductive and inductive enquiry. Table 4.6 summarises some advantages and disadvantages of case study research.

Table 4.6 Advantages and disadvantages of case study research

Advantages	Disadvantages
1. Deals with the subtleties and intricacies if complex social situations. It enables the researcher to grapple with relationships and social processes.	1. Vulnerable to criticism of the credibility of generalisations made from its findings.
2. Allows the use of a variety of research methods in order to capture the complex reality under scrutiny.	2. Case studies are often perceived as producing soft data. They get accused of lacking the degree of rigour expected of social science research, providing descriptive accounts of the situation that are ill-suited to analysis or evaluation (challenged by careful attention to detail in the use of the approach).
3. Facilitates validation through triangulation.	3. Boundaries can prove difficult to define in an absolute and clear cut fashion.
4. There is no pressure on the researcher to impose controls or to change circumstances.	4. Negotiating access to the case study can be a demanding part of the research process.
5. Fits well with the needs of small-scale research through concentrating effort on one research site.	5. It is hard for case study researchers to achieve their aim of investigating situations as they naturally occur without any effect arising from their presence. Case studies involve protracted involvement over a period of time, and there is the possibility that the presence of the researcher can lead to the observer effect. Those being researched might behave differently from normal owing to the knowledge that they are under the microscope and being observed in some way.
6. Beneficial for both theory testing and theory building.	

Source: Adapted from Denscombe (1998:39-40)

Despite their ability to enhance an in-depth and rigorous understanding of particular and unique features, case studies are sometimes criticised for their lack of concern for external validity or generalisability (Denscombe, 1998). The question is: how far it is reasonable to generalise from the findings of the one case of three policies in Phuket? Mitchell (1983) and Yin (1984 in Bryman, 2001) argue that the issue is not whether case study findings can be generalised to a wider universe, rather it concerns how well the researcher generates the theory out of the case study findings. Essentially this is associated with the quality of theoretical reasoning used by the case study researcher (Bryman, 2001). The extent to which findings from the case study can be generalised to other examples also depends on how similar the case is to others of its type. In the case of a typical instance, then the particular case study is likely easily to be applicable elsewhere (Denscombe, 1998). In this study the focus on three policies that affect other tourist destinations elsewhere in Thailand further increased the wider applicability of the particular case study of Phuket.

Phuket was chosen as the case study as it is a rapidly growing and substantial tourism destination in a developing country. More particularly, Phuket was chosen as a 'typical' instance. While it has unique characteristics, it was felt that its features were sufficiently 'typical' in order to suggest some wider generalisations concerning the implementation of tourism policies in developing countries. For instance, they often share centralised forms of administration, bureaucratic and hierarchical chains of

command in the public sector, and a prevailing cultural tradition of patron and client relations. Their governments also commonly employ international tourism as a tool for national and regional economic development. Secondly, the selection of the case study was influenced by the pragmatic considerations of the researcher's limited time, financial resources, and considerable familiarity with the destination. There was much convenience and improved insights to be gained from the researcher's familiarity with the case study area and its culture. In part this was because the researcher could conduct the fieldwork in her own mother tongue.

Similar justifications applied to the selection of the three tourism-related policies. First, they were considered important tourism policies in the locality. Second, they were considered to represent a reasonable spread across types of tourism policies in a destination area and across types of policy intentions. Third, they represented a mix of policies in relation to their year of original policy enactment (date of first legislation). There was also an element of pragmatism in terms of ease of access, personal safety and resource limitations.

4.4 THE QUALITATIVE METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Qualitative research has a long history in academic disciplines interested in naturalistic inquiry and on people's direct experiences and their expressed views about their world (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Creswell, 2003). It is an appropriate approach in order to gain a 'deep' understanding of subject matter (Finn *et al.*, 2000), and it often entails the use of face-to-face interaction and effort to understand the mind of another human being and to take the role of the other in order to acquire social knowledge (Lofland and Lofland, 1995:16).

This study of policy implementation seeks to get as deep inside the subject as possible, attempting to see social reality through the eyes of the subjects studied (Corbetta, 2003). It was felt that qualitative methods provide a 'deeper' understanding of the social phenomena (Rossman and Rallis, 1998). Table 4.7 explains the preferences for qualitative methods in this research.

Table 4.7 Preferences for qualitative methods

1. A preference for qualitative data - understood simply as the analysis of words and images rather than numbers. 2. A preference for naturally occurring data - observation rather than experiment, unstructured rather than structured. 3. A preference for meaning rather than behaviour - attempting to document the world from the point of view of the people studied. 4. A rejection of natural science research models. 5. A preference for inductive, hypothesis-generating research rather than hypothesis testing.

Source: Hammersley (1992: 160-72 in Silverman, 2000:8)

This study adopted three key qualitative techniques: semi-structured interviews, documentation analysis and observation. Generating interviews with informants was considered the most significant research method as the study's aim is to learn through the participants' eyes. Interviews can yield rich insights into people's experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes, feelings and biographies (Kvale, 1996; Veal, 1997; May, 2001). Out of four broad types of interview techniques generally used in social research (Bryman, 2001), semi-structured in-depth interviews were considered most appropriate for the research objectives and overall research strategy. The research required focused information on specific topics, although it was felt important to allow quite open-ended opportunities for discussion. Focus groups were considered inappropriate as it would have been difficult to encourage people to talk in that context due to Thailand's confrontation-avoiding culture. With semi-structured interviews the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers given, but care was taken to ensure this was not in a manner which would be prejudicial to the aims of standardisation and comparability (May, 2001). In the interviews the interviewer was able to seek both clarification and elaboration in relation to the answers given (Flick, 1998), and there was scope to enter into a sustained dialogue with the interviewee (Kvale, 1996). It is widely accepted that semi-structured interviews allow people to answer more on their own terms than with more structured interviews, while it still provides a clearer structure to allow comparability compared with more unstructured interviews.

The second main qualitative technique used for this research was documentation collection and analysis. The use of documents in case study research (Yin, 2003a) have a number of potential advantages, as outlined in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Potential advantages of the use of documents

Potential advantages of the use of documents
1. Documents can be useful for verifying the correct spelling and titles of organisations mentioned in the interviews.
2. Documents can provide other specific details to corroborate information from other sources in order to look for contradictions and conformity for further inquiry of the topic under investigation.
3. Documents are sources of inferences, nevertheless they should be treated only as clues worthy of further investigation rather than as definitive findings in order to avoid possible false leads.

After a systematic search a variety of documents was incorporated in the study, this being considered a vital type of source (Yin 1994:81). Both Thai and English online newspaper articles were scanned and collected on a daily basis during the research period, including the online local English language `Phuket Gazette' (June 2002-August 2005). Other types of documentation used in this case study are summarised in Table 4.9. The researcher also examined the files of various key organisations being studied, including some documents in storage that provided detailed information on relevant events. Sources were also found in local libraries and other reference centres, and these provided further evidence for triangulation.

Table 4.9 Types of documents used in the study

1. Official communiqués, agendas, announcements, minutes of meetings and other written reports of events related to beach safety, protected areas and entertainment venues in Phuket.
2. Administrative documents, such as proposals and progress reports related to the three policies, and other internal documents, notably police reports on charges under the Entertainment Venues Act, yearly reports on marine accidents and drowning, and Environmental Impact Assessments.
3. Books and research studies in relation to tourism and the three selected policies in Phuket.
4. Thai national and local newspapers articles in relation to tourism and the three selected policies in Phuket.

Following Yin (1994:83), documents were collected from the police (such as organisational charts, budgets), local government (such as geographic maps of protected areas, beaches and zoning areas), and TAT Region 4 (such as survey data on tourists). Phuket's census records were also consulted. Some of these sources were the focus of intensive retrieval and analysis, but others were merely of passing relevance. While these documentary sources were often easy to collect and provided other perspectives on the issues, it was important to be aware of the specific purpose for their original compilation and their intended audiences, so as to avoid potentially misleading use of these sources (Yin 1994:82).

The third main method or technique used involved observation of relevant activities. The intention was to use observation to provide another type of evidence for triangulation, rather than to attempt detailed ethnographic fieldwork. According to Yin (1994; 2003), two types of observation were conducted in this research: direct and participant observation. Direct observation refers to observational evidence that is made

through a field visit to a case study 'site' (Yin, 1994; 2003). In this study observations were made (as a non-participant) of tourist activities in bars, nightclubs, beach areas (often near to beach guards), and in environmental contexts, including in off-island trips and related activities. This observational data added new dimensions of understanding in relation to the overall context and to specific topics under investigation. Photographs were also taken during these direct observational activities, which, as indicated by Yin (2003a:93), help to "convey important case characteristics to outside observers".

Yin's (1994:87) second category of observational method was also employed. Thus, participant observation was used, where the researcher took some part in the activities, rather than taking the role solely of passive observer (Veal, 1997). Participant observation is frequently used in anthropological and ethnographic studies of different cultural and sub-cultural groups. In this study the researcher joining tourist activities at beaches (observing the behaviour of both tourists and beach guards), visited various pubs and nightclubs (observing their activities and police inspections), went on a number of tours with tourists visiting both inland areas and small islands (observing tourist activities and government and tour operator personnel in protected areas), and joined as a crew member in a police inspection team observing night clubs and pubs activities.

Often all three of these main research methods were operationalised concurrently, although their interpretation tended to be looked at independently, at least initially. They led to five main types of data sources being used for this study of policy implementation. The potential strengths and weaknesses of these five main data sources are summarised in Table 4.10. The diversity of these sources aided data triangulation and thus helped in establishing the reliability of the case study findings.

Table 4.10 Major data sources for the research

Source of evidence	Potential strengths	Potential weaknesses
Interviews (Fieldwork)	-targeted, with a focus directly on case study topic -insightful, providing perceived causal inferences	-bias due to poorly constructed questions -response bias -inaccuracies due to poor recall -reflexivity as interviewee says what interviewer wants to hear
Documentation (literature/desk search/field visits)	-stable and can be reviewed repeatedly -unobtrusive and not created as a result of the case study -exact as it can contain exact names, references and details of an event -broad coverage, often with long span of time, many events, and many settings	-retrievability can be low -biased selectivity, if collection is incomplete -reporting bias that can reflect (unknown) bias of author -access may be deliberately blocked
Archival records (Literature/desk search/field visits)	-same as above for documentation -precise and quantitative	-same as above for documentation -accessibility due to privacy reasons
Direct observation (Field visits)	-reality as it covers events in real time -contextual as it covers context of event	-time-consuming -selectivity, unless broad coverage -reflexivity as event may proceed differently because it is being observed -cost for hours needed by human observers
Participant observation (Field visits)	-same as above for direct observation -insightful about interpersonal behaviour and motives	-same as above for direct observation -bias due to investigator's manipulation of events

Source: Adapted from Yin (1994:80)

4.5 THE RESEARCH ETHICS

Attention has to be paid to ethical issues since they are especially influential in qualitative research and also might contaminate the research (Silverman, 2000). According to Diener and Crandall (1978 in Bryman, 2001:479), there should be consideration of potential harm to participants, gaining informed consent, and the potential for invasion of privacy and deception. Three key ethical guidelines were introduced in this study: informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity. For example, all targeted interviewees were given information about the research purposes and it was explained that participation was voluntary, so as to ensure they understood the research purposes, to obtain consent (Kent, 1996), and to avoid any invasion of privacy. Informed consent was also gained through personally briefing the participants (Kvale, 1996) prior to commencement of the interview. It was especially important to assure respondents that names would not be identified in the research (confidentiality and anonymity in relation to the thesis and related publications) and that the research findings would only be used for academic purposes. This was important to secure permission to tape record the interviews. Access to all recorded tapes was limited only to the researcher.

The only substantial exception when informed consent from all parties was not obtained was in relation to the observation activities, although here there were other protocols related to ethics. For example, when visiting the night club venues the people there were not asked for their consent. However, when the researcher joined in with

police inspections of night entertainment venues in the Patong area, various protocols were clearly established, notably due to issues of researcher safety. Here clear permission was forthcoming from the police authorities and the researcher was accompanied at all times in these inspections by police personnel.

Ethical principles were considered and addressed throughout the research process. For example, great care was taken to accurately and honestly interpret the research findings and to understand the perspectives of the various respondents. Various ethical codes were consulted for advice and guidance on appropriate research practices (Bryman, 2001). According to May (2001), the development and application of research ethics is required not only to maintain public confidence and to protect the researcher from the illegitimate use of research findings, but also to ensure the status of the research as a legitimate and worthwhile undertaking.

4.6 FIELD WORK PREPARATION

Some initial information and explanatory models on the topic in question were collected and reviewed before the fieldwork visit. This was to ensure there was an appropriate direction for the empirical data collection. These early deductive and partly inductive activities significantly influenced the subsequent research process and analysis.

4.6.1 Literature search

Reviewing previous research work on a topic is also a crucial early step in the research process aimed to add to the body of human knowledge (Veal, 1997, Bryman, 2001). There are six significant roles of the literature review in research. These include acting as a substantial basis for the entire research approach, providing ideas on topics for research, revealing information on previous research by others, suggesting methodological or theoretical ideas, comparing research approaches, and sourcing information such as statistical sources on a topic (Veal, 1997). In this study the chosen topic largely was not generated through the literature search, rather it was much influenced by the researcher's own experiences while working in Phuket. Thus, for this study the literature search was preliminary useful for developing new theoretical and methodological ideas that aided understanding of the subject matter. Influenced by Veal (1997), the literature search began with a careful search for relevant published articles and books, reviewing them and identifying and assessing relevant approaches and concepts. The research fields for this literature included policy studies, implementation studies, development studies, politics, tourism policy and planning, tourism

development, public administration, organisational studies, developing countries and national laws and legal frameworks. In relation to the case study, the literature investigated related to Thailand's history, public administration, economic development, society and culture. There was also a very limited amount of published work found on tourism safety, sustainable tourism development, tourism and entertainment, community involvement, public and private sector partnership and co-operation, and sex tourism. The identified theories, concepts and practices significantly influenced the devising of the initial conceptual framework, and they were applied and evaluated throughout the entirety of this research. Literature on research methodology and social theory were also consulted in order to develop the fieldwork strategy, methods and activities. The literature also assisted with the data interpretation and finally in developing the wider conclusions and implications of the study.

4.6.2 Desk search

Many secondary sources were collected and reviewed through desk search. The desk search began in April 2002. There were two different types of desk search, with the first lasting from April 2002 to March 2003 and from September 2003 to March 2005. This involved a review of relevant books, journal articles, theses, tourism-related reports and conference proceedings. It also involved daily collection of website-based information on Phuket and Thailand both in English and Thai. This was a knowledge building process which facilitated in refining the research area, developing the research aim and objectives, devising the preliminary theoretical framework, developing the research strategies and methods, refining the interview questions, and relating the research to wider theoretical debates and to specific research implications.

The second type of extensive desk search took place between April and May 2003 and this was dominated by an internet search with respect to the three selected tourism policies. Crucial information was gained from Thai government-related websites, online local newspapers, the web-pages of private sector tourism organisations. Particular attention was directed to the legislative and practical details of the three selected policies: the 1966 Entertainment Act and its revised form that is known as the Better Social Order policy, the 1992 Enhancement and Conservation of National Environment Quality Act and policy, and the 2001 National Government policy (Tourism Sections) and the beach safety project in Phuket. Through this search, organisational charts and lists of involved stakeholders and office-holders were obtained prior to the field visit, and these helped in pinpointing organisations and individuals to

contact to obtain relevant documentation, in selecting interviewees and a reserve list of interviewees. These sources also helped the researcher become familiar with the legislation and related practical issues prior to the field visit. The Phuket Gazzette was especially useful for identifying many relevant people in both government and in the private sector. At this stage, a number of telephone calls were made to Phuket in order to verify or update a list of potential interviewees, and in a small number of cases a friend in the local area was asked to do this work (due to the time difference between Thailand and the UK).

4.7 SAMPLING DESIGN

Small-scale, in-depth qualitative research cannot adhere to the exacting principles of probability sampling when selecting people to consult (Denscombe, 1998). As a consequence, it is not possible to discuss representativeness using the same criteria as applies with much larger samples. However, qualitative research offers the potential advantages of comprehending issues in relation to the full complexity of the given situation. In qualitative research it is unlikely that the population size can be known by the researcher with precision or certainty, and the sample size will generally be relatively small (Denscombe, 1998: 26-27). With qualitative research purposive sampling of key informants is often used in order to obtain rich information on the topic being studied. The selection of these respondents was shaped by the information gleaned from the literature review and desk search, including from literature on stakeholder analysis in tourism research (Murphy and Murphy, 2004). Previous researchers have identified various stakeholder groups that are often relevant in tourist areas, including government agencies, residents in local communities, tourism industry managers and owners, and non-government organisations (Gray, 1985; Wearing and Neil, 1999; Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Shah and Gupta, 2000; Murphy and Murphy, 2004). These constitute different stakeholder groups, with stakeholders defined by Bryson and Crosby (1992:65) as "any group, person or organisation that is affected by the causes or consequences of an issue". In the present study stakeholders are taken to be groups or individuals who have developed or been affected by tourism policies and by their implementation.

The sampling of stakeholders is influenced by the conceptual framework. The seven key concepts in the framework informed the selection of interviewees by geographical levels, roles and involvements. For instance, the concept of organisational relationships between and within government agencies suggested the involvement of

public sector actors in the policy implementation processes, while organisational relationships between public and non-public agencies suggested the direct relevance of both public sector actors and non-public actors. Furthermore, the concepts of policy clarity and policy communication also indicated the need to interview public sector actors at all levels who were directly involved in the tourism policy implementation processes. Finally, the structural and political issues, political will and commitment, policy resources and socio-cultural issues indicated the relevance of public sector actors and non-public sector actors at all levels who are affected by the three tourism policies. Figure 4.1 shows the research sampling based on the selection of stakeholders from different sectors and levels.

Figure 4.1 Stakeholders included in the sampling design
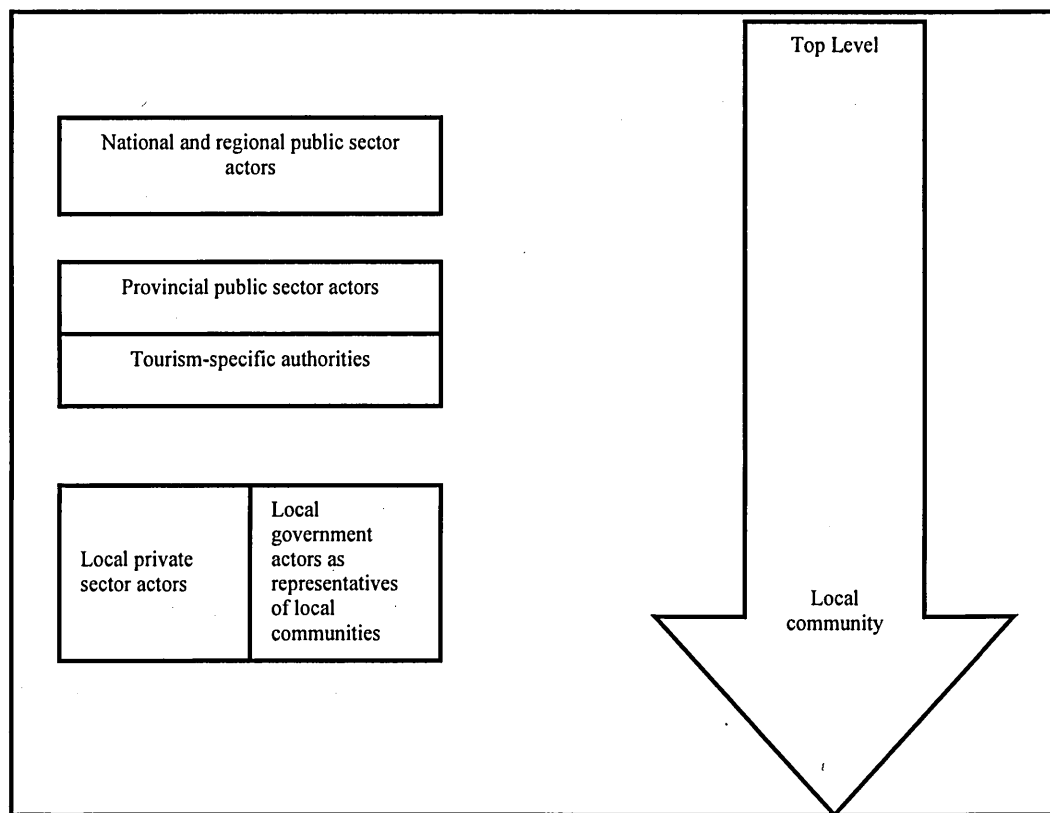
Three stages were also considered in the study's sampling design. First, there was *an assembling stage,* which involved grouping together relevant bodies with similar duties and roles into the same category. Their selection was associated with the categories of people who affect, and were affected by, the implementation of the selected tourism policies. The five relevant categories of stakeholders were: the non-tourism public authorities from central to local levels, tourism authorities that take part in the relevant policy decision-making or implementation, private sector tourism

businesses, and local people's representative and also NGO representatives that were directly affected by the policies.

The second stage was the geographical stage. For the study of policy implementation, it was important to investigate views of stakeholders based on a reasonable spread of different geographical areas within Phuket, thereby avoiding possible bias between particular areas. However, the prime intention was to gain high quality data rather than to focus on whether each geographical area was equally represented. *The third stage was the numbering stage.* After gaining an understanding of the roles, duties, groupings and geographical locations of the relevant stakeholders, a numbered list of potential respondents was drawn up who were considered to be of most direct relevance for the research objectives. The total numbers included in the final sample was based on gaining an appropriate mix of potential respondents in each category for the three tourism-related policies, and also on practical time and other resource constraints. Within each category there were staff from several organisations, and attention was paid to the number of these organisations and the number of staff in each. Details of target respondents in each category are shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 Five categories of targeted respondents in this study

Sector	Description
1. Public sector (18)	1. National public authorities (ONEP, Marine Department, Member of Parliament, Marine police). 2. Provincial authorities (The PPO, Provincial Office of MoNRE, Provincial police). 3. Members of local government (Municipalities, the PPAO, the TAOs).
2. Tourism authorities (7)	1. Senior officer from national TAT (Policy and Planning Department). 2. Staff from local TAT officer (Region 4). 3. Tourist police officers from the Tourist Police Department.
3. Tourism private sector (15)	1. Members of the Phuket Chamber of Commerce (PCC) and Phuket Tourist Association (PTA) (Hotel, tour company and entertainment venues). 2. Representatives from different (beach-front) hotels. 3. Representatives from different off-island tour operators. 4. Representatives from different entertainment venues: pubs, discotheque or late night entertainment shows (where staff are allowed to socialise with patrons). 5. Privately hired beach guards at three different beaches.
4. Local community representatives* (3)	1. Locally elected members from Tambon (sub-district) Administration Organisations (TAOs), the most localised form of Thai local government from three different sub-districts. *These were later combined with the public sector as members of local governments.
5. Non-government organisation* (1)	1. The Phuket Eco-Tourism Association (PETA) for protected area policy (there were no other equivalent associations for the two remaining policies). *This was later combined with the tourism private sector as the Association is privately funded by a group of tour companies in Phuket.

In sum, five groups were identified and categorised. These included the public sector from national to local level, public tourism authorities, private sector tourism businesses, local community representatives and a non-governmental organisation. However, the local community representatives were later combined with the local government category since they were also in the public sector and their roles also involved public sector implementation of tourism-related policies. Additionally, the

non-governmental organisation was discovered to be a privately-funded organisation by various tour companies in Phuket, so it was included within the private sector tourism business category. This collapse of categories significantly simplified the subsequent tabular analysis of broad trends, with fairly minimal loss of detail, but the differences remained taken into account in the detailed analysis.

A final consideration was the targeted number of interviewees in each group. The overall number was influenced by both the significance of people actually involved in the three selected tourism-related policies and the time involved in collecting and analysing the in-depth interviews. Initially, 53 interviewees were targeted, but this was later reduced to 44 people, through a process of excluding informants that it turned out were less directly involved than was first thought.

The final 44 targeted participants were split between the following five new groups: national public sector (6), provincial public sector (8), local government (7), tourism authorities (7) and the tourism private sector (16). This final split was based on a detailed consideration of the nature of the different sectors, of different roles and duties at different governmental levels, of the nature of the sources of capital or other funding, of the differences between tourism and non-tourism interests in the public sector, and of private sector tourism interests. This division into five groups is used throughout the five results chapters. Thus, Tables 4.12 and 4.13 present the list of targeted interviewees according to five different groups. Table 4.12 briefly details their involvement in the policies, and Table 4.13 shows their involvement in each of the three specific policies, this being an important consideration in the final stage of selecting respondents.

Table 4.12 The targeted 44 interviewees in five different groups and the nature of their involvement

Description	Reasoning
I. National and regional public sector (6)	
1. Two marine police inspectors	Involvement in implementing environment, protected area and beach safety policy.
2. Three representatives from the Office of National Policy& Planning for Environment (ONPE, BKK).	Involvement in implementing the protected area policy in Phuket.
3. A Phuket member of parliament	Possible involvement in all three selected policies, especially at the policy-decision level.
II. Provincial public sector (8)	
1. Four provincial public authorities from the Phuket Provincial Office. (Policy and Planning)	Possible involvement in affecting and implementing all three selected tourism-related policies in Phuket province.
2. Three from provincial police officers (Town and Patong police stations)	Involvement in affecting and implementing the entertainment venues policy in Phuket.
3. A representative of the provincial environment office.	Involvement in affecting and implementing the protected area policy in Phuket.
III. Local government as representatives of local communities(7)	
1. Two senior members of the PPAO	Involvement in locally affecting and implementing all three selected tourism-related policies in Phuket.
2. Two senior officers of two different municipalities	Same as above.
3. Three locally elected representatives from three different TAOs	Same as above.
IV Tourism-specific authorities (7)	
1. A representative from national TAT office (Policy and Planning Department)	Involvement in affecting and implementing all three selected tourism-related policies in Phuket, at national level.
2. Three representatives from local TAT Region 4 office.	Involvement in locally affecting and implementing all three selected tourism-related policies in Phuket.
3. Three tourist police officers in Phuket	Same as above.
V Tourism private sector at local level (16)	
1. Three members of either the Phuket Chamber of Commerce (PCC) or the Phuket Tourist Association (PTA): three different businesses (hotel, tour operator and entertainment venue)	Involvement in being affected by at least one of the three selected tourism-related policies imposed in Phuket.
2. Three different beach-front hotels (big/medium/small)	Same as above.
3. Three different tour companies (sea-based activities tour companies: big/medium/small)	Same as above.
4. Three different entertainment venues (popular, long-established pub (place with food, music and alcohol with no female partners), and popular discothèque (place with dancing floor)	Involvement in being affected by the entertainment venues policy.
5. Three privately hired beach guards (dangerous and popular beaches)	Involvement in affecting and implementing the beach safety policy in Phuket.
6. The Phuket Eco-Tourism Association (PETA) (privately funded association)	Involvement in affecting and being affected by the protected area policy in Phuket

Table 4.13 Involvement of targeted interviewees according to the three policies

Interviewees	Entertainment venue policy	Protected area policy	The 2001 Government Policy: tourism safety (beach safety)	Nature of organisation
1. Marine police inspector 1	X	/	/	National
2. Marine police inspector 2	X	/	/	National
3. Representative from the ONPE 1	X	/	X	National
4. Representative from the ONPE 2	X	/	X	National
5. Representative from the ONPE 3	X	/	X	National
6. A Phuket member of parliament	/	/	/	National
7. A PPO public authority 1	/	/	/	Provincial
8. A PPO public authority 2	/	/	/	Provincial
9. A PPO public authority 3	/	/	/	Provincial
10. A PPO public authority 4	/	/	/	Provincial
11. A town police officer 1	/	X	/	Provincial
12. A town police officer 2	/	X	/	Provincial
13. A Patong police officer	/	X	/	Provincial
14. A representative of the provincial environment office	X	/	X	Provincial
15. A PPAO senior member 1	/	/	/	Local
16. A PPAO senior member 2	/	/	/	Local
17 A Town municipality senior member 1	/	/	/	Local
18. A Patong municipality senior member 2	/	/	/	Local
19. A local TAO member 1	/	/	/	Local
20. A local TAO member 2	/	/	/	Local
21. A local TAO member 3	/	/	/	Local
22. A senior officer from national TAT office	/	/	/	Tourism authorities
23. A local TAT region 4 representative 1	/	/	/	Tourism authorities
24. A local TAT region 4 representative 2	/	/	/	Tourism authorities
25. A local TAT region 4 representative 3	/	/	/	Tourism authorities
26. A tourist police officer 1	/	X	/	Tourism authorities
27. A tourist police officer 2	/	X	/	Tourism authorities
28. A tourist police officer 3	/	X	/	Tourism authorities
29. A member of PCC or PTA 1 (Hotel)	/	/	/	Private tourism sector
30. A member of PCC or PTA 2 (Tour company)	/	/	/	Private tourism sector
31. A member of PCC or PTA 3 (Entertainment venue)	/	/	/	Private tourism sector
32. A beach-front hotel 1	/	/	/	Private tourism sector
33. A beach-front hotel 2	/	/	/	Private tourism sector
34. A beach-front hotel 3	/	/	/	Private tourism sector
35. A sea-based tour company 1	/	/	/	Private tourism sector
36. A sea-based tour company 2	/	/	/	Private tourism sector
37. A sea-based tour company 3	/	/	/	Private tourism sector
38. A night entertainment venue 1	/	X	X	Private tourism sector
39. A night entertainment venue 2	/	X	X	Private tourism sector
40. A night entertainment venue 3	/	X	X	Private tourism sector
41. A privately hired beach guard 1	X	X	/	Private tourism sector
42. A privately hired beach guard 2	X	X	/	Private tourism sector
43. A privately hired beach guard 3	X	X	/	Private tourism sector
44. A representative from the PETA	X	/	/	Private tourism sector

As shown in both tables, the targeted interviewees were crossed reference with the three selected policies to identify their involvement and to ensure the sampling was adequately linked with the selected policies. Some interviewees may have been able to express views on all three selected policies, while others were only able to discuss one

or two policies. The next section explains further the process of selecting interviewees from the communities within the sampling design.

4.7.1 Selection of respondents in local communities

Defining members of local communities can be problematic. According to Murphy and Murphy (2004), communities are made up of many individuals in local areas, who all have their own interests and priorities. As mentioned in the earlier section, this study of tourism policy implementation involves individuals or groups that directly affect and are affected by the three tourism-related policies and their implementation. But to investigate practical issues of tourism policy implementation, it is important that the member of local communities who are interviewed have adequate involvement and knowledge about the policies being studied as well as about the implementation processes for the policies. Thus the sample included members of private sector at the local level, as well as representatives of the members of locally elected local government. These two groups of respondents are both local community members and they are professionally involved in tourism as industry and local government representatives. The study did not include other members of local communities who were not directly involved in the three tourism policies since they were considered to be less relevant, having less knowledge and experience about tourism policy implementation. The next section deals with the design of the interview schedule and its implementation.

4.8 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

4.8.1 Interview questions

The interview questions were carefully designed to reflect each of the themes in the conceptual framework, as outlined in Chapter Three. The development of the interview questions went through a number of stages. First, 87 questions were developed covering every single element of the broad issues in the conceptual framework. These were later reduced to 41 questions by carefully considering the likely similarity and duplication in questions and replies. Third, more attention was addressed to create more general questions in order to allow the participants to express their opinions and ideas, as well as to avoid very short responses. By keeping the questions somewhat general meant that the responses in practice would cover other specific questions. This stage of refining the questions led to a reduction in their number to 33. Next, the careful use of language was further considered and professional opinion was

sought on this, especially in relation to maintaining generality and also neutrality so that both positive and negative responses would be encouraged. The intention was to ensure that the wording was open to every kind of response, and notably to ensure it did not necessarily assume there were gaps between policy intention and implementation. At the fifth stage, all developed questions were double-checked and cross-checked with the conceptual framework and its elements as well as with the research aim and objectives. At this stage three introductory questions were also developed in order to generate general information about the respondents, including about their involvement with the three selected policies. These were placed at the start of the interview, thus helped to put the interviewee at ease. At this stage the number of questions was 36. Importantly, after six interviews had been conducted one further question was added in order to draw out further information on the issue of policy revisions. The questions were finalised at 37, and these are presented in Table 4.14. The subheadings in the Table coincide with the headings in the conceptual framework (See also Figure 3.1).

Table 4.14 The interview questions

Introductory Questions

1. Which of these policies has affected you and your organisation?

2. Please explain how you and your organisation have been affected by this policy/these policies.

3. How long have you and your organisation been involved in the area affected by this policy/these policies?

Structural & Political Issues

4. In what ways has central government put this policy/these policies into practice through local government in Phuket?

5. How has support been provided by central government to assist in putting this policy/these policies into practice?

6. Would you please explain what you consider has worked well in how this policy/these policies have been put into practice in Phuket.

7. Would you please explain any difficulties that there have been in how this policy/these policies have been put into practice in Phuket?

8. In what ways have political and economic conditions helped or hindered this policy/ these policies being put into practice in Phuket?

9. In what ways have the organisational and hierarchical structures helped or hindered this policy/ these policies being put into practice?

Policy Clarity and Policy Communication

10. Has this policy/Have these policies of central government been precise enough about how local government should put it/them into practice in Phuket?

11. Have there been instances where the requirements of this policy/these policies have not been communicated clearly?

12. Has local government been clear enough about what to do about putting this policy/these policies into practice?

13. Do you think that the policy intentions have been achieved for this policy/these policies?

Organisational Relationships Between and Within Government Agencies

14. How complex has it been to put this policy/these policies into practice in Phuket?

15. Has your organisation/ a government organisation worked particularly harmoniously with other government organisations when putting this policy/these policies into practice in Phuket? Please explain.

16. Has your organisation/ a government organisation experienced some conflict with another government organisation when putting this policy/these policies into practice? Please explain.

17. Has there been a formal process for consulting among government organisations when this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket? (Follow-up: has that consultation process been a success?)

18. Have you felt uncomfortable about how government organisations have worked together when putting into practice this policy/these policies in Phuket? Please explain.

19. Have there been difficulties because of overlapping responsibilities among the different government organisations involved in this policy/these policies?

Organisational Relationships Between Public and Non-Public Agencies.

20. Has your organisation worked particularly harmoniously with a government organisation/ a non-public organisation such as businesses, NGOs and voluntary organisations when this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket? Please explain.

21. Has your organisation been in conflict with a government organisation/ a non-public organisation when this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket? Please explain.

22. Has there been a formal process for consulting between government and non-public organisations when this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?
(Follow-up question: has that consultation process been a success?)

23. Have you felt uncomfortable about how government organisations and non-public organisations have worked together when this policy/these policies have been put into practice in Phuket? Please explain.

24. Has the national and local government taken fully into account the external circumstances in society when putting this policy/these policies into practice in Phuket? (Continued overleaf)

Table 4.14 (Continued)

Political Will and Commitment

25. Has there been a great deal or relatively little commitment from national and local government to putting into practice this policy/these policies in Phuket?

26. Has this policy/Have these policies been adequately backed up legally such as by people being taken to court if they did not comply with it/them in Phuket?

27. To what extent have policy changes or political uncertainties affected how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?

Policy Resources

28. To what extent have the available resources-including staff resources- been sufficient in order for this policy/these policies to have been put into practice in Phuket?

29. Have there been any deficiencies in terms of the resources available to put this policy/these policies into practice in Phuket? (Follow-up question: If so, what have they been?)

30. Have the people who enforce this policy/these policies on a daily basis on the ground been fully committed to enforcing it/them?

Socio-Cultural Issues

31. In what ways have social, cultural and traditional factors influenced how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?

32. To what degree have concerns about local economic performance affected how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?

33. To what degree have ethnic and religious considerations affected how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?

34. To what degree have the attitudes of the general public affected how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?

Concluding Questions

35. On balance, do you consider that this policy/these policies has/have been successfully put into practice in Phuket? Follow up question: Why?

36. In your opinion, what changes, if any, would be of most help to improve how this policy/these policies is/are put into practice in Phuket?

Policy Revision (additional questions developed during the fieldwork)

*37. Is there a system for reporting back to higher levels of local or central government on what works or doesn't work in relation to the practical experience of applying this policy/these policies at the local level in Phuket? (probing questions: If so, is it formal

*Follow-up: Has central or local government changed or adapted this policy/ policies due to what it has learnt about what works and doesn't work in practice at the local level in Phuket? (If so, please give examples. If not, why not?)

In practice, some slight variability in the wording of the questions was essential so that people from different sectors could understand the questions as they became more relevant to their context and duties. Careful attention was also paid to ensure the translation into Thai accurately reflected the intended meaning, since they were initially developed in English. Importantly, the interview questions were designed specifically to avoid particularly sensitive matters, which was important as the research may potentially touch upon political issues that may have been greatly sensitive. One reason why this was important was that otherwise it might have been difficult to convince the respondents to talk about relevant issues and to talk frankly and openly. The

appropriateness of each interview question in relation to the sensibilities of respondents was discussed in considerable detail with the supervisory team and with two academic colleagues from Chiang Mai University and Phuket Rajabhat University. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic, all the questions were designed to be rather general so as to avoid potential awkwardness and confrontation, notably to avoid direct questions on sensitive topics such as patron-client relations. Particular attention was directed to avoiding potentially emotive or 'loaded' language. Such phrases as 'policy failure' or 'implementation failure' were avoided as these might be interpreted as 'loaded' questions, and very neutral wording was used instead. There was also no direct mention of issues that could be taken directly to imply favouritism, poor enforcement or any illegal or unprofessional behaviour. The wording allowed respondents to talk about these issues, but only if they were prepared to mention them because they considered them to be important and they felt confident enough to do so because of the professional approach taken in the interview, including the reassurances about confidentiality. There was discouragement by the researcher of any mention of specific names of individuals or specific acts related to illegal or unprofessional behaviour. If cases were discussed it was dealt with in general rather than in the specific.

4.8.2 The interviews

The semi-structured interviews were the main qualitative technique used in the study. Three stages were involved in the interviews: preliminary interviews, pilot interviews and the full interviews, and these are now explained.

4.8.2.1 Preliminary interviews

Two preliminary interviews were carried out with Thai people simply to test the translation into Thai language and the respondent's level of understanding of the questions, before starting the pilot interviews. The first preliminary interview was conducted in Chiang Mai with a local whose qualifications are in Thai and English linguistics. The second took place in Phuket with a colleague who had been involved in Phuket's tourism industry for over ten years and had a degree in tourism. Their comments on the use of language led to slight adjustments in the wording of some questions so that they were more comprehensible and less ambiguous for the different groups of respondents.

4.8.2.2 Pilot interviews

The selection of two pilot interviews was greatly influenced by professional advice by the supervisory team. Since the interviewees were selected from various organisations and levels of seniority in Thai society, it was important to conduct pilot interviews to determine whether the interview questions and intended conduct of the interviews were appropriate for these different types of respondent. The first pilot interview was carried out with a Marine Police Inspector, and involved an interview of two hours and 15 minutes, and the second was with the head of Phuket Provincial Office (PPO), with an interview lasting one hour and 15 minutes. In addition to the usual questions, both respondents were asked to provide reflections and personal comments on the interview questions, and these proved helpful for the conduct of subsequent interviews. The interactions during the interviews were noted and lessons were learnt in terms of adapting interview questions for use with different people and sectors as well as to improve the interview atmosphere. These lessons are important because semi-structured interviews require a skilled investigator since it involves in-depth work and the need for positive interactions and trust between the inquirer and the respondents (Bryman, 2001).

4.8.2.3 The interviews

Requests for all interviews were made in advance, with consistent follow-ups in cases of non-responses. These begun to be sent out in mid-June 2003 and most responses were returned in July 2003. Two pilot interviews were carried out at the beginning of the fieldwork, which greatly helped with interviewing skills for the remaining interviews. There were some cases where respondents were unavailable for interview. In these cases, replacements were used who were nominated by them or their organisations, or who were drawn from a pre-established list of potential reserves.

The interviews took place in Phuket and Bangkok, Thailand. The respondents were assured about confidentiality issues in the two covering letters, included in Appendices A and B. The interviews were all tape-recorded in order to store a complete record of all that was said. There was a short informal conversation at the start of the interviews in order to put the respondents at ease, to reiterate the objectives of the research, to explain the three tourism-related policies of interest to the study, and to assure the respondents again about confidentiality issues. The conversation was based on a prepared preamble, shown in Appendix C. Importantly, this conversation helped to establish mutual understanding between the interviewer and interviewee (May, 2001).

Based on Flick (1998), documentation sheets were created for the interviews that recorded the date, place, time and other crucial information. Notes were taken during the interviews, and other notes were made immediately after each interview to record the circumstances of the interview, any reluctance or other concerns shown by each interviewee, and the likely openness and reliability of the responses. All this information was kept in a separate folder for each interview.

Motivation is an important condition for the successful completion of interviews (Kahn and Cannell, 1983 in May, 2001). Since interviews are social encounters, it was important to keep the interviewees motivated during the interview by maintaining their interest and by making them feel that their participation and answers were valued. There were also significant issues related to gaining access to various organisations and groups. As in many developing countries, expressing views about issues related to politics and organisational efficiency might be perceived to be threatening as it could lead to personal and organisational conflict. Maintaining social harmony is a key factor in the fabric of Thai society (Boyle, 1998). As a result, much attention was directed to allaying any concerns or fears about such issues prior to the interview. As Thai bureaucracy is somewhat hierarchical, attention was directed to contacting relevant gatekeepers to gain permission to interview both high- and low-level officials. Negotiating access for this field work was demanding since over half of the interviewees were members of government or quasi-government organisations whose timetables were often claimed to be tight. There were also numerous busy tourism entrepreneurs who probably saw few benefits from involvement in academic research. Therefore, sometimes there was a long wait and regular contact and discussion before access was gained.

4.8.2.4 Overall research implementation

In brief, 44 semi-structured interviews were completed over a period of 11 weeks from June to the end of August 2003. There were two stages of language-checks and improvements to the wording of questions after the preliminary interviews and then the pilot interviews.

Three different approaches were used to the sending out of two covering letters. They were delivered by hand by the researcher in 40 cases, and two were sent by post and two by fax. Hand delivery of introduction letters is advocated by Veal (1997) as this enables the researcher to explain the purpose of the study in person and to gain rapid consent for an interview. This technique was also considered the politest way of

requesting people's time that affects their busy routines, with politeness being an important cultural consideration in Thai society. Letters were sent by post to two targeted participants whose offices were relatively distant and thus difficult to visit, and the two faxes were sent to targeted interviewees based in Bangkok. Subsequent to sending out these letters, phone calls and visits where needed to set up the interviews, often through a secretary.

A tape recorder, two blank tapes, four new batteries, document sheets, the aid-memoire of questions and a preamble were prepared for each interview. The aid-memoire was used mainly to remind the interviewer about the prepared questions, follow-up questions and probing questions. The interview preamble kept the informants on track as they might have had opinions on other policies related to tourism in Phuket. During the interview, some informants requested that the tape be paused in order to have the question repeated, to discuss their personal interests, to pick up a telephone call, to receive a personal visit and to use the toilet. For this study, the average length of each interview was around one hour. The shortest was 30 minutes and the longest was 2 hours and 15 minutes. Note-taking was done during the interview. Technical problems with the tape recorder occurred twice, one at the end of an interview and note-taking was the solution adopted at the time. One tape had very strong background interference and this caused some difficulties in transcribing.

38 of the 44 respondents who were finally interviewed were the targeted informants on the prepared list. There were five replacements and one additional interview with a senior official who was especially involved with tourism issues in Phuket Province. The replacements were due to the unavailability of high-tier officials and local politicians, and some on the original list were too new in their post to provide much useful information. The final interviewees' details together with the dates and places of the interviews are shown in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15 Details of final respondents and interviews

No.	Date/Time	Interviewee	Place	Time (estimated)
1	7 July 2003: 10.15 a.m.	Marine Police Inspector: Pol colonel	Marine Police Station	2.15 hours
2	7 July 2003: 4 p.m.	Head of Phuket Provincial Office (PPO)	PPO	1.15 hour
3	8 July 2003: 2 p.m.	Assistant Director of TAT (Region 4)	TAT Region 4 Office	1.20 hour
4	8 July 2003:3.45 p.m.	Chief Inspector of Marine Police Area 8	Area 8 Station	40 minutes
5	9 July 2003: 10.00 a.m.	Inspector (Head of Tourist Police, Phuket)	Tourist Police Station	1 hour
6	10 July 2003: 4 p.m.	The manager of Timber Hut Pub	Timber Hut Pub	40 minutes
7	13 July 2003 15.15 p.m.	Tourist police (lieutenant)	Tourist Police Station	50 minutes
8	15 July 2003: 9 a.m.	Chief Inspector of Phuket town district	Police station (town)	45 minutes
9	15 July 2003: 11 a.m.	Sergeant (implementer)	Police station (Town)	45 minutes
10	15 July 2003: 15.00 p.m.	The assistant manager of X-Zone Pubs and nightclubs	X-Zone	50 minutes
11	15 July 2003: 17.00	Elected member of Wichit Sub-district (TAO Tambon Administration Office)	Chai-yo Restaurant	1 hour
12	16 July 2003: 12.40 a.m.	Managing Director of Phuket Southwest Travel	Southwest Travel	1.15 hour
13	17 July 2003: 9.00 a.m.	Director of PPAO and Head of tourism committees	Director Office	50 minutes
14	17 July 2003: 10.15 a.m.	Deputy Director and Head of Environmental committees (PPAO)	Deputy-Director's Office	40 minutes
15	17 July 2003: 11.45 a.m.	Head of Policy & Planning Phuket Provincial Office	PPO	50 minutes
16	17 July 2003: 14.45 p.m.	Deputy-Phuket Governor	Governor Office	50 minutes
17	17 July 2003:16.10 p.m.	Phuket MP (Member of Parliament)	Office of Phuket Democrat Party	1 hour
18	18 July 2003: 9.30 a.m.	Tourist police (lieutenant)	Police tourist station	1 hour
19	19 July 2003: 3.00 p.m.	Managing Director of Layan Beach Resort	Daily Hut (Restaurant)	45 minutes
20	21 July 2003: 14.30 p.m.	Head of Beach Guards	Tourist Rescue Centre	45 minutes
21	22 July 2003: 13.45 p.m.	Suppress inspector (Patong Police)	Kathu Police Station	1 hour
22	22 July 2003:16.00 p.m.	Beach Guard (Kata Beach)	Kata Beach	45 minutes
23	22 July 2003:17.30 p.m.	Beach Guard (Karon Beach)	Karon Beach	45 minutes
24	23 July 2003: 14.00 p.m.	Front Office Manager Phuket Cabana Hotel	Phuket Cabana Hotel	50 minutes
25	24 July 2003: 9.30 a.m.	Mayor of Patong Municipality	Patong Municipality	50 minutes
26	24 July 2003:13.30 a.m.	Rawai Sub-District elected body (TAO)	Rawai TAO Office	45 minutes
27	24 July 2003:15.20	Chalong Sub-District elected body (TAO)	Chalong TAO Office	1 hour
28	28 July 2003:10.15 a.m.	Tourism staff (TAT Region 4)	TAT region 4 Office	50 minutes
29	29 July 2003:10.00 a.m.	Phuket Governor	Governor's Office	25 minutes
30	31 July 2003:14.00 p.m.	Tour Operator: Phuket Sea Island	Sea Island Office	45 minutes
31	1 Aug 2003: 10.00 a.m.	Director of Phuket Marine Port	Marine Port Office	45 minutes
32	1 Aug 2003: 13.30 p.m.	Head of Tourism Development (Phuket Town Municipality)	Town Municipality	45 minutes
33	2 Aug 2003:15.00 p.m.	Manager of Banana discotheque	Patong Beach Resort Hotel	45 minutes
34	4 Aug 2003: 13. 00 p.m.	Director of TAT (Region 4)	TAT Office	30 minutes
35	5 Aug 2003: 10.00 p.m.	Assistant FO Manager, Phuket Hilton Arcadia Resort	Phuket Hilton Arcadia Hotel	50 minutes
36	6 Aug 2003:13.30 p.m.	Deputy Managing Director of Phuket Adventure Tour	Phuket Adventure Office	50 minutes
37	7 Aug 2003:11a.m.	President of Phuket Eco-Tourism Association	Eco-Tourism Office	50 minutes
38	7 Aug 2003:14.00 p.m.	Director of Environmental Office Area 15	Environmental Office 15	50 minutes
39	8 Aug 2003:9.00 a.m.	Implementer staff of Provincial Environment & Natural Resources Office	Provincial Environmental Office	50 minutes
40	8 Aug 2003:11.30 a.m.	Management of Phuket Island Hopper	Hopper's Office	45 minutes
41	8 Aug 2003:2.30 p.m.	FO manager of Karon Beach Resort	Karon Beach Resort	30 minutes
42	15 Aug 2003: 23.00 p.m.	Manager of Gay Night Club (Patong)	Patong Beach	40 minutes
43	30 Aug 2003: 8.45 a.m.	Director of Environmental Development at Local Area	BKK Office (ONEP)	50 minutes
44	30 Aug 2003: 14.00 p.m.	Assistant Manager (Policy and Planning Division)	TAT BKK Office	40 minutes

117

4.9 OTHER RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

'Site visits' were also made to undertake activities other than conducting interviews, in part so that the researcher gained familiarity with the 'case study' context.

4.9.1 Sites visits as a source for documentation analysis

Documents used in the study were derived from various sources. Many were collected around the interview visits, with an enquiry made during the interviews for additional data, such as organisational reports, internal records, survey and statistical data, and previous research. These 'documentation and archival records' (Yin, 2003a:86) would be inaccessible from a desk search alone. Other documents were obtained from visits to libraries and organisations, with some of these being recommended by the interviewees. In addition, a careful search was made for documents related to Phuket's tourism policy and planning, and a careful trawl was made through the pages of the Phuket newspaper Siang Tai (Southern Voice) and of various national newspapers. The libraries and organisations visited to collect documents are shown in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16 List of libraries and organisations visited during the fieldwork

No.	Institution	Remarks
1.	Office of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy and Planning (ONEP)	National (BKK)
2	Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT)	National (BKK)
3	Office of Natural Resources and Environment (ONRE) (Area 15)	Regional (Phuket)
4	The Marine Department (West -Southern Area)	Regional (Phuket)
5	The Marine Police Bureau (West-Southern Area 8)	Regional (Phuket)
6	The Tourist Police Department (Southern Area)	Regional &Provincial (Phuket)
7	Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT region 4)	Regional (Phuket)
8	Phuket Provincial Office (PPO)	Provincial (Phuket)
9	Phuket City Police Station	Provincial (Phuket)
10	Krathu Police Station	Provincial (Phuket)
11	Phuket Town Municipality	Local (Phuket)
12	Patong City Municipality	Local (Phuket)
13	Three different Tambon Administration Organisations (TAOs)	Local (Phuket)
14	Beach Guard Centre (Tourist Rescue Centre)	Local (Phuket)
15	Phuket Eco-tourism Association	Private (Phuket)
16	Phuket Rajabhat University Library	Phuket
17	Chiang Mai University Library	Chiang Mai
18	Chulalongkorn University Library	Bangkok

No doubt some relevant government materials would not normally be made available as they were confidential internal documents, but the researcher's own previous personal involvement as a government official often facilitated access.

4.9.2 Sites visits as a source for observational evidence

The site visits provided both direct and participant observational evidence. While this evidence was not of central importance, it helped the researcher to understand the research context more fully (Yin, 1994; 2003a).

Direct observational evidence was gained at pubs, nightclubs, beaches and inland and off-island tourist sites, and this helped in appreciating some of the practices on the ground for the three selected policies. Photographs were taken at these sites as these often help to capture some of the practical issues relevant to the study, and a small number are included in the study. The researcher also engaged in participant observation, including engaging in the role of a tourist at three different beaches (Patong, Kata and Karon beach), at three night entertainment venues (Timber Pub, X-Zone pubs and Banana discothèque), with two tour operators taking tourist groups to Mai-ton island and Coral island, and also working with a police patrol to inspect nightclubs and pubs at Patong area (Paradise zone). These undoubtedly provided interesting and valuable insights into the issues (Yin, 2003b). Table 4.17 presents a summary of the fieldwork activities in Phuket from June 2003 to early September 2003.

Table 4.17 Summary of field work activities in Phuket from June to September 2003

Time Period / Activities	10 June - 20 June	21 June - 5 July	7 July	8 July - 30 Aug	1 July - 31 July	15-16 Aug	11 Aug - 24 Aug	16 Aug - 4 Sept
Translation and paper work								
Letters dispatched: delivered by hand, post and fax								
Pilot interviews								
Interviews applied								
Site visits to collect data (reports, books, newspapers)								
Site visits for observational evidence								

It is important to note that activities undertaken during the site visits were mostly used for preparation for the interviews. However, some primary sources, such as reports by local organisations (PPO, PPAO and TAT reports), local newspapers (Phuket Gazette) and national newspapers (Bangkok Post) and photos, were used widely in the case study context chapter. These primary sources were also occasionally presented in the results chapters. The observational data were mainly seen as a means of sensitising

the researcher to the context to the field work and they are not cited in the results chapters as they supported the findings from the much more detailed interview evidence.

4.10 APPROACH TO CONTENT ANALYSIS

Analysis of the interviews began with their verbatim transcription, which was very time-consuming (10 weeks), partly because the interviews were conducted in Thai and they were then translated and transcribed into English. The accuracy of some of the more troublesome translation was double-checked with Thai colleagues who have a degree in English or who have studied at UK universities. The next stage involved the application of 'Framework Analysis', an approach to content analysis, based on the use of NVivo software.

4.10.1 The framework analysis

The 'framework analysis' approach developed by Ritchie and Spencer (1994) for applied policy research was used to identify themes in the interview transcripts. This approach seeks to ensure the themes are "heavily based in, and driven by the original accounts and observations of the people it is about" (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994:176), rather than based only on the researcher's own preconceptions and views. The five analytical steps set out by Ritchie and Spencer were followed in this study. These began with early *familiarisation* with the content of transcripts, followed by *identifying a thematic framework* based on themes and related concepts in the transcripts. The next steps involved applying the thematic framework to the transcripts by annotating them with the relevant themes or concepts (called *indexing*), then lifting out or rearranging the individual sections of the transcripts according to the thematic framework (called *charting*), and finally *Mapping and Interpretation*, which involves interpreting the transcripts as a whole.

The analysis of qualitative data using 'framework analysis' involves 'decontextualisation' and 'recontextualisation', which allows for parts of the subject matter to be lifted out and investigated more closely, together with other elements from across the material that relates to similar issues. The intention behind this process is to assess whether the resulting patterns coincide out of their context as well as inside the context in which they were collected (Malterud, 2001:486). It is important to prevent data reduction and to maintain the connections between the informants' accounts of reality and the situational contexts for the evidence.

The first stage of analysis of the transcripts involved examining them thoroughly and then identifying important themes and issues in a manual process of 'open coding' (Ezzy, 2002). Initially this involved putting general codes on the text (Punch, 1998) based on initial identified topics (Ezzy, 2002). This was a relatively easy, intuitive process as the researcher was already very familiar with the text due to having engaged in the interviews and in their translation and transcription. Secondly, those general codes were checked for their similarity, duplication and inter-relationships, since some could be merged or grouped together. The third stage entailed re-visiting the study's theoretical framework to reorganise the initial codes and in some cases to rename them. The specific conceptual elements in the conceptual framework were extensive, and this helped in developing the final full list of codes. In this stage, a thorough thematic index was created with clearer headings and a related hierarchy or tree. This was developed through careful consideration of the transcripts, the initial 'open coding' and reflection based on the specific elements in the study's conceptual framework. Each specific heading or theme was given a number within each wider category. At the fourth stage, these numeric codes were placed on each transcript, and the text related to that code was underlined. This involved an iterative process, going back and forth between the interview transcripts and the thematic index. This was a very lengthy process but this close and long engagement with the text provided a much 'deeper' comprehension for a more accurate analysis of content. During these processes there was continued revision, reorganisation, and renaming of the codes for the study's interpretation and the drawing out of conclusions. The use of 'framework analysis' in the study is summarised in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2 The 'framework analysis' approach used in the study
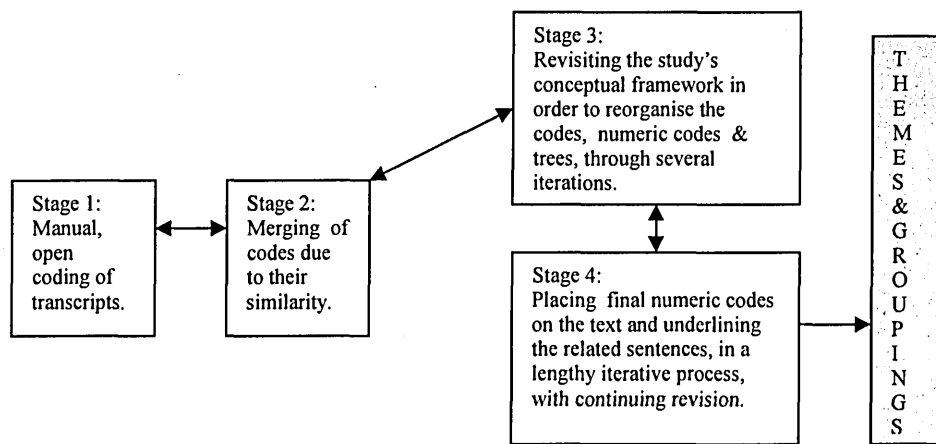
At every stage of the process the coding was subject to modifications to ensure its appropriateness, accuracy and coherence, with this process continuing through to the end. Thus meanings were established in an iterative process of close and long engagement.

4.10.2 *The use of NVivo software*

The content analysis also involved the use of the computer software package NVivo, which is designed for that purpose. The intention was for the study to employ this software, but it was felt to be essential to do this manually first and to use the NVivo process for later cross-checking. In fact the manual codes were also adopted in the NVivo analysis, with the finalised themes being treated as parent nodes and the finalised more specific codes becoming the sub-themes. Since each transcript had the finalised numeric codings and underlinings, this was also used for the NVivo analysis. This was because NVivo is really just a coding storage system. It simply provided the tree and nodes to store the specific codes and the related text. It should be stressed that NVivo does not provide a means of coding – this has to depend on the sensitivity and other skills of the researcher. But NVivo did help with the data organising and retrieval, with the categorising of findings by each informant, and comparisons between these respondents. In other words, it facilitated data management and it extended the researcher's capabilities in dealing with a voluminous quantity of data and in later drawing out meanings and conclusions (Bazeley and Richards, 2000). Criticisms of computer-based analysis includes tendencies for it to lead to data disengagement and fragmentation (Askham, 2005). Organising and categorising data through NVivo may take away the connection of sentences from their wider context. For this study, Nvivo analysis was employed alongside manual coding on the original transcripts, and this was a further check for accuracy and context. The printouts of each Nvivo node and each respondent's coded sentences were compared with the original transcripts so that links and relationships were explored fully in the final interpretations. Two types of results were displayed: one involved contexts whereas the other was engaged with informants' dimensions (group sets). Figure 4.3 displays the whole process and links the manual 'framework analysis' with the NVivo analysis.

Figure 4.3   Process used for the content analysis
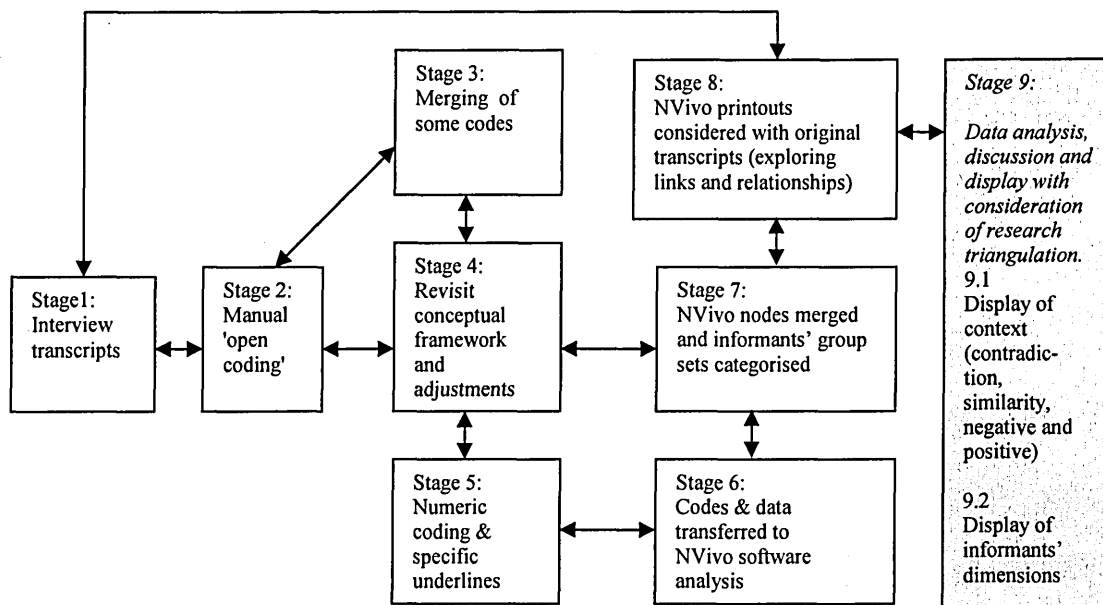
The final interpretations were made through processes of data comparison and recontextualisation, consideration in relation to the conceptual framework, and research triangulation. This analytical process was simultaneous, iterative and time-consuming, and it is argued that it led to a healthy understanding. The final stage of data analysis ceased when robust conclusions had been reached. The researcher needed to be very focused in deciding on relevance and importance, given the massive volume of fairly unstructured, context specific and recalcitrant qualitative data (Fielding and Lee, 1998). Successful content analysis clearly requires familiarisation with data, ample time and a clear theoretical underpinning.

4.10.3 Triangulation

Triangulation was believed to increase the reliability of the research findings as well as to increase understanding of the complex phenomena being studied. It entailed using more than one method and more than one source of data in the study (Bryman, 2001). Triangulation also operated across the different research strategies, again resulting in greater confidence in the findings.

Decrop (2004) suggests there are five types of triangulation in qualitative research. First, there is 'data triangulation' which involves the use of various data sources. In this study the findings were generated from the use of a variety of secondary data, such as books, reports and documents, and of primary data, such as interviews and

observational evidence. This mix of sources allowed for additional cross-checking of the findings in order to evaluate for internal consistency and to increase reliability.

Second, Decrop's 'informant triangulation' was achieved by compared the views of policymakers and policy implementers and of higher and lower level officials in organisations as well as those from the private sector. The third type of triangulation is 'method triangulation', and in this study this entailed the use of a combination of methods or techniques. In this study, the findings from semi-structured interviews were cross-checked with the results of observation and documentation analysis. Decrop's fourth type is 'theoretical triangulation', which involves the use of multiple theoretical perspectives to interpret a single set of data, and this applies in this study through the integration of different concepts from a specific social science field, notably political science. Finally, there is 'interdisciplinary triangulation', in which interpretation becomes richer and more comprehensive when investigators draw insights from theories from different disciplines. In this study, ideas were drawn from research on public policy, third world development, sociology, law, and tourism studies. However, due to time and resource constraints, it is impractical for the researcher to revisit the informants for respondent validation, to refine the results based on their reactions to the findings.

4.11 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS AND REFLEXIVITY

It is important to be self-critical in research, so the discussion next considers the limitations of the research methods and questions of reflexivity.

4.11.1 Research limitations

Every researcher is almost bound to encounter some barriers during their field work. Despite efforts rigorously to prepare the fieldwork process and instruments, at least nine types of limitations were evident in this study. First, there was a technical limitation due to the qualitative research relying heavily on the use of tape recorders. This was because one recorder malfunctioned in the middle of the fifth interview, and another tape recorder picked up strong background noise in the 38th interview. A third recorder was then used for the rest of the field work. A second limitation was equally practical, due to a few higher-ranking interviewees at times tending to give a speech rather than answering the questions, and they did not always allow themselves the time for deep and thorough explanations. Further, a new question (with a follow-up question) was introduced after six interviews had been completed. The researcher managed to get back to two interviewees to ask those new questions, but this was not possible for four

respondents due to their busy schedules. Fortunately, the information required was to a large degree provided within other parts of the interview. Third, there was the limitation that occasionally some lower-tier public sector employees and a few businesspeople appeared to avoid saying critical things about the public sector or about their superior. Fourth, very occasionally there was potential interference from people in a higher position on the respondent. For example, in one interview with a local policeman he was accompanied by his superior when being interviewed. Although the intention may have been meant well, this probably led to the information being less critical. Another case was a locally elected politician whose responses may have been constrained by some consultants who accompanied him. Fifth, there was a time limitation since some targeted interviewees were somewhat busy or otherwise reluctant to participate in this study, which prolonged the fieldwork and sometimes led to having to find appropriate replacements. Next, on one occasion a tourism authority respondent was rather defensive, seemingly being afraid that their own work was being assessed, which led to a somewhat difficult interview atmosphere and some distortion by him being less critical and reluctant to respond.

Next, there were resource limitations, especially because it was costly to make frequent trips and numerous telephone calls in order to contact the targeted interviewees and other involved parties. This resulted in greater expense than was originally budgeted. Then, there was source limitations, with a scarcity of research on policy implementation in general, and on tourism policy implementation in particular. These issues were notably under-researched for developing countries. Consequently, this study entailed a lengthy search of literature from varied interdisciplinary fields. Finally, this research also involved limitations of language. In this respect, the research fieldwork was conducted in Thai, but the research preparation, analysis and final production of the thesis was in English. Despite competent language interpretation skills, and professional consultations throughout the research, issues of language translation between Thai and English caused occasional difficulties. It is noteworthy that some Thai words have no equivalent and accurate English translation. However, the final production and translation of this research data were addressed through various consultations with both Thai and English language experts, as earlier explained in section 4.10.

4.11.2 Research reflexivity

Research reflexivity equates to 'the knower's mirror', which refers to an attitude of attending systematically to the context of knowledge and its construction, especially

to the effect of the researcher on the research process (Malterud, 2001; Hall, 2004). For qualitative research, the researcher may have an impact on the research itself as well as on its setting. According to Creswell (2003), the qualitative researcher should be sensitive to his or her personal biography and how it shapes the study, and there is a need for introspection and acknowledgement of biases, values and interests. Silverman (2000:200) follows Max Weber in suggesting that "all research is contaminated to some extent by the values of the researcher". Despite a commitment to scientific or rigorous methods, it is stressed that the interpretations in a study will be influenced by the moral and political beliefs of the researcher.

In qualitative inquiry, the question is not whether the researcher affects the process, nor whether such an effect can be prevented. In practice, according to Malterud (2001), it is important to ask: 'Are the researcher's motives, background, perspectives and preliminary hypotheses presented, and is the effect of these issues sufficiently dealt with?' Reflexivity begins with identifying the preconceptions brought into the project by the researcher. The researcher here is a Thai native who spent three years working in Phuket, which involved teaching tourism studies. The researcher has a particular concern with environmental degradation, safety and also tourism development in Phuket, which therefore became the initial area of research interest. The researcher had certain beliefs before conducting the study about Thai politics, institutional cultures and society, such as in relation to political cronyism, corruption and patron and client-relationship. The researcher wanted to investigate Phuket's tourism development due to its increasing impacts, and also to examine the application of tourism policies in Phuket as a popular beach resort in Thailand.

For this study, it is true that the researcher's background influenced some approaches to investigation, notably the area of interest and the methods. But the researcher sought to ensure that her background and preconceptions in fact did not greatly influence the research findings. In all steps of this research process, the effect of the researcher were assessed, and discussed with her supervisors, to ensure that possible bias was accounted for. The constructivist paradigm adopted in this research also limited the degree to which there was hidden subjectivity. This was because the approach sought to understand the subject matter through the informants' eyes and views. It is contended that the constructivist ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations meant that this research provided a sound interpretation and set of conclusions. The combination of different techniques used to examine the phenomenon under investigation also assisted in getting to understand 'the reality'.

Furthermore, according to Malterud (2001), if reflexivity is thoroughly maintained, then personal perspectives can be valuable sources for ideas on approaches to the research. However, the researcher must not confuse knowledge that is intuitively present in advance, and embedded in preconceptions, with knowledge emerging from inquiry based in systematically obtained material. This issue was addressed here by the researcher considering how the researcher views the 'social world' through the constructivist paradigm and through the use of a systematic research process. Further, as Crabtree and Miller (1999) suggest, data should be taped and transcribed, allowing others not involved in the study to audit them. As a result, this study has kept full records and all other evidence, again to ensure there is a transparent development and implementation of the research. The systematic knowledge-building process used in the study is shown in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4 The knowledge-building process used in the study
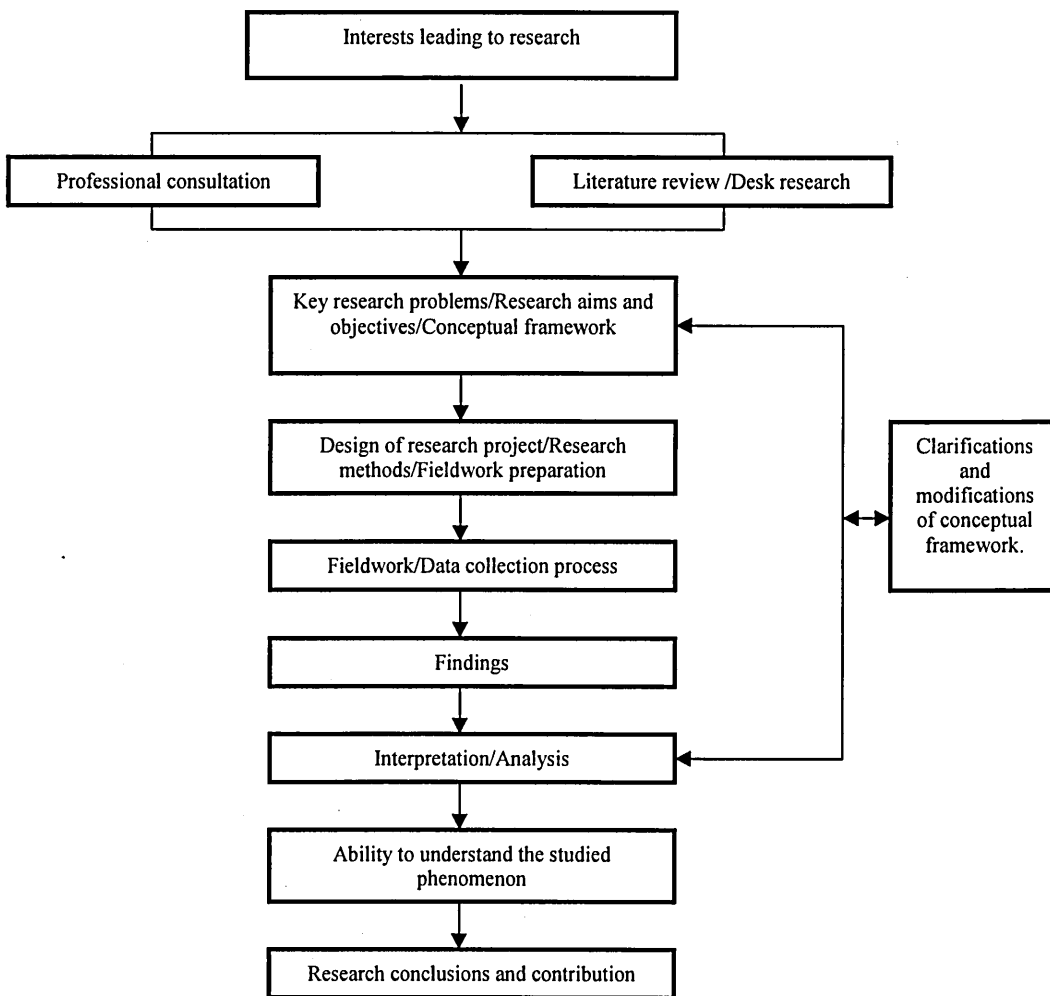
The oscillation between literature review and professional consultation at the beginning of the research process was a crucially formative early research stage. The mutual interactions between the devised conceptual framework and the other research processes were vital for the new contributions provided by the study. According to May (2001), the development of theory and of conceptual frameworks to understand research is the mark of a mature discipline whose aim is the systematic study of particular phenomena. This awareness helped the researcher to sharpen and focus the research decision and choices.

4.12 CONCLUSION

Applications of qualitative research methods and a case study approach were considered effective to understand the social phenomena under investigation. This assessment of tourism policy implementation involved the use of in-depth study and natural occurring data to which scientific knowledge was deemed inappropriate. This chapter has clarified how the research was designed and conducted, in which qualitative methods were predominant. The research process was greatly influenced by a constructivist approach to understand the reality of tourism policy implementation in Phuket, Thailand. The chapter explained the case study approach and the choice and use of such qualitative techniques as in-depth interviews, documentary analysis, and observational protocols. Other methodological issues that were discussed included the sampling design, the development of interview questions, and the data analysis processes. As with other studies, this research also encountered some practical fieldwork limitations, despite the thoroughness of the preparations, and these were explained. The findings in the study emerged through the use of content analysis. This involved manual coding using 'framework analysis', and also the use of NVivo software. However, knowledge never emerges from data alone, and the interpretations in this study developed through a reciprocal interaction between empirical data and theoretical frameworks and concepts. The chapter also explained how the approach involved reflexivity.

Chapter 5   The Case Study Context

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of relevant information about Thailand as the case study context for the research. Attention is directed to important features of Thailand's economy and society that are believed to have a significant impact on the three selected tourism policies and their implementation in Phuket that are a focus of the study. These features include the nation's economic development, its ideologies, its political and governance characteristics, and its socio-cultural traits. The chapter then examines specific relevant features of Phuket's socio-economic development, including its economic and socio-cultural characteristics and its public administrative practices. This is followed by a detailed account of the three selected tourism-related policies. The discussion is intended to explain the contextual factors in Phuket, Thailand that help to explain the tourism policy implementation issues discussed in subsequent chapters.

This chapter therefore explores four areas in turn. It begins with a consideration of the macro-scale of Thailand's socio-economic, historical and cultural contexts. This is followed by discussion at a more meso-scale of Thailand's governance, policy-making and institutional culture. Third, there is a more micro-scale assessment of aspects of Phuket province's geography, governance and tourism development. Finally, details of the three selected policies are outlined, including the problems leading to the policy and the policy content, including the specific Acts and regulations.

5.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC, HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Tourism policy implementation can be hard to understand outside its contexts. Relevant socio-economic, historical and cultural backgrounds as well as their continuity and change, all influence the policy's orientation including its actions, performances and outcomes. Discussion of these are organised into three sections, on economic development, continuity and change in Thai society, and the socio-cultural characteristics of Thai society.

5.2.1 Economic development and modernisation of Thailand in a global context

Thailand is changing fast as it seeks to become a Newly Industrialised Economy (NIE). Broadly, three major periods of Thai economic development are outstanding. First, up until the 1950s Thailand was known for its poor and typically agriculture-based export economy (Somjee and Somjee, 1995). It was even perceived as one of the poorest countries in the world in the 1950s, with zero growth of output per head of population (Warr, 1993). In the second period of economic development from the 1950s to late 1990s, however, its economic growth was transformed. Among the key factors was a rapid expansion of extensive agriculture from the late 1950s, a sustained growth in manufacturing and other output, low inflation and moderate growth of external debt from the 1970s to the early 1990s (Warr, 1993). According to Krongkaew and Kakwani (2003), the launch in 1961 of the first Thai National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP) initiated Thailand's 'modern' phase of economic development through its guidance for modern economic investments (Phongpaichit and Chaisakul, 1993; Warr, 1993; Dixon, 1999). In the late 1980s, Thailand achieved its first cash balance surplus after decades of fiscal deficits and vulnerable economic positions (Vajragupta and Vichayanond, 2001). By then the manufacturing sector was firmly established and rapidly expanding, and Thailand was perceived as one of the world's most rapidly growing economies. Despite its agricultural-based economy, the country became a NIE and its economic development began to combat the nation's poverty and the effects of globalisation (Kulick and Wilson, 1993; Warr, 1993). Under its remarkable pace of economic growth (especially during the 1980s and early 1990s), Thailand was perceived as one of the most promising 'new tigers' in Southeast Asia (Kamoche, 2000), and it was hailed as the 'Fifth Tiger' (Krongkaew, 1994 in Karunaratne, 1998; Krongkaew, 1995).

This phase of economic success led to the third stage of Thailand's economic development after the mid-1990s. Many scholars emphasise inappropriate liberalisation policies, inadequate banking supervision and poor political leadership from the mid-1990s that failed to save the Thai economy (Kamoche, 2000; Vajragupta and Vichayanond, 2001). The economic crisis after the mid-1990s was affected by the failure of private corporations and businesses due to unnecessary investment, limited expertise and too much borrowing, resulting in a growth 'bubble' and deterioration of asset quality (Lauridsen, 1998; Arndt and Hill, 1999; Corden, 1999; Dixon, 1999). An ailing Thai financial system led to the Thai Baht's devaluation (Charoenseang and

Manakit, 2002), and this eventually sparked a currency crisis in many parts of Southeast Asia, later referred to as the 'Asian Economic Crisis' (Leiper and Hing, 1998). Under a US$ 17.2 billion aid package from the International Monetary Fund in 1997 (Dixon, 1999), some stringent conditions were applied to rectify Thailand's economic problems, notably various financial reforms and privatisations of some state enterprises (Vajragupta and Vichayanond, 2001: 184). Currently, measures are being employed to strengthen the country's financial system, restore market as well as worldwide confidence, and to return Thailand to its growth path. The tourism sector, and international tourism in particular, is seen as a key sector for this economic recovery (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1999), especially since 1982 when it became Thailand's top foreign exchange earner (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998).

In summary, although agricultural-based industries are still predominant in Thailand, the manufacturing and service sectors have played major roles in the nation's current economic prosperity. The drastic structural change in Thailand's economy since the 1950s have led to the major economic and socio-cultural changes in the country's modernisation.

5.2.2 Continuity and change in Thai society

The current make-up of Thai society has been shaped by continuities and changes in a long historical process. Consideration is given here to the tensions between traditionalism and modernisation that underpin this society.

5.2.2.1 Relevance of historical influences

There are three key historical legacies that are influential in Thai society today. These include its absolute monarchy regime, the abolition of slavery in the 18th century and the constitutional revolution in 1932. First, it is undeniable that the monarchy has greatly influenced Thai ways of life (Suwannathat-pian, 2002). There was an absolute monarchy in the country from 1249 (Sukhothai period) to 1932 (Rattanakosin period), and this – together with associated strong feudalistic practices and a system of slave service – have left a legacy of a highly hierarchical society (Sparkes, 1998), with a class system that has remained largely undisturbed (Krongkaew and Kakwani, 2003). These historical influences mean that people still attached importance to power and the cult of leadership personality (Sparkes, 1998).

The second important historical legacy is the abolition of slavery in the 18th century, which was an important trigger for political, economic, socio-cultural and

131

educational development (AFIO, 1993). It helped in the emergence of a Thai middle class, notably of educated groups who more recently have had a great impact on Thailand's political development (Somjee and Somjee, 1995). The third historical influence – the 1932 constitutional revolution – significantly changed Thai governance from a system of absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy combined with an elected representative government (MoFA, 1997; King, 1999; McCargo, 2002). This encouraged the growth of a powerful Thai middle class of businessmen, politicians and nouveau riche (Hewison, 1997a; Krongkaew and Kakwani, 2003). And, while Thai society is still highly hierarchical, the pace of recent modernisation and globalisation has inclined many more people to seek material wealth and economic power.

5.2.2.2 Traditionalism and modernisation

The structure of Thai society today is moderately heterogeneous, with approximately 90 percent of the population being ethnic Thai together with some Chinese descendants, Malays and Indians (Pornpitakpan, 2000). Society in present day Thailand seems to be divided between the traditional rural society (mostly farmers engaged in agriculture-related activities) (MoFA, 1997), and the more modernised urban society (representing less than 20 per cent of the population)(AFIO, 1993). People in these groups differ greatly according to lifestyle, education, political interests and ways of thinking.

The two main traditions of traditional society are the corvée system of forced labour in the agricultural economy (Somjee and Somjee, 1995), and a deeply embedded attachment to the king and to supervisors (despite the radical changes in the country's politics and governance) (Suwannathat-pian, 2003). More traditional sectors of society tend to observe their old traditions and customs, rely on kin-based relationships that depend on closeness and trust, hold on to natural superstitions, emphasise status rather than ability (AFIO, 1993; Sparkes, 1998), and hold on to Buddhist religious beliefs and teachings (Rigg, 1995). Importantly for this study, these traditional values tend to encourage an institutionalised adherence to patronage and a superiority system that may affect policy implementation.

Yet some people formerly holding traditional values have been forced into a rapidly urbanising, industrialising and modernising society (AFIO, 1993; Karunaratne, 1998; Yimyam *et al.*, 1999). Education has further improved the standard of living of many people (Kulick and Wilson, 1993). Somjee and Somjee (1995) contend that the structural changes in the economy have required large changes in the social structure.

One change has been the emergence of many different statuses in society (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1998), including technocrats, salariats, provincial businessmen and industrial workers. In addition, the character of Thai politico-economic status has also rapidly changed (Hewison, 1997a; McCargo, 2000), with the emergence of new elites who came from the ranks of the army, academia, the professions, business groups and socially concerned groups, and who wish to engage in 'a game of exchange of power and wealth' (Somjee and Somjee, 1995). These urbanised people have been strongly influenced by Western-style consumerism (Somjee and Somjee, 1995). Materialism now plays a crucial role in society, with people paying more attention to objects – what they own and how they dress – as the means to express their social status. There is much conspicuous consumption of expensive cars, imported products and mobile phones (Thorelli and Sentell, 1982; AFIO, 1993; Esterik, 2000).

Nowadays, there are increasing gaps between the two extremes in Thai society. In addition to the ideological contrasts, Thai rural society implies low labour productivity and low income (Jumbala, 1992), whereas people in urban areas have higher incomes (Kulick and Wilson, 1993). With increasing rural migration, there are problems of urban poverty, low paid unskilled labour, insufficient investment and dire infrastructure (Ruland & Ladavalya, 1993; Dixon, 1999). Thai society is becoming more divided, urbanised, industrialised and materialistic, with less regard to traditions and religion (Karunaratne, 1998). However, the majority of Thai people retain attachments to the rural-based society, with its respect for older people and where there are different bases for social status (Arghiros, 2001). The literature reveals a complex interplay of traditionalism and modernity, and this interplay is likely to have a great impact on public policy implementation, especially when the dominance of central government decision-making often overlooks local sensibilities and local concerns.

5.2.3 The socio-cultural characteristics of Thai society

Socio-cultural issues tend to be overlooked or under-played in policy science. Yet they are often vital concerns for policy science analysis and for an understanding of policy implementation. This section examines the possible influences of Thai socio-cultural features, including Buddhist practices, on tourism policy implementation.

5.2.3.1 Thai cultural characteristics

Three important cultural characteristics in Thailand have the potential to influence policy implementation: the acceptance of social hierarchy, the way emotions

are controlled and tensions are diffused (Boyle, 1998; Sparkes, 1998), and finally the sense of personal indebtedness (Pornpitakpan, 2000). First, the acceptance of a hierarchical society has been influenced by a history of benevolent authority and Buddhist teachings (Sparkes, 1998; PRD, 2000). According to Boyle (1998:98), there is a tendency for Thai people to strongly desire paternalistic authority and to rely upon, and to be loyal to, a particular group. Thai culture tends to emphasise respect for elders, superiors, patrons, and economic wealth and a stable power base (King, 1999; Sparkes, 1998; Pornpitakpan, 2000). Seniority and high-ranking positions, including financial status, are accorded much respect (Komin, 1991; PRD, 2000). Further, it is common to witness passiveness from Thai people, who can often prefer to leave decisions to superiors, and these features have had a great impact on Thai society, politics and bureaucracy.

Second, the importance given to controlling emotions and to defusing tensions in Thai society may also have crucial implications for policy implementation. Social harmony and conformance are to be maintained to the greatest extent possible, which reflects a process of 'social smoothing' (Komin, 1991). In other words, there is much emphasis in Thai society on avoiding conflict and maintaining face. According to Boyle (1998:102), this is seen in the avoidance of overt criticism, conflicts, disagreement and controversy. As a result, to act differently from the society at large risks social condemnation and it can be regarded as being extremely rude and ruthless (Komin, 1990; Boyle, 1998; Sparkes, 1998). Thai people are thus good at avoiding conflict and confrontation with others, at controlling their emotions, and at maintaining social harmony, and often this can be achieved by the subtle use of language (Knutson *et al.*, 2003). As in many other developing countries, it is rare for people to have the determination or courage to oppose the existing cultural settings (Clapham, 1985). This directly relates to the chronic problem in Thai society related to corruption, patron-client relationships and cronyism.

Finally, a sense of obligation and indebtedness in personal relationships may be another important socio-cultural factor influencing public policy implementation. This indebtedness results in part from the emphasis on paternalistic authority, dependency and loyalty (Pye, 1985), and it seems to have encouraged interdependency in Thai society (Pornpitakpan, 2000). It seems that Thais are taught to depend on one another and to help others so that in the future they will get help in return (Komin, 1990; Murray, 1997; Boyle, 1998; Sparkes, 1998). Repaying favours is thus a strong expectation in Thai society, even without being asked (Boyle, 1998). Related to this is

the 'Krengjai' concept, which involves the widely accepted social rules and protocols for social harmony in Thailand (Bechtel and Apakupakul, 1999). This concept encompasses many elements: diffidence, respect, deference, consideration, sensitivity toward others (Komin, 1991; Bechtel and Apakupakul, 1999), decision-shifting behaviour, and the giving and receiving of favours (Komin, 1991; Kamoche, 2000). As a result, principles and laws are usually adaptable or adjustable to suit people and situations (Pornpitakpan, 2000).

These embedded social characteristics seem to present a paradox for Thai society and its policy processes. On one hand, the social characteristics keep the society stable and united; on the other hand, they promote inequality, insecurity and inappropriate conduct, and these features can all affect policy implementation. The next section specifically examines Buddhist influences on Thai society.

5.2.3.2 The influence of Buddhism on Thai society

Buddhism is clearly a strong factor in shaping Thai society and culture (Siengthai and Vahhanasindhu, 1991; PRD, 2000). It is taught in schools and people practice it from childhood. About 95% of Thailand's population are Theravada doctrine Buddhists, while the rest are Muslim, Christians and followers of Confucian (Warr, 1993). There are two main movements in Thai Buddhism: Mahayaya (the greater vehicle) and Dhammayut (revitalising the main movement) (Jackson, 2003), but all faithful Buddhists should follow the 'Buddha good path', that is the 'Middle Path' between two extremes (Jackson, 1997).

The Basic Five precepts in Buddhist teachings (refraining from destroying living beings and from stealing, sexual misconduct, false speech and intoxicants) appear to have become blended within the deep-rooted concept of *Karma* – the idea that the current life is a consequence of past actions (Burnard and Naiyapatana, 2004). This has led many Thais to believe in merit-accumulation for the next life (Jackson, 1997; Jackson, 2003), and this belief seems to have affected several of the prominent Thai characteristics discussed earlier, notably indebtedness, passiveness and patron-client relationships.

Religion and society are often clearly integrated in Thailand. Despite the recent dramatic social and cultural changes, including the new and increasingly influential materialistic values, most Thais still sentimentally adhere to Buddhism (Komin, 1990; Jackson, 2003; Burnard and Naiyapatana, 2004). Nevertheless, decline in behavioural adherence to Buddhist teachings and practices has been a common consequence of the

rapid economic development and modernisation, as well as of some notorious scandals within Thai Buddhism (Karunaratne, 1998; Esterik, 2000). According to Somjee and Somjee (1995), Thai society is deeply attached to the principles implicit in Theravada Buddhism, which may still be considered the most significant influence on Thai culture and civilisation. This is the basis for the genuine care and concern for others (Knutson, 1994) and for the other social smoothing conducts, features that may be influential for policy implementation and policy outcome.

5.3 GOVERNANCE, POLICY-MAKING AND INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE IN THAILAND

Public administration and institutional culture are clearly potentially important influences on policy implementation, so this section focuses on continuities and changes in Thai governance, as well as on policy-making, democratisation and institutional culture in the country.

5.3.1 Continuity and change in Thai governance

1932 saw the Thai Constitutional Revolution, which brought in the end of the country's absolute monarchy and created a constitutional monarchy in its place. It is argued here that there are three periods of continuity and change in Thai governance. These are, first, the Sukhothai paternalistic period; the Hindu divine kingship period up to 1932; and, finally, the constitutional monarchy phase from 1933 to the present.

The Sukhothai period (the 13th century) was renowned for its paternalistic system where the king was regarded as the 'nation's father' and administration was highly concentrated on its centre (Jumbala, 1992). Without the intermediary of an administrative hierarchy, the king remained close to his people, and locals were closely tied to the centre as they were there solely to follow their king (Jumbala, 1992; AFIO, 1993). Similar features were found in the second period of divine kingship from the mid-14th century. However, the concept of 'nation father' was replaced by a Hindu-Khmer divine kingship, in which the king was a future Buddha and in which people became servants or slaves and were controlled by a bureaucratic and feudalistic pyramid through patron-client links to the state (Jumbala, 1992; Somjee and Somjee, 1995). This naturally enhanced the importance of a finely graded system of social status under its so-called feudalistic system (Kronkaew and Kakwani, 2003). Amidst its centralised governance, four different responsible governmental bodies were established that

136

contributed to the present-day form of ministerial administration in Thailand (Wilson, 1982). The centralisation of governance was long-lived and became reputable (Hewison, 1997b), with all powers being deliberately amassed for one group in society, notably for royal blood-related groups (Jumbala, 1992; Hewison, 1997b).

Late in this second period of absolute monarchy there were initiatives that heralded the drastic changes in governance in the third period, that introduced democratic principles. These included the endorsement of the Bowring Treaty (King Rama IV, 1851-1868), the end of the slavery class (King Rama V, 1868-1910), and the use of a model town to illustrate western democratic principles (King Rama VI, 1910-1925). These 'modern' trends in governance were considered to have been greatly influenced by the increased number of western-educated people in the country and the growth in technocratic cliques (Jumbala, 1992; AFIO, 1993; Hewison, 1997b, King, 1999). The absolute monarchy ended in 1932, and it was replaced by a constitutional monarchy (Samudavanija, 1982; Hewison, 1997a; King, 1999; McCargo, 2001).

Thailand's democracy was extended under this constitutional monarchy (Hewison, 1997b). This third period represented the beginning of Thailand's fledging democratisation (Samudavanija, 1982; Jumbala, 1992; Phongpaichit and Baker, 1995; McCargo, 2002). Three branches of power emerged: the executive, legislature and judiciary (Jumbala, 1992; AFIO, 1993; McCargo, 2001), as did an electoral system and elected representatives (Maisrikrod and McCargo, 1997; MoFA, 1997). Thailand's democracy became more participatory in 1997 under the 16th constitution and also under the current reign of King Rama IX (1946 to the present). Various critics have highlighted the political turbulence in the country, as seen in military coups, student riots and the dissolution of some governments (Samudavanija, 1982; Somjee and Somjee, 1995; Hewison, 1997a), but this turbulence might be depicted as part of the attempts to increase the democratisation of Thai society. Nevertheless, centralisation remains untouched and political power has often fallen to small groups of the affluent elite, bureaucrats and businessmen-turned-politicians (King, 1999). Thus the embryonic Thai democracy probably still requires much effort, time and understanding for it to achieve effective public administration.

5.3.2 Continuity and change in policy-making in Thailand

Although every country exhibits different methods of administration, in most developing countries, centralised government is omnipresent. A vertical organisation, hierarchies, central concentration and bureaucracy are the common forms (Nelson,

2001). The earlier discussion showed that the centralised nature of Thai governance has been much influenced by the historical administrative legacies. However, more democratic and more decentralised principles have recently been ratified by the government. Three different phases of Thai policy-making may be identified, corresponding to the three previously mentioned historical periods.

In the first phase, policy decision-making simply depended on the kings. This applied to the Sukhothai and Ayudhaya periods (13th to 17th centuries). However, in both periods there were some traces of local governance through royal personages and bureaucrats being sent to rule certain remote areas (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1995), although the public was not involvement in the decision-making.

The second phase began during the Rattanakosin period (late 17th century to June 1932) with the emergence of certain new administrative developments, such as through the consolidation of decentralised systems within districts and villages (AFIO, 1993). But local people were still not engaged in decision making. Popular involvement in public policies initially began after the peaceful constitutional revolution in June 1932 (McCargo, 1997; Hewison, 1997a), which marks the emergence of the contemporary phase of Thai policy-making. Under the resulting new constitution popular involvement was recognised within a constitutional monarchy, with national policy-making intended to be made by elected representatives. However, at first the new government was dominated by appointee politicians (MoFA, 1997), and Thai citizens were repressed and they had few real democratic rights (Hewison, 1997a; King, 1999). Under this period of constitutional monarchy there were four decades of military rule, (Loathamata and Macintyre, 2000), political power and decision-making was controlled by one relatively small group or by various factions (McCargo, 2002). This period represented a clear failure to adopt democratic principles in practice into Thai culture and society.

The latest phase in Thai policy-making is characterised by moves to greater democratic and participatory principles within the constitutional democracy, including more decentralisation. The latest (1997) constitution resulted from Thailand's middle classes and rich business people pressing for more individual rights, participatory approaches and a popular electoral system, in part as a means to secure greater economic prosperity (King, 1999; McCargo, 2002). It is hoped that this constitution will enhance the democratic principles, avoid a dictatorship in disguise, and also promote more local involvement (MoFA, 1997). The TAOs (Tambon (subdistict) Administrative Organisations) and later the PAOs (Provincial Administrative Organisations) were

established during the 1990s, and seem to confirm the delegation of powers from central government to local areas (Nelson, 2001). However, political power in Thailand is still considered to be centralised. The power of the PAOs and TAOs, for example, largely only extend as far as local taxation, and they possess only limited powers over local policy (except for small projects concerning local infrastructure development) (Lao-Araya, 2002). It is a common view that regional, provincial and local institutions are largely there simply to follow central government policies (Arghiros, 2001; Nelson, 2001). Despite the existence of several local government forms, the degree of local involvement in policy-making has remained very limited. Figure 5.1 shows Thailand's current policy-making or governance hierarchy.

Figure 5.1 The current policy-making hierarchy in Thailand
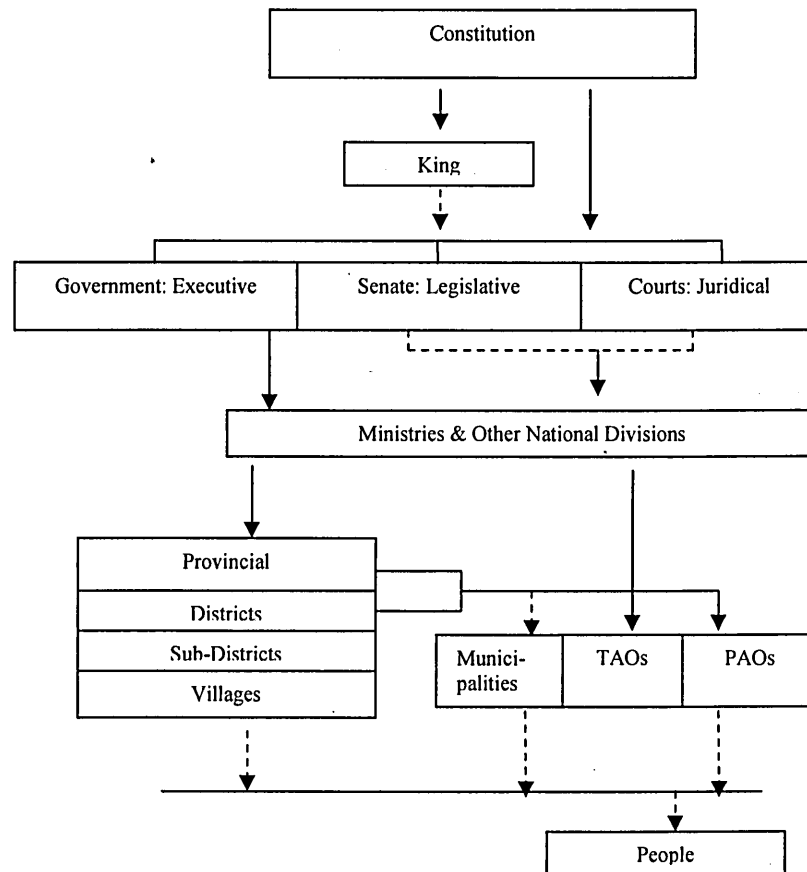
Figure 5.1 demonstrates the top-down character of the country's governance. Thailand's governance is still dominated by a centralisation of power, with participatory or bottom-up approaches apparently very difficult to achieve.

5.3.3 Extent of democratisation in Thailand

This section examines the stages and processes of democratisation in Thailand, with these being a critical influence on national policy processes, and on their implementation and ultimately their performance.

5.3.3.1 The development of democracy in Thailand

It is argued here that there have been three key stages of democratic development in Thailand. First, there was an early period of fledging democracy after the peaceful constitutional revolution in 1932, with the constitutional monarchy being led by the People's Party (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1998). A Council of Ministers was intended to rule through popularly elected representatives (MOFA, 1997), but the People's Party failed to apply this consistently, with only half of the members of the House of Representative being popularly elected, with the others mostly being royal appointees (Xuto, 1987; AFIO, 1993). This deficiency led to political turmoil within various unstable governments (Samudavanija, 1982; Samudavanija, 1995).

The second stage of democratic development emerged during the 1940s, but this was dominated by even more political turmoil, including several military coups, student riots and numerous dissolutions of the government (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1994; Hewison, 1997a; King, 1999). Some scholars suggest that this period encouraged communist principles, however short-lived (Jumbala, 1992). This stage clearly involved many challenges, with democracy under substantial threat from authoritarianism, military juntas and the resurrection of absolute power (Samudavanija, 1982; Laothamata and Macintyre, 2000). Samudavanija (1995) and Suwannathad-Pian (2003) refer to these first two stages as 'semi-democracy' or 'half-democracy' (McCargo, 2001).

Thai political analysts (Samudavanija, 1982; Jumballa, 1992) have depicted these early political struggles as a 'vicious circle'. For example, according to Samudavanija (1982), the political coups often started with a crisis or an alleged crisis and this was followed by the abrogation of the constitution, the reconstruction of the new government, and new legislation that was usually designed for the government's own good. After some time of the new legislature, another crisis was likely and another coup could take place. The 'vicious circle' is seen in Thailand's 15 coups and 16 constitutions (Samudawanija, 1982; King 1999). This weak democratic history makes it important for Thailand's democratic government to ensure it has good relationships with the army and other influential institutions.

140

The third democratic phase began in the late 1980s at the termination of a royal-appointed premiership (McCargo, 1997). There were also radical changes due to popular demands, with greater public involvement being brought in, together with political and official reforms, and changes in the electoral system to create a participatory democracy (MoFA, 1997). Significantly, although politics is now largely distant from the military leaders, today it is widely thought of as the domain of powerful, rich, and business-related elites (King, 1999; McCargo, 2001; Krongkaew and Kakwani, 2003), who are perceived to eagerly search for political benefits to recoup their funding of election activities and to bring economic benefits for their businesses (Murray, 1997). Corrupt activities are unquestionably widespread (Phongpaichit and Piriyarangsun, 1994).

It is obvious that the style of democracy has been different from that originally intended in Western democratic principles. There is evidence that Thailand's democracy is highly bureaucratic and that much power rests with a few groups of people (Hewison, 1997a; Laothamata and Macintyre, 2000). As a result, the people have had very little influence and involvement in the nation's processes of democratisation and policy-making. Thailand's democratic style might best be described as a 'slow march to democracy' (Moncrieff, 1993:56), which requires great support and time to succeed. With limited educational development in the country, 'real' democracy in Thailand is unlikely.

5.3.3.2 Thailand's electoral process

The Thai electoral process is not straightforward, but four key electoral phases can be distinguished. The population was first mandated to vote in a national election after the 1932 constitutional revolution (AFIO, 1993:59). However, this first electoral phase was greatly rooted in bureaucratic practices, it stressed political mobilisation over electoral participation, and the democratic electoral process was confused (Maisrikrod and McCargo, 1997). The bureaucrats prescribed the electoral regulations and defined the related discourses (McCargo, 2001), with the popular vote seemingly a low priority. Consequently, the early parliaments were substantially made up of appointees (Samudavanija, 1995; MoFA, 1997). The period 1958 to the late 1970s was characterised by various military coups and, according to Maisrikrod and McCargo (1997), the political process conformed with Samudavanija's 'vicious circle' (1982) (see earlier discussion).

The fall of military rule in 1973 saw major changes in the political order (Maisrikrod and McCargo, 1997) and sparked off a new phase in Thailand's electoral process. Despite the intention to have a representative democracy in the first two phases, elections only gained real significance as a political mechanism in this third stage. With a more stable parliamentary system after 1973, general elections became a regular occurrence as part of normal political cycles. Nonetheless, the dominance of bureaucratic practices remained, with the Ministry of Interior overseeing the election processes. The electoral system in this third phase involved a multi-member constituency system (most constituencies elect two or three MPs based upon a ratio of one MP per 150,000 inhabitants) (Maisrikrod and McCargo, 1997: 136). Like other developing countries, elections could either take place when the government term had terminated or before the full parliamentary term was reached. Significantly, this third and more 'modern' electoral process could be seen as the most corruptible period. It facilitated the entrance of new actors, from the military, groups of business people and other influential people (Jao Pho or godfather) and the 'respectable elite' (Somjee and Somjee, 1995; Maisrikrod and McCargo, 1997). Thailand's electoral system in this phase experienced a range of irregularities and 'money politics' (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1995; Maisrikrod and McCargo, 1997; Phongpaichit and Baker, 2000), which usually included corruption by bureaucrats, vote-buying, and election-related violence (Murray, 1997; King, 1999; Chantornvong, 2000; Phongpaichit and Baker, 2000). It was also rare to find any government in this phase able to complete its full term of office. Ultimately and perhaps unsurprisingly, power remained within small groups (King, 1999).

The latest September 1997 constitution marked a new, and fourth phase in the electoral system. It was intended to move towards a rather more participatory democracy in partial replacement of the usual representative democracy (MoFA, 1997). This political and electoral reform was unsurprisingly influenced by pressure from the populace (King, 1999). The new constitution led to the increased guarantees for individual rights and electoral change from multi-seat constituencies to a combination of single-seat constituencies and proportional party representation (MoFA, 1997; King, 1999; McCargo, 2001). An independent national election committee was established to supervise a general election to ensure justice and fairness and to solve problems of cheating, vote-buying and other alleged irregularities (MoFA, 1997). In addition, voting became compulsory, and there is a penalty for not voting (King, 1999; Boonmi, 2002).

This newest constitution has had a series of effects on the electoral practices and political arenas of contemporary Thailand.

In sum, it has been shown that the development of Thailand's democracy and its electoral system has not been easy. The constitution has merely served as a framework and not a panacea for Thai democratisation. Thai politics are still dominated by elite groups who are powerful and rich. Although education is deemed to be a key to increase awareness and a sense of responsibility among the majority of the population (Somjee and Somjee, 1995), improved management to deal with the population's socio-cultural traits is equally crucial to strengthen Thailand's policy process.

5.3.4 The institutional culture and governance in Thailand

This section establishes links between the earlier continuities and changes in institutional culture in Thailand and the nation's governance and policy implementation.

5.3.4.1 Institutional culture as an influence on governance

Four common features of the institutional culture are important for understanding policy implementation in the country. First, Thai institutions are highly centralised, largely due to the historical legacies in its governance, with periods of absolute monarchy, military authoritarianism and politics dominated by a few powerful people. Thai public administration is characterised by a top-down approach, with power concentrated in the central region, notably the capital of Bangkok (Loathamata and Macintyre, 2000; Boonmi, 2002; Wasi, 2002). Power thus flows downward through a hierarchy of relationships, whereas deference to authority flows upward (Hewison, 1997a). Although some decentralised approaches have been introduced since 1982 (with the fifth NESDP 1982-1986), they are largely 'deconcentrated' rather than decentralised bodies that rely heavily on central decisions, finance and other crucial resources (Nelson, 2001). Most local and provincial staff are sent or transferred from central levels, and they expect regular job transfers (Arghiros, 2001). Importantly, rewards of various types are usually considered centrally, so there tend to be few surprise plans or actions against the central policies and strategies (Nelson, 2001).

Secondly, hierarchical awareness is common in Thai institutions. This has proven to be inherent pattern of Thai social awareness, particularly in relation to social status, power and wealth (Komin, 1990; Boyle, 1998). This hierarchical awareness has been influenced by the history of feudalism and Buddhist practices (Jumbala, 1992; PRD, 2000). People are keenly aware of their place in the hierarchy and of their status

vis-à-vis others, and therefore deference is commonly expected by people of higher status (Sparkes, 1998; Pornpitakpan, 2000). Practically, lower-ranking officials tend to obey and submit to those in power and to seek to belong to groups around a leader with great power and wealth (Boyle, 1998; Pornpitakpan, 2000). They dare not express their opinions and feelings. As a result, they believe that order and planning should come from above (MoFA, 1997; Boyle, 1998). Opposition is thus rare and risky to these individuals. Similarly, quietness is considered a virtue in Thai culture as well as in the institutional contexts in the country (Komin, 1990; Kamoche, 2000; Arghiros, 2001).

As this hierarchical awareness grows, so does the third characteristic of the institutional culture: patron-client relationships. This relationship involves providing protection, security, income and other support for people in exchange for deference, loyalty, support, gifts or labour from a client or dependent (Clapham, 1985). In other words, this relation nourishes functional or other social connections as a mechanism to gain trust, goodwill and co-operation for personal advantage (Sparkes, 1998). According to Boyle (1998), patron-client relationships give structure to officially designated posts and offices linked within a hierarchy of an organisation, and they create allegiances that can strongly influence decision-making and the distribution of power and its benefits. As a result, in the Thai government, low ranking officials seldom oppose or refuse special requests from their superiors (Vichit-Vadakan, 1989). Co-operation must be given to their patrons, to maintain the status-quo, to gain potential advantage, and not to jeopardise ones' position (Sparkes, 1998). These relationships appear to be time-saving, economic, mobilising and effective as they ensure that requests are granted and tedious procedures and legal frameworks are bypassed (Murray, 1997; Sparkes, 1998). This familiarity also ensures there is goodwill, trust and a sense of protection among people in the inner circle (Nakata and Dhiravegin, 1989). This particularly applies to people in the same family and among long-term friends. This nepotism and cronyism is a means of safeguarding people's social welfare (Murray, 1997). Money is also becoming more important in patron-client relationships (Hewison, 1996), and according to Murray (1997) this money proves worth, attracts clients and consolidates power. Patron-client relations thus have become almost mandatory in society and in the public sector, for personal success, prestige and for honour (French, 2002).

Finally, the centralised features, the awareness of hierarchy and the patron-client relationships appear to have greatly influenced the passive and unenthusiastic nature of low-ranking officers and laymen (Sparkes, 1998). Coupled with their poor economic

and educational development, the Thai population is prone to accept absolute power from central government and from those in higher positions (Hewison, 1997a). People are reluctant to form or enter groups that press for national, political or socio-economic changes (Ruland and Ladavalya, 1993). In other words, the unreceptive and unenthusiastic population tend to leave most responsibilities and work to the government, and they can be narrow-minded, thinking only of themselves and their family and community (Muangkasem, 2002). This has unquestionably affected the outcome of public activities and policy implementation in Thailand.

Based on these four aspects of the institutional culture, it is very difficult to alter substantially the country's governance.

5.3.4.2 Problems of Thailand's institutional culture

Three chronic problems result from these features of Thailand's institutional culture and governance. All are issues that the Thai government has attempted to stamp out (MoFA, 1997), and they are considered pivotal to subsequent discussions. The problems are fundamentally associated with corruption, vote-buying and the power of influential people, and since 2001 these have been identified as requiring urgent attention from the current government.

The traditions and culture of Thailand have contributed to the problem of corruption, this being depicted as common in public sector institutions (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1995; Sparkes, 1998). According to Murray (1997), alleged corruption has always been listed as the principal reason for government failure in the country (Muangkasem, 2002). Some argue that relations between the state and even rural villages have often been based on corruption, fear and exploitation (Sparkes, 1998). Nevertheless, there have been remarkably few arrests or prosecutions for such offences (Maisrikrod and McCargo, 1997).

The corruption problems may permeate all levels of Thai society and institutions (Pongpaichit and Baker, 1995; Hewison, 1997a; McCargo, 2002). There are many corrupt activities, which usually involve either personal or organisational benefits for both provider and receiver. Politically, corruption-related activities are employed to have a secure seat in the Cabinet or to gain from financial situations, land acquisition, stock investment and the notorious 'gift cheque' (Murray, 1997).

A second notorious problem in Thai institutions is associated with vote selling and buying in Thailand's elections (King, 1999; McCargo, 2001; Maisrikrod and McCargo, 1997). Because winning a seat in parliament presents an opportunity to

145

recoup the vast sums spent on elections, electoral fraud is common (Mcvey, 2000; Montesano, 2000). This also explains the reshuffling of appointments and officials' positions before an election, with the intention of protecting the stronghold of a political party with friendly permanent officers (McCargo, 2002). Most vote buying and selling is depicted as occurring at local levels, and it usually happens in rural areas and among local people tied to patron-client relationships (Sparkes, 1998; Montesano, 2000; Arghiros, 2001). Money from selling votes is viewed as quite commonplace for local people (Murray, 1997), and it ensures social harmony and future help and support through the bureaucratic relationship (Sparkes, 1998; Arghiros, 2001). These malpractices and illegal means of voting are considered to have extensively damaged Thailand's politics and governance system.

The final practical problem for public institutions in the country is associated with influential Thai people known as 'Joa Phor', or godfathers or mafia. While based in the Thai underworld, they seem to be powerful in both public and private sectors (Maisrikrod and McCargo, 1997; Murray, 1997; King, 1999; Phongpaichit and Baker, 2000; Chantornvong, 2000; McCargo, 2001). These godfathers often initially made their fortunes through illegal businesses and activities associated with night-time entertainment, prostitution, the drug trade, gambling and smuggling (Laird, 2000). They secure respectability by making friends with, or financially supporting, businessmen, bureaucrats, the military and politicians. Thus, they have considerable local political clout, and their illegal activities are often ignored by the police (Murray, 1997; Laird, 2000). They are perceived to be at the dark side of a society where corruption is widely accepted and murder and intimidation are not uncommon (Murray, 1997; King 1999; McVey, 2000; Phongpaichit and Baker, 2000). This too affects the policy implementation processes in Thailand.

It is evident that corruption, vote-buying and selling and godfathers are major practical obstacles for Thai institutions, and they have led to serious problems for governance, politics and the society. It is important that Thai people understand their cultural values so that they can improve economic advancement for the nation.

5.4 PHUKET'S GEOGRAPHY, GOVERNANCE AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

This section considers local aspects of Phuket as the case study context. Five key aspects are discussed: Phuket's broad geography, tourism development, its multiple tiers of governance, its provincial governance, and its local governance.

5.4.1 Phuket's geography, history and people

As discussed in Chapter One, Phuket island is currently the country's most popular coastal resort (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003a). It is Thailand's biggest island and it is comparable in size with Singapore. Phuket's climate is dominated by the south-west monsoon, which is responsible for its two seasons: the rainy and dry seasons (Raksakulthai, 2003). Phuket is renowned as a tropical island, with forested hills and rubber plantations (Shepherd, 2002; TAT region 4, 2004).

Phuket's history dates back to 1025AD (Gerini, 1986; Srepaotong, 2002). The Dutch established a trading post here during the Ayuthaya period in the 16th century, and for a long time subsequently the northern and central parts of Phuket were governed by the Siamese, and the southern and western parts were given over to the tin trade, as a concession held by foreigners. Phuket was granted the status of a province of Thailand in 1933 (Srepaotong, 2002). Phuket has been an economically powerful province for a long time due to its vast tin reserves and rubber and coconut plantations (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998). Despite the termination of the wealthy tin industry during the 1970s, Phuket still remains an influential province in Thailand due to its substantial tourism revenues, strong economy and well-paid jobs (Raksakuthai, 2003).

Phuket's prosperity was a driving force for the influx of Chinese during the 17-19th centuries, who came to work in the tin mining industry (Cohen, 2001). The ethnic character of Phuket has been dominated by Chinese descendants, assimilating with Muslim fishermen, local Thais and the indigenous 'Chao Lay', known as 'sea gypsies'. The sea gypsies are now settled in three villages of eastern Phuket, and they comprise approximately five percent of the population (Srepaotong, 2002; TAT region 4, 2004). The Chinese descendants, despite being about equal in population to Muslims (approximately 35 percent), represent the strongest local cultural group, this being based on their urban background and their involvement in the city's trade and commerce (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998; Cohen, 2001).

5.4.2 Phuket's tourism development

This section focuses on tourism development in Phuket to the present day, as well as its future prospects.

5.4.2.1 Emergence of the tourism industry in Phuket

Although tourists began to visit Phuket as early as the late 1960s, it was not until the collapse of the tin-mining industry in 1974 that Phuket was identified as a potential

mass tourism destination (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003a). Since then Phuket has secured large-scale tourism investment. Influenced by a 1978 tourism feasibility study for southern Thailand, the government built an international airport in Phuket to facilitate the rapid intensification of tourism in Phuket and its wider region. With bountiful natural resources and cultural attractions, Phuket has dramatically adapted itself to tourism, witnessed by increasing visitor numbers (Uthoff, 1997)(see also Chapter One). Nonetheless, some islanders still adhere to agriculture-related activities for their living. Tourist arrivals in Phuket have continued to grow, and Phuket receives over four million visitors per year, who in 2004 contributed substantial tourism revenues of over THB 85 millions (1.2 million pounds)(TAT Region 4, 2004).

5.4.2.2 Phuket's tourism development

With the boom in the tourism industry and greater transportation and communication, the numbers of hotels, tour companies and other service businesses have increased on Phuket Island, mostly in the coastal areas. Phuket provides tourism experiences for backpackers, business tourists and tourists interested in small-scale, specialist or alternative products (Cohen, 2001; Raksahulthai, 2003; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003a). The scale, orientation and international connections mean that Phuket's industry is best described as 'mass tourism' (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1999:325). Nevertheless, while remaining typically oriented towards 'mass' forms of tourism, it has also transformed into more 'specialist' patterns of tourism, such as ecotourism, health and spa tourism, and conference and convention tourism (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1999; 2003a; 2003c; 2005; Raksakulthai, 2003).

Before the Asian tsunami disaster, Phuket's tourism industry had steadily developed with strong growth each year. Annual visitor numbers as well as tourism revenue had continued to rise (See Chapter One). In 1999, Phuket received THB 55.7 billion, second only to Bangkok for overall tourism revenues (Raksakulthai, 2003). As a result, TAT Region 4 was founded as one of the nine regional branches of TAT in order to oversee tourism development in Phuket and surrounding provinces.

Phuket's tourism industry continued to prosper prior to the tsunami, despite such unexpected incidents as the 2002 SARS and 2003 Bird Flu epidemics and the political clashes between the government and Muslim people in Thai's southernmost province. This small province is regarded as the richest province in southern Thailand (Srepaotong, 2002; Raksakulthai, 2003; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005), having the second highest income per capita in Thailand in 2002 (Raksakulthai, 2003). Tourism in Phuket

148

has become recognised as a significant development in Thailand, being thus recognised by various organisations and sectors. This has contributed to the strength of the tourism network in Phuket, where views, resources, and cooperation are regularly exchanged. The network includes government agencies, private sector operators from different sectors, training institutions, tourism- and commerce-related associations, and the media.

Recent political change in Thai governance has helped to promote further development in Phuket. With more decentralisation in recent years, the local authorities can now administer their budgets more independently (Nelson, 2001), and it is hoped the local industry will be less fragmented and more co-operative than before.

However, critics of tourism in Phuket argue that the rapid growth in mass tourism has permanently altered the island's character (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003b). Four prominent issues are commonly recognised. First, there has been increasing physical landscape changes and degradation and the amount of coral reefs in Phuket has decreased dramatically (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003b; 2004). There has also been indications of change in the local climate, resulting in a severe water shortage and drought (Raksakulthai , 2003). Second, tourism development in Phuket contributes to significant socio-economic differences between people working in tourism-related jobs and those in non-tourism jobs (Cohen, 2001), and it also means that living costs are much higher than in other southern provinces. Third, tourism is seasonal in Phuket due to the monsoon season, when water-sports and marine activities are limited, and this produces many seasonal jobs and huge income differences between the peak and low seasons (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998). Seasonality also results in price rises in Phuket during the high season; in some cases prices are 300% higher than in the low season (Raksakulthai, 2003). Finally, tourism development has a great impact on socio-economic problems in Phuket. It is suggested that the influx of tourists with foreign habits is gradually eroding the traditional way of local life (Cohen, 2001). Furthermore, the thriving economy has led to immigration from other provinces. As such, local migrants mean the population is relatively socially heterogeneous, which is not necessarily to the liking of local people. In all, although tourism development in Phuket has had positive economic impacts, it has also produced challenges due to its various impacts, the global competition, its economic ills, the instability of Thai politics, and effects of epidemics as well as of natural catastrophes. These impacts are not easy for the Thai authorities to deal with.

5.4.2.3 Future prospects for tourism in Phuket

To meet global competition, Phuket will need to differentiate itself further from other similar regional and international destinations. Nowadays, tourist safety, violence and cultural conflicts are key concerns for tourists, and Phuket must react to this. Attention will also need to be paid to tourism promotion during Phuket's low season, and TAT is keenly adopting various strategies to achieve that. The current strategy includes the theme of 'Tourism Capital of Asia', a 3-year tourism development plan to promote non-climate related tourism activities and more cultural tourism in Thailand (Bangkok Post, 2001; TAT, 2004). Medical tourism is also viewed as part of the response to the disparity between high and low season, with some hospitals offering a package combining medical treatment and a holiday (Phuket Gazette, 2004a). Numerous spas have also sprung up in Phuket, with the health and spa sector currently attracting much investment in Phuket. However, TAT and its regional offices must raise the 'real' awareness of sustainability among people and entrepreneurs, since the adoption of ecotourism and sustainable tourism purely for marketing purposes will be inadequate to sustain and strengthen the prosperity of tourism in Phuket (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1999; 2003a; 2003b; 2005). Also, more effective policy implementation is needed to tackle the environmental problems, and encouragement of recycling and better land use planning is required (Raksakulthai, 2003).

Other future opportunities for Phuket tourism include a greater integration of planning with other southern Thai regions, such as Krabi and Phang-nga provinces, within the 'Andamanisation' project. It has also been agreed to extend Phuket international airport for more international connections and charter flights to support tourism growth in Phuket's region. Nevertheless, there is still concern about being more sustainable and resilient, about improving the price and quality standards for tourists (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2003c; 2004) and – post-tsunami – about raising confidence about security from natural disasters. These crucial challenges cannot be solved by one agency as they require a network of involved parties and also more local involvement.

5.4.3 Phuket's multiple tiers of governance

Thailand's multi-level governance can be quite complicated, and it significantly affects Phuket. At the time of writing, the governance framework is undergoing various political reforms and changes of administration at national, provincial and local levels (Boonmi, 2002). Phuket is an influential province among the 76 provinces in Thailand due to its thriving tourist industry and related domestic and international attention. The

Thai system means that, as with other provinces, Phuket's administrative, strategic and development plans are commonly determined at national level. Phuket thus lies within a lower national administrative echelon, in spite of its economic and tourism revenues. Despite the limits to local autonomy, the Phuket Provincial Office (PPO) was one of the first five pilot provinces to have this system in 2002, based on a Chief Executive Officer (CEO) style of management (PPO, 2003). The CEO PPO was permanently adopted in 2003, with the intention of reducing the traditional bureaucratic obstacles in Thai public administration. In CEO-led provinces, governors must change their style to that of a chief executive charged with promoting the economic and social development of local communities within their designated provinces, as well as with co-ordinating their activities with other governmental agencies (Kaewsang, 2004). The Phuket governor (CEO) is granted substantial powers for managing the province, which involves staff from different governmental agencies and ministries, and thus the PPO has a strong impact on policy implementation.

Public administration for Phuket is delegated to several local organisations, notably the PPO, the Phuket Provincial Administration Organisation (PPAO), the municipalities, and the Tambon (Sub-district) Administrative Organisations (TAOs). Only the PPO is under national bureaucratic administration, whereas the rest are locally elected bodies, although they are relatively recent organisations. The next section highlights specific details of local organisations in Phuket with policy implementation responsibilities.

5.4.4 Phuket provincial governance

The Phuket provincial government administers an area of 538.72 sq km., and it had a registered population in December 2001 of 261,386 (PPO, 2003). However, the TAT Region 4 includes an estimated 1.6 million people. This is because the region is larger, and there has been an increasing volume of domestic migration from other provinces (known as the unregistered population). In addition, there are four million visitors each year. Historically known as 'Monton Phuket' (Gerini, 1986), the Phuket provincial government is currently being overseen by several decentralised and delegated units under ministries, bureaus and departments from Bangkok. According to the Board of Investment of Thailand (BOI) (2002), there are 33 units in total, with nine units under the Ministry of Interior (MoI) and the rest under other ministries. The provincial government fits into the concept of deconcentration. In other words, the

officials are mostly central delegates and the provincial development plans always have to be agreed and to have their budgets approved by the central government.

The PPO, under the Ministry of Interior is the key body that oversees general public administration in Phuket, including tourism. Its main responsibility is to co-ordinate with other provincial offices, to implement national government policies, and at times specific provincial and local policies. The PPO works closely with their subordinate organisations, such as the Department of Local Administration and other organisations at district level. Its specific roles and duties also include setting up and implementing provincial development plans to increase development in the province, mainly upon guidelines and orders from the MOI at central level. Under the Official Reform in October 2002 and the current CEO management style of the PPO, the PPO's officers have currently been less involved in many provincial projects. However, it remains the key provincial office in Phuket, managing a wide range of issues.

The PPO is presided over by the provincial governor, and by a civil servant appointed by the MOI (Nelson, 2001) who usually gets transferred every two years, sometimes yearly. Administratively, Phuket is divided into a number of districts (headed by district officers or sheriffs), sub-districts (headed by sub-district chiefs or Kamnan), and villages (headed by village headmen) (Arghiros, 2001). There are three districts within Phuket province, and 17 sub-districts and 103 villages (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998; PPO, 2005). The provincial administration has copied the hierarchical structure of administration at central level, and unsurprisingly most of administrative power is centralised.

5.4.5 Phuket local governance

Of the six local public administrative organisations in Phuket, four are exercised in every province, whereas two are special types with more autonomy that exist elsewhere only in Bangkok and Pataya. The four general forms are PAOs, municipalities, TAOs and Sukhapiban (sanitary committees)(Lao-Araya, 2002). Three of Phuket's local administrative organisations that are most relevant to this study of policy implementation are discussed in subsequent sections.

5.4.5.1 The Phuket Provincial Administration Organisation

Unlike provincial administration more generally, the PPAO is not a delegated unit of central government, rather it is a local government organisation at provincial level that is locally elected (BOI, 2002). According to the 1997 PAO Act, the local

voters elect their councillors from each area, and the executive is later selected by those councillors. The term of the Assembly is four years. Each province has only one PAO.

The PPAO is theoretically independent from other local government and it is granted powers to administer its designated area. It is involved in three types of work, that include discretionary activities and also statutory activities specified by legislation (e.g. the 1979 Building Control Act) (Nelson, 2001). The work is generally associated with the maintenance of law and order, provision and maintenance of public facilities, primary education, public utilities and vocational training (Lao-Araya, 2002). The PPAO is also required to work in support of other legislation referring to conformity and co-operation with other local government bodies.

The PPAO's income consists of revenue collected under specific laws and regulations (Nelson, 2001). In fact, Thai local government receives revenue mainly from four sources: local taxes, central government grants, property and enterprises, and loans. The PPAO collects some of its local tax income from the hotel industry. Despite its freedom to set up its own development plans for the province, the PPAO's plan must correspond with the government policies. With little legal administrative power in the area, apart from local tax collection, it acts mainly as a large local coordinating organisation.

5.4.5.2 Phuket's municipalities

A Municipality is a local administrative organisation for a developed urban area within a province (Varanyuwatana, 2000). Its council and members are voted for by people within that designated area, with the elected members selecting the mayor as the chief executive. Much of the municipality's work involves local development plans, notably for infrastructure (Lao-Araya, 2002). In Phuket there are six municipalities, two are in the town district and two each in the other two districts. The town municipality is the only city municipality in Phuket, implying that its population has reached more than 50,000 in an area of 3,000 square kilometres (Weist, 2001). Patong municipality also became a town municipality in 2003, implying that its population is more than 10,000 in an area of 3,000 sq km. The others are Tambon (sub-district) municipalities, based on having more than 7,000 residents within 1,500 sq km. Although the size of their areas and population is strictly set, and with some being granted autonomous power over tax collection and development in the area, these municipalities must work jointly with the authorities in the provincial administration under the same ministry (MoI).

5.4.5.3 The Phuket's Tambon Administration Organisations

District and Tambon (Sub-district) administrations have long been treated as deconcentrated governance forms (since the Ayudhya period, this being revised in the early 19th century) (Shatkin, 2004). Since 1914 Thailand has had Tambon councils, which are part of the provincial administration, these being headed by Kamnan but under close supervision by the provincial bureaucrats. However, an additional TAO form emerged in 1994, and this has duties that can overlap with Tambon councils in many ways. A TAO usually comprises seven elected members. It is an organisation whose jurisdiction is the area of a particular subdistrict outside the boundaries of the municipalities. There are 17 subdistricts, however only 13 TAOs were granted in Phuket.

Unlike the bureaucratic form of the Tambon council, the TAOs have more autonomous power to manage their own area, receiving revenues from local taxes e.g. housing tax, land tax, and signboard tax. Their work is associated with development projects, infrastructure construction and the provision and maintenance of public transport and public health services. In contrast, the Tambon council and its authorities are more involved with local people and such services such as births, deaths and immigration (Arghiros, 2001). The council is, in contrast, heavily dependent on its uppermost tiers, at district and provincial level, for decisions and resources. Like other local government forms, the TAOs also work on specific legislation under different Acts, leading to their involvement in policy implementation within their areas as well as their links with other public organisations.

5.5 THE CONTEXT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE SELECTED POLICIES

This final section provides a brief overview of the three selected policies. It explains for each policy the problems it was intended to address, the intentions behind the policy, the legal frameworks for the policy, and the wider context affecting the policy's implementation in Phuket. Three different tourism related policies were selected, with the reasons for their selection explained in detail in Chapter Four, and each policy is discussed separately here.

5.5.1 The 1966 Entertainment Venue policy

The 1966 Entertainment Venue Policy is the oldest of the three policies, and it is also known as the 'Better Social Order Policy' (BSO Policy).

5.5.1.1. Problems leading to the policy

This policy was introduced in 1966 in order to control 'night entertainments' and 'night congregations' following the military coups at that time, with the intention to maintain national order and public morality. It has become the main policy directed at monitoring entertainment venues, especially 'night entertainments'. The policy was revived in 2001 for the enhancement of national peace, security and morality; it was directed very specifically against drugs, intoxicants and other illegal activities, notably, the sex trade, all of which are most likely to occur in night entertainment venues (Thai Government, 2004). Some tourism entertainment venues inevitably fall within this public policy, and this covers controls over operating hours and over sex-related activities within the industry. This policy for national and social security, is also believed to be directed at constructing a more positive image and reputation of Thailand in international tourist markets.

Sex and drug-related activities are regarded as a phenomena to be regulated by policy in many countries (Leheny, 1995). In Thailand regulation is also considered necessary as many entertainment venues are inappropriately located, causing annoyance to local residents as well as various risks to society and to the tourists. Further, the problem of illegal intoxicants has been hard to control in Thailand. Despite the many attempts to crack down on drugs and the sex trade, they are still common and can even be perceived as a commonplace activity in Thai society (Seabrook, 2001). The entertainment venue policy focuses on the drug proliferation problem, but also other problems related to morality and security, notably sex tourism, child sex abuse, lewd conduct and physical violence, which have become more apparent in the entertainment industry. There has been increasing concern, however, that the existing laws have been ineffective and that enforcement is difficult to achieve in Thai society (King, 1999). It is feared that intermittent clampdowns will not achieve the intended policy goals (Seabrook, 2001). It is a lesson that Thailand is learning and it has yet to find the answers. Figure 5.2 shows current image of Thai entertainment venues.

Figure 5.2 An example of entertainment venues in Phuket

5.5.1.2 The policy details and their implications for entertainment venues

It is apparent that the Entertainment Venue policy has served Thai society since 1966. However, its effectiveness has been questioned. Legal actions and political commitment from governmental enforcement agencies are described by Seabrook (2001) as 'fluctuating', with inconsistent police actions being common in Thai society. In practice, despite the closing hour restrictions, many entertainment venues stay open until dawn, particularly in the tourist areas. Some of their performances still include sex-related and lewd conduct. Much of the government's concern focuses on the lax and ineffective nature of the 1966 policy. More concerns were also derived from public hearings which were set up for solving national problems. The policy was revived in 2001 and it was then dubbed as the 'BSO policy'. This revival was determined under the strategic plans of Prime Minister Thaksin's government in 2001, covering 11 National Agendas and three urgent and related problems, namely poverty, drug proliferation and corruption (PPO, 2003; Thai Government, 2003).

In practice, the government is focusing on limiting operating hours and restricting under-age customers and their activities. Since various parties need to be involved for effective enforcement, there is a requirement for both better co-operation and good management. This management and implementation work involves various national organisations, such as the MoI as the lead organisation, the National Police

Council (NPC), the Ministry of Education (MoE), the Ministry of University Affairs (MoUA), the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MoLSW) and the Ministry of Public Health (MoPH). Each representative unit at local level of these organisations is responsible for local implementation. The public sector organisations involved in implementing this policy are depicted in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3 Public sector organisations involved in implementing the Entertainment Venue policy

| Direct link |
| Cooperative link |
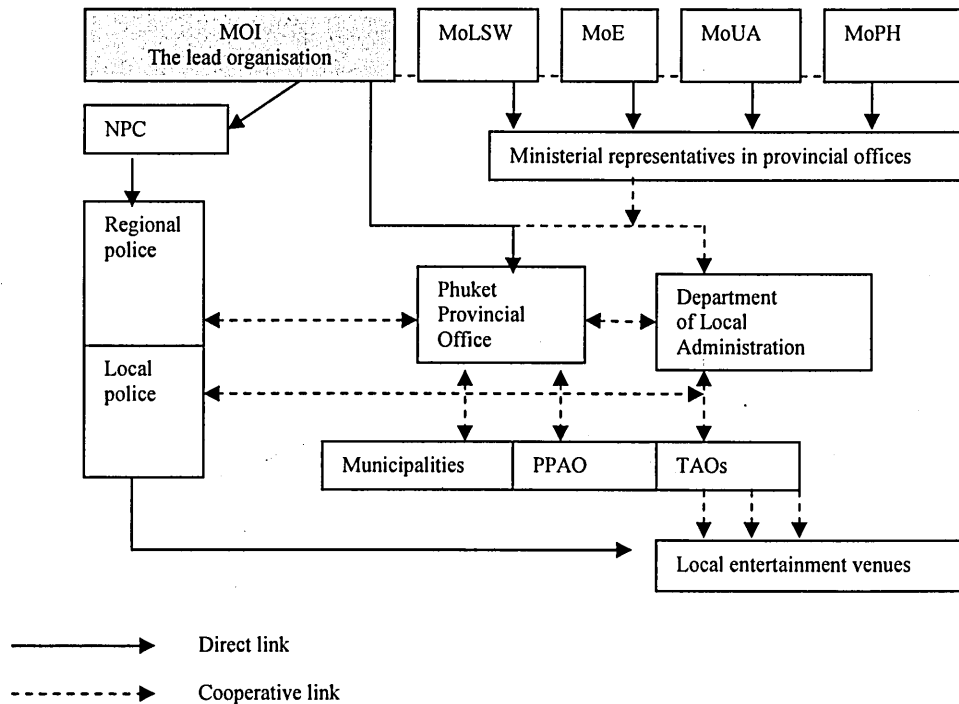
5.5.1.3 The Act and its regulations

At the time of writing, the Act and the regulations have been modified seven times since 1966, most recently in January 2004. This has been due to a variety of political reasons, as well as the need for tariff rate changes for the licenses for venues. By controlling the services of night entertainment venues, the Act seeks to benefit national peace and morality. Its restrictions include specifications for the establishments, operational guidelines, and restrictions on location. Table 5.1 shows extracts from the Act.

Table 5.1 Some restrictions and specifications for entertainment venues

Unit 7, the Act stipulates that the establishment is to be permitted only if it:

(1) is not to be near temples, religious places, schools or educational buildings, hospitals (admitting overnight patients), youth clubs and dormitories based upon the "Dormitory Law", considering potential annoyance;

(2) is not in residential areas in which noise and annoyance can be created for the residents;

(3) provides ventilated and convenient entrances and exits.

Unit 16, the Act stipulates that:

The venues are disallowed from activities against the national peace and culture, notably drugs, sex-related and lewd conduct.

Unit 16(1), The Act stipulates that:

The venues are prohibited from allowing customers under 20 year of age to enter or to use the service.

Source: Extracted from the Entertainment Act (4th Copy) 2004

Significantly, the 1966 Act led to the emergence of ministerial ordinance under the MoI, which specify different operating hours for different categories of venue. Nowadays, under the recent modification, licensable venues are in six main categories, which are shown in Table 5.2. This is because there are many new types of entertainment venues which were not included in previous Acts, notably the karaoke bar and the 24 hour restaurants with live music and satellite TV broadcasts. Nonetheless, the strict controls on customer age remained unchanged, and the closing hours were limited to 1 a.m., which is contrary to popular needs and which has met strong opposition from local entrepreneurs and night shift workers (Phuket Gazette, 2005).

This policy illustrates a top-down approach, with a clear span of command from its highest level to the local level in Phuket, through the complex Thai bureaucracy. The policy implementation and its performance relies heavily on co-operation and co-ordination among governmental organisations and private institutions, not to mention adequate accompanying resources. Due to local opposition, this policy is well-known. Today, evidence shows that there is still non-compliance, particularly with the closing hour limit (Seabrook, 2001; Phuket Gazette, 2005). Some details of the new regulations, extracted from 'the Entertainment Act (copy 4) 2004' are summarised Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 The Entertainment Act and regulations

1. Unit 3: definitions of the six licensable entertainment venues:

(1): "Dancing places". This covers discotheques and *ram wong* (traditional Thai dancing) venues.

2): Tea shops. (These no longer exist in Phuket.)

(3): Massage parlours.

(3) a: Registered and permitted to perform Thai style massage as stated in Arts Law, or in exceptional cases or permitted hospitals or medical centres as stated in the Hospital and Infirmary Law.

(3) b: Health, beauty or therapist centres agreed under the consideration of the MoI. This must conform to the Public Heath Act.

(3) c: Others as yet unimagined or falling into the above categories.

(4): Entertainment venues, including places selling food and alcohol and offering some forms of entertainment, detailed as follows:

(4) a: A place providing a show or other activities for entertaining customers, and allowing staff to socialise with patrons;

(4) b: A place that provides equipment for patrons to sing, and allows staff to socialise with the patrons.

(4) c: A place that has no dance floor but allows customers to dance on the premises.
(4) d: Other places that have light or sound facilities.
(5) Restaurants that provide entertainment and close after midnight (primarily upmarket venues with cultural shows).
(6) Others as yet unimagined or falling into the above categories.

2. Unit 16: to establish an entertainment venue
(1) Less than 18-year-old employee is not permitted.
(2) Prohibition of letting the customer get drunk during operation hours
(3) Prohibition of selling more alcohol for those presumably drunk customers.
(4) Prohibition of staying over night except the guards and security.
(5) Prohibition of any conduct in relation to drugs and other intoxicants.
(6) Prohibition of any weapons in the premises, except in the case of legal activities, exercising by public officers.

3. Unit 17: the opening and closing hours as stipulated at Ministerial Ordinance
The case of entertainment category 4 (1)
(1) For tourist destination, open at 9 p.m. and shut at 2 a.m.
(2) For non-tourist destinations, open at 9 p.m. and shut at 1 a.m.
The case of entertainment category 4 (4)
(1) For tourist destination, open at 6 a.m. and shut at 1 a.m., however music entertainment and other showcases can be performed from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and from 6 p.m. to 1 a.m.
(2) For non-tourist destinations, open at 6 a.m. and shut at midnight or 1 a.m. of the next day which falls on public holiday. Nonetheless, music performance and other showcases can be performed from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. and from 6 p.m. to midnight or 1 a.m. on the next day if falling on public holiday.

4. Unit 21, 26, 27: the deterrents
(1) Non-compliance of unit 16 and 17, legal right for an order of temporary shut-down for up to 30 days
(2) Non-compliance of national peace and unit 16 and unit 17 on opening hours, legal right for an order of temporary shut-down for up to 90 days.
(3) The venue without legal license or misuse of license is deterred for up to one year in jail or up to THB 60,000 (£920) or both.
(4) Non-compliance of unit 16, legal charge of up to THB 50,000 (£850).
(5) Non-compliance of unit 16 (5) and (6), legal charge of up to THB 60,000 (£920)
(6) No relevant documents to show, legal charge up to THB 5,000 (£85)
(7) Carry arms or weapons in the premise, legal charge up to THB 10,000 (£130), or up to six month jail or both. The case of gun, facing jail of up to 5 years, or up to THB 100,000 (£1,400) legal charge or both. The case of grenades, bombs and war weapons, facing up to 20 years jail, 400,000 legal charge or both.
(8) lewd conducts facing up to 3 years in jail, THB 60,000 (£920) legal charge or both.

Source: Extracted from the 1966 Entertainment Act (4th Copy) 2004

5.5.2 The 1992 Enhancement and Conservation of National Environmental Quality Act and Policy

The environment and conservation have received more attention as Thailand has become more industrialised. The environment is also a leading tourist attraction in Thailand's regions, so it is very important for the thriving tourism sector (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Despite a long variety of environment-related laws, their effectiveness and strictness in enforcement have been deficient. The 1992 Enhancement and Conservation of National Environmental Quality (ECNEQ) Act aims to improve the law on conservation and enhancement of national environmental quality, and to improve local community health. It also repealed previous environment-related Acts.

5.5.2.1 Problems leading to the policy

Phuket, a major Thai seaside resort destination, has unique natural attractions that are threatened by local shrimp farming, over-fishing, pollution and also by the rapid development of tourism. All these activities contaminate the sea and coastal habitats, as well reduce biodiversity (Raksakulthai, 2003). The problems associated with tourism's unchecked growth have created a perception that Phuket is becoming spoiled (Viviano,

2002; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005). According to the Phuket Gazette (2004b), Phuket came third from the bottom (with a score of 43 out of 100) in the National Geographic Sustainable Tourism Initiative (NGSTI) assessment of 115 well-known destinations worldwide. The score is based on the areas' environmental and ecological quality, social and cultural integrity, sustainable development and aesthetic appeal. It is widely believed that Phuket is 'getting ugly' (Tourtellot, 2004).

Escalating environmental impacts in Phuket inevitably lead to more and worse consequences for local people and the locality. There has been a high level of demand for drinking water as well as other impacts derived from climate change, such as coral reef damage and changes in other ecosystems (Raksakulthai, 2003; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2004). Storms and unexpected severe weather caused by climate variability have also contributed to adverse environmental impacts. The average temperature and rainfall are also fluctuating (Raksakulthai, 2003). The existence of environmental legislation for Phuket has not ensured protection, so serious attention needs to be paid to enforcement issues. Attention will be directed to the question as to whether the government has adequately engaged in environmental concerns, or granted sufficient funding to realise the plans and legislation. Figure 5.4 shows Phuket environments under its current tourism development.

Figure 5.4 Phuket environments and its rapid tourism development

5.5.2.2 The policy details and their implications for protected areas

As a key environmental policy, the 1992 ECNEQ Act deals with all aspects of environment and conservation in Thailand, such as environment quality, pollutants, nuisance, buildings and protected areas. Part of the Act relates to protected areas. In that context, Thailand's national system of protection has dramatically expanded since the foundation of the first national park, Khao Yai, in September 1962. There are different categories of protected area, with 44 national parks, 15 marine national parks, 29 wildlife sanctuaries and 46 non-hunting areas (Reutergardh and Thi-Yen, 1997). Under the 1992 ECNEQ Policy and Act, five specific protected areas were created to protect their unique national resources. They are shown in the following Table.

Table 5.3 Detail of the 1992 ECNEQ Act for protected areas

Under the 1992 ECNEQ Act, five protected areas were proclaimed in the ministerial law. These were: 1) Pataya and three other islands. 2) Phuket: the whole province and other small islands in the area. 3) Krabi: the whole province and 45 Million-Year-Old Shell Cemetery Beach, Noparatarah Beach, Phi Phi island and other vicinity islands. 4) Lumpan Forest in Mahasarakram province. 5) Some areas in Petburi and Prachuapkirikhan province.

Source: Translated and extracted from the 1992 ECNEQ Act

The Phuket protected area has been in place for three consecutive periods: 1992-1996, 1997-2002 and this was extended to 2003. Prior to the 2002 Official Reform, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment (MoSTE) was the lead body in respect of protected area regulations. The work was transferred to the new Ministry of National Resources and Environment (MoNRE), which is now responsible for the formulation and implementation of plans and policies to address natural resource and environmental issues, based upon the principles of sustainable use and public participation. At the local level, the PPO was initially the responsible body, but it now rests with a new representative unit from MoNRE, as a local ministerial unit formed to oversee the protected area as well as the environment in Phuket. This newly established organisation is in its trial period and is acting as a co-ordinating or supporting body, mostly involving public relations and promotional materials. In reality the TAOs are the real local implementers under this Act. This is where the gap between policy intent and practice begins and needs to be understood. The general structure and framework of protected areas under the 1992 ENPE Act is depicted in Figure 5.5.

161

Figure 5.5 Public sector organisations involved in implementing environmental management in Phuket
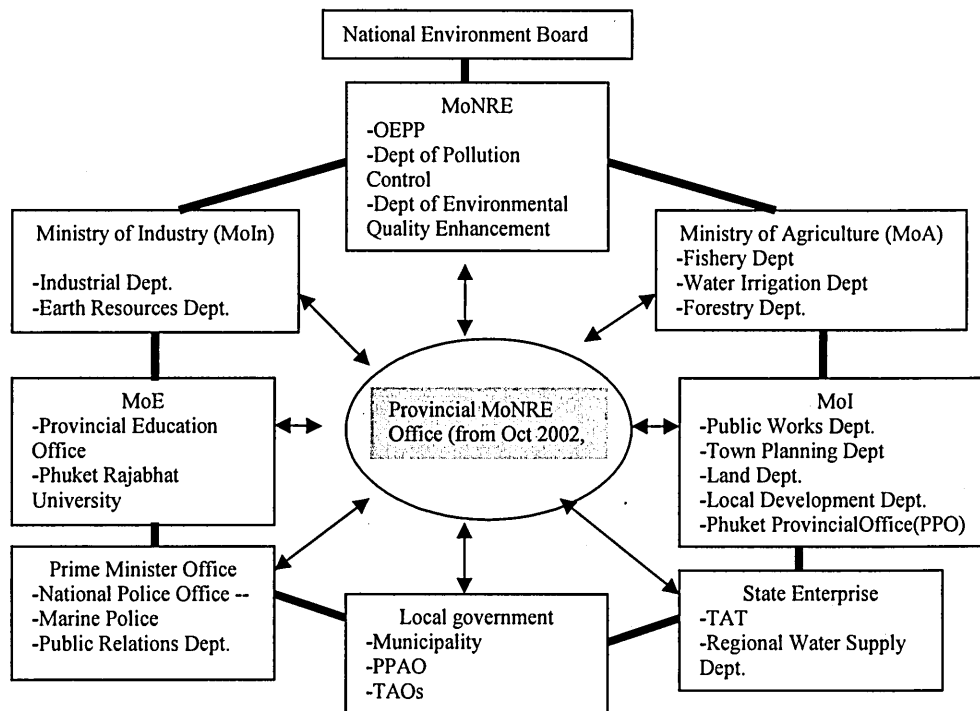
Source: IMETF (2002)

5.5.2.3 The Protected Areas legal framework and regulations

Only two broad legal frameworks for protected areas are stipulated under the 1992 ECNEQ Act. They are listed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 The 1992 ECNEQ policy's penalties in protected areas

Section 99
Any person who illegally encroaches upon, occupies, or enters into public land to act in any manner which results in the destruction, loss or damage to natural resources or treasures worthy of being conserved, or causes the occurrence of pollution having impact on the environment within the limits of environmentally protected areas designated by virtue of section 43 shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding five years or fines not exceeding five hundred thousand Bahts (around £7,000) or both.
Section 100
Any person who violates or refrains from observing the restrictions stipulated by ministerial regulation issues according to section 44 or by notification given by the Minister according to section 45 shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding one year or fine not exceeding one hundred thousand Bahts (around £1,500) or both. ·

Source: The 1992 ECNEQ Act

In addition, under Thailand's governance system, the relevant minister can proclaim ministerial ordinance to support the Act. MoSTE, as the lead organisation, proclaimed a ministerial law with regard to the five designated protected areas. The aim is to protect the five protected areas from environmental impacts, overuse and exploitation by excessive urban and industrial development and the tourism industry.

Generally, its laws prescribe some limits to building, zoning areas and limits to other land uses, which are summarised in Table 5.5. This is believed to protect unique natural ecosystems, fragile ecosystems and areas with aesthetic values that are sensitive and vulnerable to human impacts. Its deterrents are dependent on what are prescribed in the 1992 ECNEQ Act. There are also 25 other relevant laws and Acts that provide the legal basis for Phuket's protected area, e.g. the Forestry Act (new amendment), the National Park Act, the Fishing Act, the Building Act and the Land Development Act (Panusittikorn and Prato, 2001). Non-compliance attracts a maximum penalty up to five years imprisonment or a THB 500,000 (£9,000) fine or both.

Table 5.5 Summary of ministerial ordinance for protected areas in Phuket province

Ministerial Ordinance (Issue 1) *Subject: Specifying area and criteria for protected areas in Phuket province 1998*	*Ministerial Ordinance (Issue 2) 1992 based on The 1992 Enhancement and Conservation of National Environmental Quality Act*
Based on the 1992 Enhancement and Conservation of National Environmental Quality. 1 -4) Related to control of all buildings using the 1979 Building Act. 5) Marine areas 5.1) 50 metres from coastal areas to the land (every island in the province) 5.2) Further 150 metres from land 5.3) Official land and 200 metre further 5.4) Phuket municipality area -Arts & architect conservation -Congestion area -Over-congested area 6) Construction and building renovation (modifying) rules -Area 1: height not more than 6 metres -Area 2: height not more than 12 metres -Area 3: height not more than 30 metres 7) In every area, the following activities are banned. -Stone mining ,hazardous substances related to business by using pipe transmission, block or modify area, change natural shape, (sea) reclamation, sewage, wastewater, collect or destroy coral reef , dead coral , catching beautiful fish, digging and digging for aquatic animals.	1. Protected areas also include Phuket island and all other 32 islands of Phuket province: from the land to further three kilometres in the sea. 2. Constructing any industrial factories in these areas is not allowed. 3. The following activities are banned: -Digging -Mining -Dropping boat/ship's anchor in the coral -Collecting and destroying coral, including catching beautiful fish -Raising and or catching aquatic animals along the coastal areas -Fishing by using dangerous tools that affect young life. -Reclamation -Dumping garbage & other polluted items in the sea -Transporting or transmitting dangerous items using pipe in the sea

Source: Translated from the 1998 MoSTE ministerial law for protected areas.

Despite its relatively long-established and advanced environmental Acts – certainly in a developing country context – Thailand's practice and enforcement may be questioned as inadequate to control ecological destruction (Reutergardh and Thi-Yen, 1997). Few environmental criminal prosecutions and penalties have been imposed and pursued (Bugna and Rambaldi, 2001). This may imply that the current penalties have had a minimal deterrent effect and enforcement may have been lax. More attention to effective environmental laws is needed in the context of the increasing awareness of environmental problems in Thailand.

5.5.3 The 2001 National Government policy and the Beach Safety project in Phuket

Although national government policies primarily focus on economic development, welfare improvement and combating poverty, the policies for tourism largely target national income generation. This is stressed in the Income Creation Section of the 2001 National Government Policy. The beach safety policy has also been influenced by international pressure for tourism safety in Thailand. These pressures were important in establishing a beach safety project for Phuket.

5.5.3.1 Problems leading to the policy

It is notable that safety of tourists has become a more important consideration since the tragic 9/11 incident and the various natural disasters in recent years. Every destination inevitably is affected by tourist concerns for their health and well-being, and 170 international tourists lost their lives in 2001 in Thailand (See also Table 5.6). Most resulted from accidents, with heart attacks being the second most common cause. According to the TAT's Feasibility Study for a National Tourism Development Action Plan (FSNTDAP) (2001), Phuket is ranked top in relation to the TAT's concerns about water-related accidents, including drowning cases. The island is also dominated by the southwest monsoon, so that from May to October each year the seas are rough and dangerous for any tourist-related activities. Non-fatal and fatal drowning cases are common, and the usual number of fatal cases may reach over 10 tourists each year. This may be caused by lack of life guards, severe weather, non-familiarity with the area or tourists' carelessness. This has become a major concern for the image of Phuket's tourism industry, and the TAT Region 4 is striving to diminish this image problem. Phuket began implementing improvements in 2002, although there were other previously established projects organised by smaller local organisations. At the time of the research, the government-backed beach safety project was still in its infancy. Figure 5.6 shows an example of facilities provided as part of the beach safety initiative in Phuket.

Figure 5.6 Beach safety in Phuket

S.5.3.2 The policy details and their implications for beach safety

Because of tourism's potential as a source of foreign exchange, it is deemed expedient to improve the quality, diversity and standard of tourism services, so as to ensure the long-term competitiveness of the industry. Among other strategies, the government encourages greater tourism safety. In doing so, the Prime Minister's Office, in collaboration with the TAT, is the lead body for planning, supervising and implementing these strategies.

The TAT 2001 FSNTDAP, Section 7 entitled 'Tourism Management and Macro Policy', Unit 7.2, mainly deals with managing tourist safety in Thailand. Accidents in general are viewed as the most hazardous threat to tourist lives as well as harming the tourism industry's reputation. Table 5.6 shows the statistics of the cause of death of tourists in Thailand during 1995-2000, where road accidents, heart disease and drowning appear to be the crucial causes.

Table 5.6 Causes of tourist death in Thailand, 1995-2000

Cause of death	Year					
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
1. Drowning	39	27	29	29	27	18
2. Cliff falls	1	-	1	-	1	-
3. Car accidents	48	18	18	23	22	52
4. Animal assaults	-	-	-	-	-	2
5. Heart attack	30	22	9	20	31	29
6. Drug overuse	1	3	2	4	3	4
7. Murder	11	9	6	12	11	7
8. Suicide	6	5	7	7	9	10
9. Unknown causes	12	12	15	33	21	32
10. Others	11	18	28	28	12	16
Total	159	114	115	156	137	170

Source: TAT (2001)

Phuket, Samui island, Trad and Rayong are destinations with a high risk of tourist drowning, especially during the monsoon season. Although a national policy pertaining to tourism safety and accident prevention was taken up by several governmental bodies, most of these organisations are largely engaged in planning and supervision. The implementing actions are usually the responsibility of smaller institutions at local level. The PPAO, in response to the National Government 2001 policy and the TAT 2001 Action Plan, proposed the 2002 beach project in relation to the establishment of a Tourist Help & Rescue Centre under the government fiscal budget. This is briefly outlined in the next section.

5.5.3.3 The 2002 Beach Safety project in Phuket

The establishment of the beach safety project and the tourist help and rescue centre was intended not only to increase safety, but also to create a more positive tourism image for Phuket and its other projects, such as the Phuket Health Hub of Asia and Phuket International Convention Centre. More specifically, the project aims to increase tourism safety, to reduce hazards around road and water transport, and finally to prevent possible criminal activities in the service industry (PPAO, 2003). According to the PPAO report (2003), the total budget received from the government in 2002 was THB 14,209,250 (around £203,000), supplemented by the PPAO's own budget in 2003 of THB 5,953,195 (around £85,000). Among thirteen parties assigned to accomplish the task, the PPAO is the lead body responsible for this project. The rest are supporting organisations. The project structure is presented in the following Figure 5.7.

Figure 5.7 Public sector organisations responsible for the tourist help and rescue centre
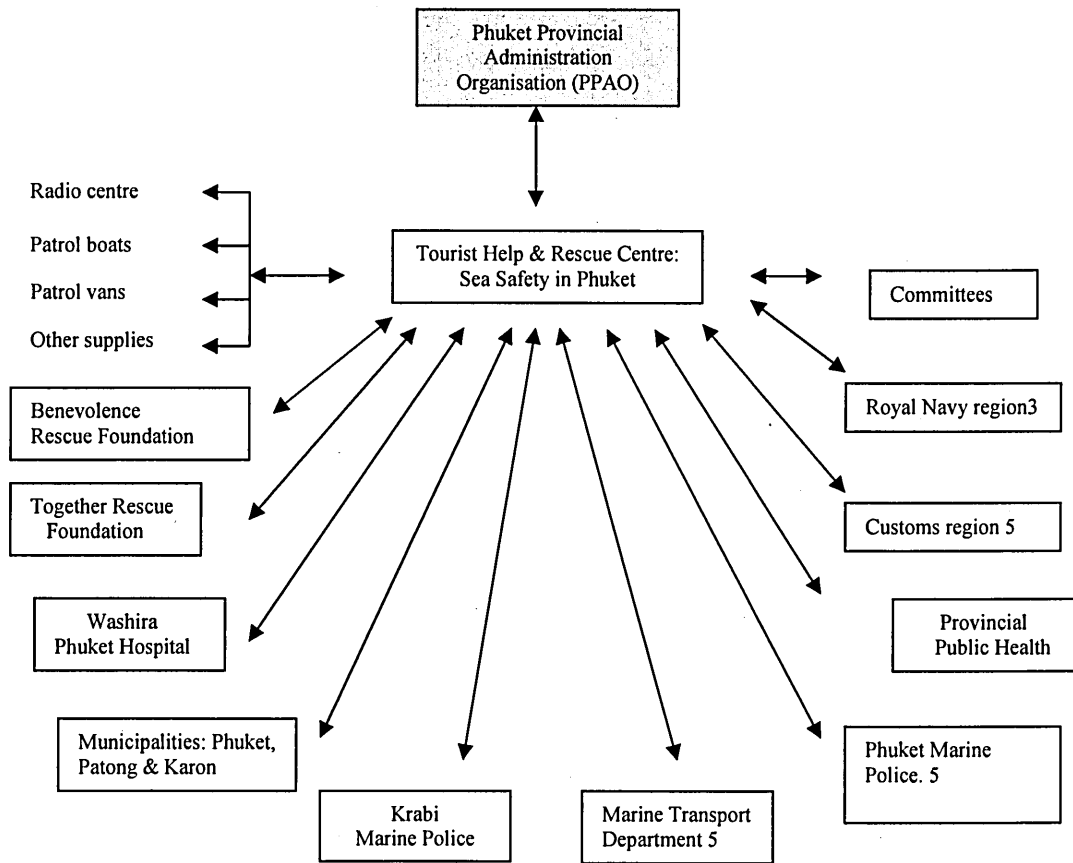
Source: PPAO (2003)

The establishment of Beach Guard Teams is part of the beach safety implementation process. The most visited beaches are served by a team of four beach guards and a patrol car driver, who are employed only during the monsoon season when the sea is rough. In 2003, they were required for only four months from June to September, two months less than in 2002. It is noteworthy that there are no specific legal deterrents in support of compliance. Interestingly, the TAT (2001) has indicated what to take into account for a successful tourism safety policy in Thailand. This includes autonomous power, sufficient and clear job descriptions, more proactive plans, adequate rehearsal and training, and supporting plans from provincial bodies.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter systematically reviewed the case study context with regard to the area's general economic development, socio-cultural character, political and policy-making, institutional culture, local public governance, and the framework of three tourism policies. It demonstrated that Thailand possesses a dynamic economy and uneasy political and social elements, which have resulted in an unusual application of

the principles of democracy and bureaucracy into Thai society. This Thai 'management style' and 'semi-democracy' might possibly and unintentionally impede policy implementation.

Despite a variety of political developments, Thailand remains much influenced by absolute power or by a dominance from a few groups, even during its current expanding democratic development. Further investigation revealed that Thailand possesses a strong social stratification, which indeed has existed in Thai society for centuries. The Thais thus often adhere to a tradition of hierarchical and bureaucratic administration. Also, the politeness and kindness of Buddhist teachings are an influential factor on the population's passiveness and this may promote patron-client relationships. Indebtedness and repayment are important imperatives. Politically, the lower tiers of society can tend to be inactive until movements or orders from higher social or administrative tiers are made. Civilians consequently tend not to wish to interfere in the national and political arenas, even though democratic principles and equal rights have been introduced. These influences may help to explain why policy implementation does not always develop at the same pace as Thailand's growing representative and participatory democracy.

The three selected policies in the study are the Entertainment Venue, the Protected Area and the Beach Safety projects. Two of them symbolise the more centralised style of management and institutional culture of the top-down approach. These Thai administrative and cultural burdens might possibly prevent the effective implementation of these policies, especially if combined with a lack of resources. Phuket's rapid and ill-considered tourism development may also encourage the fragmentation and complication of tourism policy implementation.

The subsequent five chapters will analyse the fieldwork findings, based on the broad categories outlined in the study's conceptual framework. The next chapter focuses specifically on the respondents who were interviewed for the study and their specific involvements in the three case study tourism-related policies.

Chapter 6   The Respondents and the Policies

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The intention in this chapter is to examine 44 respondents' involvements in the implementation of three tourism-related policies in Phuket, Thailand. It should be remembered that the case study considers three tourism-related policies and actors from within five different groups (see also chapter Four). The initial discussion presents the respondents' involvements in the policies and their overall perceptions of policy implementation in Phuket. It is notable that respondents who were much involved in a particular policy for their job tended to comment on various implementation issues, while they often said little about policies they were not directly involved with. The respondents' views about overall success of the policies assist with the subsequent understanding of the underlying factors influencing the effectiveness of policy implementation.

6.2 INVOLVEMENT OF RESPONDENTS IN THE THREE POLICIES

It was thought possible that the nature of respondents' involvements in particular policies may have affected the nature of their responses. Therefore, attention is directed to respondents' relations with the policies through a set of three questions, as listed in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Three questions used to investigate the respondents' involvements in the policies

Questions:
Q1: Which of these policies has affected you and your organisation?
Q2: Please explain how you and your organisation have been affected by this policy/these policies.
Q3: How long have you and your organisation been involved in the area affected by this policy/these policies?

A wide range of institutions and individuals are involved in each of the selected tourism-related policies. For instance, most public organisations under the MoI (Ministry of Interior) are engaged with aspects of the entertainment venues policy, whereas those under the MoNRE (Ministry of National Resources and Environment) are associated with the protected area policy. By contrast, the majority of local organisations and individuals and of tourism organisations are affected by the beach

safety initiative (see also chapter 5). These involvements usually hinge on what is written in the Acts, regulations and projects.

It is important to remember that the analysis of respondents in the results chapters follows the division of these respondents into five different groups (as discussed in Chapter Four). These were public sector actors at three different territorial scales – national, provincial and local – tourism-specific public authorities, and private sector tourism businesses in Phuket.

6.2.1 Whether the policies have affected the respondents

As shown in Table 6.1, in relation to the three selected policies, the respondents were asked: "**Which of these policies has affected you and your organisation?**". The question evidently invited both personal and institutional accounts, and in practice most respondents tended to respond from both their personal and their professional perspectives.

Significantly, there were also many cases where more than one policy affected the respondents. Out of 44 interviewees, 29 affirmed that they had been affected by the beach safety policy, 25 by the protected area policy, and 19 by the entertainment venues policy. The details are set out in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 The policies' effect on the respondents

Sectors Policies	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
Beach Safety	4	4	4	7	10	29
Protected Area	6	5	6	1	7	25
Entertainment Venues	2	6	2	1	8	19

Table 6.2 shows that beach safety, despite its local origin, has a wide effect on respondents from various sectors and spatial scales (29), perhaps suggesting it is considered an important issue for Phuket's tourist industry. While 17 of these respondents were from tourism organisations and the private sector, a wide range of public sector employees (12 in total) also considered themselves to have been affected by this policy. This also suggests that tourism safety can become a key issue for countries or destinations seeking to adopt tourism as a tool for economic development (Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996; Hall *et al.*, 2003). Clearly, well over half of all respondents perceived that they have been affected by the beach safety policy.

Similarly, respondents from a range of sectors stated that they were affected by the protected area policy (25). As many as 17 respondents from the public sector and one tourism authority commented on this involvement as arising through their job. A slightly lower number of respondents (19) were affected by the entertainment venues policy. Again employment reasons were given as to why ten respondents from the public sector and one tourism authority were affected by the entertainment venues policy. By contrast, most private sector entrepreneurs stated that their involvement in these policies was being imposed on them due to compliance issues. It is significant that respondents from tourism authorities were less affected by the protected area and entertainment venue policies than they were by the beach safety initiative. There is not a great difference in terms of the total number of respondents affected by each policy, although slightly fewer were influenced by the entertainment venues policy. It also seems that each policy affected a wide range of sectors, and this is reflected in their subsequent responses towards each policy.

6.2.2 Types of involvements of the respondents in the policies

A second question asked the respondents: "**Please explain how you and your organisation have been affected by this policy/these policies**", and this allowed them to elaborate on their involvements in the policies. The responses tended to focus on their involvements through their jobs, that is through the roles and duties of their employment. The involvements were categorised into three broad types: direct roles, supporting roles and complying roles. Direct roles involve duties and responsibilities assigned by the relevant Act and its related regulations, such as implementing, enforcing, training, inspecting and charging. Supporting roles refer to the action of co-ordination, cooperation and collaboration to facilitate policy implementation. Unlike other roles, the complying roles relate to conformance to the policy and its enforcement, which usually fell onto the private sector and local people. Table 6.3 presents these categories of involvement by each of the three policies.

Table 6.3 Types of involvement of the respondents in the policies

Sectors / Policies & Types of Involvement	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
Entertainment Venues						
----Direct Roles	-	6	-	-	-	6
----Supporting Roles	2	-	2	1	-	5
----Complying Roles	-	-	-	-	8	8
Protected Area						
----Direct Roles	3	5	3	-	-	11
----Supporting Roles	3	-	3	1	-	7
----Complying Roles	-	-	-	-	7	7
Beach Safety						
----Direct Roles	2	4	2	4	3	15
----Supporting Roles	2	-	2	3	7	14
----Complying Roles	-	-	-	-	-	-

With regard to the entertainment venues policy, it is notable that six public sector respondents, all from provincial public authorities, claimed a direct role in the policy, whereas four respondents from the national and local public sectors and a tourism authority employee identified their supporting roles. By contrast, as many as eight private sector respondents identified their roles as that of conformance. Eleven respondents from the public sector identified their own direct duties for the protected area policy, whereas seven other respondents from the public sector and tourism authorities indicated supporting responsibilities. It is perhaps unsurprising that seven private sector entrepreneurs contrastingly said they had conformance roles.

For the beach safety policy, 15 respondents across the five different groups stated that they had direct duties and roles around the policy. Interestingly, three respondents from the private sector had direct roles since they were hired as beach guards by a private company under the private concession from the PPAO. In a similar way, other respondents from a wide range of organisations and sectors identified their supporting roles of co-operating and collaborating. None stated that they had a complying role. This result may be due to lack of regulations to enforce the policy, or its local origin that tended not to create a sense that the policy was imposed.

Overall, it seems that the public sector employees are involved in both direct and supporting roles, particularly for the government policies for entertainment venues and protected areas. By contrast, for these two policies the private sector respondents had

no roles other than to comply with the enforcement of the legal frameworks and regulations. The beach safety policy, however, indicates a wider spread of roles across the sectors. The results suggest that policy and public administration in Thailand reflects a system where administration and policy application lies with a few more powerful groups and government bureaucrats, with local people usually having little involvement in the policy process (Saxena, 1996; Cammack, 1997).

6.2.3 Length of involvement of the respondents in the policies

A third question examined the length of respondents' involvement in the policies. They were asked: **"How long have you and your organisation been involved in the area affected by this policy/these policies?"** Most responded with their own personal years of experience related to the policy, and four respondents distinguished between their general experience of policies and their specific experience of them in Phuket. The length of the respondents' involvement in the policies is displayed by category and by policy in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Length of involvement of the respondents in the policies

Sector / Length of Involvement	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
Entertainment Venues						
Under 2 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
Over 2-5 years	-	1	1	-	3	5
Over 5-10 years	-	2	1	-	3	6
Over 10 years	2	3	-	1	2	8
Protected Area						
Under 2 years	1	-	-	-	-	1
Over 2-5 years	-	1	4	-	1	6
Over 5-10 years	3	2	2	-	4	11
Over 10 years	2	2	-	1	2	7
Beach Safety						
Under 2 years	1	1	-	-	-	2
Over 2-5 years	-	1	2	1	5	9
Over 5-10 years	1	1	2	4	3	11
Over 10 years	2	1	-	2	2	7

It should be remembered that each respondent is not necessarily involved with, or affected by, all the selected policies. But Table 6.4 shows that, for the policies that respondents are involved with, that involvement was often long-term, notably between five and ten or more years. In fact only three respondents mentioned that their involvement was under two years, two of these relating to beach safety. There were also no great differences in the number of years between the policies. The long experience of beach safety-related policies was unexpected, since the specific policy studied here is

173

relatively new for the tourism industry in Phuket. This seems to have been due to some respondents being involved in beach safety policies in other coastal areas, with this highlighting the importance of transfers of staff between regions within the Thai bureaucratic system (Girling, 1981; Arghiros, 2001). The findings about the length of involvement in the policies suggests that many respondents had long-established acquaintance with relevant issues for this research.

6.3 OVERALL OPINION ON IMPLEMENTATION SUCCESS FOR THE THREE SELECTED POLICIES

The discussion now considers the respondents' opinions on the overall implementation success of the three selected tourism-related policies. At the end of the interviews the respondents were asked: **"On balance, do you consider that this policy/these policies has/have been successfully put into practice in Phuket? Why?"** Its early presentation here introduces the respondents' overall conclusions about the level of successful implementation of the policies, and this provides a useful context for the detailed analysis of the causes of implementation success or difficulties, with those being reported in the subsequent results chapters. The discussion here covers the perceived level of success of each of the three policies. When respondents provided a response about only one or two policies, they were also asked about the policy they had not mentioned. It is notable here that most respondents felt able to comment on this issue for all three policies.

6.3.1 Overall success of the implementation of the beach safety project

All responses about the implementation success of the beach safety initiative under the government's 2001 national policy were placed in the most suitable generic categories. The detailed findings are shown by category in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 Respondents' opinions on the implementation success of the beach safety project

Sectors / Opinions on the Overall Implementation Success	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
Successfully implemented	3	5	3	1	2	14
An improved level of implementation	1	2	2	4	6	15
Unsuccessfully implemented	1	1	1	1	5	9
Depends	1	-	1	-	1	3
N/A (inarticulate/ no opinion on this policy)	-	-	-	-	1	1
Unsure	-	-	-	1	-	1
Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	-
Total						44

174

A total of 14 respondents considered that the beach safety project was 'successfully implemented', with this view being most common among respondents from the public sector and tourism authorities (12 respondents in total). A slightly larger total of 15 respondents felt that there was 'an improved level of implementation', with this response being relatively more favoured by private sector actors (six respondents). By contrast, nine respondents felt that the beach safety initiatives were 'unsuccessfully' implemented, and this was strongly represented by private sector respondents.

In total 29 respondents felt that the beach safety policies were broadly successfully implemented. It is significant that this is perceived to be the case by many actors in all five sectors. These positive respondents include, for example, four national public sector respondents, seven from the provincial public authorities, five from local government, five from tourism authorities and eight from the private sector. This positive overall response may be influenced by the additional funding for beach safety initiatives in Phuket that was provided by central government, by the emergence of a local host organisation and Rescue Centre, and by the project's more concrete programmes and training work. This is typified by the comments of a senior PPO official, who stated that "I'm really confident on the beach safety bit of the PPAO, as this host organisation has hired many guards and spent a lot of money on it". Similarly, a senior staff member at the TAT national office stated that, "it is getting better after some government financial support has been allocated there to set up beach guards". Many respondents further claimed that cases of drowning are decreasing. Many respondents commented on specific evidence of good implementation, including instances of good support, cooperation, harmony and conformity.

By contrast, as few as nine respondents considered that the beach safety initiative was unsuccessful. These respondents pointed to issues of uncertainty and inconsistency with respect to the project's funding, a lack of essential equipment, insufficient local autonomy, selective implementation and unskilled local staff. One politician in a local municipality commented, for example, that, "it has not really been successful, although there have been lots of attempts by the public sector. It's not been concrete...it also needs more autonomous power". Four of five private sector respondents who reached this conclusion (mostly tour operators and hotel managers) even claimed that they had never seen the beach guards. These issues might also have influenced the four respondents who replied with 'it depends' or 'unsure' to this question.

In sum, it is clear that a large proportion of the respondents (29 of 43) were inclined to consider that the beach safety initiative had broadly been applied successfully. But nine were much less convinced. The overall positive result may have partly been influenced by the fact that this policy directly generates benefits for many local stakeholders. These direct returns encouraged better co-operation, may have promoted a good record of implementation, and may have led to positive overall perceptions of the policy.

6.3.2 Overall success of the implementation of the protected area policy

The protected area policy in Phuket is a vital part of the 1992 Enhancement and Conservation of National Environment Quality Act and policy, in which detailed regulations are set out, mostly on building control, zoning and various marine activities to prevent the destruction of natural resources. This section deals with the respondents' opinions on the level of overall success of implementation of the protected area policy. The findings by category of response are presented in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Respondents' opinions on the implementation success of the protected area policy

Sectors / Opinions on the Overall Implementation Success	Public Sector			Tourism Organisations (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
Successfully implemented	1	-	-	1	-	2
An improved level of implementation	2	3	3	1	5	14
Unsuccessfully implemented	2	3	3	4	8	20
Depends	1	-	1	-	1	3
N/A (inarticulate/ no opinion on this policy)	-	1	-	1	1	3
Unsure	-	1	-	-	-	1
Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						44

It is significant that only two respondents felt that the protected area policy was clearly successfully implemented, these being a national level government official and a tourism authority employee. They both explained that they felt it was a success because they had worked hard in their roles to improve its implementation, and they both pointed to the significance of rigorous inspection by the parties involved.

Another 14 respondents commented that level of implementation of the protected area policy was 'improved' or 'satisfactory'. They tended to consider that the policy was performing better in practice than it had in the past, or that generally it was achieving a decent level of implementation. Some commented that there was now more

enthusiasm from the relevant parties about enforcement, that local government was now more actively working to support the policy, and there were more inspections to help with protection and other environmental issues in Phuket. One manager in a tour operation commented how "it's been better, more rigorousness and more enthusiasm". These 14 respondents felt that the protected area policy implementation was 'improved', but they often pointed to difficulties or hindrances that meant the level of success was far from complete. Many interviewees commented on difficulties that need to be eliminated for the protected area policy to be more successful. Thus the head of a local municipality commented that, "I'd say that the policy has achieved a decent level of implementation, but well...we have not successfully managed the issue of waste water in the sea...Sometimes the problem is about different visions between local government and central government as the resource provider; other times there have been personal benefits and group benefits, as well as political benefits, involved".

As many as 20 of 44, however, concluded that implementation of the protected area policy was generally unsuccessful. Among these, eight were from different spatial levels of the public sector, four from tourism authorities, and eight were in the private sector. It is significant that the number of respondents who felt the implementation was unsuccessful was equal between the public and the private sectors. These respondents commonly identified factors inhibiting good implementation, including varying levels of enforcement, lack of commitment, insufficient equipment and non-compliance. Several felt that the most important reason was due to the lack of local involvement in the policy. A chief marine police inspector claimed that, "the policy has not really been successful...It should be changed by having serious enforcement and commitment as well as more support from central government". Most of the private sector respondents in this category went further and mentioned that public enforcement could be unequal and occasional, and they often attributed that to personal benefits. This is typified by the comment of a nightclub entrepreneur: "this policy is not at all successful. It is very much to do with personal benefits". Interestingly, as many as 10 of these 20 respondents considered that non-compliance still explained many examples of land encroachment, illegal construction in the highlands, and unattended marine activities. In this context, a PPAO member stated that "we still have problems with environmental destruction and degradation from land encroachment and construction". This may suggest that issues of lax enforcement, inappropriate relationships and misconduct by the authorities are prominent in Phuket (Murray, 1997; Seabrook, 2001).

To conclude, the most common response was that implementation of the protected area policy was 'unsuccessful'. While another 14 felt that there was 'improved' implementation, they tended also to mention both improvements and continuing difficulties. This suggests there are gaps in this policy implementation process.

6.3.3 Overall success of the implementation of the entertainment venues policy

The entertainment venues policy was revived in 2001 through the Better Social Order policy. The respondents' opinions on the degree of success of the implementation of this policy are summarised in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Respondents' opinions on the implementation success of the entertainment venues policy

Sectors Opinions on the Overall Implementation Success	Public Sector			Tourism Organisations (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
Successfully implemented	1	2	3	2	3	11
An improved level of implementation	3	3	2	1	7	16
Unsuccessfully implemented	1	3	1	3	4	12
Depends	1	-	1	-	1	3
N/A (inarticulate/ no opinion on this policy)	-	-	-	1	-	1
Unsure	-	-	-	-	-	0
Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						44

A reasonably large number of respondents – 11 in total – felt that this policy had been implemented with success, and this response was spread fairly evenly between the groups. This view is equally spread across the sectors. These respondents often said that the success was due to more rigorous enforcement from the public sector, especially since the policy's revival in 2001. This is typified by a comment of a senior official from the local TAT Region 4 who stated that, "the policy has been successfully implemented as the local police have been more rigorous about it. It may have been difficult in the beginning but it has been developed and got better".

Another 16 respondents considered that the level of implementation was 'improved', with eight of these being in the public sector, one in a tourism authority and seven in the private sector. It is interesting that this reasonably positive response was evident for both the public and private sectors. These 16 respondents mostly identified positive aspects of policy implementation, referring to a reduced level of violations due

178

to the greater commitment to enforcement from the public sector. A member of Phuket Tourist Association commented that, "the government has currently been serious and rigorous about it...It also introduced a process that made sure that local police have rigorously enforced it as well". However, while these 16 respondents felt that implementation was 'improved', they usually also identified aspects needing significant improvement, such as more widespread enforcement and less local resistance.

Another 12 respondents concluded that the entertainment venues policy had not been successfully implemented. This was articulated by respondents in both the public and private sectors, with five in the public sector, three in tourism authorities and four in the private sector. They mostly brought up concerns about poor implementation of the policy, such as issues of inadequate local involvement, limited commitment from the public authorities, resource limitations, only occasional enforcement, unequal treatment of offenders, and a high level of violation. A Phuket Member of Parliament commented rather surprisingly, "What success! I didn't see any success...Due to the policy's revival, everywhere the venues are shut. But when this issue has gone or is forgotten, it will be the same as before...The fire is over, just like that". The three respondents who concluded that the level of success 'depends' voiced similar mixed views and concerns.

A total of 27 of the 43 respondents held a positive view about the success of the implementation of the entertainment venues policy. But 16 of 27 also commented on ineffective aspects of the policy outcomes. It is notable, however, that only 12 respondents held a largely negative opinion. But it is clear that most of the respondents noted difficulties around these policies, such as around enforcement, local participation, personal benefits and limited resources, and this suggests it is important to consider policy implementation in relation to economic, social, political and cultural influences (Morah, 1996; Charuvichaipong and Sajor, 2006).

6.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has identified the differing types of involvements – direct, supporting and complying – of the respondents in the three tourism-related policies. Their involvements in the protected area and entertainment venues policies typify the hierarchical public administration in Thailand, with the selection of respondents intended to reflect this (Clapham, 1985). The observations of the respondents suggest that most private sector entrepreneurs and local communities have almost no say in the policies that they have to comply with. The beach safety project, however, did have more local origins and it appears that this local input has led to improved cooperation

between the public and private sectors and has led to a more successful policy outcome. It is interesting that, where respondents were more directly involved in a policy, they had often had a long history of involvement.

While some limitations were widely acknowledged, the respondents generally concluded that implementation of the beach safety policy was generally successful. Key factors that were identified behind this success included the designation of a directly responsible body, the increased level of policy resources and more attention and support from central government. There was also a generally positive view of implementation of the entertainment venues policy, with many noting that this was promoted (despite much local resistance) by more serious public sector enforcement subsequent to the policy's revival in 2001. Yet concerns about implementation of the entertainment venues policy were noted by many respondents. A substantial number of respondents, however, complained that the protected area policy was poorly implemented, with many concerned about uneven enforcement, a priority for personal rather than public benefits, and local resistance.

Subsequent chapters will examine some of the strengths and difficulties of policy implementation. These are grouped into four categories – structural issues, institutional issues, policy clarity and resources, and public attitudes and cultural issues – and these are examined in turn in the next four chapters.

Chapter 7   Structural and Political Issues in Policy Implementation

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Governments have many responsibilities for tourism policies. In developing countries, government policy-making is often very centralised in terms of decision-making and of resource provision (Yuksel *et al.*, 2005). With economic difficulties and centralised administration being common in developing countries, it is almost inevitable there will be some obstacles to optimal policy implementation. Various commentators suggest that in these countries the administrative apparatus can be strongly hierarchical, bureaucratic, weak in terms of evaluation, and poor at adapting to local conditions (Morah, 1996; Tong *et al.*, 1999). These potentially can affect the outcome of policy implementation (Garcia-Zamor, 1990).

This chapter considers the wider contexts of structural and political issues and how the respondents feel these affect policy implementation in Phuket. These issues are related specifically to the three selected tourism-related policies. As explained in Chapters Four and Six, the views of the respondents here and in subsequent chapters are evaluated according to five groups based on the different sectors and spatial scales in which they operate: these being the national government, provincial public authorities, local government, tourism-specific public authorities and the private sector.

Based on the study's conceptual framework, ten interview questions were devised in order to explore the relationships between structural and political issues and tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket. This chapter is organised into five sections. First, there is consideration of the local political and economic conditions. This is followed, secondly, by an analysis of broad structural influences on tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket, including how the central government implements policies at the local level and the extent of government support for local policy implementation. Third, the chapter highlights public administration issues, in which legal issues, laws and bureaucracy are analysed. Attention is directed, fourthly, to whether there is any use of a bottom-up approach to governance in Phuket, notably through the use of a report-back system, and policy evaluation and revision mechanisms. Finally, there is an assessment of the influence of political uncertainty on tourism policy implementation.

7.2 EFFECTS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ON TOURISM POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Broad structural conditions, including political and economic conditions, can affect policy implementation. There are various factors determining the political stability and economic strength of a country, such as the credibility of the policy-making institutions and the nature of the state's revenues and income policies (Snider, 1996). While some developing countries have fast growing economies (Jung *et al.*, 2000), there can be barriers to such growth, such as a shortage of capital, lack of skilled labour, poor supervision of banking and financial sectors, corruption and inefficient bureaucracies (Elliott, 1983; Huque, 1996; IMF, 1996). Politics and economics undoubtedly have great impact on public administration, and especially so for developing countries (Cammack *et al.*, 1993). According to Snider (1996), the government's political capacity contributes greatly to determining the success or failure of policy implementation. The strength of the economy is also a primary consideration affecting policy decisions and policy practices at various levels within a country (Broomberg *et al.*, 1996).

One question in the interview schedule asked respondents: **"In what ways have political and economic conditions helped or hindered this policy/these policies being put into practice in Phuket?"** The question was deliberately broad in order to allow the participants to freely contribute their opinions on political and economic conditions surrounding tourism policy implementation in Phuket. In other words, interviewees could respond about political conditions, or about economic conditions, or about both. In practice, most respondents focused on the political conditions affecting policies in Phuket. The responses about the extent to which political or economic conditions have affected implementation of the selected tourism-related policies are summarised in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Extent of influence of political and economic conditions on policy implementation in Phuket

Sectors / Issues Identified	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Political conditions have affected policy implementation	3	4	6	7	9	29
2. Political conditions have partly affected policy implementation	1	-	-	-	1	2
3. Political conditions have not affected policy implementation	1	2	1	-	4	8
4. Economic conditions have affected policy implementation	1	3	1	-	2	7
5. Economic conditions have partly affected policy implementation	-	-	-	1	-	1
6. Economic conditions have not affected policy implementation	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Other responses	1	-	-	-	-	1
8. Don't know/unsure	-	-	-	-	1	1
9. No response	-	2	-	-	-	2
10. Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						52

Only eight respondents mentioned the impacts of economic conditions, with as many as 29 noting the consequences of political issues for tourism policy implementation in Phuket.

First, 12 of the 29 participants considered that political conditions were influential as they affected the relationships between stakeholders around policy implementation. Examples that were mentioned included some groups 'playing politics', a reliance on patron-client relationships, and a climate of instability. For example, a local TAO (Tambon Administration Organisation) member claimed that as local politicians they could not afford to neglect issues that might affect local votes at the next election. A marine police inspector explained some stakeholders abuse their political power through the patron-client system. He elaborated further that "this doesn't lead to good results, and you can't arrest them since clientelism is involved". A similar comment was made by a manager in the TAT Region 4 who stated that "political conditions have hindered a lot...we really can't separate the issues of politics and duties; there has been repayment or something in return in politics". Some respondents were also concerned that the generally unstable political conditions in Thailand have encouraged instability in the policy implementation process in Phuket. This is typified by the comments of a hotel front office manager and a privately hired beach guard who both argued that frequent changes in elected politicians led to changes in policies and in the staff previously in office, and this led to uncertainty.

Second, eight of the 29 respondents considered that political conditions affected the practical aspects of policy implementation, such as the levels of co-operation, resources and compliance. Two tourist police officers expressed similar concerns about government instability threatening the amount of resources and equipment they received. A local municipal officer argued that political difficulties in Thailand hindered policy implementation at all levels, but particularly at the local level. She went on to explain that "local government might not be very cooperative on some issues due to their concerns to save their local votes".

Third, five of the 29 participants considered that the political conditions had created specific bureaucratic behaviours that hindered policy implementation and the legal enforcement of policies. For example, a provincial officer explained that "we at provincial level are animals in the bureaucratic system, we are here to obey those above". And, finally, four respondents mentioned that the changing political conditions led to shifts in the policies for tourism development in Phuket. A senior officer in the Phuket Provincial Office observed how "political conditions are relevant and important for provincial officials as we need to wait and see the policies and plans from above, how they want us to deal with tourism in Phuket, as well as its policy implementation".

The importance of the political context was widely noted by the respondents. It seems that the external political environment here was crucial to the success of policy implementation, as it is in many developing countries (Jenkins, 1993; Hall, 1994a, Hall and Jenkins, 1995). According to Turner and Hulme (1997), past political arrangements and traditions, which are often inherited from the country's political history, often leave a prevalent legacy of political ideologies and practices in developing countries. In developing countries there is also greater socio-economic turbulence, so the political conditions in these nations are often more complex and they are not simple to handle.

A smaller total of eight respondents, from all sectors except the tourism authorities, considered that political conditions had not affected tourism policy implementation in Phuket. Among them the four public sector representatives mostly claimed that political conditions are largely irrelevant to policy implementation. This is typified by one who claimed that the knowledge and understanding of skilled public sector staff are the key factor in policy implementation. Another four private sector respondents similarly considered that in the main politics are irrelevant. One tour operator manager mentioned that public authorities must be clear about their duties and responsibilities, and then the political conditions will have little effect.

As already mentioned, only eight interviewees commented about the effects of economic conditions on policy implementation. Seven of these suggested that economic circumstances had often hindered policy implementation, due to either limited resources for policy work or to limited compliance due to concerns about individual economic performance. This implies a rather negative view of the impact of the economy on policy work. A marine police officer mentioned that "everything has happened in the light of economic conditions and social conditions. For example, people tried to turn unlawful things into lawful activities. This was all interconnected and related together, all influenced by economic conditions". Although few respondents focused on the impacts of economic conditions on tourism policy implementation in Phuket, this may simply be because the consequences are less direct and obvious to the respondents than are those of the political context (Dye, 1984).

In all, this assessment suggests that the political conditions were widely perceived as influential for Phuket's policy implementation. Some researchers have noted that nations that are politically and economically strong and stable are more successful at constructing and implementing policies (Younis, 1990; Snider, 1996). Thailand as a developing country is still in the embryonic stage of both political and economic development and it remains susceptible to instability and challenges arising from the wider political and economic conditions.

7.3 STRUCTURAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES AND TOURISM POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

According to the study's conceptual framework, structural and political issues affect the policy structures and practices and the administrative frameworks that can influence policy implementation. According to Tosun (2000:620), the structural and political issues that can lead to policy implementation gaps include the power structures and legislative systems. It is relevant here that Thailand has a fledgling democracy with a history of political turbulence. Saxena and Aly (1995), Saxena (1996), and Wallis and Dollery (2001) have identified common structural and political problems in developing countries, including high centralisation, strong bureaucracies, political uncertainty, authoritarian legal systems and constitutional and legislative failures.

Four questions were devised in the interview to examine the respondents' views concerning the broad structural and political complexities of tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket. They are presented in Table 7.2, and the resulting findings for each are presented in the next four sections.

Table 7.2 The four questions concerning broad structural and political influences on tourism policy implementation

Questions
Q1. In what ways has central government put this policy/these policies into practice through local government in Phuket? Q2. How has support been provided by central government to assist in putting this policy/these policies into practice? Q3. Would you please explain what you consider has worked well in how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket? Q4. Would you please explain any difficulties that have been in how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?

7.3.1 Central government and policy implementation at the local level

In the first of these questions respondents were asked: "**In what ways has central government put this policy/these policies into practice through local government in Phuket?**". Due to the open nature of the question, responses were mostly descriptive, discursive and at times lengthy. However, they can be summarised into two categories which are listed by frequency of occurrence in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 The way central government has implemented policies through local government in Phuket

Sectors / Response	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total
	National (6)	Provincial(8)	Local (7)			
Government employs centralisation, or a top-down and hierarchical approach.	5	7	6	5	16	39
Government employs two-way communication	1	1	1	2	-	5
Total						44

As many as 39 of the 44 respondents described the manner in which central government implements the three tourism-related policies through local government as being clearly centralised and hierarchical. This response was common to respondents in all five sectors. It was identified by all 16 private sector respondents, and also by five of the six national public sector representatives, seven of the eight in provincial government, six of the seven local government actors, and five of the seven in tourism-specific authorities. Most of these 39 respondents depicted central government as the main decision-maker from which policies and their implementation flow downwards to local levels. This is typified by the comment of a PPO executive who stressed that "it's only been a policy, an order. They send us only a policy and we are here to implement it". Many provincial and local government officers also claimed that policies tended to come down as orders from the centre, and these orders were imposed on them and on local people. A senior provincial government officer commented that "everybody is

seen as the sub-level of the central government. We need to follow its commands and policies". A provincial police officer satirically commented that "the government just gives us orders right from above, with no local involvement".

Ten out of these 39 respondents specifically commented on how the government had little local knowledge and that local people had no influence on the policies that affected them. Several stressed how implementation did not involve locals. These comments suggest that central government has largely played the role of a unitary centre for policy implementation. This can be summed up by the comment of a TAT Region 4 official who stated that central government was effectively the only policy-maker. Further comments on the degree of centralisation and of a top-down approach are provided in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Comments on centralisation and the top-down approach

"The government usually makes commands hierarchically down to the provincial level". A PPAO executive.

"All these three policies are from the central government, and those at provincial level are in charge of implementing them". A Town municipality officer.

"The policies have been produced by the government but the policies are implemented by locals here." A Rawai TAO member.

"Policies have usually been decided and determined by the central government, they are the one who make decisions about it". A PPO executive.

"The central government only brings the policy here, later control and work on it, it is done through paper work". A nightclub manager.

"Everything is done at the central level". A Phuket Eco-tourism Association executive.

Noticeably, as few as five respondents expressed contrary views, and it is probably significant that none of them were from the private sector. These five participants explained that there was a process of two-way communication between national and more local government, combining a top-down and bottom-up approach to policy implementation. Some went on to mention that the top-down approach is for government policies and that a more bottom-up approach only occurred for some projects and local plans, and that these still usually needed national approval to make them happen. A comment by a provincial Patong police officer reflected this opinion: "there has been both top-down and bottom-up techniques. As for the latter, we propose our plans and wait for their consideration".

To conclude, a very large proportion of the respondents considered that central government implemented tourism policies through a centralised, top-down system. Only five mentioned a bottom-up approach. These findings appear indicative of the current Thai public administration system, which is similar to that found in many other

187

developing countries (Clapham, 1985). It seems that this prevailing top-down approach entails the shadow of a powerful hierarchy to ensure that policies are complied with. According to Wallis and Dollery (2001: 248), this top-down approach inherently prompts two types of challenges to policy implementation: first, central government policies may lack contact with the realities of implementation and may lack coherence, and secondly there is scope for agency failure as responsibilities for implementation are delegated down the hierarchy. The comments from many respondents indicate this centralised approach can lead to failures to control the activities of street-level bureaucrats and to appreciate the specific local circumstances.

7.3.2 CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

Governmental assistance to front-line policy implementers can be a key determinant of effective policy implementation in developing countries (Puppim de Oliveira, 2002). This issue was considered in the interviews through the question: **"How has support been provided by the central government to assist in putting this policy/these policies into practice?"** Although the question was relatively open and required respondents to give more than a yes/no answer concerning central government assistance, that was a useful starting point to assess the comments. The resulting response patterns are shown in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 Central government support to assist in implementing policies

Sectors / Response	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
No/ Not adequate support	-	4	2	2	9	17
Provided some financial support	4	2	4	4	2	16
Provided staff support	1	1	-	-	-	2
Training	1	-	-	-	-	1
Unclear	-	-	-	-	5	5
Other responses	-	1	1	-	-	2
Total						44

Table 7.5 indicates that 17 of the 44 respondents (from all sectors, but not from the national scale) commented that government support was inadequate for those at the local level to implement the policies. Several public sector officials in this category from both the provincial and the local levels explained that they usually had to implement new government policies with the same amount of staff as well as financial resources. A typical complaint was made by a provincial police officer: "there has been neither financial nor staff support, just commands to do this and that, and just enforce it

by law". The view that central government support was inadequate for local implementation was especially prevalent among the private sector interviewees (9 of the 16 respondents in this group were of that opinion). They too often considered that staffing as well as financial budgets were insufficient or provided too slowly. One nightclub manager was annoyed that "the number of officials is still the same, just there is a new policy".

By contrast, and more positively, Table 7.5 shows that as many as 19 respondents (in total) considered that the central government did support local implementation of the tourism-related policies. As many as 16 of these respondents specifically identified the provision of financial support, while three others identified staff support and staff training. The provision of financial support by central government was most often mentioned by public sector respondents. Others noted central government support in terms of extra staff. Two national and provincial public sector respondents claimed that support had been provided in terms of the number of staff, while one local government official discussed how the government had provided some training.

As many as six of these 19 respondents, however, went on to explain that, while extra resources were made available by central government, this entailed competition to secure the additional staffing or funding, and that it was only provided occasionally. A PPO vice-executive was exasperated about how "whatever we want, we need to ask for the money from the government: sometimes we get it, but other times we don't". This may suggest that these resources have been limited and that there is stiff competition for them among the parties involved.

Interestingly, five of the 16 private sector respondents considered that the level of government support for tourism policy implementation in Phuket was unclear to them. This is illustrated by the comments of a tour operator manager, who argued that "I never saw them work...I'm not sure how they do it, hence I am unable to answer this question". It is likely that these government-related issues are rather remote from those outside of the public sector.

To sum up, 19 respondents mostly from the public sector identified three categories of central government support for local policy implementation, but 17 argued that the support was deficient, and five private sector respondents were unclear about the level of this support. It seems that central government is the main source for policy resources in Phuket, but that this can be limited and there is competition in the system. Governments have a notable role to play with the distribution of authority,

responsibility, power and resources under Thailand's centralised system (Bossert, 1998). It is interesting that as many as 17 respondents responded directly to this question with the view that government support in their centralised system was insufficient for the local implementation of the three tourism-related policies in Phuket.

7.3.3 Strengths of tourism policy implementation in Phuket

Respondents next were asked the question: "**Would you please explain what you consider has worked well in how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket**". The intention was to use this to explore the factors that facilitate tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket, but many respondents replied by just discussing negative issues. Table 7.6 summarises these findings, listing them in descending order of response occurrence. The discussion will then assess the respondents' comments on how well the policies have worked in Phuket.

Table 7.6 Responses to strengths in implementing tourism-related policies in Phuket

Sectors / Issues Identified	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National(6)	Provincial(8)	Local(7)			
1. Respondents identifying difficulties in policy implementation	4	5	5	4	8	26
2. Respondents identifying positive aspects of policy issues	1	2	1	1	5	10
3. Respondents identifying positive aspects of the policy implementation process	1	1	1	2	1	6
4. Respondents who did not respond	-	-	-	-	2	2
5. Respondents with mixed views	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total						44

Table 7.6 shows that when asked this question, 26 of the 44 respondents directly identified difficulties related to policy implementation. Their responses were associated with bureaucracy, lack of political will, poor enforcement and limited resources, and these issues will be further discussed in a subsequent section examining difficulties of policy implementation. The fact that as many as 26 opted to talk about negative aspects of policy implementation suggests that they feel stronger about the inhibiting factors than they do about the facilitating factors, and that the former may be more evident in Phuket.

Among the 16 respondents who described positive aspects, six issues were often mentioned and some respondents mentioned more than one, and these are summarised in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7 Identified positive aspects

Sectors / Identified Positive Aspects	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National(6)	Provincial(8)	Local(7)			
1. The policies and their enforcement are good for the tourism image of Thailand and Phuket	1	2	1	1	5	10
2. Harmonious relations and co-ordination among involved parties in Phuket	-	-	1	2	1	4
3. Clear autonomy, responsibility and system for implementing policies in Phuket	-	1	-	-	1	2
4. Good cooperation around beach safety implementation in local areas	-	1	-	1	-	2
5. Close and effective relations and communication with central government	1	-	-	-	-	1
6. Good communication among public sector in Phuket	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total						20

The responses were split between positive aspects of the policy issues in general and the positive aspects specifically of the implementation process. Thus, ten respondents considered that the nature of the policies included in the study, as well as their implementation and enforcement, generally provided a good image and improved security for tourism in Phuket. It was felt that the enforcement of some of these policies helped keep society away from such 'demoralising' activities as drugs and the illegal sex trade). This is typified by the comment of a PPO senior officer who stated that "I think all policies asked about here have provided positive points for Phuket: they guarantee the tourists' safety, the impressive scenery and the high quality of nightlife". Further, four out of five private sector respondents in this category described how the beach safety policy enhanced Phuket's positive tourism image, since it gave more confidence about destination security in terms of helping, facilitating and rescuing tourists. Thus, a hotel front office manager stated that "the nature of the beach safety policy is good for tourism in Phuket as it has reduced the number of drowning cases".

In fact only six respondents directly identified positive aspects about the way tourism-related policies were implemented in Phuket (one respondent each from four different sectors and two tourism authority officials). In fact, only one of the six respondents, a national level public employee, directly referred to the effective links between policy implementation from the centre to the local level. The five other respondents specifically highlighted how the autonomy and co-operation and co-ordination on tourism issues within the local area were effective. A provincial police officer interestingly explained that policy implementation in Phuket started to work well after the introduction of official reforms through the more decentralised, provincial

CEO management style in 2003. He further mentioned that this reform in the Thai public administrative system was clear about the necessary autonomy, responsibilities, punishment and rewards. This suggests that this recent change in Thai governance may be perceived as helpful for future policy implementation.

Two private sector respondents opted not to answer this question. They went further and commented that they had little knowledge of government in dealing with the issues. The researcher feels that this reflected the limited involvement of the private sector in policy implementation processes in Phuket, and there is a continuing story in the results that participants from the private sector showed little knowledge of public sector activities.

In sum, there were significant numbers of respondents (26) who directly described the difficulties of policy implementation in Phuket. On the other hand, 16 respondents recognised positive features. But, while ten of these considered the nature of the policies as constructive for Phuket's tourism, only six respondents specifically discussed positive aspects of implementation. This suggests that a large proportion of the participants considered that policy implementation in Phuket can be problematic, and this is examined in the next section.

7.3.4 Difficulties of tourism policy implementation in Phuket

The respondents were next asked about possible inhibiting factors for the implementation of the three tourism-related policies: **"Would you please explain any difficulties that have been in how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket"**. In some cases, the question was not asked since answers to it were provided in relation to the previous question. Furthermore, most respondents who identified negative aspects in the previous question also referred to the same points discussed earlier. In a few cases, due to the limited amount of time for the interview with some respondents (namely for the Governor, a member of parliament, and some very senior officials in Bangkok), this question was asked concurrently with the question about strengths. In sum, 43 respondents responded about the difficulties in implementing the tourism-related policies in Phuket (only a nightclub manager refused to answer the question, as he stated he was not comfortable with the question).

Only one out of 43 respondents argued that there were no inhibiting factors on policy implementation. Among the remaining 42 respondents, 25 different factors were identified, with some respondents mentioning more than one obstacle. The detailed findings are shown in descending order of frequency in Table 7.8.

Table 7.8 Difficulties mentioned in implementing tourism-related policies in Phuket.

Sectors / Difficulties Mentioned	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Weak enforcement by government authorities	1	-	1	1	5	8
2. Non-compliance	1	1	-	4	2	8
3. Inadequate number of staff	1	1	1	2	3	8
4. Lack of cooperative, harmonious, committed or supportive relations among the involved parties	-	-	2	2	3	7
5. Local government inability or lack of capacity	-	2	1	1	1	5
6. Under-funded financial support	-	1	1	3	-	5
7. Lack of clarity of law or too many additional similar laws	1	2	-	1	1	5
8. Complex enforcement	-	1	-	2	2	5
9. Lack of understanding or cooperation between officials and local people	-	-	4	-	1	5
10. Lack of qualified staff (no training and personnel development)	1	2	-	1	-	4
11. Lack of technical assistance, equipment or materials	2	-	1	-	1	4
12. Personal benefits	-	2	-	1	1	4
13. People do not have clear understanding of policy, regulations or ecological awareness	-	1	2	-	1	4
14. Lack of legal power	2	1	-	-	-	3
15. Lack of government care or support	1	-		-	2	3
16. Commitment at local level	1	-	1	-	-	2
17. Tourist carelessness	-	-	-	1	1	2
18. Lack of connection of public sector to private sector	-	-	-	-	2	2
19. Gap between central government and local level	1	-	-	-	1	2
20. Care for local votes	-	1	-	-	-	1
21. Slow plan approval	-	1	-	-	-	1
22. Time consuming	-	-	1	-	-	1
23. No attention to law enforcement	-	-	1	-	-	1
24. Inappropriate techniques of inspection	-	-	-	-	1	1
25. Absence of direct responsible organisation	-	-	-	-	1	1
26. No difficulty	-	-	-	-	1	1
27. Refuse to answer	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						94

A wide range of difficulties in policy implementation in Phuket was identified by the 42 stakeholders in the study. But the three most frequently mentioned issues – weak enforcement, lack of compliance and lack of staff – were each mentioned by eight respondents. First, weak enforcement by government officials was identified by five private sector respondents, a national level public employee, a local government

member and a tourism authority official. Their responses mostly related to lax and uneven law enforcement performed by the public authorities. A local TAO member said that effective and equal enforcement depended largely on the authorities' conscientiousness in enforcing the law, and most private sector respondents in this category argued that the authorities did not seriously enforce or implement the policies and related regulations. A tour company manager, for example, stated about the public authorities that "There has been very little of their work, they should have forced or enforced more".

Second, eight other respondents were concerned with the amount of non-compliance. Thus, a provincial police officer, two tourism authority officials and two private sector respondents contended that there was still non-compliance among entertainment venues, especially in relation to their closing times. A local TAT Region 4 staff member commented that "there is still non-compliance, I don't see anyone being serious about it". And a national public official claimed that some construction projects still violated the protected area regulations in Phuket; while a tourist police officer argued that some tourists tended to violate the beach safety code because they thought they were strong swimmers.

Another eight respondents were concerned that there were insufficient local staff resources, such as provincial police, tourist police officers and beach guards, to facilitate effective policy implementation. This view was expressed by three public sector officials, two tourism authority officials and three private sector respondents (two privately hired beach guards). A PPAO vice executive and a nightclub owner both made similar comments that "there's not been enough staff to put the policy into practice". It was suggested that not only were there inadequate numbers and quality of staff in the public sector, but that sometimes these staff differed in their interests and priorities for policy implementation. While the public sector staff were more concerned about private sector non-compliance and inadequate policy resources, the private sector actors were more concerned about the degree of commitment from government officials.

The fourth most frequently mentioned issue was a lack of effective relations among the parties involved in the implementation network, this being identified by two local government actors, two tourism authority officials and three private sector respondents. They were concerned with the lack of co-operative, harmonious, committed or supportive relations among the involved parties in the implementation network. More specifically, a municipal official explained that some officials were less than fully committed. She said that "some public officials were not in their offices

during the office hours, and things can be delayed when we needed them". A local TAT Region 4 official complained that it could be difficult to find consensus among the involved parties, and a tour company owner considered that the relations among the involved parties was not really in harmony. These highlight the significance of effective and harmonious relations among involved parties within an implementation network. This can be summed up by the comment of a tourist police officer: "policy implementation needs the full support and good co-operation from the involved parties and people".

There were five different issues ranked equal fifth in terms of the frequency of being mentioned. The first concerned the capacity of local government, this being mentioned by two provincial public officials, and a respondent in local government, another in a tourism authority, and another in the private sector. A provincial environmental official mentioned that local government and their staff did not always fully understood the policy regulations for implementation, and a PPAO executive asserted that local level public authorities were an obstacle since they had limited ability and little discipline. A local TAT Region 4 executive even said that "local government does not have clear ideas, or a clear understanding or knowledge of tourism". This reflects a low level of confidence in Thailand's local government, perhaps due to its recent decentralisation to the local level. It also indicates a degree of fragmentation in the public administration network.

The next issue concerned an under-funding of required financial support, this being highlighted by three tourism authority officials, a provincial official and a PPAO vice executive. The latter respondent commented that "there was insufficient financial support in terms of policy resources to facilitate the policy implementation process". Another issue mentioned equally often involved a lack of legal clarity around policies. A local TAT Region 4 senior official and a Phuket Tourist Association (PTA) member both argued that policies could be too broad and unclear, and others could be too detailed, both of which could lead to implementation difficulties. Similarly, a senior national ONEP official mentioned that the "laws and regulations are difficult, and so their practice could either be successful or a failure". This is an important contextual factor for successful policy implementation in Thailand.

The last two issues in equal fifth rank were the complexity of enforcement, and the lack of understanding and co-operation between public officials and local people. In relation to the first of these, two tourist police officers and a provincial environmental official contended that policy implementation and enforcement was difficult because

their responsibilities covered so many areas. Two private sector respondents asserted that there are too many venues to inspect in order to enforce the entertainment venues policy. With regard to the second of these issues, four local government actors suggested that there were problems of understanding between public officials and local people. Hence, a local TAO member said that the "lack of understanding between them risks local opposition in implementing policies", and a municipal mayor asserted that "there are problems of co-ordination with local people, especially those unregistered people who come and go". These comments reflect the significance of the grass-root level for the successful application of tourism-related policies, and the genuine difficulties of local implementation in a centralised system. This can be summed up by the comment of a Chalong TAO member, who stated that "it is important to build up co-operation and consolidation with local people in putting policy into practice".

Another six issues were mentioned by either four or three respondents. These concerned problems of staff quality and unavailability of technical assistance, people seeking personal benefits or lacking commitment, a lack of awareness, limited legal powers and government support, a lack of connection between the public and private sectors, and a gap between the central and local governance levels. It is interesting that local government agencies and their elected members and staff were frequently accused of being inadequately educated, having limited awareness, or of lacking commitment to implementing tourism policies. Thus a TAT Region 4 executive stated that "the government has not trained and educated local government before throwing all power and money to them. They just can't do the work, looking after their areas". It is also interesting that central government was often seen to provide insufficient support and techniques for local level policy implementation. This was perhaps well summed up by a Phuket MP, who said that "the local level only waits for government support...the government simply wants the job to be done but does not support it well".

In conclusion, the respondents identified a range of obstacles to tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket, with inhibiting factors being mentioned by 42 of the 44 respondents. The three problems discussed most often were weak enforcement by government authorities, non-compliance and inadequate numbers of staff, each identified by eight respondents. Other prominent issues included a lack of effective relations among involved parties, concerns about local government capacity, inadequate funding, a lack of legal clarity, complexities of implementation, and gaps between public officials and local people. These findings suggest that, like most developing countries, Phuket's tourism policy implementation is complicated by a prevailing fairly

bureaucratic system where there are delays and where the concept of a participatory approach to tourism development has not been fully considered (Tosun, 2005). This system is often characterised by problems of a lack of local involvement, unskilled staff, and unclear legislation, all of which can undermine policy practice (Bangkok Post, 2005). It is significant that facilitating factors were recognised far less often than were the inhibiting factors. These phenomena might be explained by the limits of state capacity in developing countries, economic constraints, and by socio-political and cultural issues (Gow and Morss, 1988; Cammack *et al.*, 1993; Morah, 1996; Mortan, 1996).

7.4 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES

Despite recent attempts at re-engineering public administration in developing countries, there remain problems of its unaccountability (Saxena, 1996). Bureaucratic forms with their lengthy processes are common in developing countries (Hughes, 2003). This section therefore investigates the issues of legal frameworks and bureaucracy in relation to public administration and tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket. The two questions asked of respondents are presented in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9 Questions investigating legal and bureaucratic issues

Q: Has this policy/Have these policies been adequately backed up legally such as by people being taken to court if they did not comply with it/them in Phuket?
Q: In what ways have the organisational and hierarchical structure helped or hindered this policy/these policies being put into practice?

7.4.1 Legal issues

Legal powers are often required for the enforcement of policies (Vedung, 1998). However, tourism policies are rarely surrounded by severe legal punishments. According to Lewis (1996), policies without appropriate legal deterrents or with loopholes, can lead to legally abusive non-compliance and non-implementation. In order to examine the legal back-up for tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket, the interviewees were asked: **"Has this policy/Have these policies been adequately backed up legally such as by people being taken to court if they did not comply with it/them in Phuket?"** In practice, the respondents responded to legal backup in general, and not specifically to legal backup in terms of taking people to court. The detailed findings are presented in Table 7.10.

197

Table 7.10 Legal backup for tourism policy implementation in Phuket

Sectors / Issues Identified	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National(6)	Provincial (8)	Local(7)			
Yes/Sufficient backup	6	7	7	6	13	39
No/Insufficient backup	-	1	-	1	3	5
Total						44

As many as 39 of the 44 respondents affirmed that there were sufficient legal frameworks in place to support policy implementation in Phuket. However, the 39 respondents were largely commenting on two of the three policies, namely the protected areas and entertainment policies. These two policies had explicit legislation, namely the 1966 Entertainment Act, the 1992 ECNEQ Act, and other related ministerial ordinance and regulations on protected areas, and they were supported by recent quite rigorous implementation and enforcement. Thus, a PPO vice executive mentioned that there was adequate legal backup for the entertainment venues policies, and even a lot of environment-related legal frameworks. The researcher felt that their responses mostly related to the number of available legal frameworks, and not necessarily to their efficiency in terms of prosecutions, despite this being the original intention of the question.

But five participants held contrasting opinions, and they were specifically concerned about the indirect nature or absence of legal frameworks for beach safety. This is typified by the comments of a municipal manager: "there is no legal backup for beach safety: there should be some". Some of these respondents went on to explain that there are regulations on boat safety and sea navigation that can be applied to beach safety, but all felt there should also be some legal powers in relation to beach safety implementation.

More detailed information on legal issues was provided by 23 of the 39 respondents, and this is summarised in Table 7.11.

Table 7.11 Legal issues

Sectors / Identified Issues	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National(6)	Provincial (8)	Local(7)			
1. Lack of legal clarity and complicated processes	2	-	-	1	3	6
2. Outdated laws	-	3	-	1	1	5
3. Inadequate legal powers	-	4	-	-	-	4
4. Relaxed law enforcement	-	-	-	-	2	2
5. Inapplicability of laws at local level	-	-	1	-	1	2
6. Excessive duplication of laws	2	-	-	-	-	2
7. Complex legal activities	1	-	-	-	-	1
8. Ineffectual deterrents	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total						23

Table 7.11 shows that a wide range of legal-related issues were raised by the involved stakeholders. The issue most often mentioned was a lack of legal clarity, often leading to complicated processes. This issue was raised by two national public employees, one tourism authority respondent and three private sector respondents. Their comments focused on ambiguities in the law which were believed to complicate the implementation processes for the organisations involved, with overlapping responsibilities and loopholes. This is typified by the comments of a PTA member who considered that a lack of legal clarity had led to loopholes that remained open for violations. A senior ONEP official further suggested that the complex legal frameworks in Thailand required improved coordination among various committees and organisations to co-operate to clarify their interests and responsibilities.

The second most mentioned issue was outdated laws, leading to practical barriers. This was identified by five respondents: three provincial public officials, one tourism authority official and one private sector respondent. Their comments were mostly directed to out-of-date laws being inadequate for new types of establishments and activities, and this applied especially to the entertainment venues policy. A provincial police officer stated that "closing hours under the 1966 act have been around for too many years; the law needs to be updated also with recognition of changes in Thai society". While Table 7.12 shows selected comments on outdated laws, Figure 7.1 shows an example of new entertainment venue type in Phuket (24-hour pub and restaurant).

Table 7.12 Selected comments on outdated laws

Outdated laws
"Night entertainment has been around since 1966, and nothing has been changed so far". A PPO senior officer.
"There are also some kinds of similar businesses, but they are not covered by the 1966 Act, something like beer bars, food gardens and 24 hours restaurants". A PPO executive.
"The interpretation bit has more to do with the law and regulations because the laws are quite old... and at the present time...things have changed, it develops a bit...we happen to meet a new case in which we really can't adapt, using unfashionable laws". A provincial town police officer 1.
"Actually, the law is too old and in 1966 there was no DJ to play records, no 24 hour pubs and restaurants. This must be changed". A provincial town police officer 2.

Figure 7.1 A new type of entertainment venue in Phuket

The third common issue was that of inadequate legal powers, this being noted by four provincial public sector officials. They mostly argued that a lack of legal power was a crucial limitation to policy enforcement, as it encouraged interference, a lack of agreement and poor co-operation among the involved institutions, notably between provincial and local actors. This is typified by the comment of a PPO senior official who mentioned that "It is a very tiring job for the provincial level as absolute legal power belongs to local government. If they don't do it, we don't know what we can do, we can't interfere with them...this is a very tiring role for us to play". It seems that these provincial public actors have suffered from a lack of legal powers and autonomy in dealing with tourism policy implementation. Other issues listed in Table 7.11 were identified by a smaller number of respondents, including laxed law enforcement (2), the inapplicability of laws (2), excessive duplication of laws (2), complex legal activities (1) and ineffectual deterrents (1).

It is interesting that it was only the private sector respondents that brought up the issue of lax legal enforcement. The public sector respondents may not have mentioned this due to their differing interests, and this may help to explain why tourism-related policy implementation has proven to be difficult in Phuket. The comments identified here do suggest that clear legal powers and updated laws would be helpful in putting tourism policies into practice in Phuket.

To conclude, 39 respondents believed that the entertainment venues and protected area policies had sufficient legal backup for implementation, but five respondents specifically argued that the legal frameworks were insufficient for beach safety. The findings suggest that a large proportion of the respondents suggest that there is sufficient legal backup for policy implementation, particularly in terms of the number of acts, laws and regulations. However, few responses were focused on the issue as to whether the legal backups meant that adequate numbers of people were taken to court. More detailed assessment of the responses show that the legal frameworks have experienced some difficulties over such issues as legal clarity, outdated laws, inadequate legal powers, numerous duplications, and legal enforcement, and these may well have influenced the practical effectiveness of tourism-related policy implementation. Although most respondents affirmed the availability of legal backup for these tourism policies, their explanations suggest that this does not ensure their effective legal enforcement and implementation. There may have been numerous legal frameworks and programmes adopted in developing countries (Bell, 2003), but the existence of legal frameworks does not always result in successful enforcement. Specifically for environmental regulations, it is said that there are often insufficient incentives to invest in environment control because of problems of weak implementation (Mamingi, 2001).

7.4.2 Bureaucracy in tourism policy implementation in Phuket

Bureaucracy is commonly embedded in the context of developing countries' public administration and their governmental institutions, either on a large or small scale (Brown, 1989). According to Wilson (1993), bureaucracy is not only determined by the technical task but also the political and social forces operating on it. In developing countries, aside from their typical hierarchical echelons, Clapham (1985) observes that the system as a whole is also held together by oaths of loyalty, or by kinship ties (often symbolic and fictitious), rather than by a hierarchy of administrative grades and functions as introduced from the West. The relationship between bureaucratic complexity and policy implementation in developing countries can be crucial for the policy outcomes. This section therefore examines bureaucratic influences on tourism policy implementation in Phuket. The participants were asked: "**In what ways have the organisational and hierarchical structures helped or hindered this policy/these policies being put into practice**". The wording of the question sought to avoid sensitive words that might offend respondents, so it asked about hierarchical

structures and did not mention the notion of bureaucracies. This allowed the informants to answer in either a positive or negative manner, depending on their personal and professional judgements. Detailed findings are shown in Table 7.13.

Table 7.13 Respondents' views on organisational and hierarchical structures in policy implementation in Phuket.

Sectors / Identified Issues	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National(6)	Provincial(8)	Local(7)			
1. Negative views: Eg long, slow and complicated process through the hierarchy	4	8	6	5	13	36
2. Positive views: Eg well-considered and refined process	1	-	-	1	2	4
3. Mixed views: Eg depends on individual and organisational commitment and culture	1	-	-	1	1	3
4. Other responses	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total						44

Clearly, a very large majority (36 out of the 44 respondents) pinpointed that the organisational and hierarchical structures negatively contributed to the implementation of the three tourism-related policies. They often commented that it led to long, slow and complicated implementation processes. This response was common for all types of respondents. It was even recognised by four of the six national level public sector actors. And a Phuket MP also complained that "the governmental tiers and hierarchy have meant that many projects are still pending". Indeed, all eight provincial level public officials noted negative consequences from the Thai bureaucracy, often pointing to sluggish processes that use up scarce resources, little autonomous power and incongruence in aims among public organisations. All eight provincial public actors suggested that the processes should be shortened by establishing more autonomy and resources at the provincial level. Thus, a senior PPO official claimed that "we are here just to follow their orders. There are many levels and rules to follow."

Similarly, six of the seven local government actors suggested that the complex bureaucratic structure contributed to inadequacies and delays that affected work performance and outcomes. The system was also believed to promote opportunities for abuses of power, which may contribute to an inappropriate organisational culture. A PPAO executive interestingly described the system as a "bad system without discipline". Five of the seven tourism authority officials likewise described the hierarchy as a long, delayed and uncertain system. Notable organisational complexities that annoyed them included ambivalent relationships between the National Police

Department (NPD), the TAT and the tourist police. A tourist police officer explained that tourist police units get resources and plans from either the next level of the NPD or the TAT.

Similarly, the slow and intermittent character of the system, with its many layers, was noted by as many as 13 of the 16 private sector respondents. Some further suggested that processes and layers should be reduced to ensure that people at the top are more likely to share the same understanding as those at the bottom level. This was considered important so that local leniency in policy implementation would end. A hotel front office manager interestingly stated that "bureaucracy is nothing new: I have given up already". This suggests that this hierarchical governance is long-standing in Thailand, as it is in most developing countries. Bottom-up techniques, such as decentralisation and public consultation, are recent and not well-established in these countries (Turner and Hulme, 1997).

In brief, many of the comments focus on the multiple tiers of government, the slow policy processes and long chains of command. This difficulty for Thailand's public structure was often believed to have led to poor performance, insufficient resources, little autonomy and conflicts within policy communities. The comments indicate that tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket has encountered practical difficulties due to the complex organisational and hierarchical structures. Although recent official and administrative reforms have been introduced, the wider socio-political and cultural specifics are resistant to change and need to be understood and handled (Somjee and Somjee, 1995). Some typical comments about organisational and hierarchical issues are presented in Table 7.14.

Table 7.14 Selected comments on organisational and hierarchical issues in policy implementation

Sector	Selected comments
National	"Organisational structures contain big and long chains of command which are slow and complicated". A senior official of the Marine Dept. "There are many higher levels and higher committees over the Office of Environmental Policy and Planning (OEPP), which later have contributed different opinions and interests, not to mention further complications at lower tiers". A senior officer of OEPP BKK. "The tiers of the hierarchical system have delayed many projects... either reducing some tiers or proceeding with high quality". A Phuket MP.
Provincial	"I think the obstacle would be the approval of plans and projects from the central government down to the provincial level. It has been very slow and the approval of the financial support has been very slow too." A senior officer at PPO (Policy and Planning Department). "When we work with other officials from another ministry such as MoA (Ministry of Agriculture) and MoL (Ministry of Labour), they all asked themselves questions like why do they need to follow the officials from different ministries?...Yes...can you see? We, under MoL, why is it bigger or better than the other ministries?" A senior official of PPO.

	"The bad bit for this system is the sluggish processes and also the problems that we have encountered... ...Sometimes when we wanted some advice ... it has been quite difficult, especially if we have had problems of practicability when implementing it locally". A provincial town police inspector. "The disadvantage is there have been too many processes to follow, and it's been very slow". A provincial town police officer.
Local	"The system has been little encouraging for boosting up the authorities' personality and sense of responsibility". An executive from PPAO. "The longer Thai officials stay in this bureaucratic system, the worse they can become. They could end up doing nothing at all, but they still get money and salary". An executive of environment committees of PPAO.
Tourism authorities	"Plans and resources need to be considered with the higher-level Unit". A tourist police officer 1. "The resources are requested from the central government for their fiscal year under the consideration of the Prime Minister and committees". A TAT senior official. "Sometimes, it is a command from the higher level Unit, and we need to do it..." A tourist police officer 2.
Private sectors	"A bad system with lousy people." "Changing the system, and rule out seniority". "They have always commanded things that locals here felt embarrassed to do ...because the central government information and the local information are not alike". A PTA member. "Bureaucracy needs well advanced and refined plans which do not correspond with day-to-day practice, where long processes and layers of bureaucracy should be eliminated". A tour company manager. "The government needs to understand the local area, rather than commanding with a top-down technique..." A PETA executive.

Four respondents identified positive features of the organisational and hierarchical structures involved in implementing tourism-related policies in Phuket. They commented that the system of grants was well refined, there were systematic plans, internal auditing was encouraged, and national resources could be secured. It is interesting that only two public sector respondents provided these positive responses. Three respondents considered that whether the bureaucracy and organisational structure was positive or negative depended on the individuals concerned and organisational culture. And one local public sector actor considered that the recent Official Reform of October 2003 would reduce the complexity of the Thai bureaucratic system.

In conclusion, it is clear that 36 out of the 44 participants commented that the organisational and hierarchical structures of Thailand's public administration could hinder the implementation of the three tourism-related policies. Much less support was shown for the positive aspects of the organisational structures. The findings reflect how bureaucracy has long been embedded in Thailand's public administration, which has contributed to other features of the national organisational culture, such as the seniority relationships and unequal treatment. This interview analysis and the documentary sources suggest that bureaucracy and hierarchy are still major challenges in Thailand, even though new governance and administrative reforms have been introduced. It is therefore not surprising if implementers see policy simply as written documents that come down from the top of the hierarchy. The Thai administration is a non-horizontally integrated but a vertical spatial expansion of the ministries from the centre to the

periphery (Nelson, 2001). The findings suggest that this has been embedded through the political culture and traditions. This strong centralisation may have created loyalty, but it has incidentally brought about a highly competitive politics in Thailand in which money, power and patron-client relationships prevail, and hence vote-buying and corruption are widespread (Murray, 1997; Sparkes, 1998). Although decentralised approaches have long been advocated as a desirable process for improving public administration in developing countries, few nations have actually implemented decentralisation reforms (Bossert, 1998). The complexity of procedures, or red tape, is still a major constraint for policy implementation in most developing countries (Younis, 1990). These are long-term political norms that will take considerable effort and time to overwrite.

7.5. BOTTOM-UP APPROACHES

Two questions were devised in the interviews in order to examine possible bottom-up approaches employed in the tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket. These relate to the use of a report-back system and a process of policy revision, and these are examined in turn.

7.5.1 The report-back system

Communication and its effectiveness among policy actors can be an influential factor for successful policy implementation, especially in developing countries (Hyden, 1983 in Brown, 1989; Synder et al., 1996). Therefore, the participants were first asked: **"Is there a system for reporting back to higher levels of local or central government on what works or doesn't work in relation to the practical experience of applying this policy/these policies at the local level in Phuket?"** When there were positive responses, the respondents were asked to elaborate about what it was and if it was formal. As mentioned in Chapter Four, these are new questions that were devised after the sixth interview. Two of the six respondents agreed to be re-interviewed, while previous responses from another two participants already covered the issues. It was however not possible for the remaining two participants to be re-interviewed for these questions. These inquiries were thus addressed by 42 of the interviewees. The detailed findings are presented by category in Table 7.15.

Table 7.15 Report back system from local to central government

Sectors / Identified Issues	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Yes and formal	3	8	5	7	8	31
2. No	2	-	-	-	1	3
3. Don't know/ not sure	-	-	-	-	6	6
4. Other responses	-	-	2	-	-	2
5. Non-participant	1	-	-	-	1	2
Total						44

31 out of 42 stated that there was a report back system from local to central government. When later probed to identify if it was formal, all 31 said that it was formally required through the system. Only one of the 31 claimed that the report back could be either formal or informal. The researcher felt that the participants responded to this question very broadly, which contributed to some ambiguity in their responses. To be more specific, when 31 respondents were asked to elaborate on this issue, it was clear that there are significant differences in the local report back systems.

The differences in the report back system can be categorised into three types. First, 14 of the 31 stated that there was a report back system to the central level, however this might have related to all issues and not specifically to policy implementation. Further, a senior PPO officer explained that there were local reports but these were not specific to the three selected policies. Two provincial public sector actors were clear that there was no report back system specifically for the three tourism-related policies. Conversely, two other provincial public actors and a private sector respondent in this category argued that there were local reports for the entertainment venues and protected areas policy areas.

Second, 13 of 31 highlighted how local reports were required by the Thai bureaucratic system and that these mostly entailed reports on local work performance to central government. This is illustrated by the comments of a TAO member, who stated that "yes, there were local reports which usually were associated with our work, performance and things that affected its outcome". Finally, the remaining four of the 31 respondents stated that their local reports were sent to the provincial level, and they hoped that then their points would be transferred to the central level. This was the response of a provincial police officer, a TAO member and two privately hired beach guards. These comments provide useful insights into the practical relationships between the local, provincial and central actors in relation to policy. It might possibly suggest that a specific report-back system did not operate for the selected tourism-related policies, although these were reported more generally in wider reviews.

By contrast, three interviewees did not consider that there was a local report back system to central government. Interestingly, it was identified by two national public sector actors and one private sector respondent. A senior ONEP official strongly argued that "local governments have not reported anything, we at the national level produced the report by ourselves and evaluated it by ourselves". This may reflect their organisation's perception of those local organisations. It is also significant that six respondents from the private sector argued that they did not know about the report back system. All explained that this had been unclear to the private sector since they had never been informed, and official activities tended to be kept confidential from the private sector. This may reflect the difficulties around local involvement in Phuket's public administration. Of the two respondents in the 'other' category, one pointed out that local reports appeared to have been made by academic institutions, whereas another argued that they should be made by local people.

In brief, although the majority of respondents affirmed that there were local reports to central government, there also appear to have been significant differences in the way local reports were made. These varied from issue reports, work performance reports, and local to provincial reports. Almost half of the interviewees from the private sector (6) also revealed little recognition of the report system, and they claimed not to have not been adequately involved in the process. Although the findings suggest that a large proportion of the actors considered that there were several types of local reports to the central government, the absence of a specific report back system for the three tourism policies suggests that this could be a source of weakness specifically for tourism policy implementation in Phuket. This may apply as 'all issue' reports and local 'work performance' reports may not reflect local issues and voices about policy implementation. Further, the existence of numerous local reports does not necessarily ensure responsiveness to bottom-up and to policy implementation issues in the Thai administrative structure. The recent bottom-up approaches that have been introduced in many developing countries will require radical changes and considerable time for them to be fully adopted, especially in the context of low levels of economic development, and many uneducated and unskilled staff (Morrish, 1983; Lea, 1988; Turner and Hulme, 1997; Bossert, 1998; Goldstone, 2001; Jefferies, 2001). Although there has been growing pressure for more decentralised and bottom-up approaches, traditional hierarchies remain strong (Garnett *et al.*, 1997; Bangkok Post, 2005).

7.5.2 Policy revision and change in tourism policy implementation

For the bottom-up approach, there may be a need to relocate power, alter the institutional capacities, improve communication, and enhance stakeholder involvement in relation to administration and governance (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983; Younis, 1990; Brinkerhoff, 1996a; Crosby, 1996). Recognition of local environments and circumstances are equally important in implementing tourism policies in the contexts of the developing world (Gow and Morss, 1988; Hafez Awamleh, 1990). Since policy may be seen as a tentative solution (Lewis and Wallace, 1984), policy revision and change may be regarded as another crucial policy process (McCool, 1995). According to Rist (1995) and Nagel (1998), policy revision and change happens when a policy is evaluated, and when policy redesign or revision is needed. This may lead to its termination or to changes of some unworkable programmes (Lester and Stewart, 2000).

This section examines the views of interviewees about policy revision and change as a part of the policy process in order to ensure that policies produce workable results at the local level. The respondents were asked: "**Has central or local government changed or adapted this policy/ policies due to what it has learnt about what works and doesn't work in practice at the local level in Phuket? (If so, please give examples. If not, why not?)**". As mentioned in Chapter 4, this question was devised after the sixth interview. Thus, 38 respondents were probed about this in the interview, whereas two previous respondents provided their answers in their second interviews. However, these second interview requests were unsuccessful with the four remaining previous respondents. Therefore, a total of 40 respondents responded to this inquiry. The respondents were further probed to provide examples, but only when they affirmed the existence of policy revision. The respondents' views are presented by category in Table 7.16.

Table 7.16 Policy revision and change in policy implementation in Phuket

Sectors / Issues Identified	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Yes for the selected tourism policies under investigation	1	1	-	-	-	2
2. Yes for other policies and development plans in Phuket	1	2	-	1	-	4
3. No/ not yet experienced/never heard of	3	5	7	4	10	29
4. Don't know/ not sure	-	-	-	-	5	5
5. Non-participant	1	-	-	2	1	4
Total						44

Only two respondents considered that there was a policy revision process in relation to implementing the three tourism-related policies in Phuket. These two were talking specifically about the protected area policy, with both participants working for MoNRE, one at the national and the other at the provincial levels. They argued that there had been a number of policy revisions influenced by local reports and comments which had led to changes in policy details, such as in relation to construction in upland and mountainous areas. Four other respondents said there were policy revision processes, but the examples were not in relation to the three policies being studied here. They mostly related to tourism promotion plans. For example, a national TAT representative stated that the TAT adapted their policies and plans every four years, while a Phuket MP mentioned that the revision process was done according to local interests and views (although she also asserted that this was inconsistent as it depended on the political party leadership).

It is interesting that so few respondents (2) recognised a policy revision process specifically for the selected tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket. This may suggest that the country and this region see little significance in policy revision and change processes. And 29 respondents were of the opinion that there was no such policy revision process, and most related this specifically to the three selected policies. This response was spread across respondents in the various sectors and levels. Their responses mostly referred to the centralised system and some indicated that local actors and their views are not especially significant in the policy-making process (Brinkerhoff, 1996a). Three national public sector officials explained that they had not experienced policies being revised based on local reports or local actors. A Marine Department executive asserted that some government representatives had come down and inspected the issues, but the same policy remained intact. A senior PPO official sarcastically argued that "With the Thaksin government, once the policies are proclaimed, they always want those policies to be effective and fully done. I have never seen this government revise any plans". This centralised administration is mentioned by all seven local public sector actors, whose responses often commented on the limited and inadequate local involvement. This is typified by the comment of a PPAO executive who stated that "I don't think we have had a policy revision or adaptation system for a particular area; if there had been, it would normally have resulted in changing it for the entire nation". A TAO member also argued that "it is still the same as before; nothing has changed". Four tourism authority officials also did not consider that there was policy revision influenced by the local report back system. A tourist police officer

mentioned that "this one I have not seen yet". Ten private sector respondents likewise provided similar responses that they had never heard of policy revision influenced by local reports. A nightclub manager argued that "there is no sign of policy revision, even though there has been a lot of local pressure and we are still waiting for it". A more assertive comment was made by a Phuket Eco-tourism Association executive who stated that "the government has not quite revised or adjusted their policies, which they should have done in order for their policies to be workable and implementable locally". This may be indicative of the ways in which public administration and policy decision-making in Thailand are operationalised. According to Hewison (1997a) and McCargo (2001), Thai governance has long been dominated by centralised public administration. It can be difficult to adopt decentralised approaches and to find local resistance against centralisation (Clapham, 1985; Sparkes, 1998).

Finally, five private sector respondents commented that they had not heard of policy revision. This is typified by the comment from a hotel front office manager: "this I do not know...but I hope the issue is brought up in order to understand local needs". This may further indicate that there is little local involvement in Thai public administration. Since the country is long known to have been dominated by an authoritarian style of management, in the past through absolute monarchies, military juntas or Thai semi-democracy (Samudavanija, 1989; King, 1999), then the principles of broader democracy – such as of local involvement and participation – are likely to encounter difficulties in becoming part of Thai-style democracy and administration (Moncrieff, 1993).

In conclusion, a large proportion of the participants (29) considered there was no system of policy revision influenced by a local report back system. Their further explanations indicate there was no firmly established policy revision process at all. However, two respondents did recognise a policy revision experience, but specifically in relation to the protected area policy, and four participants claimed to have experienced some revisions of other tourism related policies, plans and projects. Arguably, the fact that the five private sector respondents claimed to have no idea about policy revision might reflect their general lack of awareness of the public sector's operation. These findings may be indicative of there being little backward-mapping activity in the Thai policy process. There has been a continuing story of inadequate local involvement in public administration in Phuket, and this also applies to the tourism-related policies. The assessment further demonstrates the complexity of the policy implementation process in Phuket. Coupled with the documentary sources on

Phuket, it seems that the centralised Thai public policy process might make it difficult to incorporate bottom-up approaches, and that these approaches could promote improved implementation.

7.5.3 Policy evaluation and policy implementation in Phuket

According to Parsons (1995:55), policy evaluation is related to the examination of how policies have performed against policy goals and what impact or changes a policy may have had on a given problem. It is concerned with more effective policy in the real world. In this study, there was no specific question on policy evaluation. However, issues related to policy evaluation were brought up by various respondents, usually in reaction to specific enquiries on the local report back system and policy revision.

This section, therefore, examines respondents' views about the issue of policy evaluation of tourism policy implementation in Phuket. 13 of the 44 respondents additionally expressed their views about the policy evaluation process in Phuket and in Thailand in general. These were one national public sector actor, three provincial public officials, three local government actors, three tourism authority officials and three private sector respondents. While nine of these respondents considered that policy evaluation was necessary, four others argued that the policy evaluation process was adequately addressed. This may reflect the different stakeholders' interests and needs.

The comments are mostly based upon the need for a policy evaluation process for successful policy implementation. Specifically, most of the nine respondents considered that regular policy evaluation and follow-up activities were needed but were inadequate. A municipal executive suggested that attempts from the national level to apply such processes had so far been occasional and ineffective. In his opinion, the strong Thai organisational structures can be an obstacle to its effectiveness. Two PPAO executives similarly considered that the Thai system did not support quality work, in which regular audits, evaluation and follow-up are needed from within the system. A provincial public sector official, two tourism authority officials and three private sector respondents argued similarly that policy evaluation was essential for successful policy implementation. A discotheque manager interestingly argued that "the process has been weak and people at the local level have been isolated from the central government". This limitation perhaps reflects Thailand's social-cultural characteristics and its organisational culture that has affected the country's public administration and policy processes. There is a strongly embedded tradition of social-smoothing, indebtedness and

hierarchical awareness which has led to patron and client relationships in Thai society and in its political arenas (Komin, 1990; Sparkes, 1998; Arghiros, 2001).

By contrast, four respondents had different perceptions of Thailand's policy evaluation. A senior national-level ONEP official and also a provincial-level environment official both commented that policy evaluation was both vital and indeed was adopted, albeit only in relation to the protected area policy. When probed more, the senior OEPP officer stated that it was the national officials who carried out the policy evaluation, and that it was never done by local government. She later affirmed that the frequency of this activity, however, depended on the level of the accompanying financial resource. And a tourist authority official and a senior PPO official similarly argued that policy evaluation had been done through national meetings with local representatives, usually once a month. This is typified by the comment of a senior PPO official who stated "policy evaluation has been done by ministerial inspectors, who come once or twice a month to talk to provincial and local representatives".

In brief, nine respondents argued that policy evaluation was important but was largely deficient in Thai public administration. Only four respondents described the operation of policy evaluation processes. In general the findings support the view that there is a lack of close connections between central government and the local actors responsible for implementing tourism-related policies in Phuket. Lack of local understanding usually occurs when the policymakers and the implementers share different types of awareness in hierarchical structures. This may also contribute to abusive power relations and uneven enforcement at the local level. Without an evaluation process, tourism policy is challenged by various difficulties in achieving its goals since the policy is affected by adverse variables and dynamic environments (Dye, 1984; Jenkins, 1993; Hall, 1994a). Although it is notable that financial support has a great impact on policy outcome, its implementation is also surrounded by various other factors especially in the contexts of developing countries where socio-cultural and political characteristics are important.

7.6 POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY IN TOURISM POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN PHUKET

Political instability in the developing world can cause changes in many aspects of the political process. According to Clark (1974), instability brings about uncertainty that can undermine national development. Developing countries with their embryonic political development may be challenged by turbulence that undermines capacities in

the policy processes. Thailand is an example of a developing country where the political process and its development since the Thai 1932 democratic revolution, has been relatively unstable, with periods of political turbulence and change (McCargo, 1997). This section examines the views of interviewees about political uncertainties and their influence on tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket. The respondents were asked: "**To what extent have policy changes or political uncertainties affected how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?**". The question allowed the respondents to give opinions either on policy change or on political uncertainties. In their responses, the interviewees tended to respond in general terms to the question, combining comments about policy changes and political uncertainties, perhaps influenced by the close links between these two factors. The researcher also felt that they considered this question historically as well as in relation to the current situation. The interviewees responded in three broad ways, as presented in Table 7.17.

Table 7.17 Political uncertainties and tourism policy implementation in Phuket

Sectors / Identified Issues	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Policy changes and political uncertainties have affected policy implementation in Phuket.	3	4	6	3	10	26
2. Policy changes and political uncertainties have affected policy implementation in Phuket in part or a little.	1	1	1	1	-	4
3. Policy changes and political uncertainties had not affected policy implementation in Phuket.	-	2	-	2	2	6
4. Not sure/Don't know	1	-	-	-	3	4
5. No response	1	1	-	-	1	3
6. Tape malfunctioned	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total						44

As many as 26 of the 44 interviewees felt that policy changes or political uncertainties had affected policy implementation in Phuket. To be more specific, 21 of these 26 respondents considered that these had contributed to changes in leaders, which had led to interruptions in public administration and policy processes, a discontinuation of public sector work and enforcement, changes in policy resources as well as political attention, or to altered levels of local support and policy goals. A Phuket PM stated that "this surely had an effect. Some good policies originating from the local level were overridden or completely neglected". A provincial level actor also mentioned that "it has surely been affected since implementation depends on the heads or leaders; it is usually done as they want". Practical implications were mostly identified by provincial and local public officials as well as participants from the private sector. This is typified

213

by a TAO member who stated that "it's rolling together... involving attention and support from this or that particular government or political leader". Similar points were made by most private sector respondents in this category, who were concerned about its consequences for intermittent support for policy implementation. A tourism authority official also went on to suggest that Thailand must have a stable government and stable political conditions.

Five of these 26 respondents were especially concerned about the impact of political uncertainties and changes on the roles of specific actors within the policy implementation network. They directly referred to the officials as implementers who are highly depended on the political system. They focused in particular on how politicians can affect the views and actions of permanent officials. This concern is typified by a tourism authority official who stated that "uncertainty has been the system in Thailand that has affected permanent officials' positions in terms of transfer...changes in staff who understand the area. Thailand needs to develop stability and improve the quality of their manpower for successful policy implementation". A local actor also affirmed that "we are here to follow them, we do not want to get hurt...If the new government changes, things will change in the future." This strong influence of political uncertainty can be summed up by the comment of a private sector respondent who mentioned that "the officials worked according to the current political conditions".

Table 7.17 also shows that four other respondents suggested that policy changes and political uncertainties affected the tourism-related policies in Phuket either in part or a little. All four are public officials and their comments related to their duties that would likely continue regardless of the changes and uncertainties. This is illustrated by the comment of a provincial public sector actor who stated "I'd say partly, not much, since we as officials need to look after the issue anyway". However, they also conceded that changes and uncertainties led to sluggish and intermittent enforcement and implementation.

By contrast, six respondents did not consider policy changes and political uncertainties as a threat to policy implementation. Here, two provincial public sector officials and two tourist police officers claimed that as public officials they must maintain their duties and responsibilities irrespective of this changing context. A senior PPO official said that "there is no consequence. We are public officials, no matter what happens we need to keep on working...we are a magic breed or type of man; whatever people from above want, we are there to do it, whether it is revolution, coup d'etat, we just do it". This again reflects political and social ideologies exercised in the Thai public

arena that have already been discussed. Interestingly, two private sector respondents argued that the connection between policy changes or political certainties and policy implementation was irrelevant. They claimed that it had more to do with what is done on a daily basis. However, one conceded that changes could contribute to some uncertainty in implementation.

To sum up, most respondents described policy changes and political uncertainties as factors that affect tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket. Only six respondents held differing views. These views help to identify the importance of political uncertainties and policy changes on policy practice. They also highlight the interdependency between the implementation process, the implementers and the implementation outcome in relation to Thailand's political uncertainties. This may help explain further difficulties for tourism policy implementation in Thailand as the country has a history of never having been governed by only one political party, it has always had coalition governments of several political parties, not to mention other political ills and changes. Political instability tends to reduce trust and confidence among local implementers in policy implementation networks, and it may contribute to weak cooperation and enforcement. It is said that most of the developing world has features of the politics of corruption (Rock and Bonnett, 2004) and bureaucrats that run a large share of the economy (Ramamurti, 1999). Such political disorders seem to continue to influence tourism policy implementation.

7.7 CONCLUSION

Structural and political dimensions affect how a country conducts its administration, policies and institutions. This chapter examined how these dimensions have influenced policy implementation, performance and outcomes. The majority of the interviewees indicated that the overall structural dimensions of Thai administration involve centralised forms and top-down approaches within a vertical spatial administration, where decision-making depends on the national level, and where policies are handed down to be implemented at the local level. Tourism policy implementation in Phuket occurs in a local echelon of a centralised Thai government system, despite the various recent political reforms designed to reduce governmental complexity and the lengthy of bureaucracy. Tasks often seem to have been delivered by orders and commands through the hierarchical arrangement, with little resistance or comment from the local population, government or tourism organisations.

In terms of its public administration, tourism policy in Phuket seems to be shaped by a strong bureaucracy, with little opportunity for horizontal integration, and this appears mostly to have been accepted and institutionalised by the public officials. This has contributed to the complications of putting policies into practice. Bureaucratic complications can include sluggishness in the policy processes, policy resource deficits and a lack of local involvement leading to limited understanding and low commitment among the implementers. The legal frameworks have consequently encountered various difficulties in enforcement, despite recognition of their existence. Some policies are accompanied by duplicate legislation.

As in most developing countries, there have been attempts to introduce more bottom-up approaches in terms of policy revision, but these have been little recognised by the interviewees in spite of their support for a local report back system. Since Thailand is highly dependent on government at the centre, the policy processes and activities closely hinge on the political and economic conditions at that level. Policy changes and political uncertainties were therefore perceived by many interviewees as threats affecting tourism policy implementation in Phuket. This can lead to changes in political structures and support which can confuse the local-level bureaucrats who mostly simply follow the higher levels of bureaucracy.

The examination of structural and political dimensions in policy implementation generally suggests that Thai political norms have adhered to the centralised and hierarchical structures, with long chains of bureaucracy from the national to the local level. This is like the experience of other developing countries and does not enhance their ability to achieve successful policy implementation outcomes. It instead contributes to more fragmentation of national integration in dealing with common public issues. Not only are more participatory processes needed, but also solutions to overcome the specific social ideologies behind Thai politics. Recent official reforms and improved governance may provide possible solutions, but change is difficult due to the various factors, conditions and time working against it. The next chapter considers the influence of institutional issues on policy implementation.

Chapter 8 Institutional Issues in Implementing Tourism Related Policies in Phuket

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In any study involving organisations and people it is important to consider the institutional issues as these can often be the major causes of system failure (Ewusi-Mensah and Przasnyski, 1991; Doherty and King, 1998). This chapter investigates whether institutional issues have a significant impact on tourism policy implementation in Phuket. This will be based on an examination of respondents' views on the Thai institutional system, and of the relationships, actors, and cultural influences involved in tourism policy implementation.

Twelve interview questions explored the influence of institutional issues on policy implementation. The findings are organised into seven sections that focus respectively on institutional relationships, consultation processes, inappropriate inter-organisational relations, overlapping responsibilities between government organisations, degree of commitment to enforcement, and government sensitivity to wider social circumstances affecting policy implementation. Each of these themes is examined in turn in relation to implementation of the tourism-related policies in Phuket.

8.2 INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

8.2.1 Harmonious relationships in policy implementation

Complexities are common in the multi-faceted tourism industry as well as in the nature of policy work (Hall, 2004). The participants were asked two questions to identify any harmonious relationships in policy implementation among government organisations, and then between them and non-public sector organisations.

8.2.1.1 Harmonious relationships among government organisations

A tourism policy requires the various government agencies to co-operate and work towards the same goal in order to achieve the policy intentions (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Good relationships among them is a vital factor for the implementation process. Thus, the participants were asked: "**Has your organisation/ a government organisation worked particularly harmoniously with other government organisations when putting this policy/these policies into practice in Phuket? Please explain**". The interview question used the phrase 'your organisation' or 'a

government organisation' depending on the nature of the interviewees' occupation. The overall findings are summarised in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Overall responses about harmony between government organisations in implementing tourism-related policies in Phuket

Sectors / Overall Responses	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Respondents noting harmonious relations	5	4	1	6	4	20
2. Respondents noting inharmonious relations	-	2	2	-	7	11
3. Respondents noting mixed relations	1	2	2	1	2	8
4. Don't know	-	-	-	-	2	2
5. No response/avoid to answer	-	-	-	-	1	1
6. Other responses	-	-	1	-	-	1
7. Tape malfunction	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total						44

Clearly, the respondents offered different opinions towards the evidence of harmony among government organisations, which is likely to reflect their differing personal experiences in implementing the three tourism-related policies. 20 of the 43 respondents affirmed that there were harmonious relations between the government organisations in implementing these policies. By contrast, 11 respondents identified inharmonious relations, and eight had mixed views. Very few respondents responded that they 'didn't know' or with other responses. When the interview progressed, 39 interviewees provided further explanation of their responses. Further details of their positive and negative views are presented in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Extent of harmonious relationships among governmental agencies in implementing tourism policies in Phuket

Sectors / Identified Issues	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Generally harmonious relations and good cooperation among the public sector	4	3	1	6	4	18
2. Harmonious relationships only with some organisations (conditional)	1	2	2	1	2	8
3. Harmonious relationships since the introduction of provincial CEO governance	1	1	-	-	-	2
4. Inharmonious relationships among government organisations	-	2	2	-	5	9
5. Concerns about institutional empires	-	-	-	-	2	2
6. Not well co-ordinated among government organisations	-	-	-	-	1	1
7. Slow process	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total						41

The most common response (18 of the 39 respondents) was that the relationships among government agencies was generally harmonious in implementing the tourism-related policies in Phuket. Table 8.2 also indicates that a large number of the tourism authorities (6) considered that government institutions and their actors had been co-operative and that the relations were harmonious. This was also identified by four public sector actors from the national level and three public sector actors from the provincial level. This is typified by the comment of a national TAT senior official: "it has been generally co-operative and harmonious among the involved parties in Phuket". This may have been due to the significance attached to the tourism industry in Phuket, which is reflected in the comment of a TAT regional executive: "whenever we asked for co-operation, we have always got it". It is interesting that four private sector respondents also considered that there are harmonious relationships among public institutions. However, there was only one local public sector actor who strongly affirmed these harmonious relationships.

Eight respondents, a few from each sector, perceived that there were harmonious relationships but that they were rather conditional. They suggested that harmonious relationships are only evident at some levels, with some organisations and over certain policies, namely the beach safety policy. Thus a marine police inspector stated that "it's been harmonious only with some levels but not with some local government organisations due to their lack of capacity". Three participants (a provincial public authority, a local government actor and a private sector respondent) felt that the extent

of harmony 'depended' on factors such as the specific leader of the government agency and their connections and approaches. And two participants from the national and provincial levels perceived that the relationships had been quite harmonious since the adoption of provincial CEO management in 2002.

A significant number of participants (13 in total) did not consider that the relationships were harmonious, with four types of reasons being provided for this. Nine stated that the relations were inharmonious, mostly attributing this to conflicts among government organisations and to benefit-led collaboration and networks. For example, a nightclub manager commented that "it has not been harmonious and not well co-ordinated among them". Two provincial public sector officials were specifically concerned that the network is ineffective because there are different goals between central and local government. It is interesting that as many as five private sector respondents considered that government organisations did not work harmoniously in implementing the policies in Phuket. Table 8.2 shows that there were a small number of other concerns. Specifically, two tour company managers suggested that the institutional culture in some government organisations encouraged vested interests and personal benefits.

One respondent was concerned about a lack of coordination between the government organisations, and another felt the policy process was too slow.

To summarise, there were varied opinions on the relationships among government organisations in implementing tourism policy in Phuket. As many as 18 respondents considered relationships to be harmonious, and another eight thought that there were harmonious relationships but only with certain organisations. But a significant proportion of respondents (13) did not feel that the inter-governmental relations were harmonious. This assessment of government organisations highlights the significance of harmonious relations in implementation network. It also suggests that the high interdependency among government organisations risks fragmentation if relationships are not harmonious.

8.2.1.2 Harmonious relationships between government organisations and organisations outside the public sector

Government agencies are not the sole actors in policy implementation networks. Positive inter-organisational relationships must be maintained to promote effective coordination and co-operation within these policy implementation networks (Brinkerhoff, 1996b). To investigate the relationships between government

organisations and those outside the public sector, the respondents were asked: "**Has your organisation worked particularly harmoniously with a government organisation/ a non-public organisation such as businesses, NGOs and voluntary organisations when this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket? Please explain**". Again, the interview question used the phase 'your organisation' or 'a government organisation' depending on the nature of the interviewees' occupation. Their overall responses are summarised in Table 8.3 in descending order of frequency.

Table 8.3 Overall responses about harmony between government organisations and non-public organisations in implementing policies in Phuket

Sectors Overall Responses	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Respondents with harmonious relations	3	3	2	6	6	20
2. Respondents with mixed feelings	1	2	3	-	4	10
3. Respondents with inharmonious relations	1	3	1	1	2	8
4. Other responses	1	-	-	-	2	3
5. Don't know	-	-	-	-	1	1
6. No response/avoid to answer	-	-	-	-	1	1
8. Tape malfunction	-	-	1	-	-	1
Total						43

As many as 20 out of the 44 respondents affirmed that the relationships between government and non-public organisations were generally harmonious. 10 respondents considered that the relationships were neither harmonious nor inharmonious. By contrast, eight respondents considered that the relationships were inharmonious. A few other responses were given as indicated in Table 8.3. Three respondents were classified in the 'other responses' category. But among these 'unclear' responses, a national public sector actor mentioned difficulties arising from the possibility of personal benefits, the making of business profits, and the slow decision-making processes.

The 38 respondents who provided clear responses to this question on relations between government and non-government organisations were also encouraged to expand on their answers, resulting in a wide range of further explanations. The researcher felt that some responses were mostly influenced by the respondents' particular experience with specific institutions or persons. Table 8.4 presents these further detailed findings, listed in the order of the frequency of their occurrence within the positive, undecided and negative categories. Some respondents provided opinions which fit into more than one category.

221

Table 8.4 Extent of harmonious relationships between governmental organisations and non-public organisations in implementing tourism policies in Phuket

Sectors / Identified Issues	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Harmonious cooperation and coordination between public and non-public sectors	4	3	3	-	7	17
2. Harmonious specifically with tourism authorities	-	-	-	6	-	6
3. Specifically harmonious at local level	-	1	-	-	1	2
4. Conditional and harmony only on some issues or with some organisations	1	2	3	-	4	10
5. Too economic concerns	-	3	1	1	-	4
6. People are difficult	-	1	-	-	-	1
7. Public sector is slow	-	-	-	-	1	1
8. Generally difficult relations	1	-	-	-	-	1
9. Little local involvement	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						44

20 respondents who perceived the relations to be harmonious between government and non-public organisations identified three broad issues. The most often mentioned issue in this context was good and harmonious co-operation and co-ordination between them, identified by 17 respondents and dominated by seven private sector respondents. A nightclub manager, two tour company managers and two private sector beach guards explained that as part of the private sector they always needed to cooperate with the public sector. Two local government actors similarly mentioned that the "public sector has generally benefited from supportive cooperation from business entrepreneurs in Phuket". Three of these 17 respondents specifically identified that the private sector's co-operation was influenced by its potential benefits from the policy issues. This is typified by the comment of a front office hotel manager who mentioned that "it had been harmonious, but mostly the private companies did this for their own sake". Nevertheless, it suggests that good relations are possible among them.

Interestingly, Table 8.4 indicates that six out of seven tourism authorities also were optimistic about harmonious relations, specifically between them and the private sector. Similarly, they considered that TAT and the tourist police generally had a harmonious relationship with the non-public sector, particularly those in the private sector. This view was articulated by two tourist police officers, who mentioned that "it has been harmonious between tourist police and the private sector". A local TAT Region 4 official mentioned that "TAT has received harmonious treatment from the private sector, better than those from the public sector". Additionally, two other respondents mentioned that relations between the public and private sectors were

harmonious, especially at the local level, and notably within Phuket. The findings indicate that harmonious relationships are maintained for the benefit of the tourism industry in Phuket, and especially between the tourism authorities and the tourism private sector.

It is significant that ten participants pinpointed the harmonious relationships between government and non-government sectors as 'conditional'. This view was expressed by four private sector respondents, three local governments actors, one national public sector employee and two provincial public sector officials. They suggested that whether the relationships were positive depended on the area, the type of policy, and the organisations involved. In particular, four respondents highlighted how harmonious relations mostly depended on the nature of the policies. Some of their comments are listed in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5 Some comments on 'conditional' relationships between government organisations and non-public organisations

'Conditional' relations
"Co-operation was good on the beach safety policy".   A provincial police officer.
"It has been harmonious in the Karon area because we have good co-operation among actors in the Karon network. I'm not sure about others". A front office hotel manager.
"Co-operation between public and non-public sectors is good in the high tourist season , but not in the low season". A privately hired beach guard.
"If activities and projects were to support their businesses, it would have been highly harmonious...but it has been unfriendly over enforcement". A PPAO executive.
"Private entrepreneurs would be cooperative if they are to benefit from the policies or projects". An executive from Phuket Eco-tourism Association.

Table 8.3 shows that eight respondents considered that relationships were inharmonious between the government agencies and those outside the public sector. These few respondents from each sector identified five different causes for the inharmonious relationships. The issue most often mentioned was related to the economic concerns of local people in Phuket, this being identified by five respondents. Three PPO senior officials and a municipal mayor similarly asserted that inharmonious relations were influenced by concerns over local economic benefits or profits. Two respondents even went on to explain that they received little co-operation from the private sector because they claimed to be busy or to have no time to co-operate. This is typified by the angry observation of one municipal executive who stated that "it has been inharmonious since they were afraid of losing benefits". Other issues raised by a

smaller number of respondents in this context include the cultural characteristics of the people involved, the slow public sector processes and the limited local involvement.

To summarise, 20 respondents considered that relationships between governmental agencies and those outside the public sector were harmonious. Further details show that 17 out of those 20 respondents identified that relations were good between the public and private sectors. Interestingly six tourism authorities in this category pinpointed harmony specifically between the tourism authorities and private sector entrepreneurs. A much smaller number (8) felt that these relations were inharmonious, with this often attributed to the profit-led orientation of private sector entrepreneurs and people in Phuket. 10 respondents also said that the relations between the public and other sectors were 'conditional', depending on the specific nature of the policies, issues and activities. As with the previous interview question, these responses suggest that a large proportion of the respondents, and the tourism authorities in particular, felt there were harmonious relations between government and those outside the public sector. However, some differences in their responses also reflect the complexity of the relationships between governmental organisations and those outside the public sector. These responses show that the public sector may need to seek ways to maximise harmonious and cooperative relationships with the private sector in implementing tourism policies in Phuket.

8.2.2 Conflicts in policy implementation

If policy processes are run harmoniously then the policies are more likely to be put into practice (Gunn, 2002; Stacey, 2003). There are various factors underpinning good institutional relations, notably clear autonomy and sufficient resources. Without them, conflicts in institutional relations may occur, and they are liable to create practical difficulties. And in many cases the institutional culture has a strong influence on inter- and intra-organisational relations. This can be even more complex in the contexts of the developing world. This section examines the following issues.

- Whether there are any conflicts among government organisations in tourism policy implementation.
- Whether there are any conflicts between government organisations and non-public organisations in tourism policy implementation.

8.2.2.1 Conflicts among government organisations in implementing tourism related policies in Phuket

Following the inquiry about institutional harmony, the interview asked the respondents: **"Has your organisation/ a government organisation experienced some conflicts with another government organisation when putting this policy/these policies into practice? Please explain"**. Again, the interview question used the phrase 'your organisation' or a 'government organisation' depending on the nature of the interviewees' occupation. The overall findings are summarised in Table 8.6.

Table 8.6 Overall responses on conflicts among government organisations.

Overall Responses \ Sectors	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Respondents noting conflicts between government organisations	4	7	5	4	14	34
2. Respondents noting positive relations between government organisations	1	1	1	3	2	8
3. Respondents with mixed feelings	1	-	1	-	-	2
Total						44

As many as 34 of the 44 respondents considered that there were some conflicts among government organisations in implementing the three tourism-related policies. By contrast, eight respondents had positive views about the relations between public sector organisations, and two other respondents held mixed views about them. These respondents were also encouraged to elaborate on their expressed opinions. Several influences on these conflicts are identified, with interviewees tending to provide more than one response. In sum, 16 influences or issues were mentioned, and these are listed by frequency of occurrence in Table 8.7, within categories of negative, positive and undecided responses.

Table 8.7 Identified types of conflicts and other relations among governmental organisations around tourism policy implementation in Phuket

Sectors / Identified Issues	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Difficulties due to institutional cultures	6	5	5	4	7	27
2. Lack of co-operation, participation and collaboration among government agencies	2	6	5	6	4	23
3. Lack of agreement and incompatibility	5	4	5	3	5	22
4. Differing agendas and need for shared goals	2	5	2	2	7	18
5. Disagreement among different government tiers	1	5	5	1	4	16
6. No host or directly responsible body	3	4	1	2	4	14
7. No power autonomy	2	4	2	4	-	12
8. Issues with clientelism and patronage	2	3	1	2	1	9
9. Effective links among different tiers are needed	-	2	-	1	-	3
10. Quality methods needed	-	1	-	-	2	3
11. Inappropriate disposition of manpower	-	1	-	1	-	2
12. Not in conflict	1	-	1	3	-	5
13. Quality methods introduced and used	-	1	-	-	2	3
14. Sufficient power and autonomy	-	1	-	-	-	1
15. There have been good links among government agencies	-	1	-	-		1
16. Depends	1	-	1	-	-	2
Total						161

Among the 34 respondents who considered that there were some conflicts among government organisations, 11 issues were identified. As many as 27 mentioned difficulties associated with institutional cultures, this being mentioned by six national public sector employees, five provincial public officials, five local government actors, four tourism authority personnel, and seven private sector respondents. Most of the national-level public sector employees focused on the issue of different ministries seeking to maintain their own 'institutional empire', which was perceived as a possible cause of poor links, limited information provision, weak coordination and different priorities. A PTA member commented, for example, that the results "can be chaotic, as they tried to save the empire's benefits. They have their own areas, the Land and the Forest Department. One says 'yes' and the other says 'no', for instance!". 14 out of the 27 participants similarly suggested that the public sector institutions and their actors generally are strongly directed by their national ministry and strictly rely on their ministerial leaders. Often they needed to be pushed from the higher tiers to get the work done. This is typified by the comment of a private sector respondent who stated that

"Thai organisations must be pushed by the higher tier and depend on the benefits involved". Finally, of the remaining five respondents, three local government actors considered that Thai institutions and their actors are commonly involved in jobs that are low-paid and involve a low level of commitment. Thus a municipal executive objected that many government staff have "no conscience, they won't give a damn at all".

Lack of co-operation among government organisations was the second most frequently mentioned issue, being cited by 23 respondents (two national public sector employees, six provincial public officials, five local government actors, six tourism authority staff and four private sector respondents). Their responses concerned the lack of participation, co-ordination and collaboration among governmental agencies, which was regarded as important to secure the implementation of tourism-related policies in Phuket. This is summed up by a PTA member who asserted that "if governmental organisations joined and worked together, it would be a success". Further selected comments on this theme are provided in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8 Selected comments concerning cooperation among governmental agencies in policy implementation

"We need more co-operation, and hand-in-hand networks and relationships". A marine police officer.
"Good co-ordination and partnerships are needed among them". A privately hired beach guard.
"We need co-operation from all organisations and parties involved in Phuket". A PPO executive.
"We need more co-operation from other organisations". A local TAO.
"We need to involve everyone and work all together" A TAT Region 4 executive.

The third most often mentioned issue, identified by 22 respondents, was disagreement and incompatibility among governmental agencies in implementing tourism policies. Three key issues were repeatedly mentioned in this category, namely poor cooperation and collaboration, issues of power and resources, and differences among different tiers. 13 of the 22 participants considered that there had been some disagreements among the government agencies, this mostly being associated with unclear job descriptions, slow and uncooperative processes, and some agencies avoiding taking responsibility. A tourist police officer, for example, mentioned that there had been confusion over duties between the tourist police and the provincial police, while a provincial police officer stated that he found it difficult to work with staff at the municipal level. A marine police officer explained that some marine police and tourist police had sought to avoid taking responsibility for both the protected area and beach

safety policies. Further, five of the 22 interviewees mentioned that there had been high dependency on power and resources among government organisations, which had led to disagreements and delays. Finally, four respondents were concerned about problems between different governmental tiers due to their different attitudes and influential people, with the danger that the higher tiers will undermine implementation at the local level. Unsurprising, 16 of the respondents noted disagreements between the different tiers, and this is a reoccurring issue raised by respondents.

Differing agendas of the different ministries and government tiers was the fourth most frequently mentioned issue, being noted by 18 respondents. This was a particular concern for provincial public sector officials and the private sector. A member of the PTA drew on his experience at provincial meetings to conclude that public sector organisations should first seek to understand each other before reaching out to work with others. This implies that there have been differing interests and goals among governmental organisations.

14 interviewees identified the problem of a lack of a responsible lead body as the cause of some conflicts between government organisations. They often argued that there is a need for a lead or 'host body', or an organisation directly responsible for promoting policy implementation. A senior official in the ONEP stated that "it has been unclear about who is the host body to take full responsibility for the policy. Hence, complexities tend to occur". 12 respondents (not including any from the private sector) claimed that the lack of autonomy contributed to conflicts among governmental agencies. In this context, a national marine police officer suggested that there was a problem about his lack of control of his work, which was interfered with by others. And four tourism authority representatives in this category considered that the TAT was an organisation without power, and that therefore it had been difficult for this organisation to implement policy, with it having to depend heavily on the other governmental agencies involved. These comments point to some difficulties in the Thai style of public administration, where a lack of job clarity, insufficient autonomy and high interdependency are likely to occur in this centralised system. A smaller number of participants identified other issues, such as an unhealthy influence of powerful people in the process (patron-client relations) (9), the necessity for better links between different government tiers (3), the need for quality assurance methods, (3) and an inappropriate allocation of staff (2).

Table 8.6 indicates that eight respondents held contrasting opinions about conflicts among government organisations. They identified four issues as listed in Table

228

8.7. Significantly, as few as five respondents considered that there was no conflict among governmental organisations. Three tourism authorities highlighted that they had received good co-operation from the relevant involved parties. This may be due to the significance of the tourism industry in Phuket. Additionally, three participants positively expressed the view that quality assured methods had been used to implement the tourism-related policies in Phuket. For two provincial public sector officials, one claimed that there had been sufficient autonomy while the other stated that there were good links between governmental agencies. Finally, two other respondents explained that conflicts among them only occurred in relation to certain specific situations, around certain policy issues and with just some organisations.

To conclude, a wide range of issues in relation to conflicts among government organisations involved in tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket was identified by the 34 respondents. A large proportion were mostly concerned with the challenges from the institutional culture (27), lack of co-operation (23), disagreement and incompatibility among governmental agencies (22), differing agendas (18), disagreement among different government tiers (16), lack of a 'host body' with full responsibility (14), and lack of autonomy (12). A smaller number of respondents mentioned client-relations (9), lack of links between different government tiers (3), lack of quality assurance methods (3) and inappropriate allocation of staff (2) as possible causes of conflicts among governmental organisations. Interestingly, only eight participants had positive comments concerning cooperation amongst government agencies. In all, while there were varying opinions towards the conflicts, a large number of respondents seem to have had concerns regarding the cooperation among governmental agencies. Their concerns can be summed up into three possible conflicts: institutional/cultural conflicts and practical and methodological conflicts, which all seem to have a potentially strong impact on policy in practice. This may have been influenced by the Thai centralised and bureaucratic system, and it may be an early warning for the Thai public sector to find ways to minimise these conflicts.

8.2.2.2 Conflicts between government organisations and organisations outside the public sector

To examine possible conflicts between government organisations and those outside the public sector involved in implementing the tourism-related policies, the respondents were asked: **"Has your organisation been in conflict with a government organisation/ a non-public organisation when this policy/these policies has/have**

been put into practice in Phuket? Please explain ". Again, the interview question used the phrase 'your organisation' or 'a government organisation' depending on the nature of the interviewees' occupation.

Table 8.9 Overall responses on conflicts between government organisations and non-public organisations

Sectors / Overall Responses	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Respondents noting conflicts between government organisations and non-public organisations	4	5	5	2	9	25
2. Respondents noting positive relations between them	1	3	1	3	6	14
3. Respondents with mixed feelings	1	-	1	2	1	5
Total						44

Table 8.9 shows that 25 of the 44 respondents considered that there were conflicts between government organisations and non-public organisations. But 14 other respondents did not consider that there were conflicts, and instead identified positive aspects; while the remaining five respondents held mixed feelings about conflicts between the public and other sectors. As with the other similar questions, these participants were encouraged to expand on their views. As a result, a wide range of conflicts as well as other aspects were identified, again usually influenced by their personal and occupational experiences. 11 common themes were derived and they are listed in Table 8.10 in descending order of frequency, within negative, positive and undecided categories.

Table 8.10 Identified types of conflict between governmental agencies and those outside the public sector in relation to tourism policy implementation in Phuket

Sectors / Identified Issues	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Non-compliance from the business sector	2	5	6	1	11	25
2. Non-agreement and incompatibility between them	5	3	3	3	9	23
3. Lack of links between private and public sectors	2	2	2	2	11	19
4. Lack of support from public sector	2	-	-	-	9	11
5. Lack of participation and understanding from public sector	-	3	1	2	4	10
6. Non-public, private funded policy implementation	1	-	-	-	9	10

230

7. Delay and reluctance by external agencies	-	-	-	-	1	1
8. There has been no conflict between them	1	3	1	2	2	9
9. Support has been given by public sector	-	-	1	1	2	4
10. There has been good compliance from the private sector	-	-	-	-	2	2
11. Depends	1	-	1	2	1	5
Total						119

The 25 respondents who considered that there were some conflicts between the public and other sectors noted seven different kinds of issues. Non-compliance from the business sector was the most often mentioned, identified by all 25 participants in this context. Their comments were made around examples of business violations. 18 of the 25 respondents commented that business entrepreneurs were more concerned with their profits than complying with the earlier closing hours under the entertainment venues policy (14), the regulations on Phuket's protected areas (3) and the safety of beach use (1). A nightclub manager stated that the entertainment violations usually occurred on Fridays and Saturdays. A privately hired beach guard mentioned that some hotels tell their guests to swim in the sea despite strong water currents. A tour manager explained that when there were official patrols in protected areas, some tour companies simply pretended to abide by the laws and regulations. This likely concern for business profits may be summed up by the comment of a provincial police officer who stated that "agreement can't win over the power of money, because the investors have invested with lots of money, they only look for profit in return". The remaining seven of the 25 respondents mentioned other difficulties between government organisations and those outside. These refer to possible legal loopholes, local difficulties with central government, minimal punishments, indiscipline and limited local participation.

The second most mentioned conflict was disagreement and incompatibility between the parties, identified by 23 of the 25 respondents. This can be split into two contrasting opinions. First, the 14 public actors in this category considered that non-public sector actors, notably private sector entrepreneurs and local people, were difficult to deal with and uncomfortable to work with. A provincial police officer even described some as "stubborn business owners". According to them, the disagreement and misunderstanding between them was likely to be caused by profit concerns. A local TAO member mentioned that "private entrepreneurs do not accept the laws, and this led to little co-operation". The remaining nine participants, all from the private sector, held opposite opinions. To them, the difficult relationships seems to have been caused by a lack of local involvement in the policy process, lack of public support, lack of

231

commitment, abusive power and unequal and poor treatment by the public authorities. This is typified by the comment of a nightclub manager: "it has been uncommitted, slow and unequal from police officers as local implementers. I do not like them, I don't like them at all".

The third most common response was related to the absence of links between the private and public sectors, mentioned by 19 of 25 respondents. Their comments were made around two common themes, first the lack of clear participation and co-ordination (16), and second a lack of information and network communication (3). 16 of the 19 respondents considered that there was a need for stronger links between all involved parties in implementing the tourism policies in Phuket. Some further suggested that there should have been more meetings, more local brainstorming, more private sector involvement and more co-ordination between the public and private sectors. Others mentioned that both sectors must work together more for the successful application of the tourism policies in Phuket. This was summed up by the comment of a tour manager who stated that "there has been a serious need for hand-in-hand work and good co-ordination between the public and private sectors in Phuket".

As for the fourth most mentioned issue, 11 respondents directly referred to the lack of public support for the private sector. Interestingly, this was mentioned by two national public sector employees and nine respondents from the private sector. A national marine police officer mentioned that there was no public organisation to help local people and the private sector when the policy imposed on them contributed to problems. A PETA executive asserted that environmental conservation had never been supported by the public sector, with even the Phuket Eco-tourism Association being run by the private sector. Other participants perceived this lack of public support as vital since the private sector cannot solve problems by itself. A privately hired beach guard stated that the government must act as lead organisation to provide support for the beach guard policy in Phuket. This lack of public support may be summed up by a comment of a PTA member: "the public sector is not the one who should pick on the private sector, their roles are to support us". In a similar way, 10 respondents referred to the lack of participation and understanding from the public sector, and another 10 (dominated by nine private sector respondents) provided examples where business and private sector entrepreneurs had made efforts to deal with some policy implementation without public support. This includes hotels having privately hired beach guards, hotel incentive awards for environmentally friendly activities, hotel signposts for beach safety, private meetings, and safety codes and codes of conduct produced by PETA.

According to Table 8.9, 14 respondents held noticeably contrasting opinions about conflicts between government agencies and non-public actors. Three issues are identified in Table 8.10. Nine of the 14 respondents simply mentioned that there had been no conflicts between them. They mostly claimed that it had been harmonious. Further, four of the 14 respondents considered that the public sector had given adequate support, while two other private sector respondents similarly mentioned that they provided good compliance to the policies.

To summarise, it is notable that 25 of the 44 respondents across the five different sectors considered that there were some conflicts between public and private sectors and they identified various types of conflicts between government organisations and those outside them, notably the private sector. These include issues related to non-compliance from the business sector (25), disagreement and incompatibility between them (23), lack of links between them (19), lack of public support (11), lack of participation and understanding from the public sector (10) and efforts without public support (10). In contrast, 14 respondents considered that there was no conflict between the public and private sectors. Among their three identified issues, nine considered that there has been no conflict between them, while another six respondents perceived that there was good public support (4) and good business compliance (2). Since there is a wide gap between the negative and the positive aspects, it is thus likely that there have been some conflicts in relationship between government organisations and those outside them. A possible explanation might be the different goals of the public and private sectors, and also the low level of local involvement in the policy process (as a disadvantage of centralisation and Thai culture). This assessment reflects the thoughts of those at grass roots level and could be taken into account in order to find a way to minimise these conflicts.

8.3 CONSULTATION PROCESSES

Participative and consultative processes generally assist with securing successful policy outcomes. According to Mohrman and Quam (2000), the consultation process is widely accepted as a key factor to ensure good interactions among involved institutions, to increase levels of participation, understanding and co-ordination, and to help organisational members go through a fundamental learning process. It also demonstrates how closely they work with others at the same level and with the top management. This section examines the following.

- Whether there have been consultation processes among government organisations in relation to tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket.

- Whether there have been consultation processes between government organisations and those outside the public sector in relation to tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket.

8.3.1 Consultation processes among government organisations

To investigate if there have been consultation processes among government organisations, the respondents were asked: **"Has there been a formal process for consulting among government organisations when this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?"**. In the case of a positive response ('yes'), the respondents were further asked a follow-up question: **"Has that consultation been a success"**. It is important to note that for the follow-up question, while some gave a 'yes' or 'no' answer, the majority proffered more discursive and descriptive responses. The researcher also felt that responses were mostly made in general terms. The findings are listed in Table 8.11.

Table 8.11 Consultation processes among government organisations in relation to policy implementation in Phuket

Sectors / Responses on Consultation Process	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Yes	5	8	7	7	13	40
2. No/ Not sure it there was	1	-	-	-	3	4
Total						44

Table 8.11 shows that 40 out of the 44 respondents affirmed the existence of a consultation process among government organisations, whereas as few as four participants said there were no such process. As many as 34 of 40 participants went on to explain that the consultation process had mostly been done through a variety of meetings. 22 out of the 34 informants mentioned that provincial monthly meetings organised by the PPO had been the most influential meetings among government organisations in Phuket. Seven more respondents identified the provincial CEO meetings, two respondents suggested TAT meetings and other meetings. Only the remaining three, one national public sector employee and two provincial public sector actors, directly referred to specific policy meetings. To be more specific, an OENP senior official mentioned that a meeting would have been held during the implementation work, or there would have been a follow-up meeting, but their frequency would depend on financial support from central government, and they are usually held once or twice a year. This suggests that there has been very limited

consultation specifically around the implementation of the three tourism-related policies in Phuket, and lack of financial resources may be a key factor.

The findings show that respondents almost unanimously held positive views about consultation processes among government organisations. However, the types of meetings organised involved general consultation activities and were not aimed specifically at tourism policy implementation in Phuket.

With regard to the follow-up question, 40 out of 44 respondents held different opinions about the success rate of their consultation processes, and these are listed in Table 8.12.

Table 8.12 Success of consultation processes among government organisations concerning policy implementation in Phuket

Sectors Identified Degree of Consultation Success	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. It has been a success	2	3	1	1	-	7
2. It has not been a success	-	1	1	1	2	5
3. Some improvements have been achieved.	2	4	1	3	1	11
4.Other responses	-	-	4	2	8	14
5.Depends	1	-	-	-	-	1
6. Don't know	-	-	-	-	2	2
Total						40

It is notable that seven respondents, dominated by two national public employees and three provincial public officials, affirmed that the process had been successful whereas another five participants suggested that it had been unsuccessful. Those seven respondents mostly described the meetings as successful in providing better understanding, and harmonious and co-ordinated relationships among government organisations. This is typified by the comment of a provincial police officer who stated that "it has been good guidelines; it's helped us working and co-ordinating better and better". On the other hand, five respondents with negative views considered that having various meetings did not contribute to a better outcome or more harmony among government organisations. A local TAO member stated that after the meetings, it remains the same situation and the same result.

11 respondents identified that there had been some improvements as a result of the meetings. In other words, the meetings encouraged a better understanding among government agencies, led to more actions, and better co-ordination and cooperation among them. This is typified by the comment of a PPO senior official who stated that

"the meetings may have generated good guidelines which have helped in better understanding among us and led to future actions and probably solutions". 14 other respondents fell into the 'other responses' category. This is because their responses were more discursive and it was unclear as to whether they considered it a success or a failure. Some mentioned that only some of the consultation process had been good, especially activities that were pushed by central government (2), others stated that the meetings lacked representation of local implementers which would have generated a better outcome (4). Most private sector respondents in this category stated only how often and how formal they believed the process was. Finally, one national public sector employee asserted that the success depended on financial support and two private sector respondents gave no opinion about the success of this consultation process.

To conclude, there was almost unanimous recognition (40) that there was a consultation process among the government organisations in Phuket. Further details show that it occurred largely through provincial level meetings, with no other consultative activities, and that there was little consultation specifically focused around the three tourism-related policies. 18 respondents in total recognised the positive aspects of the meetings and their contribution to improved policy implementation. However, there were also negative aspects mentioned by five respondents as well as some indecisive responses mentioned by 14 respondents. The absence of a private sector respondent in the successful category could suggest that private sector respondents are poorly involved, represented or informed about this consultation process. This assessment suggests that there needs to be more consultative activities, in addition to the provincial meetings, especially meetings specifically around the three tourism-related policies. There should be a more specific consultation process, more activities and networks as well as more involvement from implementers at the local level for a better policy implementation outcome.

8.3.2 Consultation processes between government organisations and organisations outside the public sector

Co-operation from external agencies is essential for putting policies into practice. To examine consultation processes between government organisations and those outside the public sector, the study asked the respondents: **"Has there been formal process for consulting between government and non-public government when this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?"** As with the former question, the respondents were later asked: **"Has that consultation process**

236

been success?", if they affirmed the existence of a consultation process. Similarly, the respondents provided a wide range of responses concerning the relative success of the consultation processes, and some were very discursive and descriptive. The findings are listed in Table 8.13.

Table 8.13 Consultation processes between government organisations and those outside the public sector in relation to policy implementation in Phuket

Sectors / Responses on Consultation Process	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Yes	6	7	7	7	12	39
2. No/ Unclear if it had any	-	1	-	-	4	5
Total						44

According to Table 8.13, as many as 39 participants affirmed the existence of a consultation process between government organisations and those outside the public sector, whereas only five considered that there was no such consultation process. These 39 participants were spread across each sector. 32 out of the 39 provided further details about the consultation process, and their views were divided into three different types of meetings.

First, 19 of those 32 respondents (dominated by local public sector and private sector actors) specified that this consultation process was held within general meetings at the individual government organisation. The groups involved were mostly notified by official letters. This is typified by the comment of a PETA executive: "we get some invitations for meetings from some government organisations, such as the PPO, the TAT and the PPAO". Seven more participants (dominated by five tourism authorities) identified a second consultation process organised by the TAT; these, however, were meetings concerned with tourism issues in Phuket in general. Finally, only six of the 32 respondents said that the consultation process between them took place in meetings about specific tourism-related policies. These were three national public sector employees, two provincial public sector officials and one private sector respondent. A national marine police officer stated that the "marine police co-ordinated and invited local people to come for the meeting influenced by the protected area policy. We try to make them understand the policy". A member of PTA also affirmed that he was invited to official meetings to discuss issues in relation to tourism safety and the entertainment venues policy.

While the majority of respondents positively held the opinion that there had been consultation processes between government organisations and those outside the

public sector, it seems however that this tended to be done in the form of general meetings. Only six respondents mentioned specific meetings for implementation of one of the three tourism-related policies.

Significantly, those 39 respondents were also asked to rate the success of the consultation process, and their responses are summarised in Table 8.14.

Table 8.14 Opinions on the success of the consultation processes between government organisations and those outside the public sector in relation to policy implementation

Sectors Identified Degree of Consultation Success	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. It has been a success	2	3	2	1	4	12
2. It has not been a success	2	1	2	-	1	6
3. Some improvements have been achieved.	1	2	3	-	2	8
4.Other responses	-	1	-	5	5	11
5.Depends	1	-	-	1	-	2
Total						39

12 of the 39 respondents stated that the consultation process was a success. They mostly suggested that the meetings between the public and private sectors contributed to harmony, homogeneity and understanding among them. A provincial police officer mentioned that it had been very good, helpful, co-operative and supportive. It is interesting that four of those 12 were from the private sector. A front office hotel manager positively asserted that public-private sector meetings led to harmonious relationships and helped direct them to the same goal.

By contrast, six of those 39 respondents, from all sectors except the tourism authorities, indicated negative aspects about those meetings. Some (4) highlighted that local people and private sector actors tended not to join the meetings, while others mentioned that the meetings did not contribute to solutions or successful outcomes. A PTA member stated that "when you get in and get out, you achieved the same level of knowledge and results, you only get chance to speak, but nothing else". Furthermore, a Phuket MP asserted that "there had been few meetings for both the public and private sectors, so they achieved no solution or conclusion since they tended to discard the private sectors' opinions".

According to Table 8.14, eight respondents mentioned that the meetings led to improved results. Their comments were made around the fact that the meetings enhanced understanding between the public and private sectors, encouraged policy awareness, future actions and successful development. This can be summed up by the

238

comment of a PPO senior official that "the meetings could contribute to better adjustment, improvement and understanding, which could later lead to actions". 11 other respondents provided rather unclear responses and are therefore categorised as 'other responses'. These views were articulated by five tourism authorities and five private sector respondents. Some found the issue difficult to assess and responded with "difficult to say" or "can't think of it now". They mostly agreed that the consultation process was not done for every policy. Two tourist police officers even mentioned that co-operation from local people or private sector actors was not very important for their work. Others provided descriptions of the meetings, highlighting details of their frequency, the issues discussed, and how they were notified about them. Only two respondents mentioned that the rate of success depended on the situation and the issues involved.

To sum up, the assessment suggests that a large proportion of respondents (39) recognized there was a consultation process between government organisations and others outside the public sector, mostly in the form of meetings, with no other consultative activities involved. It is unclear whether opinions and interests from non-public sector organisations had been put forward or were adequately addressed. 12 of those 39 participants described these general meetings as a success, while another eight held fairly positive opinions. Conversely, six respondents considered them unsuccessful. 11 of the participants were more indecisive, with two tourism authorities showing no regard to the significance of local or private actors' participations. Like the former assessment, if tourism policy is to be successfully implemented, the public sector should seek more ways to maximise consultation with those outside the public sector. This examination does prove that there has been a consultation process but that non-public organisations have not been more fully involved.

8.4 POSSIBLE INAPPROPRIATE INTER-ORGANISATIONAL RELATIONS

This section examines the degree of inappropriate inter-organisational relations involved in tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket, notably inappropriate connections, corruption and other misconduct. It is important to note that the wording of the interview question was deliberately made general so as not to offend or to put respondents in a difficult position with regard to their jobs and values. Two questions were devised to explore the possibility of inappropriate inter-organisational relations. One addressed those within government organisations and the other addressed public sector relations with those outside (see Table 8.15).

Table 8.15 The two questions on inappropriate inter-organisational relations

Q1: Have you felt uncomfortable about how government organisations have worked together when putting into practice this policy/these policies in Phuket? Please explain.

Q2: Have you felt uncomfortable about how government organisations and non-public organisations have worked together when this policy/these policies have been put into practice in Phuket? Please explain.

8.4.1 Possible inappropriate relations among government organisations in tourism policy implementation in Phuket

First, the respondents were asked the question "**Have you felt uncomfortable about how government organisations have worked together when putting into practice this policy/these policies in Phuket? Please explain**". The respondents' overall responses are summarised in Table 8.16 according to their descending frequency.

Table 8.16 Overall responses related to inappropriate relations among government organisations

Sector / Overall Responses Related to Inappropriate Relations	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Respondents noting examples of relationships between them that made them uncomfortable	5	4	6	2	9	26
2. Respondents with no relationships that made them uncomfortable	1	3	1	5	3	13
3. Don't know	-	-	-	-	4	4
4. Respondents with mixed feelings	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total						44

Table 8.16 shows that 26 of the 44 participants considered that there were some relationships, situations and activities that made them feel uncomfortable. In contrast, 13 respondents did not consider that there were any inappropriate relationships that made them uncomfortable. Also, there were four 'don't know' responses from four private sector respondents, while one provincial public official had mixed feelings. Further, the 40 respondents with clear responses were probed for further explanations, resulting in the 14 issues listed in Table 8.17.

Table 8.17 Types of possible inappropriate relations among government organisations in implementing tourism policies

Sector Identified / Types of Possible Inappropriate Relations	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Some officials neglect duties and responsibilities	4	2	3	1	8	20
2. Limitations of the bureaucratic and institutional system	1	1	2	1	2	7
3. Not cooperative or co-ordinated	3	1	1	-	-	5
4. Lack of links between central and local levels	-	1	-	-	1	2
5. Some public sector problems	-	-	1	-	1	2
6. Inappropriate internal relationships	1	-	-	-	-	1
7. Inadequate financial support	-	1	-	-	-	1
8. Some public sector organisations have no awareness	-	-	1	-	-	1
9. Financial competition within public sector	-	-	1	-	-	1
10. Moral concern	-	-	1	-	-	1
11. Corruption	-	-	-	-	1	1
12. There were no actions and activities that made them feel uncomfortable	1	3	1	5	-	10
13. No uncomfortable feeling as always being co-operative	-	-	-	-	3	3
14. Uncomfortable feeling depended on organisations' leaders	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total						56

From the 26 respondents who affirmed that there were issues they felt uncomfortable with, 11 different types were identified. 20 out of those 26 mostly highlighted examples of where some government organisations had neglected their duties, which consequently led to poor enforcement. These were four national public sector employees, two provincial public officials, three local government actors, one tourism authority actor and eight private sector respondents. Two PPO senior officials stated that it was difficult and tiring to work with local government since they tended to neglect the duties which were not directly theirs. Some respondents from local government explained that they experienced delays, long and complex processes and unequal treatment from various officials at higher tiers. A local TAO member stated that "sometimes we know, but as we are also a public organisation, we rarely do or say anything". In a similar way, a nightclub manager stated that "Phuket official society is totally rubbish". She went on to assert that the officials constantly needed pressure from above to start working, influenced by the reward cycle in Thai bureaucracy. Many respondents considered that the officials were lax in enforcement, a tour company

manager mentioned that the "public authorities neglected their duties, occasionally turning up and disregarding the issues". This has been a continuing issue in tourism policy implementation in Phuket.

The second most mentioned issue, identified by seven of the 26 respondents, was related to the institutional and bureaucratic system involved in implementing the policies. They were mostly concerned with the complex nature of Thai institutions and the lengthy processes involved. According to these respondents, there were issues of cooperation between government ministries, inappropriate internal relationships, and the lengthy Thai bureaucratic process. A national marine police officer stated that "there were inner connections, corruption and other damn bull shit stuff, which there is no need to talk about". A PPAO executive highlighted that "their discipline is low, they always wait to be whipped up by command, and they lack vision and morals. Some staff get paid and do nothing". He further mentioned that "it is the predominant spirit of Thai bureaucrats and officials that if they can, they might give it a try; but if they can't, they will not give a damn about that". Similarly, a PTA member also asserted that these officials tried to do things for their own personal benefit, and hence they avoided any actions that could undermine their position. These comments could provide an early warning to government organisations and their actors about how others view their performance. Other issues were identified by small numbers of respondents, these mostly relating to the lack of willingness to cooperate, links between different government tiers (notably central to local level), inappropriate internal connections, moral concerns and corruption.

13 of the 26 respondents held the opposite opinion. 10 of these simply considered that there were no examples of relationships between the public and private sectors that made them feel uncomfortable since cooperation was good in Phuket. It was mostly the tourism authority representatives that held this view, unsurprisingly as it has been a continuing story that the tourism authorities have been well supported and enjoy cooperative relationships with other sectors in Phuket. Nonetheless, one conceded that the long processes and desire for personal benefits sometimes led to unnecessary problems. Three other private sector respondents stated that there were no uncomfortable relations because they were willing to cooperate with any officials. It is important to note here that the responses given to this question might not be entirely truthful. The respondents might be quite sensitive to the issues, particularly the private sector actors who are more concerned with safeguarding their businesses where politics

are involved. Only one provincial public sector official considered that the relations depended on the leaders of each organisation.

To conclude, as many as 26 respondents noted uncomfortable relationships among government organisations; whereas 13 respondents held contrasting opinions, the latter being dominated by tourism authorities and the private sector respondents who claimed to have good co-operation. The additional information that was provided indicates there were some issues of neglect of authority and institutional and bureaucratic problems, such as poor cooperation between government ministries and slow procedures. Even though the wording of the question was kept general, some specific types of misconduct were identified, including inappropriate connections, personal benefits and corruption in the Thai public administration. This has implications for Thai governance in terms of its administration, resources and man-power management at lower levels. With a large proportion of respondents expressing that they felt uncomfortable with some relationships and activities, it is likely that there has been some inappropriate conduct within the government organisations.

8.4.2 Possible inappropriate relations between government organisations and organisations outside the public sector

To further explore the possible inappropriate relations, the respondents were also asked: **"Have you felt uncomfortable about how government organisations and non-public organisations have worked together when this policy/these policies have been put into practice in Phuket? Please explain "**. The overall responses are listed in Table 8.18.

Table 8.18 Overall responses on possible inappropriate relations between government organisations and those outside the public sector

Sector Overall Responses	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Respondents noting examples of relationships between the public and private sectors that make them uncomfortable	5	4	1	3	10	23
2. Respondents noting no relationships that make them uncomfortable	-	3	4	4	4	15
3. There have been very few cases of them that made me uncomfortable	1	1	1	-	-	3
4. Don't know/ Unsure	-	-	1	-	1	2
5. No response	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						44

243

While 23 of the 44 respondents considered that there were some issues that made them feel uncomfortable, 15 (from every sector except the national public sector) said that there were none. Interestingly, three other respondents mentioned that there were very few cases that made them feel uncomfortable. According to a provincial public official, this was common for any job where there are many people with various viewpoints. Two responses were classified as 'don't know'. A private sector actor who fell in the 'no response' category did not want to criticise the public sector, and this again could be linked to the sensitive nature of the subject under investigation. Respondents with clear responses were probed for further explanation, and some respondents mentioned more than one issue or instance. These details are summarised in Table 8.19.

Table 8.19 Types of possible inappropriate relations between government organisations and non-public organisations in implementing tourism policies

Sector Identified Issues Related to Inappropriate Relations	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Personal benefits, patronage system, corruption	4	3	-	1	5	13
2. Unequal enforcement and authorities' neglect of duties	2	3	-	-	6	11
3. People are difficult (due to society/culture)	2	1	1	1	-	5
4. Non-compliance	2	-	-	-	1	3
5. Public and private sectors do not have same understanding	-	1	1	-	1	3
6. Uncooperative	1	-	-	1	-	2
7. Slow and hierarchical system	1	-	-	-	1	2
8. Unclear and weak policy	1	-	-	-	1	2
9. Different viewpoints	-	1	-	-	-	1
10. No awareness	-	1	-	-	-	1
11. Tourist carelessness	-	-	-	-	1	1
12. There were no cases that made me feel uncomfortable as the public and private sectors work well together	-	2	4	4	4	14
13. Non-public organisations in Phuket are of high quality and work cooperatively	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total						58

Among the 23 (of 44 respondents) who considered that there were some relationships and activities that make them felt uncomfortable, 11 issues were identified. Table 8.19 shows that the most frequently mentioned factor was related to personal benefits, the patronage system or corruption, identified by 13 of the 23 respondents. These comprised four national public sector employees, three provincial public

authority actors, a tourism authority respondent and five private sector respondents. Their responses mostly referred to misconduct between the public and private sectors that was often caused by the desire of business owners to gain personal benefits. A PPO senior official even asserted that "some businessmen and some people adopted bribery to buy their way out". Most private sector respondents affirmed that there were relations that led to corruption. This is typified by the comment of two tour company managers who mentioned in a similar way that there was possible corruption. One went further, stating that "money and power can lead to many things between them". This was considered to be the key barrier to successful policy implementation.

Interestingly, 11 of the 23 participants, dominated by six private sector and five public sector respondents, considered that some public authorities did not adequately enforce the law. This is typified by similar comments made by two tour mangers and a member of the PTA, who mentioned that the authorities did not do their job. Another assertion by a PETA executive was that public officials did not enforce the law and there was no commitment from them. A tour manager sarcastically mentioned that public officials were involved mostly with paper work. A national marine police inspector further stated that some officials simply did not want to implement the policy. This problem of enforcement and neglect of duties can be summed up by the comment of a PPO senior official: "The Thai authorities are low in discipline, and there may have been some lax enforcement and unequal treatment".

A smaller number of respondents identified other issues (see Table 8.19). Interestingly, five participants directly referred to the difficulties that some socio-cultural characteristics of Phuket and Thai people have for the implementation process. A PPO senior official mentioned that "Phuket people are difficult. They don't pay attention to policy issue, and they have no awareness". A local TAO member also asserted that "it is a part of Thai culture - people do not accept the laws, and this has destroyed many big projects". Further, a TAT Region 4 executive stated that uncomfortable relations and issues happened with those at grass root level, especially those who were uneducated, since it is very difficult to make them understand. This suggests that there is strong influence of the local socio-cultural characteristics on policy implementation. It is important to note that these socio-cultural issues are discussed more fully in a later Chapter. Other issues identified include private sector non-compliance, different understandings, a very slow and hierarchical system within the public sector, uncooperative relations, and weak policy.

245

In contrast to these 23 respondents, 15 interviewees considered that there were no examples of relationships between government organisations and non-public sector parties that made them uncomfortable. These were three provincial public officials, four local government actors, four tourism authority actors and four private sector respondents. While a PPO vice executive described the non-public organisations in Phuket as high quality and that they worked well together, the remaining 14 respondents in this context simply considered that there were no cases of public-private sector relations that made them feel uncomfortable. This was mostly identified by local government actors and tourism authorities, and is typified by similar comments from two tourist police officers who mentioned that "there were no problems. Our organisations tried to help them; it was thus harmonious". It is interesting that four private sector respondents also perceived that there were no problems between the public and private sectors. While a privately hired beach guard mentioned that government organisations were good to him, a nightclub manager stated that he never experienced any relationships with government organisations that made him feel uncomfortable. He went on further to claim that "I always provide full co-operation to them".

To sum up, a large proportion of respondents (23) considered there were some relationships between government organisations and those outside the public sector that made them feel uncomfortable, while 15 others disagreed. Further details suggest that the uncomfortable relations may have been caused by a desire for personal benefit which led to possible corruption and other misconduct, problems concerning unequal enforcement and neglect of duties, as well as some socio-cultural factors. The fact that many local government actors and tourism authorities valued good relations with non-public sector organisations was not surprising. This is because local government actors are mostly the locally elected groups of people in which good and close relations with people and private sector entrepreneurs are common. The tourism authorities having good relations with the non-public organisations is again a continuing story throughout the results. All in all, it can be concluded that it is quite common for the actors in the implementation networks to feel uncomfortable with inappropriate relationships and activities between the public and private sectors. This assessment reflects the importance of stakeholders being involved at the local level in tourism policy, as a way of minimising complex issues which often arise in the fragmented tourism industry. It demonstrates the need for good mutual understanding between those involved in tourism policy implementation networks. This assessment also highlights some Thai

institutional and socio-cultural characteristics that might make it difficult to achieve the policy goals.

8.5 OVERLAPPING RESPONSIBILITIES BETWEEN GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS

Although sharing and co-operation seem to be necessary for inter-and intra-organisational effectiveness, overdoing it may result in overlapping interdependencies as well as unclear functions. This section examines whether respondents considered that there were overlapping responsibilities among government organisations. The study asked the respondents: **"Have there been difficulties because of overlapping responsibilities among the different government organisations involved in this policy/these policies?"** While many participants simply responded 'yes' or 'no', a few were more descriptive and indecisive. Those responding positively were probed to provide more details, and at times they went on to explain without any encouragement. The overall findings to this question are summarised in Table 8.20.

Table 8.20 Overall responses on overlapping responsibilities

Sector / Overall Responses	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Yes	5	5	5	5	7	27
2. No	1	-	1	2	4	8
3. Other responses	-	2	-	-	2	4
4. Not sure	-	-	1	-	2	3
5. No response	-	1	-	-	1	2
Total						44

Table 8.20 indicates that 27 of the 44 interviewees considered that there were instances of overlapping responsibilities among the government organisations involved in implementing the three tourism-related policies in Phuket. These were evenly identified across all stakeholders groups. Their responses highlighted three possible causes of the overlapping responsibilities: unclear job descriptions, broad legal frameworks and interdependencies within Thai government institutions, as shown in Table 8.21.

Table 8.21 Factors causing overlapping responsibilities

Sector / Causes of Overlapping Responsibilities	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Unclear job description	2	4	4	4	6	20
2. Interdependencies	1	-	1	1	1	4
3. Broad legal framework	2	1	-	-	-	3
Total						27

20 out of the 27 respondents suggested that unclear job descriptions were a factor causing the overlapping responsibilities among government organisations. For example, an ONRE executive explained that there are four different departments involved in issues related to the sea and its resources. A PPO senior official also stated that the job descriptions are not clear and that there was no single body directly responsible. A local TAO member went on to explain that there were many bodies that were working on the same thing. A provincial police officer and another TAO member similarly commented on the ambiguity of the duties and responsibilities, and suggested that some organisations avoided taking part, leading to conflicts among them.

The private sector respondents mostly suggested that there were many government agencies that caused delays and difficulties as there was the problem of not knowing who to contact. This is typified by the comment of a front office manager: "there are many organisations, but we don't know where to go and who to contact. Each organisation is normally part of everything, once we contact them, we are asked to go and contact another organisations. We don't know if they are the direct or the lead organisation". This may reflect the current Thai bureaucratic and institutional system, and it is summed up by a Phuket MP, who mentioned that "in the Thai public institutional system we have many organisations, and there is an awful amount of duplication". The remaining seven of the 27 respondents who commented on the overlapping responsibilities offered two other causes. Four suggested that institutional interdependency caused the overlapping responsibilities. A Marine Department senior official, for example, asserted that "There is surely much overlap because of the interdependent jobs, that needs us to work together". Three participants claimed that the duplication problem was due to the broad and multiple legal frameworks. Thus an ONEP senior official and a PTA member explained that there were many laws and Acts leading to confusion in duties as well as misunderstandings among the public authorities and local people. This may partly explain why the majority of the 27 respondents considered that unclear job descriptions were a major problem within government organisations.

Table 8.20 shows that the second most frequent response – with eight participants – was that there were no overlapping responsibilities among government organisations. This was the view of four private sector respondents, one national public sector employee, one local government actor and two tourism authority respondents. It is interesting that two out of the four private sector actors were privately hired beach guards, the only local private implementers of the beach safety project. Only two out of

the eight respondents provided further explanation. While a tourism authority official claimed that working together was more cooperative and collaborative, a local TAO member stated that "at the local level the PPAO has ably managed the system, and as a result there are no overlapping responsibilities". Clearly, they were very positive about the benefits and characteristics of working together and of the Thai public administrative system.

A small number of respondents identified other types of responses. Four offered descriptive responses but were unclear and indecisive. Two provincial public sector officials mentioned that the more parties were involved then this implied more work and more help, while two private sector respondents spoke about the lack of a directly responsible body and the need for a faster process. Three participants were unsure about it and two provided no specific response to this question.

In sum a large proportion of respondents (27) from each sector considered there were instances of overlapping responsibilities among government organisations in relation to the implementation of the three tourism-related policies in Phuket. Only eight respondents held a contrasting opinion. Further information from the 27 respondents indicate that likely causes of this problem included unclear job descriptions, broad legal frameworks and the interdependent nature of public institutions. This assessment generally reflects the way in which the public institutional system works in Thailand. Unless reforms are carried out, it is likely that issues related to the lack of lead organisations, multiple responsibilities, excessive responsibilities and lack of job clarity will continue to complicate the processes of tourism policy implementation in Phuket.

8.6 COMMITMENT TO ENFORCEMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES

It is notable that commitment has a strong influence on work performance either within one organisation or between multiple organisations. Although education and experience are also factors affecting work performance, it is also important that the organisation's spirit falls in accordance with its goals. This spirit may be more important than having specific policy procedures and rules. Where employees are committed to the organisation, they will generally support the organisation's goals, and foster good relationships and co-operation between organisations. This section examines the following issues.

- The level of commitment from national and local government in implementing the three tourism-related policies in Phuket.
- Whether the people who enforce these policies on a daily basis on the ground have been fully committed to them.

8.6.1 National and local governments' commitment to implementing tourism policy in Phuket

The commitment from national and local government to implementing tourism policy in Phuket was examined by asking the interviewees: **"Has there been a great deal or relatively little commitment from national and local government to putting into practice this policy/these policies in Phuket?"** While some respondents offered only 'yes' or 'no' responses, many went on to provide more details. The researcher felt that most of the responses also addressed national and local governments' commitment in general terms to tourism policies rather than specifically to implementing the three tourism-related policies in Phuket. Their responses are listed by category in Table 8.22.

Table 8.22 Commitment from national and local government to implementing tourism policies

Sector Overall Responses	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. They have been committed	1	6	-	3	2	12
2. They have been committed only a little	2	-	5	1	7	15
3. Depends	2	2	2	2	5	13
4. Don't know/unsure	-	-	-	-	2	2
5. Other responses	-	-	-	1	-	1
6. No response	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total						44

12 participants felt there was commitment from national and local government to implementing tourism policies. This was identified by one national public sector employee, six provincial public officials, three tourism authority actors and two private sector respondents. Respondents from the tourism authority commented that government officials are highly committed to their work, although one admitted that financial support had been a major influence on their level of commitment. Four out of the 12 respondents, all from the provincial level, specifically complimented the officials at provincial level for their strong and serious work commitment. A PPO senior official even stated that "those at the PPO worked around the clock". Further, while many of the 12 respondents simply said that public officials were fully committed, three respondents' specifically referred to their roles and duties. This is illustrated by the

250

comment of a provincial environment official who explained that she respected those in the public sector that are fully committed as required by their jobs. This suggests that some of these 12 respondents hold positive opinions about the governments' commitment as they hope that they would act in the best interest of their occupations and organisations. Interestingly, there was no participant from local government who held this positive view.

15 participants expressed the view that the government was committed only a little, and these were dominated by seven private sector respondents, but there were also two national public sector employees, five local government actors and one tourism authority employee. There was no provincial public sector actor that held this more negative perception. Most private sector respondents in this category were concerned with the absence of rigorous enforcement and poor consistency of implementation, especially from public officials and from local government involved in the protected area policy. This is typified by the comment of a tour manager who took groups to protected areas who stated that "they were little committed since they rarely come and inspect anything". A PTA member also asserted that government officials' commitment is not genuine since it was mainly to reward their career. He further stated that "I am questioning the word 'commitment' with them". These perceptions may be summed up by the comment of a nightclub manager, who mentioned that "those government employees' commitment is only for their performance and rewards". Further, the main issues articulated by five local government actors in this category were associated with the complexity of personal benefits and the institutional culture in Thai bureaucracy which they believed has a strong impact on the level of commitment and enforcement from the government authorities. A local TAO member stated that "no, they are not sincerely committed, it involves benefits", and a municipal executive mentioned that government and its officials paid more attention to personal benefits. The three remaining local respondents considered in a similar way that national to local government were not fully committed. This negative perception may be summed up by comments from two national public sector employees. First, a chief marine police officer interestingly commented that "with only 70 percent commitment, it would have brought Thailand to prosperity", while another marine police inspector mentioned that the commitment was only 'policy on paper', with little direction as to how to put it into practice. It seems that commitment has been a controversial issue in Thai public administration and in government from national to local levels. It seems here that their

commitment is also often perceived quite negatively in relation to tourism policy implementation.

Table 8.22 also indicates that there are 13 respondents who held the view that the level of commitment from national to local government depended on various factors. These include the individual's conscience, the type of institution and the leaders within the hierarchical and bureaucratic system. Four of these respondents came to a similar conclusion that commitment depended on the leaders, those at central government in particular. This is supported by a privately hired beach guard who stated that their commitment was shown only occasionally, depending on the leaders at central level. The rest of the 13 respondents mentioned other factors influencing the governments' level of commitment. These include the individuals' conscience, their up-bringing, the institutional culture and personal benefits, all of which are believed to have greatly influenced this variable spirit. This is typified by the comment of an ONRE executive who mentioned that "it is difficult to say, commitment is varied, and it is an individual thing, and some might go for personal benefits". Further, while the PPAO executive observed that commitment might vary from level to level, a TAT Region 4 senior official mentioned that "commitment depended on their main organisation, notably at the ministerial levels, in fact it also depended on many other things". This suggests that commitment may be much influenced by the wider economic, political and socio-cultural conditions affecting developing world contexts.

Other categories of response were identified by far smaller numbers of respondents. Three participants provided 'don't know' or 'unsure' responses. For example, a TAT Region 4 executive fell in the 'other' category since he chose not to assess the level of commitment. He claimed that each organisation has its own problems.

To conclude, responses among the 44 respondents varied greatly. 12 held a positive opinion of the commitment from national to local government to implementing tourism policies in Phuket. However,15 participants had less positive perceptions, and a further 13 respondents suggested that the level of commitment depended on various factors. However, there were some similar comments from those who felt that there was little commitment (15) and those who considered that the level of commitment depended on the circumstances. Their concerns were associated with the Thai hierarchical and bureaucratic system, and the leaders and the institutional culture. This may partly explain why there were more negative and indecisive responses than positive responses in relation to commitment from national to local government to tourism

policy implementation. The interview and documentary sources in this case study suggest that national and local government commitment is an important factor for policy implementation success. A positive spirit among public officials may be hard to build in the context of a weak public administration and the socio-cultural issues and economic pressures in developing countries.

8.6.2 On- the- ground implementers' commitment to implementing tourism policy in Phuket

Following the examination of the commitment from national and local government, the respondents were also asked: **"Have the people who enforce this policy/these policies on a daily basis on the ground been fully committed to enforcing it/them?"** As with the former inquiry, the participants offered several different responses. Some proffered further explanations, others were asked to provide further details when clarification was needed. The detailed findings are summarised by category in Table 8.23.

Table 8.23 On-the- ground implementers' commitment to implementing tourism policies in Phuket

Sector Overall Responses	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. They have been committed	-	3	-	4	5	12
2. They have been committed only a little	2	2	3	2	6	15
3. Depends	3	-	3	1	2	9
4. Other responses	-	3	1	-	3	7
5. No response	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total						44

12 participants considered that on-the-ground implementers were committed to enforcing and implementing the policies. Significantly, these participants are from only three out of the five sectors involved in this study: three provincial public officials, four from tourism authorities, and five private sector respondents. It is also interesting that as many as five private sector respondents held positive perceptions of local implementers' commitment. While eight of the 12 respondents simply affirmed that local implementers were rigorous and fully committed in their inspection, the remaining four respondents went on to provide further information. Two mentioned that local implementers need more motivation since their salary may not be adequate. The other two specifically explained that the on-the-ground implementer's performance was better and more serious than in the past. This implies that there may be other factors involved in

253

building up this positive spirit. The fact that as many as five private sector respondents considered that local implementers were fully committed to work was unexpected; however, two out of the five were privately hired beach guards who were optimistic and positive about their own performance in implementation. Perhaps not surprisingly, the tourism authorities have continued to be positive towards tourism policy implementation in Phuket. This suggests that these respondents have a fair level of trust in local implementers. The absence of a positive view from national and local public sector actors may suggest different interests and opinions as well as possible conflicts among them on this issue.

By contrast, 15 respondents considered that local implementers were committed only a little to enforcing and implementing the policies. Various reasons for this more pessimistic opinion were identified and can be split into two broad categories. First, 10 out of these 15 respondents suggested that local implementers did not take the enforcement seriously or that they were not rigorous enough. While a PPO senior official mentioned that those at the local level only cared for their votes, five private sector respondents of this category stated that they did not experience regular inspection, and they rarely witnessed on-the-ground implementers at work. This is typified by the comment of a tour manager who stated "commitment? If there was, we would have seen it, it's just a job, a duty!". Most public authorities in this category complained about Thai official manpower. For instance, a PPO executive said that the manpower in the public system needs more education and training. A municipal official also stated that on-the-ground implementers always claimed that they had few resources and always asked for help instead of working within their limited resources. The remaining five of the 15 respondents were generally concerned with the bureaucratic system and institutional culture and that they might have affected the level of commitment of on-the-ground implementers. A tour manager suggested that implementers only work for official benefits and personal welfare since they have low salaries. A PTA member asserted that on-the-ground implementers were not committed because of the Thai system and culture. This may be summed up by the comment of a PPAO executive who mentioned that "it is bad in our system. I've never seen them committed to work, they work after orders from their bosses". This examination not only identifies some characteristics of Thai institutions, it also reflects the values of Thai personnel, which seems to have influenced the level of commitment in implementing tourism policies. Due to Thailand's bureaucratic system, its poor economy, and weak education system, the on-the-ground implementers may not be fully

committed to their job, and this has implications for the success of tourism policy implementation.

Table 8.23 also indicates that nine respondents considered that commitment depended on various factors. These included training, understanding, organisational culture, good leaders, and other circumstances. A nightclub manager mentioned that some on-the-ground implementers were good, others were not; it all depended on whether or not rewards or corruption were involved. This was summed up by the comment of a PPAO executive: "their commitment varied, and depended on various factors; I'd praise some and fail some". Seven other respondents fell in the 'other related issue' category. Instead of assessing the level of commitment, they mostly provided descriptive but indecisive explanations mainly relating to the Thai organisational culture, understanding and issues related to information and training. To be more specific, four respondents commented on the problems of inadequate information and on mechanisms for creating a positive work spirit. A local TAO member mentioned that on-the-ground implementers may have good intentions but they might have encountered some problems. A marine department executive explained that information may be difficult to understand for on-the-ground implementers. The remaining three suggested that discipline, understanding and pressure generated supportive and positive attitudes among local implementers. There was only one case of no response.

To conclude, 12 respondents showed their trust in on-the-ground implementers' commitment. Some of their explanations highlight the significance of other influential factors that may either encourage or discourage the implementers' level of commitment. 15 respondents suggested that, due to the highly bureaucratic system in Thailand policy, enforcement is not always taken fully seriously, and therefore respondents perceived the level of commitment sometimes to be low. A smaller number of respondents considered that the level of commitment depended on the circumstances, such as on the organisational culture and on understanding. These respondents included those with unclear and indecisive responses. Like the former investigation, the interview and documentary sources for this case study suggest that socio-cultural, organisational and public administrative factors are influential for on-the-ground implementers' commitment. Issues related to psychological motivation (salary and welfare), education, training as well as Thai socio-cultural and institutional characteristics seem to have significant impacts on the sense of responsibility, conscience and willingness to act in the best interests of an organisation. Creating a positive spirit involves many vital factors which may include a high quality of communication, positive relationships, the

strategic direction of an organisation, the level of salary, bonuses and promotions. These psychological motivations are believed to produce emotional attachments between the organisations and their employees. The respondents did not seem to identify many motivating factors which would encourage the on-the-ground implementers to be highly committed, and this may have affected the success of tourism policy implementation in Phuket. Unless better administration is adopted and motivation is given, it is likely that commitment among on-the-ground implementers will remain variable and this may undermine policy success, not to mention the trust of outsiders, notably the private sector.

8.7 GOVERNMENT SENSITIVITY TO WIDER SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION WORK

Environmental settings are essential for any tourism-related study (Pigram, 1980). For policy in practice, it is important to ascertain whether or not government activities have looked to assure the realisation of their policies while attempting to understand external circumstances as well as local issues. This section examines the degree to which government takes into consideration external circumstances in society when implementing policies. The stakeholders were asked: **"Has the national and local government taken fully into account the external circumstances in society when putting this policy/these policies into practice in Phuket?"** When asked this question, it seemed that most respondents referred to central government more than local government. The researcher also felt that they rather addressed the issue of external and local circumstances in society in general terms rather than specifically for the three selected tourism-related policies under investigation. Most responses were discursive and descriptive. The findings are listed in Table 8.24 by category.

Table 8.24 Government's sensitivity to wider social circumstances in policy implementation work

Sector / Overall Responses	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
National government has taken into account the external circumstances in society	4	4	3	4	2	17
National government has not taken into account, or adequately taken into account, the external circumstances in society	1	3	4	2	14	24
Other responses	1	-	-	1	-	2
No response	-	1	-	-	-	1
Total						44

Table 8.24 shows that 17 respondents perceived that national government has taken external circumstances in society into account. This includes four national public officials, three provincial public officials, three local government actors, four tourism authority officials and three private sector respondents. None of their responses referred to local government. 11 respondents referred to their experiences of national government inspections at the local level. This is typified by the comment of a provincial police officer, who mentioned that the central committee board came to inspect in Phuket concerning the entertainment venues policy. Six respondents identified other types of national activities which were carried out to help understand external circumstances and local issues. An ONEP senior official stated that there were evaluation plans and questionnaires conducted by those at ministerial level for policy revision. In a similar way, a provincial environment official asserted that officials at national level came and conducted a public hearing for the protected area policy. Two out of these six respondents (a TAT senior official and a PPAO executive) interestingly explained that national government learnt about external and local circumstances through provincial and local units, which have to give them information reports through the public administration system. It seems that local inspection from national government is the activity most recognised as a way of taking into account external and local circumstances. It is significant to note that as the interview progressed, four respondents who talked about inspections also expressed sceptical feelings about the national government. An ONEP senior official mentioned that local inspection depended on financial support and it usually took place only once or twice a year. A marine police officer also stated that "although government studied external circumstances, I do not know if it is serious about it". A provincial police officer similarly mentioned that, despite this activity, there was nothing new in the entertainment venues policy. A person in charge of beach guards also asserted that the government had tried, but there was no change so far. This suggests that there is some scepticism about government activities which aim to take into consideration external and local circumstances in the policy process.

Table 8.24 also shows that 24 respondents did not consider that national government had taken or adequately taken external and local circumstances into account when putting policy into practice. Again, although the inquiry intended to address both national and local government circumstances, respondents referred only to the national level. Only one participant mentioned both national and local government. He stated that "it was ok at municipal level, but those higher tiers at provincial and national levels

tend not to understand the local issues". The researcher also felt that their responses referred to policy implementation in general, not specifically for Phuket.

Out of the 24 respondents who expressed a negative opinion, 14 were from the private sector. The rest included one national public sector employee, four provincial public officials, four local government actors and two from the tourism authorities. Their responses can be divided into two broad categories. First, 11 private sector respondents and six other participants were mostly concerned about limited local attention, lack of public hearings and of other public-related activities that could enhance local understanding and effectiveness in policy implementation. A nightclub manager mentioned that national government did not study local issues or the local markets, and public hearings were needed to help them understand the area. In a similar way, a local TAO member highlighted that central government should try to study and understand local issues, and two PPO executives and three other local government actors affirmed that central government did not know about local circumstances. This situation was summed up by the comment of a town nightclub manager who explained that "central government does not try to make a study or understand local issues. It never comes to study how things are in each particular area. All policies from central government are not representing local issues since the government has not made enough study of the local areas".

The remaining seven out of the 24 respondents in this category were more concerned with the limited effort by central government to promote decentralisation or democratisation at local level. A tourist police officer explained that policies were usually top-down and not based on local studies, and this caused problems at the local level. In a similar way, an ETA executive considered that there were mostly top-down policies that did not apply to local circumstances and that local people were barely granted any roles. Further, a Phuket MP mentioned that the current government tried to centralise and top-down everything. This concern is well illustrated by the comment of a provincial police officer: "it's top-down. It's just orders right from above, no local involvement whatsoever". There were two respondents in the 'other responses' category. One commented about the concern for local votes, and the other mentioned that those in charge at national level relied on local performance, and only stepped in when the issue was beyond the local ability. One respondent did not respond to this question.

To conclude, there has been a continuing story of problems with the top-down and centralised system, a limited degree of local involvement and of limited policy revision in this policy implementation study. This assessment shows that, while 17

respondents positively considered that national government took into account external and local circumstances when implementing tourism policies, four were more sceptical about this. And 24 respondents expressed more negative opinions about government's external and local understanding. Further explanations indicate a lack of local studies, inadequate local involvement, and limited decentralisation and democratisation in Thai public administration, and these might have caused difficulties in implementing tourism policy in Phuket. These responses help to identify factors that might undermine policy implementation success, they help in our understanding of current Thai public administration, and they suggest that more local involvement and awareness is needed. The interviews and literature sources in this case study suggest that, unless decentralisation or good governance is more fully adopted, then Thai local areas will continue at times to suffer from poor representation, inadequate involvement and limited local understanding in policy implementation.

8.8 CONCLUSION

This study shows that the implementation of tourism policies can be particularly complex and that it is important to consider issues relating to the institutions and actors involved. This chapter examined the role of institutional issues in putting tourism policy into practice. A variety of perceptions and responses were offered, but many respondents in this study considered that Thai political, socio-cultural, institutional and economic issues can have a strong influence on Thai institutions and its actors when implementing tourism policy in Phuket. These include hierarchy, bureaucracy, span of command, inactiveness of lower tiers, poor cooperation between ministries, and personal benefits. These seem to have played a major role in influencing the level of harmonious relations and conflicts in Thai institutions. The investigation suggests that the extent to which institutional relations are harmonious is likely to be influenced by the culture that is embedded in the society. This clearly applies not only to Phuket but also to other local areas in Thailand. The issues also seem to have affected institutions and actors outside the public sector, and examination of this also suggests that to a degree the Thai centralised system and economic concerns have weakened the mutual understanding, necessary links, understanding and involvement needed for policy compliance. In some cases, it was identified that the socio-cultural and institutional values practiced among government organisations were exercised with those outside the public sector in ways that led to inappropriate conduct, unequal enforcement and even corruption.

The investigation of the consultation process revealed that meetings are common but that they often have been the sole consultative process among Thai institutions, both within government organisations and between them and those outside the public sector. There were no other strong consultative processes or activities that allowed for the representation of concerns from the lower tiers and local levels in the policy process. This reflects the fact that many respondents perceived there to be little intention by government to revise the policy process, despite this possibly helping in implementation success at the local level.

Some respondents also suggested that at times there was inappropriate conduct either among government organisations or with those from outside the public sector. The results show that this issue were mostly related to neglect by authorities, personal benefits and lax enforcement, all of which can make it difficult to achieve policy intentions. Arguably, the Thai socio-cultural and institutional values identified earlier may have influenced the actors' ideology in Thai institutions, and thus there has been variable commitment from national and local government and their on-the-ground implementers in putting policy into practice. Unsurprisingly, some psychological motivations, notably salary and personal welfare, can be particularly influential in the context of the developing world.

Like many developing countries, the findings suggest that Thailand's political and economic specifics have contributed to a degree of overlapping responsibilities among government organisations. With the current style of governance and limited policy resources, little is likely to change. It is therefore important for Thai institutions to encourage effective collaboration and co-operation between organisations, which perhaps can be hard to achieve, but is likely to improve policy success. As this study suggests, the highly centralised system has impacted on the level of local participation in the policy process, and also there has often been limited consideration given to local and external circumstances and issues.

There has been a continuing story of centralisation and weak economic development in Thailand that seems to have contributed to various deficits in Phuket's tourism policy implementation. The examination of institutional issues reveals that tourism policy implementation has suffered from various Thai socio-cultural and institutional specifics which seem to have become embedded in Thailand and its people. The study shows that there is only limited trust in Thailand's institutions and their actors, and there appears to be a need for more public support for local people and the private sector. Limited understanding of local and external circumstances and issues

will not help the centralised Thai government to overcome problems in its policies. It suggests there is a need for quite radical changes in Thailand's style of governance towards a more decentralised system with more participation from local levels and a greater understanding of the socio-cultural and institutional barriers.

The next chapter deals with policy clarity and resources in relation to tourism policy implementation.

Chapter 9   Clarity and Resources in Policy Implementation

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The clarity of policies and the resources available for their implementation are other key areas in this research. Clear policy and legal instruments with non-contradictory instructions are a necessary condition for successful implementation. According to Brunetto and Wharton (2003:127), a good policy needs to be clear in relation to the allocation of responsibilities for its implementation. Weak policies often lack clarity and the identification of individuals and departments responsible for implementation. Policy frameworks should also include an independent agency which would be responsible for facilitating and monitoring policy implementation, as well as taking appropriate action when there is a serious case of non compliance (Mwendera *et al.*, 2003). Appropriate and sufficient levels of accompanying policy resources are similarly important. These resources include the availability of money, staff, time and power (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980; Morah, 1996). Implementers' skills, motivation and commitment are also significant resources in policy implementation (Younis, 1990; Chackerian and Mavima, 2001).

This chapter serves two purposes. First, it examines the detailed findings concerning the degree of policy clarity in the implementation process. This includes policy precision, complexities and realism. It will secondly explore the level of accompanying resources perceived by the respondents, and it will also assess their perceptions about the availability of policy resources. These include financial and staff support and other relevant policy resources.

9.2   CLARITY OF POLICIES

The clarity of policy involves the extent to which people understand, perceive and receive policy information. This is significant in how relevant parties will perform their work and implement a policy. A lack of clarity of policy objectives, instructions, roles and responsibilities can increase the chance of implementation failure. A government policy needs to clearly identify what should be done and who is responsible within the implementation framework (Eagles and McCool, 2002; Brunetto and Wharton, 2003). According to Gogging *et al.,* (1990), three factors may affect the ability of people to implement and understand government policies. These are: the clarity of the policy itself and the level of resources attached to it; identification of the

responsible organisations; and finally the member of staff's skills, motivation and the level of group cohesiveness. In putting a policy into practice, the roles of the involved parties and organisations is also an important dimension, as this relates to the level of job tension, wellbeing and the performance of individuals and their organisations, and job satisfaction within and between organisations, the aim being to develop seamless relationships facilitating implementation (Kelly *et al.*, 1981).

This section examines respondents' perceptions on issues related to policy clarity. Six key areas are discussed. Attention is given to the following:

- Whether the policies of central government have been precise enough about how local government should put policy into practice in Phuket.
- Whether the policy has been difficult to put into practice in Phuket.
- Whether the local government has been clear about what to do about putting the policy into practice.
- Whether there have been instances where the requirements of the policies have not been communicated clearly.
- Whether policy intentions have been achieved.
- What changes would most improve how policies are put into practice in Phuket.

This section is organised into five main sections that focus respectively on policy precision, policy complexities, local government clarity in implementing policies, policy communication and finally the realism of policies. The precision of policy is discussed first.

9.2.1 Policy precision

Information in relation to policy precision was obtained by asking the respondents: **"Has this policy/Have these policies of central government been precise enough about how local government should put it/them into practice in Phuket?"** Most respondents simply responded in a positive or negative manner. They also provided further explanation, mostly related to possible causes of policy imprecision. Further, the respondents tended to address this enquiry in general and not specifically for one policy, unless otherwise stated. Detailed findings of the respondents' perceptions on policy precision are listed in Table 9.1 in descending order of their occurrence.

Table 9.1 Responses to policy precision

Sectors \\ Policy Clarity Responses	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Imprecise	2	5	1	3	6	17
2. Precise	3	3	3	3	5	17
3. Other responses	-	-	2	1	1	4
4. Don't know	-	-	-	-	4	4
5. Mixed feelings	1	-	1	-	-	2
Total						44

It is notable that 17 respondents perceived the policies as imprecise. These respondents were two national government public employees, five provincial government officers, a local government actor, three tourism authority representatives and six private sector respondents. They mostly experienced some difficulties in policy language. To be more specific, 10 of these 17 made their responses around the broad nature of policy language that always required interpretation. While a TAT region 4 representative mentioned that the policy was not precise and clear, "it was vaguely written and you need to interpret it", a Phuket MP further suggested that, "policy must be broad for local interpretation, depending on the leading political party of each government, some were quick, others could be too detailed to be nearly impossible to be implemented". Perhaps the best way to sum up this concern for unclear policy language is derived from the comment of a Patong municipality officer who mentioned that, "the policy needs us to make a study and interpret it, especially for the protected area. This has got so many details and we must also ask for central approval". The remaining seven of the 17 respondents were more concerned with policy language that was difficult to understand. It is interesting that this is mostly considered by provincial public officers, a local government actor and private sector participants, who represented the local echelon of the Thai public hierarchy. While a provincial police officer mentioned that meetings were held to try to understand the policy, a TAT region 4 staff member stated that, "it was difficult to understand the policy's use of language, when you read it you never understand it". Further, a hotel Front Office manager went on to explain that the policy was not clear and he knew about it from the media. This has implications not only for the policy's language but also the way that government communicates its policy at local level in Thailand. It is important that 10 of the respondents in this category went on to comment about the absence of specific instructions for organisations involved in the policy's implementation. These were mostly public authorities at local levels. They similarly highlighted that they struggled with vague and imprecise policy language, since there was no obviously responsible

organisation and some organisations could opt out of taking part in its implementation. This is typified by the comment of a marine police officer who argued that, "many organisations did not know what to do since there was no specific instruction". Further, a tourist police officer explained that there was misunderstanding on clarity of role among government agencies in implementing beach safety, where many organisations were involved, namely marine police, tourist police, local police, marine department and privately hired beach guards. This suggests that there has been some confusion over the role of organisations involved in the implementation of these tourism policies. This problem can be summed up by the comment of a TAT region 4 executive who mentioned that, "there was a serious need for specific instruction and explanation of roles and responsibilities of the involved parties. It was vague and unclear".

More positively, as many as 17 respondents considered that the policies were precise and understandable. This was identified by three national government employees, three provincial public officers, three local government actors, three tourism authority representatives and five private sector respondents. While some simply said that the policies were clear and understandable, others asserted that there was no room for any interpretation as most policies were well written. They mostly believed that policy precision was well checked before their proclamation through official assessment of the government process and this correlated with available legal frameworks. This is typified by comments of a local TAO member and a tourist police officer who mentioned that, "policies were clear and systematic since they were double-checked and made compatible with other related laws and local policies". Several local government and private sector respondents were also positive about this policy precision.

Table 9.1 also indicates that views from four respondents were classified in the 'other responses' category. There were no direct answers from them in this category. Specifically, two local government actors, one tourism authority representative and one privately hired beach guard expressed a view that local people should have taken part in policy formulation. Four private sector respondents also provided 'don't know' answers since they all claimed that they had never seen the policies in question. This demonstrates limited local involvement in policy processes in Thailand. Finally, two respondents held mixed feelings about policy clarity. A national government representative stated that policy can be either precise or imprecise. A local government representative also suggested that, "some aspects may be unclear, others may not".

To summarise, there were significant differences in respondents' perceptions on the clarity of policy. Whereas 17 respondents generally indicated that the policies were difficult to understand, needed further interpretation and required more specific instructions, 17 others held a noticeably contrasting opinion. They instead considered that policies were well written and clear. Four private sector participants with 'don't know' responses suggested that some private sector respondents were likely to have no opinion on policy issues. Some respondents from the 'other' category also identified the lack of local participation and involvement in the policy process. Although this was less marked, it reflects limited local representation in the Thai policy process. It is perhaps not only the problem of clear policy language but the specific and clear instruction of roles, duties and responsibilities that will facilitate policy implementation.

9.2.2 Policy complexity

There are several dimensions of policy complexity. Technological, institutional, socio-cultural and human considerations may all constrain the achievement of policy (Morah, 1996; Tosun, 2000). According to Lewis and Wallace (1984), some policies may have unrealistic requirements in practice. To examine possible policy complexities, the study asked the respondents: **"How complex has it been to put this policy/these policies into practice in Phuket?"** Some respondents simply provided positive and negative answers, however others offered further explanation. The question tended to be answered in general, rather than specifically on a particular policy. The findings are summarised and presented by the frequency of their occurrence in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2 Responses to policy complexity in policy implementation

Sectors / Policy Complexity Responses	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1.Not complex/not difficult	3	3	3	3	9	21
2. Complex/difficult	2	5	3	3	7	20
3. Mixed feelings	-	-	1	1	-	2
4. No answer	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total						44

Table 9.2 shows that 21 out of the 44 respondents considered that the policy was not too complex to be put into practice. This was made up by nine private sector respondents, three national government employees, three provincial government officers, three local government actors and three tourism authority representatives. Most public sector respondents in this category mentioned that it was not difficult since there

was support and clear duties among government organisations and in some cases there were clear legal frameworks in support of policy implementation. This is typified by the comment of a tourist police officer who mentioned that, "here in Phuket, it's not been complex at all, they are complying with the government policy and existing regulations." In a similar way, most private sector respondents considered that policies were neither too complex nor too difficult for public sector agencies to put them into practice. This is typified by the comment of a tour company owner who stated that, "no, not complex, not difficult, especially when you understand and can be responsible for it". It is interesting that 12 of these 21 respondents, mostly private sector respondents, went on to give their opinions on several factors that would facilitate successful policy implementation. These included better degrees of financial support, an increase in staffing, training, local awareness, mutual understanding, support from central government and enforcement. This can be summed by the comment of a Phuket MP who stated that, "no, it's not complex, it's achievable, easy as we've got a clear area to work in but we need more men and money".

In contrast, 20 out of the 44 respondents held a conflicting opinion. These respondents perceived policy implementation to be complex and difficult to be realised as intended. They also suggested various causes that they believed were contributing to the complexity of policy implementation. A PPO senior officer, for example mentioned that policy was difficult due to the poor quality and capacity of unqualified law enforcers and local implementers. Another example was where a local TAO member stated that, "the policy was quite complex and difficult in Phuket due to influential people or 'Head Boss' who had close relationships with those in the public sector". Three main issues were raised among these respondents. These included various institutional interdependencies, local socio-cultural constraints and resource constraints. These are listed in descending order of their occurrence in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3 Possible causes of policy complexity identified by 20 respondents

Sectors / Possible Causes of Policy Complexities	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Various organisations' involvement and dependency	-	2	-	2	4	8
2. Local socio-cultural constraints	2	2	2	-	1	7
3. Resource constraints	-	1	1	1	2	5
Total						20

Table 9.3 indicates that eight out of the 20 respondents who expressed the opinion that policy implementation was complex were concerned with the involvement and interdependency of various organisations in policy implementation. For example, a nightclub manager explained that, "policy implementation in Phuket needed a lot of co-operation from relevant organisations." A TAT region 4 officer suggested that, "policy issues involved many organisations to accomplish". A tour company manager mentioned that policy implementation was difficult because the public sector seriously needed to understand and co-operate with the private sector in Phuket. This implies that successful policy implementation engages with various involved parties both within and across public and private sectors. Most importantly, their co-operation and working relationships have a major influence on policy implementation outcomes.

Seven out of these 20 respondents were also concerned with local socio-cultural constraints. Four of the seven commented on social conditions that were mostly influenced by social heterogeneity and patron-client relations. This is typified by the comment of a PPO vice executive who stated that, "the policy has been very complex and difficult due to some specifics in the society as well as heterogeneity in Phuket resulting from local migration from other provinces". The remaining three of those seven respondents were more concerned with the influence of patron and client relationships, which were believed to have had an impact on policy in terms of enforcement and commitment. This is typified by the comment of a marine police officer who stated that, "I think the complexity is to do with the corruption and patronage system in society". The final five of these respondents were more concerned with deficiencies in policy resources, notably staff and finance. To be more specific, while a PPO senior officer directly stated that the low qualification of local government officers led to poor enforcement and implementation, two tourism authority representatives argued that policy implementation would have been easier with more financial support and autonomy. Table 9.2 indicates two respondents with mixed feelings about policy complexity. While a municipality officer mentioned that policy implementation was neither easy nor difficult, a local TAT region 4 staff member stated that some policies may be easy, others may be difficult. Only one respondent provided no answer to this question.

To sum up, it is clear that there were two contrasting views expressed by the respondents. 21 out of the 44 respondents believed that policy implementation was generally not complex. In contrast, 20 respondents perceived that policy implementation was complex. Critical issues related to interdependencies among involved parties, local

socio-cultural specifics and resource deficiencies. This strong contrast suggests a conflict of interest in policy implementation. Nevertheless, it is clear that a large proportion of the 44 respondents, from both viewpoints, perceived that there are several factors related to power, resources, co-operation, dependency and local socio-cultural specifics that have a strong bearing on policy implementation.

9.2.3 Local government clarity in implementing policies

This section examines the respondents' perceptions on local government's understanding in implementing tourism policies in Phuket. Views were obtained by asking the respondents: **"Has local government been clear about what to do about putting this policy/these policies into practice?"** The question was open to allow the respondents to contribute their opinion on any of the three selected policies. Most respondents did not answer in direct relation to the three tourism-related policies but addressed this as an overall question of local government clarity in implementing tourism related policies. Table 9.4 lists the findings by their frequency of occurrence.

Table 9.4 Local governments' clarity and understanding in implementing tourism related policies

Sectors Local Government Clarity in Implementing Tourism Policies	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Local governments did not understand and were not clear about their roles in implementing the policies.	4	3	3	1	11	22
2. Local government well understood and were clear about their roles in implementing the policies.	2	3	1	5	4	15
3. Other responses	-	2	2	1	1	5
4. Mixed feelings	-	-	1	-	1	2
Total						44

Table 9.4 shows that 22 out of the 44 respondents considered that local government was generally unclear about their role in policy implementation. Some respondents simply stated that local government generally was not clear about policy implementation. Others offered more explanatory and descriptive responses. These included issues of a lack of understanding between central government and local government, limited knowledge and education of local government actors, and limited or no information from central level to local governments. Five respondents (a national government representative and four private sector respondents) argued in a similar way

that local governments were unclear about policy implementation, as central government and local governments did not share the same understanding or knowledge about policy issues and processes. This is typified by the comment of a tour company manager who mentioned that, "the central government and local governments did not share the same understanding, hence local governments did not see it clearly". Three other respondents, two local government representatives in particular, were more concerned about a lack of clear information and instructions to local governments. A PPAO member asserted that, "it's only a piece of paper that's sent down to us, asking for co-operation and so on". Another three respondents suggested that a lack of understanding resulted from a low level of education among local government officers. This is typified by the comments of a national marine department executive and a provincial police inspector who similarly mentioned that local government, especially local TAOs, were not well educated which was why policy issues were difficult and complex for them and led to obstacles to development and law enforcement.

In contrast, 15 out of the 44 respondents held a contrasting opinion. They mostly considered that local governments generally understood policy issues and were also clear in policy implementation. This is typified by the comment of a provincial police officer who stated that, "I think they have understood it well and have been precise about it". While some simply mentioned that policies were not difficult for local governments to understand, four public sector respondents highlighted that local governments were precise about policy implementation because of information and support from central government and ministerial units as well as support and collaboration from the provincial level. For example, a TAT senior officer asserted that, "we have the same action plan everywhere, there shouldn't be any problems". Five of these 15 respondents, despite their affirmation of local governments' policy implementation clarity went further and suggested that although local governments were clear about policy implementation, it did not always mean that they would be committed to implementation as there were issues of personal benefits, cultural and traditional limitations and education involved which could result in non-implementation. This is typified by the comment of a PTA member who stated that, "they have been clear but they just don't do it, they don't do it". This may reflect little trust in local governments' commitment and performance in Thai public administration. Some of their comments are listed in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5 Comments on local governments' clarity and understanding in implementing tourism-related policies

"They are clear, but there are issues of benefits, their own benefits involved". A TAT region 4 vice executive

"They do understand but there are cultural and traditional limitations that undermine them in practice" A national marine police inspector

"They understand but they can take it as a non-duty for them by not solving the problem seriously" A TAT region 4 executive

"They do but in practice there are limitations of their education or local nature stuff". A PPO vice executive

Table 9.4 shows that five respondents were classified into 'other responses.' These respondents were indecisive and provided rather limited comments. Provincial public officers in particular explained that local governments' clarity in implementing policies must be assured by good collaboration between the provincial and local government levels, as well as more training and education to enhance local governments' knowledge and ability. A PPO executive explained that the process of working together between provincial and local government levels would enhance local governments' clarity. A PPAO executive also suggested that, "local government have increasingly understood their roles in policies and their implementation, compared to before, which was a huge loss in Thai public administration (in terms of local government capacity to implement policies). " Finally, a local government representative and a privately hired beach guard considered in a similar way that some local governments may be precise about their roles, others may not.

Responses to this question suggest that a large proportion of respondents perceived local governments to be not clear about policy implementation in their local area. This was perceived to have been caused by missing links between central government and local government, insufficient information and limited knowledge among staff in local government. A smaller number of respondents considered that local governments generally were clear about implementing policies. However, five of these respondents expressed similar concerns about the limited knowledge of local government staff and additional socio-cultural limitations that could undermine their commitment and later performance. There thus seems to be some overlapping concerns about local governments' knowledge and socio-cultural limitations at the local level among the respondents in every category. A possible explanation might be that there have been shortcomings in Thai local government, and especially in its most localised form (the TAOs,), with these being under-qualified to deal with policy implementation. Given the complexities of the Thai tourism industry, economic conditions and society, local governments may have a strong impact on the success of policy implementation

(Mongkolnchaiarunya, 2005). It is therefore important to consider the capacity, in terms of knowledge and ability at this level (Murray, 1997; Arghiros, 2001; Nelson, 2001).

9.2.4 Policy communication

This section deals with respondent perceptions of policy communication. Top-down policy communication practices have long been exercised under the Thai centralised system of government (McCargo, 2002). Nevertheless, at the time of writing, official and institutional structures in Thailand are being restructured. It is hoped that this administrative and cultural shift will contribute to a more consultative, transparent and inclusive decision-making process that involves citizens more (Frewer, 2004). It is thus crucial to communicate a clear message to the receivers in the policy process. To investigate the issues related to policy communication, the respondents were asked: **"Have there been instances where the requirements of this policy/these policies have not been communicated clearly?"** The open nature of this question allowed the respondents to express their views on any of the selected tourism related policies. While some simply provided only positive or negative responses, others provided a more discursive and descriptive explanation. The detailed findings are listed by category in Table 9.6.

Table 9.6 Respondents' perceptions on communication relating to the three tourism-related policies

Sectors / Responses on Communication Relating to the Three Tourism-Related Policies	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. There were instances where the requirements of the policy/policies have not been communicated clearly.	2	5	2	2	6	17
2. There was no instance where the requirements of the policy/policies have not been communicated clearly.	-	2	-	2	1	5
3. Mixed feeling/depend	1	-	2	-	1	4
4. Other responses.	3	1	3	2	4	13
5. Don't know/ can't evaluate	-	-	-	1	4	5
Total						44

17 out of the 44 respondents considered that there were instances where the requirements of the policy have not been communicated clearly. These responses came from private sector respondents (6) and provincial government officers (5). The respondents in this category were mostly concerned with misunderstandings between different tiers of government, different interpretations, the overlooking of policy

requirements and unclear messages and communication. Specifically, a local TAO member explained that many local governments did not understand some policy issues and processes and there were cases where the policy issues, notably construction in protected areas, were incorrectly processed. A tour company owner mentioned that, "many things were unclear and private sector people knew little about it." A PPO executive stated that "there were different interpretations at local levels." Additionally, a PPO senior officer asserted that there were cases where local government ignored and overlooked policy details while a provincial police officer highlighted that policy requirements were unclear all the time and he needed to consult with other involved organisations. A privately hired beach guard stated that the written policies and their requirements were often impracticable at local levels. Their responses suggest that there has not only been a problem of communication but also poor liaison, weak networking at local levels as well as limited local involvement. This reinforces the view that top-down communication practices are dominant in Thailand, resulting in gaps in understanding between policymakers and those receiving the information (local governments and local people) (Hilgartner, 1990). This is expressed through the comment of a nightclub manager who mentioned that, "in Thailand, there are chances of policy being misinterpreted where requirements could not be attainable, leading to failure in policy implementation".

Only five respondents held contrasting opinions. These respondents affirmed that there was no problem of communication in the policy process. Two tourism authority representatives explained that they had no experience of unclear communication of policy issues, as in their view the national TAT office in Bangkok and regional TAT offices maintained good communications. Two provincial government officers noted that some representatives from the national level held regular meetings at provincial level to ensure effective communication between central government and local government. A PTA member asserted that there was no communication problem, but that personal benefits sometimes caused local government and the business sector not to comply with policies. This again reflects some conflict among the involved parties in the policy implementation process.

Table 9.6 indicates that the third category was related to respondents with mixed views concerning policy communication. These four respondents considered that the issue of policy communication depended on many factors. Two local government officers commented that this hinged on education, the ability of each individual

involved and the timeframe for policy implementation. A Phuket MP and a hotel manager considered that this depended on specific circumstances.

The fourth category of responses in Table 9.6 was responses that fell into 'other' identified by 13 respondents. These responses mostly referred to other obstacles that made policy requirements unattainable. The identified obstacles varied from issues related to individual sense of responsibility, organisational capacity, power autonomy, local understanding and the top-down approach. For example, a tour company owner stated that policy requirements could be undermined by not only poor communication, but also lax enforcement. Three other respondents suggested that misunderstandings arose from a lack of local understanding and involvement in the policy process. Attention to individual knowledge and conscience was suggested by four other respondents. They were similarly concerned with individual knowledge, conscience and the discipline of local implementers. Three public sector officers considered that the top-down approach and limited power autonomy at local level also undermined policy implementation. This is typified by the comment of a national government employee who stated that, "top-down communication system made things unattainable". In a similar way, a local TAO member explained that the policy and its requirements sent from the top-down could be hard for local governments to understand. The variability of obstacles identified by the 13 respondents in this category implies that communication is not the sole consideration in policy implementation in Thailand. There are also other technical, social, political and even demographic factors that may exacerbate effective liaison and networking for effective policy communication.

As shown in Table 9.6, there were five respondents with 'don't know/can't evaluate' responses. A TAT region 4 officer explained that he could not answer this question as every organisation had different experiences. Four private sector respondents either stated that they did not get involved in the communication process or they hardly saw how the public sector works. They therefore provides no response to this question. This again reflects limited local representation and involvement in Thai governance and its policy process.

In conclusion, a substantial proportion of respondents (17) considered that there were instances of unclear communication which led to unattainable policy requirements. This was mostly believed to have been caused by misunderstandings among different levels of government institutions and a lack of local and tourism stakeholder involvement. Only five respondents perceived that there was no policy communication problem. 13 respondents considered that policy requirements were also challenged by

other factors in relation to technical, political and social aspects within the society and the policy process. Policymakers should perhaps seek ways to maximise communication for effective tourism policy implementation. Other challenges identified, apart from policy communication, may partly explain why policy implementation in Phuket has so far been complex, and clear communication is not the sole factor, with socio-cultural and political considerations also being influential in Thailand (King, 1999). Unless there is a consultative communication approach adopted, moving away from the existing top-down practice, it is likely that those at local levels will have different interpretations and understanding from those at national level regarding tourism policy implementation.

9.2.5 Policy realisation

This section deals with the extent to which policies are realised in Phuket. It examines possible factors that would help to improve policy implementation. This section is therefore organised into two main subsections. It first assesses the degree of achievement of the intentions of the three tourism-related policies. Secondly, it explores the respondents' perceptions on how policy implementation could be improved.

9.2.5.1 The achievement of policy intentions

To examine the respondents' perceptions on the extent to which policy intentions were achieved, the respondents were asked: **"Do you think that policy intentions have been achieved for this policy/these policies?"** As three tourism-related policies are involved, it is important to note that while some respondents assessed the actual achievement of all three policies, others only responded in connection with the one or two polices that most related to their work. The findings are listed in Table 9.7.

Table 9.7 Degree of policy achievement identified by the respondents

Sectors / Policies & Their Achievements	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
Entertainment Venues						
Mostly achieved	-	4	5	4	7	20
Mostly not achieved	1	1	-	1	3	6
Mixed feelings/ partly achieved	1	-	1	-	1	3
Other responses	2	1	-	1	3	7
Protected Area						
Mostly achieved	1	-	1	1	4	7
Mostly not achieved	1	4	5	4	7	21
Mixed feelings/ partly achieved	2	2	-	1	1	6
Other responses	1	1	1	-	1	4
Beach Safety						
Mostly achieved	2	2	4	6	9	23
Mostly not achieved	1	-	1	-	3	5
Mixed feelings/ partly achieved	-	3	-	1	1	5
Other responses	1	1	1	1	1	5

Table 9.7 indicates that 20 respondents affirmed that the entertainment venue policy's intentions were mostly achieved. This number included seven private sector respondents, four provincial government officers, five local government officers and four tourism authority representatives. All seven private sector respondents, four of whom are from night entertainment venues, considered that the entertainment venues policy's intentions were mostly achieved due to its rigid inspection and enforcement. This is typified by the comment of a nightclub owner who mentioned that, "it was 100% achievement, due to its actual rigid inspection". Likewise, four tourism authority representatives perceived the rigorous enforcement and good co-ordination among government agencies as indicative of the achievement of policy intentions. Most respondents from the public sector provincial and local levels also commented that this policy's intentions were highly achieved. This is typified by similar comments from a PPAO executive and a town police inspector who mentioned that, "it's been quite well, successful as targeted". It is interesting that most of the respondents in this category particularly commented on rigid enforcement. Nevertheless, little was said about successful compliance levels or other outcomes of the policy. These results suggest that most respondents from the local level were highly positive about the achievement of this policy's intentions, especially as regards inspection and enforcement.

Only six of the 44 respondents did not consider that the intentions of the entertainment venue policy were achieved. These respondents included three from the private sector respondents, one each from the national and provincial public sector, and one from the tourism authority. While some simply provided 'no' responses, others offered more detailed comments. These included comments around its unsuitability, limited local consideration and involvement, intermittent enforcement and difficulties between public and private sectors. To be more specific, a Phuket MP mentioned that, "the entertainment policy's intentions were incompatible and their implementation is intermittent". She explained that its enforcement was unreliable and depended on government pressure. A PPO executive also suggested that the policy limited commercial activities and business benefits which were opposed locally, making implementation difficult to achieve. A private hired beach guard asserted that, "there are many obstacles, not achieved". This reflects some difficulties that implementers are likely to have encountered in putting this policy into practice.

Table 9.7 also shows that three respondents held mixed feelings about its achievement. They suggested that there were two sides to the question. A tour company owner stated that, "this also depends on areas of implementation". Seven respondents fell in the 'other responses' category. They offered indecisive but discursive responses concerning some progress of the policy, implementing techniques at local level and the attempts of public authorities. For example, a tour company owner suggested that the implementing techniques were incorrectly applied. A PPO executive considered that they did their best in implementing this policy.

With regards to the protected area policy, table 9.7 indicates that only seven respondents affirmed achievement of this policy's intentions. Three simply said that they gave a high percentage on its achievement. This is typified by the similar remarks of an ONEP senior officer and a local TAO member who mentioned that, "the intentions of the protected area were achieved quite a lot".

In contrast to these positive remarks, 21 respondents did not consider that the intentions of the protected area policy were achieved. These were a national government employee, four provincial government officers, five local government officers, four tourism authority representatives and seven private sector respondents. While some simply considered that the intentions were not achieved and its implementation and enforcement were ineffective, others provided examples of environmental problems that were ongoing in Phuket. For example, a provincial police officer suggested that the protected area policy intentions were only slowly being implemented while a PPO

senior officer and a PPAO executive considered that nature degradation in Phuket was still high and suggested that the policy's intentions had not been achieved. One even asserted that the Phuket environment was in crisis. Most of the private sector participants in this category considered that there were also issues of neglect of authority, and that personal benefits may have led to lax enforcement. A PTA member and a PETA executive suggested that there were problems with local authorities who seemed not to do their work. One asserted that, "the enforcers did not enforce and implement the policy". In a similar way, a local TAO member as well as a privately hired beach guard considered that for the protected area policy intentions to have been better achieved, there was serious need of stricter enforcement and more legal actions. A nightclub manager also asserted that an issue with public authorities was cronyism. This may be summed up by the similar comments made by a provincial police officer and a TAT region 4 staff member who considered that the policy could have achieved more without personal benefits. These responses suggest that local enforcement may have been lax. A possible explanation is that the protected area policy covers a wide area of Phuket, including 32 small islands, which makes it hard to ensure implementation and enforcement throughout the region. Furthermore, land and construction are sensitive issues for people in Phuket as it is a major tourist area where money and power are highly involved. This may be indicative of social, economic and political influences in the area. Figure 9.1 shows some images of poor environmental quality around Phuket's beaches.

Figure 9.1 Land encroachment around Phuket's beaches

Table 9.7 also indicates that perceptions of six other respondents were classified in the 'mixed feelings/partly achieved' category. Their responses included observations of some recent improvements. However, these were coupled with some limitations, mostly with local implementers. This is typified by the comments of a provincial police officer and a local TAT region 4 executive who mentioned that, "still, there are cases of bad implementers but it's getting better". At the time of conducting fieldwork, there was government pressure on land encroachment in Phuket. This may partly explain improvement of the protected area policy's achievement.

Table 9.7 also shows that four other respondents fell into 'other responses' category. These comments included that the public sector tried their hardest to implement policy but Phuket had more environmental limitations than other provinces. This may reflect a conflict between policy intentions from the national level and local environmental realities in Thailand.

With regard to the third policy, Table 9.7 shows that 23 out of the 44 respondents affirmed high levels of achievement of the beach safety policy's intentions. These were two national government employees, two provincial government officers, four local government officers, six tourism authority representatives and nine private sector respondents. Most of their responses were made around the success and problem-free nature of the beach safety policy as a policy that boosts the image of Phuket's tourism. Some respondents simply said the beach safety intentions and implementation were highly achieved or successful. A marine police officer stated that there was no problem with beach safety. A TAO member mentioned that, "it's crystal clear for the beach safety intentions' achievement". This view is also represented in the comments of a PPAO executive who stated that, "beach safety in Phuket was well achieved compared with other provinces". A large proportion of the respondents thus agreed that the beach safety policy's intentions had been achieved in Phuket.

Table 9.7 also indicates that five out of the 44 respondents had a contrasting perception. These included three private sector respondents, one national government employee and one tourism authority representative. These respondents considered that it was unclear whether the beach safety policy's intentions had been achieved. Some private sector respondents were concerned about its non-implementation since they had not observed any actions from the public authorities on beach safety in Phuket. This is typified by the comments of a tour company manager and a hotel front office manager who explained that beach safety was unclear to them as they did not experience it. This suggests some deficits in policy communication as well as in policy processes. A

Phuket MP and a TAT region 4 staff member were also concerned that there was inadequate equipment for beach safety as well as other resources to achieve the policy's intentions. This reflects the significance of policy communication, local involvement and policy resources in securing effective policy outcomes. Figure 9.2 illustrates some of the resources available for beach guards in Phuket.

Figure 9.2 Resources available for beach guard service in Phuket

Table 9.7 also indicates that five other respondents held mixed feelings or thought the policy's intentions were partly achieved. These respondents argued that this depended on other factors. For instance, two provincial government officers believed that beach safety intentions were partly achieved, but dependent on the available equipment. Five other respondents who fell into the 'other responses' category were concerned with the sufficiency of resources to achieve beach safety intentions, more legal backup and support from the PPAO. Three respondents from the public sector were concerned about a lack of equipment and financial support. The remaining two respondents regarded the PPAO support and better co-operation as being important in achieving this policy's intentions. This suggests that policy resources, support, co-operation and legal backup are necessary for the achievement of the beach safety policy's intentions.

In conclusion, the findings seem to divide broadly between those policies that are central government originated and those that are local in origin. It is notable that only seven respondents considered that the policy intentions for protected areas were achieved. A substantial number of respondents (20) considered that the entertainment venues policy intentions were achieved. They particularly regarded rigid inspection and enforcement as evidence of this policy's achievement. However, there were significant overlapping concerns around the barriers identified by those with negative, mixed and other responses for these two government policies, although these were smaller in number. These included non-local involvement, lax enforcement, the unsuitability of the policy and non-compliance. These issues suggest that policymakers should seek ways to involve and understand local people, private sector interests and local implementers.

Contrary to these central government policies, the beach safety policy, being of local origin, was far better perceived by a large number of respondents (23) in terms of the achievement of its intentions. The respondents perceived that the policy provided a good image of Phuket as a safe tourist destination. However, there were overlapping concerns regarding liaison with private sector respondents, policy resource support and legal power from the government and involved parties. This implies that to achieve the beach safety policy intentions does not only depend on its local origin, but also on a good level of government support, policy resources and liaison with local people and private sector interests. This suggests that top-down policies present more of a challenge in achieving their intentions than do locally originated policies. However, issues of more local involvement, more support, better enforcement and better liaison from public and private sector seems to have been highly regarded for all three policies.

Policymakers in Thailand should apply a more participatory, integral and consultative system to minimise these downfalls, as well as to enable the implementable and harmonious result of their policy intentions at local levels.

9.2.5.2 Changes that help improve tourism-related policy implementation

·This section examines interviewees' suggestions for changes that would be most helpful to improve policy implementation. The respondents were asked: "**In your opinion, what changes, if any would be of most help to improve how this policy/these policies is/are put into practice in Phuket?**" Most participants identified more than one aspect which they thought would improve the implementation of the three selected tourism related policies. There were varying opinions regarding possible changes. These are listed in descending order of their occurrences in Table 9.8

Table 9.8 Changes to improve implementation of the tourism-related policies

Sectors The Identified Changes	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Stricter and more consistent legal enforcement	1	3	5	2	7	18
2. More resources for policies	2	4	1	6	4	17
3.More co-operation, consolidation and closer networking among the involved parties	--	4	1	3	2	12
4. Better and clearer development plans and strategies	2	-	2	1	1	6
5. Special local autonomous administration and decentralisation	1	3 ·	1	-	1	6
6. Better discipline, management and control of public administration	1	2	-	-	3	6
7. More sense of responsibility and moral duty	3	-	1	-	2	6
8. Clearer environmental planning and action plans	1	1	2	-	1	5
9. More local understanding	1	-	1	1	1	4
10. More local and stakeholder involvement	-	-	-	1	3	4
11. Manpower development	2	2	-	-	-	4
12. Better communication	-	1	2	-	-	3
13. Consensus, same goals, mutual consent across the network	-	2	-	-	1	3
14. Central and public support	-	-	1	-	2	3
15. Build up awareness and education	-	-	-	1	2	3
16. Better public relations	-	-	-	-	3	3
17. Better leaders	-	1	1	-	-	2
18. More commitment	-	1	1	-	-	2
19. More government rigour	-	1	-	1	-	2
20. More training	-	-	1	-	1	2
21. Strong local networking and local consolidation	-	-	1	-	1	2
22. More time allowed to implement	-	-	-	1	1	2
23. Clearer and more consistent implementation	-	-	-	-	2	2
24. Change in traditional values	1	-	-	-	-	1
25. Stronger local government from	-	1	-	-	-	1

282

local capacity building						
26.Better staff disposition	-	-	-	1	-	1
27. More updated laws	-	-	-	1	-	1
28. Policy revision and change	-	-	-	1	-	1
29. Better central and local links	-	-	-	-	1	1
30. Clear role of responsible organisation	-	-	-	-	1	1
31. Zoning arrangements	-	-	-	-	1	1
32. Information	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total						126

The most common issue identified by 18 out of the 44 respondents raised in this context related to law enforcement. These respondents included one national government employee, three provincial government officers, five local government officers, two tourism authority representatives and seven private sector respondents. Their responses focused on the need for more rigorous, consistent and stricter enforcement in policy implementation. This was mainly raised by private sector respondents (7) and local government officers (5). The respondents in this category suggested that serious and equitable enforcement is a tool for successful implementation. This is typified by the comments of a local TAO member and a nightclub owner who mentioned that "rigorous enforcement is the most effective way of policy implementation in Thailand". An ONEP senior officer explained that strictness of enforcement could also reduce non-compliance, saying that, "a better law enforcement would enable fewer problems to the policy in practice". This not only suggests the need and significance of rigorous enforcement in tourism policy implementation in Phuket, but also suggests that there have been issues about lax enforcement in the process.

The second most common response, mentioned by 17 of the 44 respondents, related to resources for policy implementation. These were two national government employees, four provincial government officers, a local government officer, six tourism authority representatives and four private sector respondents. The public sector respondents in particular perceived policy resources as a vital apparatus in implementing policy. While some referred to financial resources, others mentioned the number of staff, equipment and other technical assistance that would facilitate policy implementation. This is typified by the comment of a PPO senior officer who stated that, "more financial support to local level will enhance local governments in several areas, notably the capacity building to help them in managing and solving problems". In a similar way, two tourist police officers explained that adequate financial and staff allocation would have made the implementation process easier. Furthermore, a PTA member pointed out that consistent policy resources contribute to consistent implementation and enforcement. The fact that 17 respondents placed a high value on

the significance of policy resources was an expected result, as the shortage of resources for implementing tourism policies has been a consistent finding in this research.

More co-operation, consolidation and closer networks among the involved parties in the policy community were the third most mentioned issue by 12 respondents. These included a few respondents from every sector except the national public sector. They mostly suggested that all relevant bodies, both public and private sectors, should work together in order to achieve the policies' intentions. A provincial environmental officer commented that, "for policy success, we need to make sure that all relevant ministries, organisations and factors are working and consolidating together". A PPO executive further explained that policy implementation needed those involved parties to think and work together. He asserted that, "by that, we can make this island a nice place for locals to live and a nice destination for tourists to visit". In a similar way, three tourism authority representatives considered that good co-ordination and co-operation between public and private sectors are vital tools for the successful implementation of the tourism policies. This can be summed up by the comment of a tourist police officer who stated that, "working hand-in-hand among the involved parties is necessary as if they see things differently, policy implementation will never be successful". This reflects the significance of harmony, integrity and homogeneity in tourism policy implementation. It is likely that the fragmented nature of the tourism industry has a significant impact on policy implementation in this context.

In the fourth category, there were four matters of equal concern to the respondents. These were issues relating to development plans and strategies, special local autonomous administration, discipline and the control of public administration and finally conscience and moral duty in public authorities. These issues received equal attention from six respondents. With regard to development plans and strategies, two national government employees, two local government officers, one tourism authority representative and one private sector respondent considered in a similar way that it would be helpful to have a clearer development plan and strategy to guide the direction of the tourism industry in Phuket. This is typified by the comment of an ONEP senior officer, that there needs to be clear guidance for policy formulation and implementation for Phuket and its tourism industry. A Phuket MP also asserted that clear direction and goals for Phuket province will negotiate the way public and private sectors work together. A possible explanation might be that Thai centralisation has rarely specifically addressed Phuket development plans and strategies, leading to possible gaps between

different tiers as well as public and private sectors, in implementing tourism policies in Phuket.

Special local autonomous administration also received equal attention from six respondents. These were identified by three provincial government officers, one national government employee, one local government officer and one private sector respondent. A PPO senior officer and a PTA member mentioned that local autonomy allowed one local organisation to run the island and deal with its problems autonomously. A Phuket MP explained that special administration in Phuket allowed Phuket people who understand local issues to manage their province. This reveals that there are demands for a more decentralised approach to Thai governance and policy processes.

Better discipline and management in Thai public administration was the third issue here. This was expressed by three private sector respondents, one national government employee and two provincial government officers. They were mostly concerned with discipline and quality in Thai public administration and its constituent authorities. An ONRE executive suggested that the public administration must be more disciplined to get rid of abusive authorities. A provincial town police officer explained that better management of public administration would contribute to "rightful way of enforcement". In a similar way, three private sector respondents considered that better public sector management would contribute to a different outcome of policy implementation. It suggests that the re-engineering of Thai public administration is also a subject of some demand.

A sense of responsibility and morals are the last issues in this context. This was identified by three national government employees, one local government officer and two private sector respondents. They were mostly concerned with the decreasing level of morality in Thai society, public organisations and officials, as underpinning concepts of Thai Buddhist society. To be more specific, two national marine police officers and a Phuket MP expressed similarly that good conscience, among public authorities in particular, was needed for successful policy implementation. This can be summed up by the comments of two privately hired beach guards who considered that, "good conscience brought about a sense of responsibility to work consistently and equally for everyone". This again suggests the influence of socio-cultural factors on Thai policy implementation. Significantly, other changes were identified by a smaller number of respondents as listed in Table 9.8. These are generally related to technical issues such as clearer planning, more local and stakeholder involvement and networks and better and

updated communication techniques from the public sector, and education, development and commitment issues.

To summarise, out of a wide range of responses, enforcement was the most common issue identified by 18 respondents who regarded that stricter and more consistent enforcement was a vital apparatus in putting policy into practice. Policy resources were second most mentioned by 17 respondents. These responses highlighted the significance of consistency, rigour and seriousness in law enforcement in putting policy into practice. Co-operation and close networking among all involved parties were the third influential issues, identified by 12 respondents. These entailed the need for good liaison, understanding and consent among stakeholders involved in working together in achieving policy goals. There were also another four issues that received attention in this context. These include the ability to understand local and policy issues, the need for a clear Phuket development plan and strategy, the need for special local autonomous Phuket administration and a degree of conscience and morality in implementing the tourism policies. Other issues were raised by smaller numbers of respondents which were mostly associated with two major factors; technical and socio-cultural. The technical factors in this context may include better communication, government support and attention, updated laws, information, raising awareness, task delegation and local involvement. Meanwhile, socio-cultural factors here may involve the change of traditional values and degrees of commitment. These findings highlight two issues. It firstly aids understanding of tourism policy implementation in Phuket. Second, it may also indicate implementation gaps that, from the variability of factors identified by the respondents, are likely to have been barriers to the implementation process. Tourism policy and its implementation are vital for the sustainable development of Phuket tourism. The policymakers as well as destination managers should seek ways to ensure effective law enforcement, sufficient levels of accompanying policy resources, cooperative and close links among involved stakeholders, more consultative technical approaches and an ability to understand the socio-cultural specifics of Phuket and Thailand.

9. 3 POLICY RESOURCES

According to Nakamura and Smallwood (1980) and Morah (1996), policy resources include the availability of money, staff, time and power. It is widely accepted that less developed countries have limited policy resources (Koch, 1997 in Scheyvens, 2002; Hughes, 2003; Liu and Wall, 2006). Although most such countries have abundant

supplies of labour, they usually possess limited degrees of attained skill levels. Policy implementation does not only require sufficient levels of staff and financial resources. Appropriate technology and requisite training for managerial and professional capabilities are similarly important (Morah, 1996). These are clearly substantive components for practical policy implementation.

This section presents the detailed findings concerning policy resource levels in the implementation of the three selected tourism policies. It examines the following:

- Whether the available resources, including staff resources, were sufficient in order for this policy/these policies to have been put into practice in Phuket.
- Whether there had been deficiencies in terms of the resources required to put this policy/these policies into practice in Phuket.

This section is therefore organised into two main subsections that focus respectively on these two issues.

9.3.1 Financial support

In this connection, the respondents were asked: "**To what extent have the available resources-including staff resources-been sufficient in order for this policy/these policies to have been put into practice in Phuket?**" Despite varying degrees of opinions, the respondents referred mostly to financial resources whereas staff resources and other types of policy resources, namely equipment, were mentioned less often. Responses were also generally in respect of all three tourism-related policies, rather than one policy in particular. It is important to note that some respondents identified more than one type of policy resource. While some considered only the financial issues, others provided further information about staff resources and occasionally equipment. The findings are listed by category in Table 9.9.

Table 9.9 Availability of resources for tourism-related policy implementation

Sectors / Availability of Resources	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Financial resources were sufficient	-	-	-	1	4	5
2. Financial resources were insufficient	6	8	7	4	5	30
3. Staff resources were sufficient	-	-	-	1	1	2
4. Staff resources were insufficient	6	7	5	3	5	26
5. Other resources were sufficient	-	-	-	-	1	1
6. Other resources were insufficient	1	1	-	1	-	3
7. Other responses	-	1	1	-	5	7
8. Don't know	-	-	-	-	1	1
9. Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						76

287

The first category of responses in Table 9.9 was that five respondents considered that financial support for tourism policy implementation was sufficient. A TAT senior officer suggested that financial support was sufficient and was allocated generously in Phuket. Four private sector respondents affirmed that financial resources were sufficient for the public sector. Two of the four private sector respondents went on to suggest that they considered that the way public officers use the financial support could be inappropriate. This can be summed up by the comment of a tour company manager who mentioned that, "I think they have enough but they don't use it properly, or rather neglected it, with no serious attention and effort". This, however, suggests some scepticism of private sector stakeholders on how the public sector manages their financial resources in Phuket.

By contrast, 30 respondents affirmed that financial support as a major policy resource was insufficient for the implementation of tourism policies. It is significant that most public authority representatives were in support of this contention, since this was identified by all six national government employees, all eight provincial government officers, all seven local government officers, as well as four tourism authority representatives and five private sector respondents. Their responses were mostly concerned with the scarcity of support from central government and the lengthy process required to secure resources. This is typified by the comment of a provincial police officer who stated that his institution got a regular budget each year but the amount of work under its responsibility was increasing without additional budgets from central government. He argued that, "the police have been little financially supported, the government should help and support us more". There were also assertions that there was a need for financial resources to contribute to the availability of equipment and technical assistance to facilitate policy implementation. A tourist police officer stated that tourist police units needed more money for hiring more staff and buying equipment such as boats, petrol and so on, while a local TAO member mentioned that, "money is the key factor to realise things". A marine police chief explained that financial mismanagement led to conflicts among the involved parties and low job satisfaction. He argued that other police organisations got more funding from the government and the national TAT, but did less than his institution. He said that, "the hell with the government, you know, what idiots, I don't know I am tired of saying that". However, while some public authorities simply highlighted limited funding of their particular organisations, others offered different perspectives. A PTA member and a Phuket MP argued that Phuket made big tourism revenues for Thailand, but the government

provided more financial support to build other new destinations rather than maintaining the existing one. This suggests that not only financial support from central government, in particular, is regarded as a crucial catalyst for more effective policy implementation, but there are also financial conflicts between different destination regions in Thailand.

With regard to staff resources, Table 9.9 shows that just two respondents considered that the available staff resource was sufficient. A TAT region 4 executive simply mentioned that there was no problem with the number of staff in Phuket. A front office hotel manager also stated that the public sector had enough staff to do their job. In contrast to those two respondents, 26 respondents considered that staff resources were insufficient. These respondents included six national government employees, seven provincial government officers, five local government officers, three tourism authority representatives and four private sector respondents. Public sector respondents in particular were concerned with insufficient numbers of staff in order to fulfil the areas of responsibility of their particular organisations, as well as the lengthy processes of the Thai administrative system to get more staff. While some explained that there was a shortage of staff in their institutions, others highlighted that staff numbers in their institutions remained unchanged even when there were more duties. This is typified by the comment of a tourist police officer who mentioned that, "we have little staff resources, only 44 tourist police officers to look after six provinces in the south. We asked the Above Unit that we needed more but the system is so slow". An ONRE executive identified that there were only five to six people for environment issues in this region, including Phuket. Three provincial public officers, a PPO executive, a PPO senior officer and a provincial police officer highlighted that the central government tried to reduce the number of officials hence the opportunity to increase staffing was slim. Five private sector respondents also noted the insufficient number of staff in the public sector in Phuket. Three respondents suggested that the problem also involved a lack of qualified staff. They emphasised that Thailand needed manpower development for more qualified people for public work. This is typified by the comment of a PPAO executive who stated that, "we don't have qualified people who understand and are well committed to work, we don't need quantity".

Other responses indicated in Table 9.9 were issues related to other types of resources, notably equipment and other identified issues. These were identified by the smaller number of respondents. For example, while one private beach guard affirmed that there was sufficient equipment three other respondents from the national and provincial public sector and the tourism authority were concerned that there are

shortages of equipment for beach guards and tourist police in Phuket. The other seven responses were mostly focused on the need to devise efficient ways managing and using the resources available. This is typified by the comment of a provincial environment employee who asserted that, "Thailand, I'd say it's had a lot of issues rectified by money, but it is not the key factor for that". A PPAO executive further observed that staff and financial resources were less important than rigid law enforcement. He said that, "authorities must enforce equally without issues of personal benefits". The five private sector respondents in this category also considered that more co-operation and better public sector management would facilitate policy implementation. This can be summed up by the comment of a tour company manager who mentioned that, "the public sector always claimed to have limited resources, but when the prime minister came we could see immediate action, hence it was more to do with rigid enforcement". This reveals scepticism by the private sector of public sector management and enforcement.

To conclude, there were large numbers of respondents who agreed that the available policy resources are insufficient, both in staff and in financial support. 30 respondents highlighted financial resources and 26 respondents noted staff resources. Their main concerns were mostly associated with the scarcity of resources provided by the central government, and the lengthy bureaucratic process to get the required resources for policy implementation. Public sector respondents in particular indicated that their work burdens had increased while the number of staff remained unchanged. Some respondents referred to poor staff quality. Only a few respondents believed that financial and staff resources were sufficient for tourism policy implementation. This similarly applies to other types of policy resources, namely equipment. Seven respondents argued that better public sector management, enforcement, co-operation and more job commitment were more important than other tangible resources. These findings help to identify the availability of policy resources for tourism in Phuket. It also aids understanding of the significance of policy resources in terms of their availability and quality for policy implementation in developing countries (Jenkins and Henry, 1982; Elliott, 1983, 1987; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998).

9.3.2 Deficiencies in resources available to implement the policies

The respondents were also asked: **"Have there been any deficiencies in terms of the resources available to put this policy/these policies into practice in Phuket?"** Again, the respondents addressed the question in general for the three tourism-related

policies and not specifically for one policy in particular. The findings of the participants' perceptions on deficiencies in policy resources are listed in Table 9.10 by category.

Table 9.10 Respondents' opinions on deficiencies in resources available in tourism-related policy implementation

Sectors The Available Policy Resources	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. There have been deficiencies in policy resources available for tourism policy implementation	4	8	4	6	4	26
2. There have not been deficiencies in policy resources available for tourism policy implementation	-	-	-	-	4	4
3. Other deficiencies related to policy implementation	2	-	3	1	6	12
4. Don't know	-	-	-	-	1	1
5. Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						44

The first category of responses in Table 9.10 was that 26 respondents considered that there were policy resource deficiencies in tourism policy implementation. These were four national government employees, eight provincial government officers, four local government officers, six tourism authority representatives and four private sector respondents. The public sector respondents in particular perceived that local implementers had a range of inadequate policy resources to implement and optimise the tourism policies' intentions. These 26 respondents also suggested more comments on policy resources required for successful tourism policy implementation. These are listed in descending order of their occurrence in Table 9.11.

Table 9.11 Types of deficiencies in resources available for tourism-related policy implementation

Sectors Types of Deficiencies	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Financial resources scarcity to obtain more equipment materials, facilities and devices.	3	5	2	4	4	18
2. Skilled staff scarcity	-	1	1	1	-	3
2. Insufficient information and insufficient communication among involved parties.	1	1	1	-	-	3
3. Clearer power and legal autonomy	-	1	-	1	-	2
Total						26

Table 9.11 indicates that 18 respondents believed that financial resources were the major deficiency in resources affecting policy implementation. This is typified by a

291

provincial police officer who stated that, "the main resource is financial support, and once we get it other things would come along, notably equipment and so on". While many respondents in this category identified types of equipment needed for their particular organisations, two marine police inspectors commented that financial resources facilitate other basic management factors such as manpower, machinery and materials. In a similar way, a PTA member, as a private sector representative commented that, "every problem we've encountered was caused by lack of resources and when there is no money, we don't have manpower, machinery, nothing". He further asserted that, unless there was an organisation to take on direct responsibility for policy implementation, commitment became more important. This suggests that public sector organisations are likely to have suffered from policy resource deficiencies in implementing tourism policy in Phuket.

Other common issues raised in this context were deficiencies in skilled staff in implementing the policy. This was, however, identified by only three respondents. A PPO executive, a TAT senior officer and a TAO member considered that there was a scarcity of trained and skilled staff in implementing tourism policies. A TAT senior officer suggested, specifically for beach safety, that well-trained staff were needed, while the remaining two respondents mentioned that Phuket did not have enough trained and superintendent levels of staff, as well as equipment. This issue was raised by 12 other respondents. These respondents urged more skill training for staff. These were three national government employees, three provincial government officers, one tourism authority member and five private sector respondents. They were mostly concerned with manpower development, notably training, and education for local implementers. This can be summed up by comments made by a tour company manager and a TAT region 4 executive, who considered that the public sector needed to train their staff to understand local issues and to enhance their competence and quality.

Table 9.11 also shows that three respondents identified that information and communication were further deficiencies in terms of the resources required for policy implementation. These three public authority representatives considered that information among parties in policy implementation networks was important. This can be summed up by an ONRE executive who stated that, "public relations and information among involved parties are more important. Money and staff are not direct issues and it is important to raise local awareness for workable policy implementation in local areas". This suggests that there have been missing information links among the involved parties in the policy implementation community, including local communities. The significance

of information and communication among stakeholders in the implementation network was also raised by 14 other respondents. These were two national government employees, three tourism authority representatives and nine private sector respondents. They were primarily concerned with the importance of sharing information among public sector organisations and effective public relations for non-public sector organisations and stakeholders. A tour company manager urged that the private sector needed sufficient information from the public sector. An ONRE executive argued that there was information mismanagement in the public sector, as local governments did not correctly implement the protected area policy as required by its related legal framework. This may be indicative of a lack of organisational and actor consolidation, in terms of information and understanding. There were also two respondents, a TAT region 4 executive and a PPAO executive, who were concerned about power and legal autonomy in policy implementation.

In contrast to those who affirmed deficiencies in resources required for policy implementation, Table 9.10 shows that just four respondents, all from the private sector, argued that there was no deficiency in resources for implementing tourism policy. Two of these asserted in a sarcastic manner that public authorities had sufficient resources and their salaries had risen yearly, while the remaining two, as privately hired beach guards affirmed that they had sufficient resources to work on beach safety.

The third category of responses in Table 9.10 was that 12 respondents identified other deficiencies in putting policy into practice. These were two national government employees, three local government officers, one tourism authority representative and six private sector respondents. They were more concerned with other factors such as enforcement, cooperation, understanding (both in relation to the local area and to tourism issues), awareness, central government support and commitment. This can be summed up by the comment of a PETA executive who stated that, "more understanding, cooperation among involved parties across public and private sectors, and more rigorous enforcement were keys for successful tourism policy implementation in Phuket". A Phuket MP suggested that Phuket needed a special and autonomous administration, as various deficiencies in policy implementation were caused by the top-down administration. This may reflect a conflict of interests among stakeholders involved, concerning resources required in implementing tourism policies in Phuket. Only one private sector participant refused to give an opinion, claiming that he needed more time to evaluate public authorities and their implementation.

In conclusion, it is clear that a large number of respondents (26) considered that there were deficiencies in the resources required to implement the tourism policies. Their further explanations indicate that those deficiencies were mainly caused by financial resource scarcity, leading to deficiencies in equipment, facilities and technology needed for policy implementation. Other deficiencies included a lack of skilled staff, information and power autonomy. Significantly only four out of the 43 respondents suggested that there were no deficiencies in the resources required for policy implementation. 12 respondents highlighted other deficiencies, related to enforcement, cooperation, understanding and commitment that they believed would contribute to better policy implementation outcomes. These results have implications for policymakers and local implementers on their management of resources. It further reveals that the respondents perceived that the availability of information, co-operation, enforcement and commitment may be as important as financial and staff resources in policy implementation. This may be indicative of the low co-operation, awareness and lax enforcement in tourism policy implementation in Phuket.

9.4 CONCLUSION

Clarity and resources are important for tourism policy implementation. This chapter discussed the research findings concerning these issues. The examination of policy clarity reveals that more respondents considered that policy wording was often imprecise. Analysis also shows the need for more local stakeholder involvement in the policy process in order to encourage better understanding among the involved parties. Similar results were found in relation to policy complexities. Issues here included complex local and stakeholder involvement, and the need to assemble policy resources and develop greater levels of understanding of socio-cultural contexts. Furthermore, the results suggest that a large number of respondents considered that local governments in Phuket were not clear about implementing tourism policy. This again seemed to have been influenced by limited local involvement and understanding of socio-cultural issues. There were also issues of local capacity building to enhance the ability to implement tourism policies.

With regard to policy communication, many respondents affirmed that there were instances where the requirements of the policy were not communicated clearly. While many further suggested that there might have been misunderstanding, misinterpretation and unclear messages in the policy implementation process, other respondents asserted that other barriers were influential in effective policy

communication, including the need for qualified professionals, power autonomy and local involvement. These considerations also affected respondent perceptions on policy realism, as the findings indicate that the majority of respondents had little trust in the realisation of the two government policies (the Entertainment Venues and the Protected Area policies), whereas the beach safety policy, as the only locally originated policy, was perceived as a workable tourism policy in this context, with some achieved policy intentions. Further examination on possible changes needed for the improvement of policy implementation reflects various factors identified by the respondents. Issues of law enforcement, policy resources, and co-operative and close working liaison among stakeholders were described as influential factors in policy implementation. Further details also suggest that technical factors such as decentralised administration, awareness or communication, are as important as socio-cultural factors to help improve policy implementation outcomes. The perception of most respondents was that the level of policy resources provided by the government hindered the success of policy implementation and the findings indicated deficiencies in policy resources and support. Aside from a shortage of skilled staff, shared information between involved stakeholders, legal powers and financial support were highlighted as the most important determinants for policy implementation.

The examination of both policy clarity and policy resources may explain why the Thai centralised system has been confronted by many obstacles in its policy implementation process. Given the multi-faceted nature of the tourism industry, tourism policy implementation in Phuket is likely to have been undermined by a lack of local and socio-cultural understanding. With a shaky economic condition, deficiencies in policy resources may continue to weaken the successful implementation of tourism-related policies in Phuket and Thailand.

Chapter 10   Public Attitudes and Socio-cultural Issues in Policy Implementation

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Culturally transmitted norms and social interactions shape the behaviour of persons in political life as well as their policy stances (Schein, 1992). The public policy process is influenced by the economic; social; environmental and cultural characteristics of society as well as other features of the political system (Hall, 1994a; Hall, 1999). More specifically, how governments use their power, and devise and implement policy will also depend upon factors related not only to their political culture, but also the socio-cultural issues and people's perception of the tourism industry, the economy and the society (Kerr, 2003). Citizens' attitudes, culture and beliefs are also factors that are influential in the ways that policy is interpreted, implemented and enforced (Dye, 1984; Jenkins, 1993; Hall, 1994a; Hall and Jenkins, 1995). Socio-cultural considerations should therefore be considered in research on policy implementation.

Influenced by the conceptual framework and documentary sources, this study attempts to understand public opinion concerning Phuket's tourism industry and policy implementation. These views may be influential on the way that tourism policy is implemented. This section therefore examines the interviewees' perceptions on the influences of these public attitudes and socio-cultural issues on policy implementation. Local people in Phuket and their socio-cultural values is a recurring issue in this research. Policy implementation occurs in an embedded and institutionalised setting, and in this case, Thai society, organisations and individuals.

A set of four questions was devised to explore these considerations. The chapter is organised into two main sections. The first section considers the possible influences on tourism-related policy implementation; these are public attitudes and concerns about local economic performance. The second section examines issues related to socio-cultural issues in tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket.

10.2   INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES AND CONCERNS ABOUT LOCAL ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE ON TOURISM POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

This section examines respondent perceptions of how public attitudes and concerns about economic performance influence tourism policy implementation. Two questions were devised to investigate and explore these issues. The section is thus

organised into two main sections that focus respectively on public attitudes in policy implementation and concerns about local economic performance in policy implementation.

10.2.1 How public attitudes affect policy implementation

To examine how public attitudes affect tourism policy implementation, the respondents were asked: **To what degree have the attitudes of the general public affected how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?** This question was deliberately not specific in order to allow the respondents to freely express their views about general public attitudes on any of the three tourism policies. Most respondents offered discursive and descriptive responses. It is important to note that one respondent described more than one policy instance. Respondents' views were mostly influenced by their personal and occupational viewpoints, not based on any formal surveys of public opinion. The detailed findings are listed by category in Table 10.1, under each policy.

Table 10.1 General public attitudes on implementation of the tourism-related policies

Sectors / Attitudes Of The General Public	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
Entertainment Venues						
1. The public generally were in support of the entertainment policy.	-	3	3	3	6	15
2. The public do not agree with the entertainment venues policy	1	-	2	2	4	9
3. Mixed feeling/ Partly agreed	-	1	2	1	-	4
4. Other responses	1	-	-	-	4	5
5. Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1
Protected Areas						
1. The public generally were in support of the protected area policy	-	6	2	3	6	17
2. The public do not agree with the protected area policy	1	-	3	2	5	11
3. Mixed responses/ Partly agreed	3	1	-	2	-	6
4. Other responses	1	1	-	-	-	2
5. Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1
Beach Safety						
1. The public generally were in support of the beach safety policy	2	3	5	5	9	24
2. The public do not agree with the beach safety policy	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Mixed responses/ Partly agreed	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Other responses	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1

Responses were generally positive. Most respondents with negative responses explained in more detail the ways in which the attitudes of the general public affected tourism policy implementation. The respondents with positive responses did not offer

further explanations of their views. The researcher felt that the respondents addressed this question in general terms. They did not go on to discuss specifically how these public attitudes affected tourism policy implementation specifically.

Table 10.1 shows that there were varying perceptions regarding the attitudes of the general public on tourism policy implementation. Even though the question was general, the respondents tended to focus on the attitudes of the private sector. While the two government policies (namely entertainment venues and protected area policies) received various accounts including both positive and negative instances, beach safety was the only policy with only positive responses. The study will discuss each policy in turn.

With regard to the Entertainment Venue policy, it is notable that 15 respondents considered that the general public were in support of the policy issues and their implementation. This was identified by six private sector respondents, the majority in this category, coupled with two provincial government officers, three local government officers and three tourism authority representatives. None of the national government officers agreed with this view. Most of the 15 respondents in this category simply mentioned that people in general agreed with and were happy and co-operative with the entertainment venues policy issues. This is typified by similar comments from two provincial government officers who stated that "the majority of the general public agreed and were happy with this entertainment policy as it was about general safety". A PPO senior officer mentioned that "people who get out at night are not so good people". In a similar way, three tourism authority representatives and six private sector respondents mentioned that the general public had been co-operative and happy with the entertainment policy issues. A TAT region 4 executive further explained that from the TAT research, people felt positive about the control of entertainment venues. However, a local TAO member pointed out that the general public generally agreed with the policy as long as the policy issues did not affect them. This reflects some interesting challenges for the policy implementers.

In contrast to those positive views, nine respondents held negative opinions. Four private sector respondents expressed the view that the general public were not happy with the entertainment policy as it harmed the general public's businesses. More specifically, a PPAO executive explained that there were conflicts and turmoil among the public and private sectors with regards to the entertainment policy. However he further specified that there was no strong reaction so far. Most of the respondents in this category perceived that the policy issue negatively affected businessmen in Phuket. This

is supported by similar comments from two tourism authority representatives and four private sector respondents who considered that "business entrepreneurs were not happy with this entertainment policy as it was affecting their business performance". One went on to suggest that there was opposition from private entrepreneurs in Phuket. A hotel front office manager even asserted that "this policy was a burden for tourism development in Phuket". This implies some limitations of this tourism related policy in practice due to limited support from the local level.

Table 10.1 also indicates that four respondents held mixed feelings about public attitudes on the entertainment venue policy. A provincial government officer, a local government officer and a tourism authority representative considered that there were two sides of the general public who could be either happy or unhappy with the policy. Another local government officer mentioned that the general public partly agreed with this policy. Five other respondents fell into 'other responses'. These were associated with conditional responses. For example, a Phuket MP stated that "If there was a zoning scheme, there'd be little local opposition to the policy". A nightclub manager similarly argued that the effect of general public attitudes on policy implementation depended upon the enforcers' performance as seen by the public. The remaining respondents in this category mentioned issues of time and education to help improve co-operation and agreement from the business sector. This suggests that there are many factors involved in the attitudes of the general public and their effects on policy implementation.

With regard to the protected area, when asked this question, 17 respondents considered that the general public were in favour of this policy. Their responses were made around the broad public support for environmental protection in Phuket. This can be summed up by several similar comments from six private sector respondents who mentioned that the general public had been happy with the protected area policy. For example, a hotel front office manager stated that "the general public agreed with the policy because it enhanced the prosperity of Phuket tourism". Nevertheless, most respondents from the public sector in this category also recognised some limitations. More specifically, and despite their positive affirmations, five provincial government officers and one tourism authority representative considered that there was some opposition and disagreement from some landowners, private entrepreneurs and others who were affected by the policy. A provincial police officer went on to suggest that "people generally agreed with the policy. However, they could be won over by money". This demonstrates that there is conflict among stakeholders and highlights the

importance given to personal economic benefits. These factors can pose challenges for policy implementation.

In contrast to those positive views, 11 respondents perceived that attitudes of the general public, especially the business sector were against the policy's goals. Most respondents were concerned with conflicts, disagreement and opposition from the business sectors and not the general public. This is supported by the comments of a local TAO member and a TAT staff member who mentioned that there was opposition from local businessmen as the policy was seen as undermining their business performance. In a similar way, five private sector respondents suggested that there was strong opposition to the policy from investors and businessmen. A privately hired beach guard suggested that people without an awareness of environmental protection and those with low education were not in favour of the protected area policy. A PETA representative also asserted that disagreement with it led to non-compliance which required adaptation the policy and its regulations. It seems that local economic concerns are influential on public views of this policy's implementation.

Table 10.1 also shows that views of six respondents were classified into the 'Mixed responses/Partly agreed' category. While three national government employees considered that the general public is split between those people affected and involved and those who unaffected and uninvolved with this policy. A provincial government officer and two tourism authority representatives considered that the general public either agreed or disagreed with this policy depending on whether they were affected or not. A marine police inspector said that "whoever benefited from the policy would give good co-operation in the mean time whoever lost benefits would be against it". This reflects two groups of attitudes towards the protected area policy, and this divide in opinion seems to have challenged the policy implementation in practice. The remaining two respondents were indecisive but descriptive. A PPO executive stated that Phuket people are annoyed with other immigrants from other provinces, and a national public employee from OER 15 said that there was never an opinion poll to evaluate public opinion on this policy.

Table 10.1 shows that 24 respondents considered that the general public were in support of the beach safety policy. These were two national government employees, three provincial government officers, five local government officers, five tourism authority representatives and nine private sector respondents. They reflected the belief that there is public support for tourism security. Three provincial government officers suggested that this policy enhanced the image of the tourism industry in Phuket. A

municipality officer mentioned that people from various groups were happy with beach safety because security is important for the general public. This suggests that the nature of the policy issues has implications for the attitudes of the general public towards policy implementation.

In conclusion, there were various opinions identified by the 43 respondents about how attitudes from the general public affected the way these tourism related policies are implemented. Two government policies were perceived by a very substantial number of respondents as being supported by the general public (15 respondents for the entertainment venues policy and 17 respondents for the protected area policy). However, a significant number of respondents also expressed the view that there was some opposition to these two policies, mostly from the private sector and those who were affected by the policies' issues (9 and 11 respectively). There were also seen to be two sides to public opinion and mixed feelings identified by 10 respondents. This was divided between those affected and unaffected or those involved and uninvolved. It seems that those economically affected by these two policy issues were likely to be against them, and also perhaps violate the policies and their regulations. In contrast, the findings show that 24 respondents who provided opinions on the beach safety policy unanimously agreed that the general public were happy with it, implying no opposition to its implementation.

The above results suggest that attitudes of the general public can be influential on government policies and their policy processes. It also suggests that the type of policy proposed may influence public attitudes. Divided support for policies should be taken as a warning for Thai policymakers to develop public consultation and participation in the policy process. This will help minimise conflicts with the general public which would ease the way for policy implementation. For example, according to Dunbar and Villarruel (2004), there are cases where administrators have modified policies and their implementation in order to meet the needs and cultures of people in their areas.

10.2.2 How concerns about local economic performance may affect policy implementation

Economic performance is a key consideration influencing the views of some residents towards tourism-related policy implementation. To explore this issue the respondents were asked: **"To what degree have concerns about local economic**

performance affected how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?"

Some respondents responded simply either positively or negatively. Others offered more discursive responses to the question. The respondents tended to address this question in general terms. In a few cases, particular points of views relating to a specific policy were raised and these will be clearly stated in the analysis. Table 10.2 lists the findings in descending order of their occurrence.

Table 10.2 Extent of concerns about local economic performance on tourism related policy implementation

Sectors / Concerns About Local Economic Performance and Policy Implementation	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Yes, there are concerns about local economic performance and they have affected the implementation	2	7	6	6	12	33
2. No, concerns about local economic performance have not affected or have little affected the implementation	3	1	-	1	2	7
3. Other responses	-	-	1	-	1	2
4. Mixed feeling	1	-	-	-	-	1
5. Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						44

33 respondents considered that there were public concerns about economic performance in Phuket. Their explanations affirmed that these concerns affected policy implementation. These respondents were two national government employees, seven provincial government officers, six local government officers, six tourism authority representatives and 12 private sector respondents. All 33 respondents in this category focused on the inhibiting aspects of the policies on local economic performance. These included issues of compliance and public co-operation. To be more specific, most of the respondents, public sector and tourism authority representatives in particular, perceived that economic concerns could have negative consequences for policy implementation. This is because people cared for their incomes and looked for loopholes to violate the policies and their regulations. Provincial government officers in particular considered that people paid more attention to economic performance and personal benefits, resulting in less cooperation with public and official matters. These included attending public meetings and other arranged consultative processes organised by the public sector, and also a level of policy compliance. This is typified by a PPO senior officer who suggested that "the concerns affected official matters as most people only wanted

302

to make their living and paid little attention to public, provincial and other official meetings". Similarly, a nightclub manager asserted that "since the entertainment policy almost stopped the entrepreneurs from making a living, they were always dead against the policy, did not accept it, objected to it, no need to talk about co-operation". Two local government actors specifically mentioned the protected area policy and that most people were concerned with their incomes which could lead to non-compliance. Likewise, in connection with the entertainment policy, a PPO vice executive and a local TAT executive considered that most entrepreneurs did not want the policy as it affected their incomes and they wanted to make more money from the tourists. They went on to suggest that zoning arrangements to meet public needs would lead to better compliance. Most respondents from the public sectors considered that these concerns about local economic performance affected policy implementation since most entrepreneurs wanted to stay open longer to increase their profits. The influence of local economic concerns on policy in practice may be summed up by the comment of a PPO executive, who suggested that "those entrepreneurs, they are trying hard to violate from it, they don't actually accept the policy, they are wrong and really make me headache". Perhaps the comment of a hotel front office manager may explain the root cause of the shortcomings in policy implementation in Phuket. She argued that "are Thai people really concerned about what the government is doing, no they are not concerned and there is no awareness". In contrast to the private sector responses, there were two respondents with two slightly different views. A marine police officer perceived that the public sector also tended to focus on tourism promotion and marketing for the sake of economic performance in Phuket. He also commented in reference to this that "there have been some people who have been let off, it's different treatment for different people". Similarly, a PTA member also suggested that some police officers ignored violations for the sake of economic performance. This further implies conflicts over policy implementation caused by concerns about local economic performance. Table 10.3 lists some additional comments from these 33 respondents.

Table 10.3 Some comments on how concerns about local economic performance affected policy implementation

Sectors	Extracted comments
National public sector	"Surely, they look for loopholes and it is common everywhere in Thailand, not only Phuket". An executive of National Environment office "The concern has hindered policy implementation, even the public sector, they tend to focus on tourism promotion and marketing, there's been cases of exception" A Marine police inspector
Provincial government officers	"The economic concerns affect us when we're working. Policy matters are irrelevant to them since they have to earn their livings." A senior officer at PO "Yes, it is personal benefits, their incomes, they want more customers." A local town police officer "That has affected us, policy implementation is undermining their benefits they would have got...they could just bypass it or find the loopholes in it." A staff member from Phuket environmental office
Local government	"This is an important factor that affects serious policy in practice." A member of the PPAO environment committee "Yes, highly, activities that affect their economic or profits performance, they appear to claim the right of being people, local people here which is very strong and effective." An executive of Patong Municipality "Yes, they have to concern about it, it's their income and we need to understand, however we need to enforce the law." A member of Rawai TAO "Yes...yes, it's for their benefits but I think they have been supportive with beach safety and protected are, however with entertainment policy, they have shown least support." An officer from Town municipality
Tourism authorities	"They prefer to have zoning, because those areas are where we can get more income, we all like to make most of it, get money from the tourists." An assistant-director of local TAT "Correctly, they don't want policies, they want their livings". An executive of local TAT "I think it is part of non-compliance reason". A tourist police officer "It has affected us, they want to keep up their benefits, and hence the co-operation of policy implementation would be less." A local TAT staff member
Private sector	"Absolutely, they want to stay longer" A front office manager at Karon hotel "Yes, the economic concern can highly involve in policy implementation." An executive of Eco-tourism Association "It's surely part of it, part of implementation constraints". A manager of a tour company

Table 10.2 also indicates that only seven respondents held contrasting opinions to the other 33 respondents. These mostly reflected a view that local economic performance had not or had little affected the process of policy implementation. These were three national government employees, one provincial government officer, one tourism authority representative and two private sector respondents. Most public sector respondents perceived that local economic concerns were not influential since everyone must follow the legal frameworks accompanied with the policies. However, a Phuket MP conceded that this could be difficult with the entertainment venues policy. A TAT senior officer optimistically asserted that people loved their own province and would

not make the situation worse. He even asserted that non-compliance could have been by people from elsewhere, not from Phuket. Further, a tour company owner and a hotel front office manager positively suggested that policy issues such as beach safety and protected areas would have helped economic performance in Phuket. A tour company owner mentioned that "no, I don't think so, the policies issues help boosting economic prosperity in Phuket". This reflects a different way of looking at local economic concerns. Only three respondents provided different opinions. A national government employee commented about the division of opinion. A PPAO executive and a privately hired beach guard commented about the lack of qualified people both in Thai society and public administration, and the significance of rigid and consistent enforcement of tourism related policy.

To conclude, it is clear that a large number of the respondents (33) considered that concerns about local economic performance had an impact on the implementation of tourism policies in Phuket. Their further explanations show that the local economic performance concerns influenced the level of compliance, opposition and public co-operation. Respondents were also concerned about the success of the public sector in enforcing the policies due to the significance given to economic performance. Only seven participants affirmed the non-influence of these concerns on policy implementation. Their responses referred to compulsory compliance as required by policy regulations and other legal frameworks, local attachment to their province and enhancement of local economic performance by some policy issues, notably the beach safety and the protected area. This assessment suggests that the importance given to financial benefits are having an effect on the success of tourism policy implementation in Phuket. It also reflects local communities' and stakeholders' interests in the tourism industry. As in most developing countries, tourism and its development in Thailand is mostly regarded as a tool for national and regional economic development (Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Gunn, 2002; Hall, 2003). It also proves that policy issues that may affect people negatively will be more challenged by people finding loopholes, public opposition and non-compliance, whereas policy issues that support local people and their businesses may receive more compliance and co-operation since they are seen to boost economic returns. These economic issues are undoubtedly important and influential in tourism and its policy implementation.

10.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL ISSUES AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

An acknowledgement of the cultural configurations of societies and communities is important for policy implementation (Lisewski, 2004). In this research, it is notable that issues related to Thai socio-cultural dimensions are deemed to be influential in the ways that policy is implemented in Phuket. According to Dunbar and Villarruel (2004), policy interpretation and implementation can vary between communities. This section attempts to examine if socio-cultural issues have a strong influence on how policies are implemented and enforced in Phuket. The following issues will be explored.

- The way social, cultural and traditional factors influenced how the policy/policies has/have been implemented in Phuket.
- The degree that ethnic and religious considerations affected how the policy/policies has/have been implemented in Phuket.

The section is organised into three main sections. These sections focus on socio-cultural issues in policy implementation, the significance of education and conscience and finally the social heterogeneity in policy implementation.

10.3.1 Social, cultural and traditional influences on policy implementation

This section explores the findings of the study concerning the ways social, cultural and traditional factors influence how tourism related policies have been implemented. The respondents were asked "**In what ways have social, cultural and traditional factors influenced how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?**" There was a large variety of responses. Most responses were lengthy and discursive. While some addressed this question in general, others specifically referred to one or two particular policies which will be clearly stated in the analysis. The respondents mostly offered details on general Thai socio-cultural traits, characteristics of the society and some local features of Phuket that were believed to have influenced the way policies have been implemented and enforced. Some respondents offered more than one account and at times two issues were concurrently mentioned. Table 10.4 summarises by category key findings obtained from the 43 interviewees.

Table 10.4 Influences of social, cultural and traditional factors in policy implementation

Sectors / Influences of Social, Cultural and Traditional Factors in Policy Implementation	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Yes, issues related to Thai socio-cultural factors have influenced and affected the policy implementation	3	2	2	2	2	11
2. No, issues related to Thai socio-cultural factors have not influenced and affected the policy implementation	1	2	1	3	1	8
3. Yes, issues of Phuket specific socio-cultural factors have influenced and affected the policy implementation	2	5	-	2	4	13
4. No, issues of Phuket specific socio-cultural factors have not influenced and affected the policy implementation	-	1	4	2	7	14
5. Mixed feeling	-	-	-	-	1	1
6. Other responses	-	-	-	-	1	1
7. Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						49

The first category of responses in Table 10.4 is the identification of issues related to Thai socio-cultural specifics that influenced and affected policy implementation. This was identified by 11 respondents. These were three national government employees, two provincial government officers, two local government officers, two tourism authority representatives and two private sector respondents. Nine public sector respondents in particular perceived in a pessimistic way that Thai socio-cultural traits and characteristics affected policy implementation by influencing the level of co-operation, opposition, attention, compliance, activeness, and enforcement. Some public sector respondents also directly referred to Thai people and their characteristics of opposing legal control. A national chief marine police officer mentioned that "with law and regulations, people just try to find a hole in them. They want the law to be the way they want it to be". According to him and some other public sector respondents, this was usually the case with investors and private sector entrepreneurs, those who cared for economic benefits and were affected by the policy issues. A local TAO member suggested that personal benefits are influential in Thai society. In a similar way, a provincial environment officer considered that people were not afraid of laws. She further suggested that "if they did, the policy implementation and enforcement would have been better". A nightclub manager explained that there had always been objections to new regulations. Perhaps this problem can be summed up by similar comments from a national marine police officer and a PPAO executive. While the

PPAO executive mentioned that this had been "programmed in their brains not to think properly", a national marine police officer asserted that people were "not afraid to pay their way out". One respondent went on to say that "Thai people feel that they are more important than others, the law enforcement to them is nothing". Only two respondents in this category raised different issues. A tourist police officer raised issues of different local cultures and traditions as making implementation more difficult. A tour company manager pointed out that people at local levels tended to be inactive towards policy issues in Thailand. This may be indicative of Thai socio-cultural specifics and their indifference towards policy implementation and enforcement.

In contrast, the second category shown in Table 10.4 indicates that eight respondents considered that issues related to Thai socio-cultural specifics did not affect policy implementation. While some simply considered that these issues had no effect on tourism policy implementation, others provided further details in support of their argument. These views were mostly related to the conscience of people to abide by laws and the low influence of socio-cultural issues on public matters. More specifically, an ONEP senior officer suggested that people acknowledge the existence of laws and regulations and they do not want to be against the law. Further, despite their acknowledgement of different cultures and traditions in each local area, three respondents from the public sector (a member of local government and two from tourism authorities) considered that these were not strong influences on policy implementation. This is typified by the comment of a tourist police officer who stated that "every local area has got their own identity, but it's not been that strong to affect the job or work of public officers". It is clear that these eight respondents do not have concerns regarding socio-cultural issues in policy implementation.

The third category of responses in Table 10.4 describes specific Phuket idiosyncrasies that were deemed by 13 respondents to have influenced tourism policy implementation. This was identified by two national government employees, five provincial government officers, two tourism authority representatives and four private sector respondents. The public sector respondents in particular stressed issues of wealth, power, education and local consolidation that Phuket people were deemed to have more of than in other areas, and that this affected the policy implementation process. For example, a tourist police officer mentioned that "they (Phuket people) always get together which can lead to a big and powerful mob which can then be a big burden on policy implementation". A Phuket MP asserted that Phuketians always wanted to take part and make sure that their voices were heard. She further suggested that "they would

go and ask the Phuket governor or higher than that as they don't want their lives in jeopardy if the policy issues affected them". Six public authority representatives in this category, including five provincial public officers were concerned with issues of wealth and education among Phuket people. This is typified by the comment of a PPO senior officer who stated that "Phuket people are too self-confident. They are usually from rich families that earn good money and are well-educated. Sometimes they adopt western culture and like to be part of the so called 'elite' that are against traditional government regime. They want to change the political regime to be more autonomous and choose their own governor". He further argued that these people used money as a tool to solve problems, were self-centred and did not want to comply with government rules and regulations. In a similar way, another three PPO officers, a TAT region 4 staff member and four private sector respondents considered that the high economic and educational background of Phuket people led to problems of co-operation in local society as they tended to be self-determining. A TAT region 4 staff member suggested that "with their wealthy life, they lived comfortably and did not like being controlled". Likewise, a PPO senior officer mentioned that "they saw themselves as a superior class and did not listen to the public sector and always went straight to talk to big people at national level". A nightclub manager also suggested that "Phuket lives with money". A PETA executive suggested that Phuket people wanted real decentralisation to become an autonomous province that proclaims its own laws and regulations. One provincial police officer was concerned with the local indigenous culture of sea gypsies in Phuket that have no interest in attending any public and official meetings. He also said that these 'grass-roots' people were uneducated and preferred to spend their time concentrating on their living rather than attending public meetings. Phuket is an economically strong and wealthy province in Thailand (see also chapter One and Five). The tin mining industry of the past and the present tourism industry in Phuket have enabled its people to have a healthy economy and a quality education (Rasakulthai, 2003). These views reflect the society's interests and perceptions in policy issues, processes and implementation.

14 respondents held contrasting opinions about Phuket's idiosyncrasies in policy implementation. These included seven private sector respondents, one provincial government officer, four local government officers and two tourism authority representatives. It is interesting that none was from the national public sector. More specifically, all seven public sector respondents argued in a similar way that Phuket people love their area and are kind and generous which leads to cooperative and supportive attitudes and activities in the tourism policy process. This is typified by the

comment of a municipality officer who stated that "Phuketians, there was no problem at all, they were well cooperative". Four of these seven respondents went on to acknowledge that there were some implementation problems in the Phuket area. However, they similarly considered that these were caused by migrants who came to work and live in Phuket as they did not genuinely love the area.

Four of the seven private sector respondents claimed that local Phuket people strictly complied with the regulations, were afraid of laws, were co-operative and understood the policy issues. Two suggested that beach safety and protected area policies worked well with the socio-cultural factors of Phuket as people want their area to be safe and environmentally friendly and well maintained. Three of the seven private sector respondents argued that problems in Phuket originated from outsiders. This is typified by the comment of a hotel front office manager who stated that "non-compliance could come from those who were not from Phuket but migrated here to work". This issue will be specifically examined in the last section. The fact that Phuket idiosyncrasies did not have a strong influence on tourism policy implementation can be summed up by a comment from a PTA member who argued that "Phuket people if you asked them nicely, they would do as you asked, but do not ignore them, make them understand, without proper way to involve and consult them, it is leading to big opposition...if it is nicely done, Phuket people will fully help you, it is a compromising culture in Phuket". This reflects not only the likeliness of conflict between Phuket people and migrants, but also their dissatisfaction with the limited local involvement in the policy process as well as government's lack of understanding of local socio-cultural characteristics. Two other private sector respondents held different opinions. A privately hired beach guard claimed that there could be both negative and positive influences of socio-cultural factors on policy implementation. A tour company manager simply explained that she did not know if the authorities encountered any cultural and traditional limitations since she had never experienced this.

To summarise, there were a variety of opinions regarding social, cultural and traditional factors in policy implementation in Phuket. Two key findings were related to issues of Thai socio-cultural specifics and the Phuket idiosyncrasies. 24 respondents in total considered that these factors influenced the way tourism-related policies were implemented and enforced. In contrast, 22 respondents considered that these factors were not influential. There were concerns related to the characteristics of Thai people, specifically that they were not afraid of laws and that they have the money and power to 'buy their way out'. The diversity of local socio-cultural issues and the high economic

and educational profile of Phuket were also considered to be factors influencing policy implementation in terms of compliance, co-operation and enforcement. There were also additional views about the outsiders who migrated to Phuket in that may have influenced policy implementation in terms of non-compliance since they might not genuinely care about the area. This will be later discussed in section 9.3.3.

Not only do these views help to identify Thai socio-cultural specifics and some Phuket idiosyncrasies, they also aid understanding of how these issues may have positively or negatively affected the way a tourism policy is implemented. This examination also identifies a materialist culture that may have derived from economic development in Thailand (Esterik, 2000). Power and money are now influential factors in Thai culture especially in its urban societies (Somjee and Somjee, 1995). Laws are bypassed (Seabrook, 2001), votes are bought (Murray, 1997), and people judge each other by what they are wearing (Boyle, 1998; Sparkes, 1998). This behaviour is almost institutionalised in Thai contemporary society. It implies that influential people, coupled with the long existing patron-client relations in Thai society, may find it possible to bypass public processes. Given this situation, effective policy implementation is difficult. The interview and documentary sources in this case study suggest that there has been conflict between social, cultural and traditional factors both in Thai and Phuket society, and the way a policy is implemented and enforced. This should be taken as an important warning for policymakers and local implementers to make sure that they understand the social, cultural and traditional ways of people to maximise co-operation and compliance in the policy implementation process.

10.3.2 The significance of education and conscience in policy implementation

This section examines findings related to the significance of education and conscience to policy implementation in Thailand. There was no specific question to address this issue. The information was however offered by some respondents and was deemed by the researcher to be significant. The implications of power, wealth, education and materialism in contemporary Thai society for policy implementation have been a theme throughout this research. According to AFIO (1993) and Boyle (1998), Thai society is now being urbanised, people enjoy conspicuous consumption, wearing social cosmetics, having big houses, expensive cars and branded clothes. This over-attention to economic and social status has led to less regard for moral values and religious teachings (Somjee and Somjee, 1995). As a result, in responding to questions related to socio-cultural issues, influences of education and conscience were brought up

311

by many respondents. Some respondents indicated that education is the missing element for quality people and awareness building. Others were more concerned with a lack of conscience in Thai society. These additional findings are listed in Table 10.5 by their frequency and a discussion of the significance of the level of education and conscience in implementing tourism related policies in Phuket will follow.

Table 10.5 Additional findings on education and conscience

Sectors Additional Findings on Education and Conscience	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Education is a missing technique to build up quality people and people's awareness	2	3	3	4	2	14
2. Conscience is important in successful policy implementation	2	3	3	1	4	13
Total						27

The most common issue raised in this context was related to education, notably the lack of qualified people in Thailand. Respondents who highlighted this issue were two national government employees, three provincial government officers, three local government officers, four tourism authority representatives and two private sector respondents. They mostly emphasised the significance of education, especially for people in the lower classes. They emphasised the importance of education in improving people's ability, and awareness and understanding of public policy processes. Also mentioned was the importance of enhancing their cooperation and pride in the area. This is typified by similar comments from two provincial officers who explained that "education would raise their awareness and conscience for saving and sustaining the environment". Furthermore, most public sector respondents in this category considered in a similar way that education either in general, or in specific connection with environment issues or beach safety was crucial for Thai society and in policy implementation. A PPO executive mentioned that "it is important to educate people for more concern and more understanding of the environment." A national chief marine police officer stated that "if people are well-educated, they understand and we don't need to push them to do anything at all". Further, a PPAO executive repeatedly argued that Thailand lacked quality people. He asserted that "we need better education to boost people's brains to understand the issues and to change their thinking system". Likewise, a PPAO vice executive also suggested that education is needed to strengthen awareness, conscience and the love of the area. The significance of education in policy implementation can perhaps be summed up by the comment of a hotel front office

manager who mentioned that "if you want policy to be workable and applicable, the only way that it can be so is to educate them, make them concerned, they need to understand it".

The second common response, mentioned by 13 respondents was the significance of conscience in policy implementation. These were two national government employees, three provincial government officers, three local government officers, one tourism authority representative and four private sector respondents. These respondents suggested that there was lack of conscience in Thai society. To be more specific, a local TAO member explained that good policy implementation hinges on the conscience of each individual who actually enforces it. He disappointedly mentioned that "only if we had got good conscience and morals". In a similar way, a marine chief police officer argued that "we need people with good conscience and strong morals so that we won't have any corruption or any similar bullshit like these days". Conscience was also regarded as important for people at higher tiers. This is typified by the comment of a PPO senior officer who mentioned that "policy implementation is not difficult if the leaders have good conscience". He further stated that "it's difficult, very delicate and it's from upbringing but to make people have good conscience, people will work properly according to their roles and duties". Likewise, a provincial environment officer considered that successful policy implementation was more to do with a conscience for doing things more than the system. Perhaps the explanation of a privately hired beach guard could sum up the significance of having good conscience in the society. He said that "having good conscience leads to being more responsible for your duties". A PPAO executive suggested that Buddhist teachings would help boost good conscience in Thai society. He argued that "had you applied Dhramma, Buddhist teachings to work along with the administration and management, policy implementation would have been better". This may be indicative of the declining religious values and cultural change in Thai society.

In conclusion, the examination of socio-cultural factors in this study has identified their significance for tourism policy implementation in Phuket. These were identified by a substantial number of respondents (27 respondents in total). This additional finding not only suggests that education at local level is perceived as an important factor for policy in practice, it also identifies education and awareness problems at grass root level in some areas of Phuket which differ from urban society elsewhere in Thailand. Comments about a lack of conscience may be partly explained by the influence of materialism and globalisation on the urbanised societies in which the

religious values and traditional culture are being undermined. This suggests that Thai society is developing fast and it is consequently confronting some cultural changes which are influential to the policy implementation process.

10.3.3 Social heterogeneity: ethnic, religious diversity and outsiders in tourism policy implementation

Since a society is composed of many groups with different religious practices and attitudes, the final socio-cultural issue to be examined here focuses on social heterogeneity in terms of ethnicity and religion. As Cohen (2001) notes, in Phuket, there is a mixture of Thais, people of Chinese descent, Muslims and some island indigenous people known as 'sea gypsies' (also known as 'New Thai' people). The respondents were asked: "**To what degree have ethnic and religious considerations affected how this policy/these policies has/have been put into practice in Phuket?**" Although the question addressed two different issues, most respondents tended to tackle both issues at the same time. In a few cases, some respondents addressed the issues separately. Attention was also given to other prominent issues in Phuket society, notably the 'outsiders', people who were not originally from Phuket. It is important to note that respondents may provide more than one account on this particular issue. Table 10.6 summarises the findings by category.

Table 10.6 The respondents' perceptions on ethnicity and religion in relation to policy implementation

Sectors / Perception on Ethnic and Religious Diversity	Public Sector			Tourism Authorities (7)	Private Sector (16)	Total (44)
	National (6)	Provincial (8)	Local (7)			
1. Problems with different ethnicities	2	-	-	-	-	2
2. Problems with different religions	-	1	-	-	-	1
3. Both considerations were influential to policy implementation	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Both considerations were not influential to policy implementation	3	6	7	7	14	37
5. Problems with outsiders who are not from Phuket	2	3	3	3	2	13
7. Mixed feeling	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.Other responses	1	1	-	-	1	3
8.Tape malfunction	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total						57

Only three respondents considered that there were problems related to ethnic diversity (2), and religious diversity (1). Two national government employees described some distinguishing cultures (characteristics) and ideologies of the sea gypsy people which made protected area policy implementation more difficult. A provincial town

police officer was concerned about Muslim leaders who could be hard-headed and incorrectly lead their communities. However, 37 respondents affirmed that both considerations were not at all influential to the implementation of these tourism policies. These were three national government employees, six provincial government officers, all seven local government officers, all seven tourism authority representatives and 14 private sector respondents. While some simply said no and suggested that these did not affect anything related to policy in practice, others explained that Phuket was a peaceful province with no problem with different ethnicities and religions. This is typified by the comment of a TAT region 4 executive who argued that "no problem at all, Chinese, Buddhists, Muslim, there was no problem at all". A PPO senior officer suggested that there was no religious problem in Phuket. He said that "we have well created a strong consolidation in religion issues, no conflict, people respect all available religions, Muslims here are not radical like the four southernmost provinces near Malaysia, they accept things and speak fluent Thai". In a similar way, a tourist police officer and a PETA member conceded that Phuket society is distinctive with no evidence of opposition or problems in Phuket like the southern most parts of Thailand. One went on to suggest that "despite a variety of religions, they can live together peacefully in Phuket". This social harmony in Phuket can be summed up by the comment of a PPAO executive who mentioned that "we need to admit that Buddhist society is very flexible and fair to everyone, we can live and work with each other blissfully". This may partly explain why a large number of respondents held positive perceptions about the diversity of ethnicities and religions in Phuket, and their influence on tourism policy implementation.

Table 10.6 also indicates that 13 respondents expressed concerns on the influence of the outsiders who lived and worked in Phuket. These people were at times referred to as 'unregistered' people as they did not register as required by Thai Law when migrating (see also chapter Five). This concern was additionally identified by two national government employees, three provincial government officers, three local government officers, three tourism authority representatives and two private sector respondents. It is significant that 11 public sector respondents in total raised this concern. Their responses were mostly made around the outsiders who principally came to make a living in the prosperous Phuket tourism industry. They were seen as not being genuinely concerned for the area, uncooperative and caring only for profits. This is typified by the comment from a Phuket MP who mentioned that "those people do not love Phuket. They just want to invest, get money and go like Pataya". Likewise, an

ONRE executive also explained that "those outsiders come for benefits and they try to make unlawful things to be lawful activities like magic, in fact only half of population are local Phuket". More specifically, seven respondents considered that Phuket's problems are caused by these outsiders. A PPO senior officer commented that people from other provinces were moving in and destroying the area. A municipality mayor indicated that outsiders did affect policy implementation. He stated that "it's been difficult to promote understanding and co-operation with them and to understand them as they come and go, very difficult to work with them". This can be summed up by the similar comments of a TAT senior staff member and a nightclub manager who mentioned that "non-compliance and Phuket problems were from people from other provinces who come, live and make trouble in Phuket". There were also three respondents who held 'other responses'. Two of which, provided 'don't know' answers, while another gave no specific response to this inquiry.

To conclude, it is clear that a large number of respondents (37) perceived that issues of ethnic and religious diversity were not influential to the way tourism policy is implemented. Their further explanation showed that Phuket was a province with a mixture of Thais, Muslims, people of Chinese descent and sea gypsies that lived peacefully together. 13 respondents identified problems with outsiders, those not of Phuket origin and whose purpose was only to generate personal profits from Phuket. Their views suggest conflicts, non-compliance activities and a lack of co-operation from these outsiders. This may reveal another contextual factor in influencing tourism policies in practice in Phuket.

10.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter examined how public attitudes and issues related to socio-cultural factors in Phuket could at times challenge the way a tourism policy was implemented and enforced. With a set of four questions, the study obtained findings about the influences of public attitudes, concerns about local economic performance, Thai socio-cultural factors and Phuket idiosyncrasies, education and conscience and the diversity of ethnicities and religions on policy implementation. This revealed varying results. While the two government policies received both positive and negative accounts, the beach safety policy as the only locally originated policy, received absolutely positive views from the respondents. This reflects the significance of local involvement and of a consultative approach in the policy process. Similar assessment of concerns of local economic performance on policy implementation showed that a large proportion of the

316

respondents acknowledge its strong influence over tourism related policy implementation. Their further explanations revealed that these concerns were connected with levels of co-operation, compliance and violation as people were more concerned with their incomes and benefits from Phuket's tourism industry than the success of policy implementation. This finding may be due to the common goal of adopting the tourism industry as a tool for economic development in most developing countries (Lea, 1988; Harrison, 1992a; Baum, 1994a).

With regard to the socio-cultural issues, the study learnt that most respondents are concerned about two key elements. These are Thai socio-cultural specifics and some Phuket idiosyncrasies that could be influential in relation to co-operation, activeness, compliance and enforcement of policies. Although the respondents were generally divided into two groups, the number who held negative views about these socio-cultural influences was higher than those with optimistic views. Prominent characteristics included opposition to legal control, local inactivity in policy issues, wealthy and over-confident Phuketians, money and power in society. Issues of education, specifically for grass-root level, and conscience were also raised in connection with policy implementation. According to AFIO (1993), Somjee and Somjee (1995) and Hewison, (1997a), this appears to have been influenced by Thai economic development and the spread of materialism, capitalism and globalisation. Finally, the interviewees overwhelmingly affirmed that there was little influence from the diversity of ethnicities and religions in Phuket for policy implementation. However, a significant number of the respondents raised concerns about people of non-Phuket origin, known as 'outsiders', who sowed their seeds in Phuket and are concerned only about economic benefits.

The findings demonstrate that the way a tourism related policy is implemented and enforced is influenced by economic and socio-cultural factors of communities. It suggests that different areas and communities may contribute to different challenges to the policy implementation process (Goncalves, 2002; Dunbar and Villarruel, 2004). It is important that policymakers and their implementers are aware of the cultural configuration that is institutionalised in the society in question (Lisewski, 2004).

Chapter 11   Conclusion and Implications

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The study has critically examined the implementation of selected tourism-related policies, planning and regulations in Phuket in relation to any gaps between policy intentions and practice, with the intention of developing a theoretical perspective on this issue that may be applied in other contexts. In order to achieve the research aim, three specific research objectives were considered. These were:

1. To critically review the research literature on policy studies and tourism policies concerning policy implementation, notably in relation to the causes of any gaps between policy intentions and practice.

2. To develop, apply and refine a theoretical framework to analyse policy implementation and the causes of any gaps between policy intentions and implementation in developing countries. This includes its application for a case study of tourism-related policy implementation in Phuket, Thailand, and the assessment of its potential wider applicability in the developing world.

3. To examine three tourism-related policies and regulations affecting the tourism industry in Phuket, Thailand. This includes evaluating the views of relevant stakeholders about tourism policy implementation and about the causes of any gaps between policy intentions and policy implementation in Phuket, Thailand.

This concluding chapter is presented in seven main sections. First, it reviews key arguments in the literature. It then briefly evaluates the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Three in terms of its development, its application in the research and its links to the research findings. The chapter subsequently reviews the key research findings, where implications of these findings are also drawn out. Next, attention is given to value of the conceptual framework, including its potential value to assess tourism policy implementation in Thailand, in other developing countries, and elsewhere. The chapter then discusses an alternative perspective on policy – as "practice on the ground" – based on relevant literature and the study's empirical findings. The value of the methodological approaches used in this study of tourism policy implementation is also considered. Finally, limitations and strengths of the study are outlined, as well as future directions for research on tourism policy and policy in practice.

11.2 KEY LITERATURE

The first research objective relates to the literature review. This section briefly highlights significant arguments derived from the review of literature from several disciplinary fields. Public policy research is seen as complex due to the innumerable definitions, several approaches to study and the various terms of policy analysis (McCool, 1995; Parsons, 1995; Hill, 1997; Lester and Stewart, 2000). Its study has generally been based on the developed world. Public policy generally involves government, government decisions, and their processes for dealing with issues that may impact on public administration and society (McCool, 1995). The policy issues are also various (Lane, 2000), and different policy instruments may be adopted in order to get things done (Elmore, 1987; Schneider and Ingram, 1990).

Policy implementation is a vital process, it has however received scant attention, especially in the developing world (Younis, 1990; Dyer, 1999; Puppim de Oliveira, 2002). In other words, the literature was slow to identify the importance of understanding policy implementation mechanisms (Puppim de Oliveira, 2005). Implementation studies were largely considered as secondary to policy making due to policy science's principal focus on policy analysis and legislative and administrative processes (Dyer, 1999; Puppim de Oliveira, 2002; 2005). Importantly, many scholars viewed implementation as an automatic result of the decision-making process (Lewis and Wallace, 1984; Grindle and Thomas, 1991).

Implementation is perhaps the most important and difficult part of the policy process as public administrators must manage organisations, personnel and government contractors; coordinate activities with third parties (other public, non-profit and private sector organisations in service delivery); develop mutually supportive relationships with interest groups and other external stakeholders; and deliver timely and effective services to those who should receive them (Berman, 1980; Lewis and Wallace, 1984; Greed, 1996; Cline, 2000; Lane, 2000). One of the most important controversies in this field is between top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation (Davies and Mason, 1984; Parsons, 1995; Hill, 1997; Marinetto, 1999; Hill and Hupe, 2002; Puppim de Oliveira, 2005). Top-down approaches regard implementation as beginning with an authoritative decision and assume that the process can be controlled from the top (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1983), whereas bottom-up approaches regard the significance of street-level bureaucrats and the affected populations that can greatly influence policy implementation (Elmore, 1979; Lipsky, 1980). As for developing

world literature, it appears to be less dependent on models (Najam, 1995 quoted in Puppim de Oliveira, 2005: 422), there is supposedly greater diversity in social, cultural and political contexts (Gow and Morss, 1988; Garzia-Zamor, 1990; Garnett *et al.*, 1997; Brinkerhoff, 1996a and 1996b; Crosby, 1996; Morah, 1996; Mortan, 1996; Puppim de Oliveira, 2002), but there are common financial and technical obstacles (Younis, 1990; Synder et al., 1996).

It is widely accepted that there have been relatively few studies of politics and public policy in tourism (Edgell, 1990; Hall, 1994a; Kerr, 2003). There is also a significant absence of tourism scholars with a policy analysis background (Hall and Jenkins, 2004). Unsurprisingly, the study of tourism policy processes is restricted, not well articulated and insufficiently developed (Kerr, 2003; Hall and Jenkins, 2004). Although tourism policy is predominantly carried out by government or government agencies, it is evident that recent trends have shifted to better networking with other sectors and stakeholders (Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Mowfort and Munt, 1998; Scheyvens, 2002; Singh *et al.*, 2002; Hall and Jenkins, 2004). A key issue is to acknowledge the interest groups that play an important role in influencing and determining policy direction (Hall and Jenkins, 1995), as well as recognising the values and ideologies that greatly influence policy decisions (Gunn, 2002; Kerr, 2003).

The specifics of tourism policy implementation have been under-researched. The discussion of tourism policy development has also sometimes failed to illustrate the political dimensions of tourism policy (Hall, 1994a). The stage of realising a policy seems to be engulfed with different complications and diversifications (Kerr, 2003). Effective and co-ordinated networking, with an adequate level of accompanying resources, is seen as important factors for successful policy implementation (Akehurst, 1992; Baum, 1994b; Hall, 1994a; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Elliott, 1997; Tosun, 2000). This also undoubtedly depends on the prevailing environments, the politics, the economy, and the cultural and social conditions in which implementation operates at the time of its conception (Hall, 1994a; Kerr, 2003). This can be even more complex in developing world contexts (Dyer, 1999; Puppim de Oliveira, 2005).

Developing countries are dynamic in their political, economic and socio-cultural environments (Clapham, 1985; Lea, 1988; Harrison, 1992a; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; Tosun, 2000; Tosun, 2001). Their public administration appears to have long been dominated by top-down or centralised approaches, with an embedded hierarchical and authoritarian political culture, influenced by their history of public administration or colonisation by Western countries (Turner and Hulme, 1997; Tosun, 2000; Tosun,

2001; Hughes, 2003). Not surprisingly, developing countries rely heavily on their governments. Their renowned characteristics include weak political development, poor economic and public administration, and complex socio-cultural pressures. These supposedly contribute to a lack of capital and expertise, and problems of corruption, nepotism, cronyism and clientelism (Clapham, 1985; Cammack *et al.*, 1993; Saxena, 1996; Goldstone, 2001). It is thus notable that their policy environments are more turbulent (Saxena, 1996). For example, their weak democracy (Cammack *et al.*, 1993) means a few powerful groups can be in power (Hewison, 1997a; McCargo, 2002). Although there may have been recent shifts in governing systems, this does not guarantee immediate decentralisation, local empowerment and other participatory approaches (Turner and Hulme, 1997). In some cases, the traditional hierarchies and authoritarian patterns continue to prevail in these countries (Brinkerhoff, 1996a; Garnett *et al.*, 1997).

Economically, developing countries are often moving fast, which can greatly impact on the socio-cultural changes (Hitchcock *et al.*, 1993; Hewison,1996; Robison and Goodman, 1996). Tourism is principally adopted for its potential for economic prosperity and benefits (Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Goldstone, 2001; Hall, 2003), especially for hard currencies from developed world tourists (Peppelenbosch and Tempelman, 1989; Mill and Morrison, 1998; Koasard *et al.*, 2001). Without systematic planning, various examples show that the international tourism industry can be self-destructive for developing countries (Lea, 1988; Cater, 1991).

Also, tourism in developing countries is often not equitable for all actors (Tosun, 2000), with participation given little attention or completely ignored (Elliott, 1997). Isolated management often means limited public awareness (Elliott, 1997; Tosun, 2005). The alleged poor performance of tourism policy implementation in developing countries can thus be affected by the nation's tourism and economic background and its bureaucratic administration, and also by the organisational and socio-cultural contexts (Buhalis, 1999).

11.3 THEORETICAL PURPOSE AND PRACTICAL USE OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The intention now is to evaluate the study's conceptual framework concerning tourism policy implementation. This relates to the second research objective. Attention

321

is directed to the theoretical purpose and practical use of the conceptual framework, as well as relationships between the framework and the research findings.

11.3.1 The conceptual framework

In Chapter Three the study explained the conceptual framework that was developed to contribute to the scant research on tourism policy implementation in the developing world. The framework was significantly driven by a deductive approach from the existing body of literature and knowledge (Brannick, 1997) reviewed in Chapter Two. This mainly included developed world literature on public policy, implementation, tourism, development and organisational theories, although some inductive elements were also adopted, notably empirical findings on practices of policy implementation in the developing world. This process of evolutionary knowledge development (Blankenburg, 1998) then influenced the identification of the seven inter-connected themes in the study's theoretical framework. The knowledge-accumulating process for this research was focused on understanding tourism policy implementation in a developing country. The seven themes include structural and political issues, policy clarity and communications, relationships between government organisations, relationships between government organisations and non-public organisations, political commitment, policy resources, and socio-cultural issues in policy implementation.

Despite its nature as a basic structure for organising thinking about the general issue under investigation (Macve, 1981), the framework also provided a structure for thinking about the specifics of tourism policy implementation, and it facilitated other decision-making processes within this research. The framework also helped to develop guidelines and recommendations for the research. In other words, it is a continuous and self-learning process of knowledge creation (Nonaka et al., 2001). As discussed in Chapter Three, the framework offered five substantive benefits. First, it partly led to the knowledge creating process by which data were to be searched and explored. It was, secondly, influential in developing the interview questions related to its detailed and theoretical elements (see also Chapter Three). Third, its detailed elements were important guides for the data analysis. Fourth, the framework helped organise the thesis chapters. Finally, it helped in understanding tourism policy implementation in Phuket, Thailand, and thus it has potential value for application elsewhere in Thailand and further afield. The conceptual framework is highly structured, yet it is generalised, interactive and flexible, and it seeks to understand the 'reality' of tourism policy implementation on the ground in the developing world.

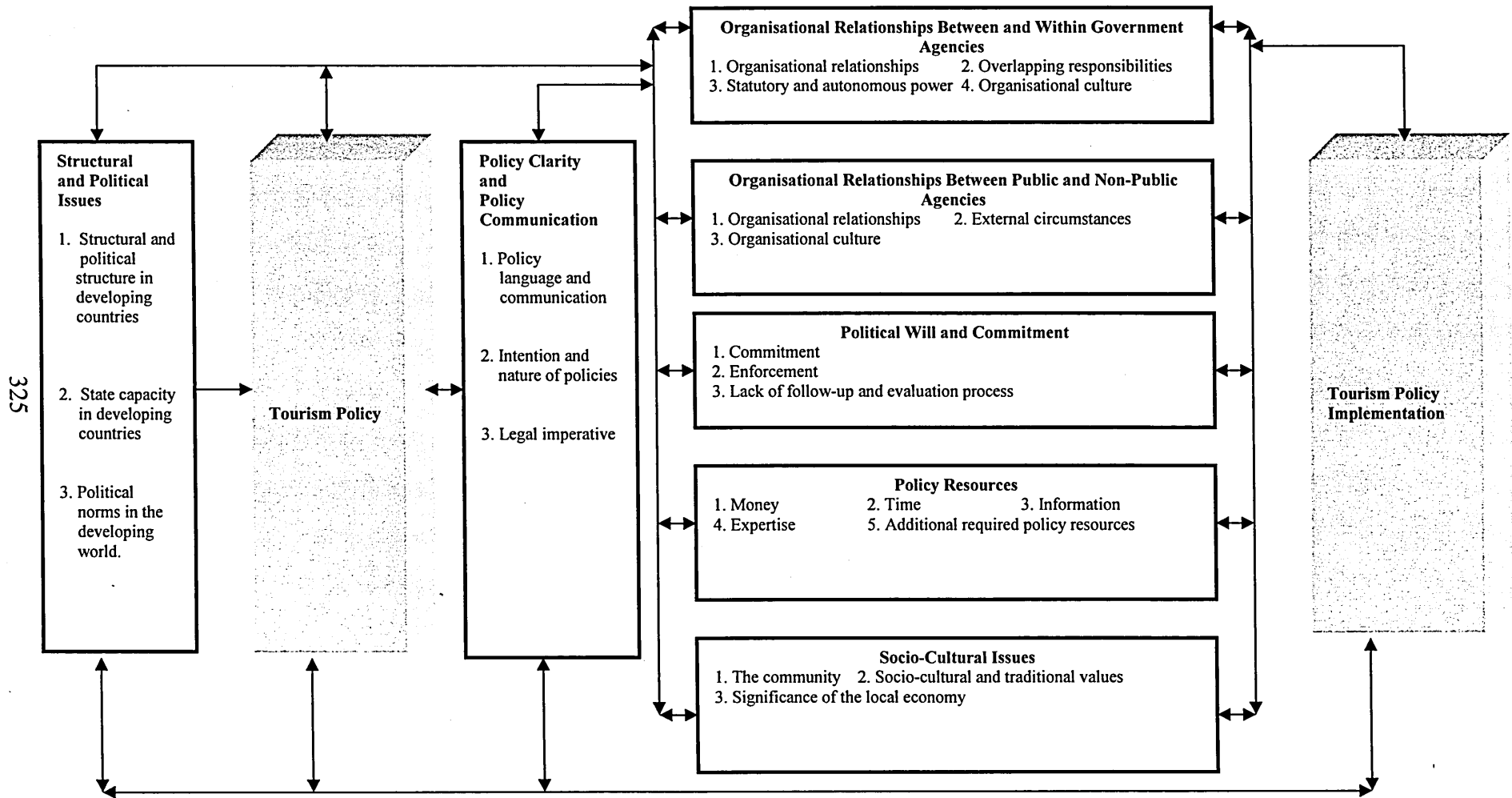### *11.3.2 The conceptual framework and the research findings*

The research findings and the study's conceptual framework inevitably are closely related. The framework is integrated, flexible and interactive and it recognises both top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation. It was a key guide for obtaining relevant data, including the organisation of the qualitative data derived from the semi-structured interviews and also their coding and analysis (both manually and with computer software). The integration of several disciplinary perspectives in the conceptual framework also provided valuable ideas for the organisation of the five results chapters. The results chapters are organised around the collapse of themes and issues arranged by the framework and its detailed elements. These include the sections on respondents and the three policies; the structural and political issues in tourism policy implementation (the collapse of structural and political issues and bottom-up/decentralised approaches); institutional issues in tourism policy implementation (the collapse of organisational relationships between and within government organisations, governmental organisations and non-public organisations, and political will and commitment of actors); policy clarity and resources in tourism policy implementation (the collapse of clarity of policies and policy resources); and, finally, public attitudes and socio-cultural issues in tourism policy implementation (the collapse of socio-cultural factors and sense of responsibility and education). It should also be noted that there was an interwoven process between the literature, the conceptual framework, the findings and the epistemological perspectives that determined what was considered as a valid and legitimate contribution to theory generation (Brannick, 1997). The next section briefly reviews key research findings from the conceptual framework's application.

11.4 KEY FINDINGS FROM THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK'S APPLICATION

This section reviews key research findings. This relates to the third research objective of examining the implementation of the three selected tourism-related policies and regulations in Phuket, Thailand. This involved evaluating stakeholder views about tourism policy implementation and the causes of any gaps between policy intentions and implementation. In this study, 44 people were interviewed for their perceptions about implementation of the three tourism-related policies. These were the 1966 Entertainment Venues policy; the Protected Areas policy; and beach safety policies.

This section is organised based on the conceptual framework diagram in order to illustrate the Phuket findings and the framework's applicability. The findings for Phuket, and their implications, are presented according to the seven themes and their detailed elements involved in the study's conceptual framework (shown in Figure 11.1).

Figure 11.1 Processes of tourism policy implementation for the three tourism-related policies in Phuket

Structural and Political Issues

1. Structural and political structure in developing countries

2. State capacity in developing countries

3. Political norms in the developing world.

Tourism Policy

Policy Clarity and Policy Communication

1. Policy language and communication

2. Intention and nature of policies

3. Legal imperative

Organisational Relationships Between and Within Government Agencies
1. Organisational relationships   2. Overlapping responsibilities
3. Statutory and autonomous power   4. Organisational culture

Organisational Relationships Between Public and Non-Public Agencies
1. Organisational relationships   2. External circumstances
3. Organisational culture

Political Will and Commitment
1. Commitment
2. Enforcement
3. Lack of follow-up and evaluation process

Policy Resources
1. Money   2. Time   3. Information
4. Expertise   5. Additional required policy resources

Socio-Cultural Issues
1. The community   2. Socio-cultural and traditional values
3. Significance of the local economy

Tourism Policy Implementation

11.4.1 Structural and political issues

Structural and political issues represent the broad political structures and forms underpinning the nation's political, environmental and administrative contexts. These may be influential for tourism policy implementation in Phuket. The findings under this theme are presented by its three elements.

Structural and political structures in developing countries. One important structural and political characteristic of Phuket's tourism policy implementation was the emphasis on top-down and centralised decisions, a key feature of Thai public administration. The government was identified as the main decision-maker as its policies so often affected the local levels. Its administration involved hierarchy, concentration and bureaucracy (Nelson, 2001). Power was still confined within small powerful groups, notably government and its officials (Hewison, 1997a; King, 1999; Loathamata and Macintyre, 2000). This also highlights the government's assumption that policies can have much controlling influence, and that they can affect the implementation process and local actors' decisions.

The prevailing hierarchical and bureaucratic structure in Thai governance (Elliott, 1983; Arghiros, 2001) was seen as a major inhibiting factor that undermined the policy implementation process. For example, it was seen to be complicated, sluggish, and with long chains of command leading to slow and poor performance, little autonomous power, incongruence among governmental organisations and even abuse of power (Blondel and Inoguchi, 1999). Some stakeholder groups suggested that these bureaucratic complexities had long been embedded and institutionalised in Thai public administration (McCargo, 1997). Therefore, the hierarchical and bureaucratic structure was seen to possess significant impacts on Phuket's tourism policy implementation.

State capacity in developing countries. Central government was shown to be a key policy resource provider in Phuket, and particularly financial support for policy implementation (Yuksel *et al.*, 2005). However, there were great concerns that the resources were insufficient and unbalanced, with interviewees for all three tourism-related policies regularly experiencing difficulties in securing necessary financial resources. For example, the amount of resources and staff numbers remained the same at local level despite the growth in numbers of tourism policies to be implemented. Resourcing levels were perceived to be competitive, occasional and unclear. This observation highlights the theoretical issue that government in most developing countries tends to suffer from resource scarcity for development (Jenkins and Henry,

1982). This also reflected some limitations in state capacity for dealing with policy issues and with implementation.

A second issue related to complex patterns of government and its officials in relation to putting the three policies into practice. There were related concerns over the practical process of tourism policy implementation by government. These included anxiety about weak enforcement, non-compliance, and a lack of effective relations among involved parties. This generally suggests that it has been difficult for the government and its officials to put tourism policy into practice in Phuket.

A third general issue relevant to state capacity in developing countries was the influence of politics in the implementation chain (Barrett and Hill, 1984; Grindle and Thomas, 1991). Political uncertainty was seen as a big problem for tourism policy implementation in Phuket. Weak political development and a non-viable economy in most developing countries (Go and Jenkins, 1997) were viewed by many stakeholders groups as crucial barriers to implementation. Practical features that were suggested by both public and non-public sector stakeholders included changes in political leaders leading to intermittent policy work, and the discontinuation of enforcement and policy resources. This highlights the issue of unstable politics/governments in most developing countries (Hughes, 2003).

Political norms in the developing world. The issue of political norms in the developing world was seen in the limited degree of local involvement in all three tourism-related policies in Phuket. It was also evident that the Thai government paid little attention to wider social circumstances affecting the public policy process. The identified shortcomings included limited local understanding, limited public involvement in public hearings and other participatory activities, and limited attempts at effective decentralised approaches (Olowu, 2003).

The strong emphasis on limited local involvement in the policy processes for all three policies in Phuket, was reflected in concerns about the limited use of specific report-back systems and policy revisions that are necessary for effective implementation. Although report-back systems were evident in the case of reports on overall local work performance as required by the Thai bureaucratic administration, there was an absence of specific local report-back systems for the implementation of the three tourism-related policies. This reflected the limited local representation in Thailand's strongly centralised political system and the potential constraints on implementing tourism policy in Phuket.

There was an absence of policy revision and evaluation in the Thai policy process. Respondents hoped that these would improve policy implementation outcomes (McCool, 1995; Hill, 1997), especially when there were unworkable or non-implementation results. Only the Protected Areas policy was identified as having been evaluated and revised to meet local requirements, and then only by two of the 44 respondents in the study. This absence highlights the strongly embedded concentration in the Thai political structure and its policy processes. Another factor is that Thai people tend to be submissive and inactive in politics, and they usually leave political activities to those at central levels (Sparkes, 1998; Agrihos, 2001).

11.4.2 Policy clarity and policy communication

Key findings related to policy clarity and communication are evaluated according to three sub-themes.

Policy language and communication. Issues related to policy language emerged as notable concerns in the Phuket case study. It was seen that policy language had often been deliberately broad, allowing ample scope for incrementalism and local adaptation at the local level (Lewis and Wallace, 1984; Parsons, 1995). There were also large parallel concerns about broad levels of responsibilities, with a lack of specific job responsibilities (Browell, 2000) – especially for local government – in the implementation of tourism policy at local levels. Local variability in implementation was also attributed to disagreements among actors in implementation networks at different levels, especially with the unclear and unconnected communication networks under the concentrated pattern of hierarchical public administration in Thailand (Hewison, 1997a; King, 1999). A related consideration concerned policy complexities in the implementation process. For example, there were concerns that the broad legal frameworks, organisational dependencies, and local socio-cultural and resource constraints also led to difficulties in implementing the policies. This included the emphasis on low capacities of Thai local government in implementing tourism policy (Mongkolnchaiarunya, 2005). The findings suggest that often the problem of lack of clarity in policy language had to be seen in relation to other connected issues, and that it is this combination that could undermine effective policy implementation in Thailand (Somjee and Somjee, 1995).

A second important issue in Phuket was that there were instances where policies and their requirements were not communicated clearly. Some stakeholders experienced misunderstandings between different tiers, including different interpretations and

unclear messages, through weak communication within Thailand's complex bureaucracy. Other significant related issues included limited senses of responsibility, and also limited organisational capacity, power autonomy, central support and local understanding. These observations highlight the theoretical issue that policy is complex and not self-executed (Hill and Hupe, 2002), and that it requires not only effective policy communication but also other factors surrounding the policy in order to secure successful outcomes (Dye, 1984; Jenkins, 1993).

Intention and nature of policies. This sub-theme highlights the issue of some government policies being more easily achieved than others. For example, the two central government-led tourism-related policies, namely the Entertainment Venues and Protected Areas policies, were seen to have been controversial for their unsuitability, and to have suffered from limited local involvement in the policy process and from intermittent enforcement. By contrast, the beach safety policy originated locally and the problems related mostly to the scarcity of its accompanying policy resources. A further consideration was associated with the different nature of policy issues. It was unsurprising that there was less agreement about the two central government-led policy issues and that there was more opposition from the private sector since these policies related to limits on commercial operations in relation to entertainment venues and to activities in protected areas. The findings suggest conflicts between the public and private sectors around the implementation of these two government policies. This helps explain why the policy intentions were seen as only modestly achieved, though there was also a view that these policies would be more fully achievement in time. By contrast, the beach safety was seen to have boosted the positive image of Phuket's tourism industry and helped other relevant businesses in Phuket. Its policy intentions were therefore seen as the most easily achieved among the three tourism-related policies examined for Phuket. This finding is perhaps unsurprising since tourism in developing countries has been adopted predominantly for economic purposes (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997). In other words, responses to Phuket's tourism industry and related policies are driven by economic and commercial concerns, with the suggestion that policies that are partly incompatible with economic development could be especially hard to achieve.

Legal imperative. While sufficient legal backup for policies was evident in this study, especially for the two government tourism-related policies, it was still perceived that poor policy performance was often due to lax enforcement and obsolete laws. Thus there was concern among respondents about lack of legal clarity, outdated laws, and

329

inadequate commitment to enforcement. It was also seen as common to experience policy enforcement being "turned on and off" in Thailand (Seabrooks, 2001).

11.4.3 Organisational relationships between and within government agencies

Four aspects of organisational relationships between and within government agencies in tourism policy implementation in Phuket are reviewed.

Organisational relationships. The first set of issues relates to the view that there is considerable interdependence within government in relation to putting tourism policy into practice. Several respondents emphasised that this interdependence, combined with complex organisational and administrative arrangements, caused problems because it meant that there was insufficient clarity around specific job responsibilities. A further consideration was the tendency for the creation and protection of "institutional empires", this evidently being reinforced by the culture and values of Thai society. Thai governmental organisations were seen to have their own institutional "empires", with much attention paid to rewards and punishments from within single ministries through the hierarchical structure. This was conceived as a potential cause of the considerable limits to effective cooperation and liaison among governmental organisations from different ministries.

Given these organisational conditions, it is unsurprising that conflicts among government organisations were identified more often than were harmonious relations. For example, there were concerns about difficulties due to institutional cultures which discourage cooperation and encourage disagreements, though some public sector respondents identified certain harmonious, cooperative relations among government agencies. However, most were identified as conditional, that is, depending on some organisations and some issues. Only the tourism-related government authorities clearly suggested that they had harmonious relationships with other governmental organisations around the selected policies. This reflected the significance of tourism issues in Thai public administration, and especially in Phuket.

Another consideration was the issue of consultative processes among governmental organisations, with this seen to occur through various types of meetings. However, there were few such meetings that specifically addressed the implementation of the tourism-related policies, with most being meetings where only other general issues were discussed. There were also no other types of consultative processes among the government organisations concerning putting these three policies into practice. This observation further highlights the weak consultation and cooperation among Thai

330

governmental organisations in tourism policy implementation, which reflects wider patterns of less than fully effective public tourism planning and management in Thailand.

Overlapping responsibilities. Given the existing problems of policy clarity, it is unsurprising that overlapping responsibilities were seen as highly likely. Three related major concerns were also identified around lack of clarity in job descriptions, in organisational interdependencies, and in the broad legal framework. This was a consequence of weak public administration and networks in Thailand and unease among government organisations concerning implementation.

Statutory and autonomous power: A major concern for many people was the low level of statutory and autonomous power for local organisations to implement tourism policies and associated regulations. There were concerns that most power lay within those at the centre or at other higher tiers, with this entailing lengthy and slow processes for policy implementation. Many interviewees from provincial government, local organisations, and private sector organisations asked for more local autonomy in management or for independent administration in the Phuket province. This observation highlights the perceived need from the local level for more decentralised approaches in Thailand's highly centralised and multi-level governance (Nelson, 2001).

Organisational culture. It is evident that in Thailand the religion, culture and the values of the wider society have had a significant influence on public administration. The highly hierarchical and bureaucratic organisational culture that has resulted was suggested to have led to some more questionable or inappropriate conduct. For example, there were some concerns expressed about officials neglecting their duties and responsibilities, bureaucratic and institutional systems that led to uncooperative relations, and also about unprofessional conduct among government agencies. It seems that hierarchical relations have encouraged a situation where patron-client relations are not uncommon in the country's public administration, even after various types of political reforms (Phongpaichit and Baker, 1998).

11.4.4 Organisational relationships between public and non-public agencies

Some key findings under this heading are evaluated within three themes.

Organisational relationships. One issue identified in the study was that organisational relationships between public and non-public agencies were various but that they were usually conditional. In fact the private sector groups stressed that there were often tensions and conflicts between governmental organisations and non-public

331

organisations, and they were concerned about a lack of participation and cooperation between them. Harmonious relationships were mostly seen as conditional and to be focused on certain organisations and specific policy issues. There was much emphasis on the private sector being very cooperative over issues that supported their business or economic performance. Again, it was the tourism authorities that were the only major group that was identified as enjoying harmonious relations with non-public sector agencies. This suggests that the relationships between governmental organisations and private sector agencies depended rather highly on there being tangible economic and commercial benefits for business. This observation highlights once more the significance of the tourism industry and economic performance for cooperation from Phuket's non-public sector.

Another sub-theme emerging from the study concerned the issue of consultative processes. Given the limited local and stakeholder involvement in Thailand's governance structures, it is unsurprising that meetings were again the only identified type of consultative process between public and non-public sector organisations. Not only was there concern about the limited numbers of the meetings, but there was also disapproval that there were no other forms of consultative process between them. This weakness in consultative and participatory approaches, and the limited stakeholder and local involvement, in tourism policy implementation also appears quite common in most developing countries (Wallis and Dollery, 2001).

External circumstances. Tourism policy implementation in Phuket was generally constrained by the broader – or more "external", yet deeply implicated – socio-cultural values and prevailing political, economic, organisational characteristics in Thailand. These "external" circumstances or environments are considered here to be crucial, and it is argued that it is vital to understand them and to take them into account in the implementation process (Dye, 1984; Jenkins, 1993; Hall, 1994a; Hall and Jenkins, 1995).

Organisational culture. Given the conditions of Thailand's bureaucratic public administration culture and the highly commercially-driven tourism industry in Phuket, it is unsurprising that the cultural character of relationships between the public and non-public sectors around tourism policy implementation was conceived primarily as benefit-led. This was also seen as a conditional relationship depending on the non-public organisations' interests, mostly for their benefits. Many interviewees were also concerned about some inappropriate relations between the public and private sectors. The misconduct was felt to include covert personal benefits, patron-client relations,

unequal treatment by public authorities, and, most importantly, corruption. This weakness of organisational culture highlights important threats to effective tourism policy implementation in Phuket. It also illustrates how the existing organisational culture in the developing world sometimes operates in practice and perhaps it is a system that it is quite effective at making aspects of the system work quite well, but at obvious specific cost (Hewison, 2005).

11.4.5 Political will and commitment

Again three features of this theme are highlighted.

Commitment. There are important issues around the political will and degree of commitment of Thai officials in implementing tourism policy. There was a strong emphasis from both government and private sector actors that there was only limited commitment to implementation between central and local government and from the policy implementers on the ground. Concerns were expressed about the culture and values in society, and about the institutional and political environments that have led to this low level of commitment. Some interviewees worried that government officials in Thailand (as in other developing countries) are underpaid and lack sufficient additional benefits and incentives (Browell, 2000). In addition, the embedded patron-client relations (Clapham, 1985), together with the highly hierarchical organisational structure, were seen as further important contributors to the passive, unmotivated and uncommitted stance of many Thai officials. Lax implementation and enforcement were seen as widespread without specific pressure from central government.

Enforcement. Given the limited levels of commitment, it is unsurprising that enforcement of tourism policies in Phuket was also seen lax and inadequate. This has been a consistent finding, as illustrated by the comments about lack of commitment to official enforcement that emerged related to the theme of legal imperatives. And improved enforcement was also regarded as the key change required to improve tourism policy implementation in Phuket. The problems of nepotism, cronyism and patron and client relations are widely seen as significant barriers to effective policy work in Thailand. This finding highlights the complex socio-cultural environments and the vulnerability that appear to affect policy implementation in most developing countries.

Lack of follow-up and evaluation process. The Phuket case suggests that follow-up procedures to monitor policy implementation are missing and should be given more attention in Thailand. These were seen as a vital, related mechanisms that are

necessary for effective policy implementation, especially when local involvement was limited.

11.4.6 Policy resources

Key findings about this theme are reviewed under five headings.

Money. The difficulties of financial resource scarcity were raised throughout the study. This was seen as the most vital resource for the effective implementation of Phuket's tourism policies as well as for procuring other necessary policy resources, notable human resources and materials. This is a common complaint in most developing countries since they tend to encounter problems of insufficient resources due to the limited national economic resources (Lea, 1988). The significance of financial resources in putting policy into practice in a developing world context is very clear from this study.

Time. While this was not directly mentioned by many respondents, often they were complaining about it indirectly in their comments about the implementation difficulties for tourism policy. For example, it was implied that there were few opportunities (of time) to apply the necessarily lengthy and complex implementation processes, such as allowing for local adaptation, policy evaluation, and policy amendment or revision in cases of non-implementation.

Information. There was evidence of problems in gaining effective liaison and shared information, both internally within the public sector organisations and also between the public and non-public sector organisations, in implementing tourism policy in Phuket. The organisational culture and values of government in Thailand were seen as potentially disadvantageous as they encouraged each public organisation to work largely only for the benefit of their own ministry and not for others. For example, various actors experienced difficulties in getting information from, and disseminating information among, other public sector stakeholders in relation to their own implementation work. This was often related to poor opportunities for liaison between governmental organisations, and also the limited local and stakeholder involvement with these organisations. This then is a further institutional and communication issue that can hinder tourism policy implementation.

Expertise. In Phuket much emphasis was placed on problems due to having insufficient numbers of staff engaged in implementing tourism policies, and also due to the staff lacking relevant qualifications and expertise, such as low qualifications among

local government tourism staff. This was also identified as a vital resource to improve tourism policy outcomes in Phuket.

Additional required policy resources. Given these different types of resource scarcities, it is unsurprising that several other related deficiencies were also identified in the interviews. These included gaps in technical facilities that allow for policy implementation, such as in equipment, materials and technology needed to apply the policies. However, some private sector groups emphasised other issues instead, unconnected with constraints on levels of public sector resourcing, as contributing to implementation deficiencies. These included better enforcement, improved cooperation, enhanced local and tourism understanding, and more central government support and commitment. The problem of limited policy resources probably does point to an added requirement for the public sector to engage in more effective cooperation and coordination to secure policy implementation within the tight budget constraints. It must be recognised, however, that such coordination will be a slow process in a long-term strategy due to the history of Thai political, organisational and cultural values.

11.4.7 Socio-cultural issues

Three sets of issues stand out in relation to this theme.

The community. The respondents in Phuket, and especially those in the tourism business sector, were seen to express most discontent about the two tourism-related policies led by national government: namely, the Entertainment Venue and the Protected Areas policies. Their concerns seem to trace back to these two policies being perceived as potential threats to Phuket tourism industry's performance and to the area's economic prosperity. Many interviewees identified various negative effects and experiences related to the implementation of these two policies. In contrast, the Beach Safety policy was the only policy that was seen to have been widely supported by the respondents. This policy benefited from its local origin and also because of its potential economic benefits, such as by boosting Phuket's tourism image. This again highlights the importance of the economic driving force in Phuket, and might suggest that perhaps tourism policy implementation in Phuket has been somewhat undermined by these local economic concerns.

Socio-cultural and traditional values. There was much evidence that tourism policy implementation was strongly influenced by culture, traditions and values that were specific to society in Thailand and in Phuket. Thus, patron-client relations, the Kreng jai characteristics, and the senses of indebtedness, conflict–avoidance and

335

passiveness of people are ubiquitous features of Thai society; and confident, self-contained and self-centredness are often depicted as characteristic features of local Phuket residents. Both national and more local characteristics have probably encouraged the limited level of political participation and high level of lax enforcement (Sparkes, 1998; Arghiros, 2001). These features highlight deeply embedded difficulties for tourism policy implementation in Thailand and probably in several other developing world nations. Cultures and values can be difficult and time-consuming to understand and they add greatly to the complexity of the implementation process.

A related issue concerns levels of education and training, as these affect the awareness and capacity of policymakers and implementers. This issue is especially relevant in Thailand and most developing countries as educational development is often fairly poor. Additionally, another issue concerns the public morality and conscience of people in the society, specifically here of the officials and implementers. Here it is important to note that the fabric of Thai society is changing quite rapidly and the people are becoming increasingly materialistic (Browell, 2000). In traditional Thai Buddhist society, immoral activities are regarded as sinful. Some respondents hoped that by promoting morality and conscience it might be possible to reduce the frequency of inappropriate relationships generated by some cultural values and also by western capitalist influences.

The final point to make is that the different religions and ethnicities found in Phuket were not identified as significant influences on tourism policy implementation. Rather, Phuket is seen as a peaceful and harmonious province with almost no evidence of problems relating to religious or ethnic differences. However, one issue related to social heterogeneity was seen as a significant consideration, this being the large number of unregistered residents who have migrated to the area from other nearby provinces. For example, some Phuket actors identified them as "outsiders" who are only there to gain their own personal benefits from Phuket's tourism industry, and some saw them as people with little commitment to the locality and thus disinterested in respecting the policies and regulations identified in this case study. This issue again highlights the rather pervasive economic significance of the tourism industry for Phuket and even for much of Thailand.

Significance of the local economy. The centrality of tourism in Phuket's economy helps to explain many aspects of the implementation of tourism-related policies in Phuket. A related finding was that private sector entrepreneurs were seen to be very influential, both as movers and shakers and controlling influences on the area's

336

tourism industry. The local culture is becoming increasingly materialistic, with a growing adherence to the values of capitalism, consumerism and money. These contextual issues related to the primacy of economic benefits help to explain how some entertainment venues were able to bypass the closing hours regulations. In addition, some interviewees knew of instances where tour operators and hotels had violated the protected area regulations. It must be remembered that developing countries are under considerable pressure to secure economic growth and rapid development so as to meet the basic needs of the people and to encourage further investment by entrepreneurs. Their need for economic and regional development from the hard currencies of international tourists can divert these countries from policy intentions designed to protect and sustain the tourism industry, environment, and societies from long-term degradation and decline.

11.5 VALUE OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

This section demonstrates the value of the conceptual framework and the empirical research findings. The discussion focuses on the value of the framework for the research, its potential applicability and value for Thailand, and its potential utility for other developing countries and also for elsewhere.

11.5.1 Value for the research

The conceptual framework had both theoretical and practical strengths. First, the framework can accommodate tourism policy implementation in a developing world context that originates from either top-down or bottom-up approaches or from different combinations thereof. Apart from illustrating how tourism policies are implemented in a developing world perspective, this integrated framework and its detailed elements also identify potential influential factors involved in putting tourism policy into practice. It was used to direct thinking (Punch, 1998) and to meet the overall research aim and linked objectives. It was developed in an iterative process and, in turn, it influenced other research processes and practical considerations in the study.

Second, the framework was of practical value, notably it was a vital part of identifying and designing the interview questions, including influencing the sequence of questions, the balance of themes, and the number of questions on specific themes. The comprehensive and valuable findings from the study corroborated its appropriateness. In addition, the framework helped in identifying types of stakeholders involved in

implementation networks and respondents for the interviews. It also influenced how the interview data was analysed, notably it helped to generate the thematic index for the framework analysis and it influenced the identification of issues and themes in the organisation and writing of the results chapters. Importantly, the framework of themes and the linkages between them was shown in the study to have a general applicability for all three tourism-related policies, and it is thought it may well have relevance to understand other case studies in Thailand and in other developing countries.

11.5.2 Value for Thailand

The framework and related research findings revealed many important issues relevant to understanding tourism policy implementation in Phuket that are highly likely to have wider relevance for other urban – and probably also rural – areas in Thailand . For example, there is ample evidence of the importance of strongly centralised and top-down policy-making in Thailand. This might point to the need for decentralizing policy-making and implementation in more bottom-up approaches involving greater local participation.

Second, it also showed that Thailand is a country in transition economically, socio-culturally and politically. There was evidence of fairly rapid political developments in Thailand that have increased uncertainty and hindered policy certainty and implementation, including trends towards representative democracy, semi-democracy and participatory democracy, but with periods of military interventions. Uncertainty has increased weak political development, poor state capacity and a lack of confidence in Thai politics, government and democratisation. The economic background of Thailand as a developing country was shown to be a major consideration in policy implementation in the country. It is one of the economically fastest-growing countries, and it has changed rapidly from being agriculture-based to a more largely industrialised economy. And there were moments of notable economic success and failure over the last few decades. The nation has been challenged by the rapid development of capitalism, which has triggered rapid socio-cultural changes. For example, there are prominent differences between urban and rural societies, and there has been a rapid increase in the wealthy urban middle class, with expensive cars, mobile phones and brand-name products (Hewison, 1996). And, while people still subscribe to Buddhism, its significance is reducing. In the past few decades Thailand's popular beliefs and religiosity have been undergoing a significant degree of 'subtle hybridization', with religious commodification and capitalist consumerism becoming

increasingly prominent (Kitiarsa, 2005:461). These urban societies are also densely populated due to local migration of people from rural societies. In contrast, the rural societies still largely adhere to traditional beliefs and cultures in which power and traditional culture and values, including clientelism and cronyism, are strongly exercised. Educational development also differs greatly between rural and urban areas. This study has shown how these continuities and changes have had a great impact on Thailand's political development, governance, and, importantly here, on the policy implementation process.

Third, the emergence of a middle class and a technically educated population is important to Thai public administration and the public policy processes. Forming a new layer of society, these middle-class people are new centres of power and they tend to be more receptive to liberal and democratic ideals (Hewison, 1996). Issues related to greater representation, such as local involvement, participatory democracy and local autonomous power, are increasingly seen as necessary for Thai governance.

Fourth, the study showed the importance of Thailand's deeply embedded hierarchical and bureaucratic institutional arrangements. Thai public institutions tend to cling to this established social and organisational hierarchy in which power and patron-client relations are exercised. It is common for lower tier officials to be submissive and inactive, leading to limited commitment and to lax enforcement of policies and regulations. Ironically, commitment and rigorous enforcement can be seen in Thailand if there is pressure from above (Seabrook, 2001). These institutional relations reflect Thai society, with its mixture of Buddhism and uneven political development.

11.5.3 Value for other developing countries

The conceptual framework and the research findings in the study reflect the fairly distinctive characteristics of tourism policy implementation in developing countries, which differ in several ways from the developed world. Thus the framework and empirical findings may have relevance for other developing countries that share similar characteristics. For example, a top-down approach to public administration is commonplace, and although in many cases decentralisation is also evident, centralisation often seems to be almost as strong as ever. Their governments generally assume that the clear delineation of goals by policymakers will lead to more effective support, more dynamic implementation and greater success of policies in addressing problems (Grindle, 1997; Puppim de Oliveira, 2005). Second, developing countries often have gaps between national and local levels, since central government is seen as

the key-policymaker and resource provider for policy implementation. Often only limited attention has been directed to local and stakeholder involvements. Third, in developing countries there tend to be formidable socio-cultural and traditional values, such as those underpinning clientelism, that need to be fully understood prior to putting policy into practice. Religion is often another influential factor in the Third World underpinning the way people think and react to policy implementation. It was found that in Thailand's Buddhist society there is a tendency for people to exhibit a submissive nature towards the nation's politics. However, in different religious societies in the developing world, things can be different, at times radical. These socio-cultural, traditional and religious values are likely to be strong influences on the success and failure of policy implementation. Fourth, the actions of the 'street level bureaucrat' are vital in putting policies into practice (Lipsky, 1980). It was shown that policymakers are not policy implementers, and that effective communication and understanding with 'street level bureaucrats' is important to improving policy practice at the local level. In many developing countries the street level bureaucrats are likely to have low levels of training and other capacities (Grindle, 1997; Trostel et al., 1997). Limited educational development has often been a result of constrained economic resources (Browell, 2000). In these contexts it is perhaps unsurprising that lower tier officials and the wider public can be rather inactive in public issues.

The framework allows for consideration of the scarcity of policy resources, especially financial resources, which is often a prominent consideration in developing countries. Furthermore, with excessive economic attention in most developing countries, the findings here suggest that some policies may be less regarded since they are less likely to promote economic development as other policy issues, leading to reduced policy attention and falling resources for implementation, as may occur with environment-related policies. Under the pressures of global competition, economic liberalisation, modernisation and globalisation, developing countries need to secure rapid economic growth. Tourism, and especially international tourism, is seen largely as a tool for economic and regional development. And policies that undermine economic potentials may be indirectly challenged through various difficulties in their implementation. Finally, the study has examined the emergence of just one of several newly rich developing country in South-east Asia (Robison and Goodman, 1996). As such, it highlights the potential importance in these nations of the emergence of a middle-class revolution, both in society and in political arenas. The increasingly affluent middle classes are taking up more roles in political arenas as well as encouraging

greater democratic representation against the embedded centralisation, and this inevitably influences the policy implementation process.

Developing countries are dynamic, interesting and increasingly powerful, and they deserve to be paid specific attention in tourism policy research. The conceptual framework developed here will assist in this. The framework itself is fairly generic and thus is likely to have wide applicability, and many of the specific issues in Thailand are likely to have relevance elsewhere in the developing world.

11.5.4 Value for countries elsewhere

The framework and research findings potentially have much applicability in developed world contexts as well as in Third World and Rapidly Industrializing nations. First, they clearly demonstrate the complexity and interactive character of tourism policy implementation, and stress how this process importantly is not self-executed. They indicate how policy implementation depends on substantial resources and cooperative networks. And they highlight the importance of understanding and accommodating the diverse external environments affecting implementation, especially the socio-cultural and other locality-specific issues, that can easily be overlooked. Second, while the framework (shown in Figures 3.1 and 11.1) is easiest to read from left to right, it also flags up the significance of a right to left or bottom-up approach to implementing policy, which has not been prominent in some tourism policy literature. For example, the significance of local and stakeholder involvement, and the roles and actions of local implementers (also known as 'street-level bureaucrats') were identified as central to policy implementation outcomes. In addition, an understanding of institutions involved in implementation networks is also shown as important to policy implementation. In other words, strategic tourism policy implementation cannot ignore the degree of cooperation and harmonious relations among public and non-public sector organisations, especially as the tourism industry is often fragmented. Finally, the study also highlights key environments affecting whether policy is put into practice, and this can be applicable to other policy implementation studies or case studies in developed world and other geographic contexts. Apart from structural and political issues, and the issues of institutional and policy clarity, particular attention is given to socio-cultural values that may well be a vital factor surrounding policy implementation in developed world countries and other contexts.

11.6 AN ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVE: "POLICY AS PRACTICE ON THE GROUND"

Based on lessons learnt from this study, this section suggests an alternative perspective for future research that focuses on the idea of "policy as practice on the ground". Four dimensions to this idea of "policy as real world practice" are proposed and discussed in turn.

11.6.1 Policy as practice: backward mapping

The study has shown that policy implementation is non-static and highly dynamic and interactive; policies often require adaptation and are often revisited after their enactment (Lewis and Wallace, 1984; Jenkins, 1993; Hall, 1994a; Alesch and Petak, 2001). As previously discussed, this study did not seek to evaluate the implementation 'success' or 'failure' of the three tourism-related policies under investigation; instead, it attempts to understand tourism policy implementation in the developing world context. Another intention is to consider how best to study policy implementation, with the ideas emerging hopefully being useful for future studies of tourism policy. Among various approaches to policy implementation, the most widely recognised is perhaps the top-down approach (Davies and Mason, 1984; Elmore, 1988; Parsons, 1995; Hill, 1997; Hill and Hupe, 2002). Policy implementation in developing countries in particular tends to focus on policy goals and processes of administrative actions in which success and failure are evaluated against capacities to deliver programmes as designed (McClintock, 1980; Quick, 1980; Rothenberg, 1980; Dyer, 1999). It is, however, desirable for other approaches to be identified to aid policy analysis (Davies and Mason, 1984). With the widely used top-down approaches the role of local actors in implementation may be overlooked (Elmore, 1979; 1980). There has also been increasing concern about governments' or policymakers' inability to have their policies carried out as wanted, and about closing the gap between policy and practice (Davies and Mason, 1984; Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988). Consequently, there is a recent development of more bottom-up views of implementation that stress the importance of lower ranked bureaucrats and locally-based organisations in dealing with policies (Lipsky, 1980; Davies and Mason, 1984; Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988). A top-down or forward mapping (Elmore, 1985) approach was discussed and partly incorporated in the conceptual framework due to its importance in developing countries. But the study has also shown that various non-top-down elements, such as lower-level organisations, local implementers and local socio-cultural values, were significant to

understanding the implementation of three tourism policies in a developing world context. The conceptual framework, with its varied directional arrows and ability to be read from right to left as well as left to right, also allows for the significance of a bottom-up approach, particularly of backward mapping. This is proposed here as another vital technique to understand the implementation of tourism policy, which has not received sufficient attention in previous tourism studies.

A top-down approach principally emphasises the importance of well-defined policy goals, the achievement of set objectives, consistency with policy decisions and control over the administrative system (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973; Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975; Bardach, 1977; Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1983; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). On the other hand, the bottom-up perspective challenges this view and it embraces more fully the behaviour of front-line staff in policy delivery agencies (Lipsky, 1980), the complex interactions between multiple organisations, the concept of networks (Hill and Hupe, 2002) of activities formed from within a pool of organisations and formed through processes of consensual self-selection (Hjern and Porter, 1981:220), and of action consisting of compromises between people in various parts of single organisations or related organisations (Barrett and Fudge, 1981). In other words, it is believed that the idea of linear sequences of events involving policy formation followed by implementation has little substance in reality (Marinetto, 1999). This means that knowledge of bottom-up aspects may contribute greatly to improved policy development and implementation.

The traditional forward lens for policy work generally begins with clear statements of objectives, then elaborates increasingly specific steps at each stage for achieving those objectives, and it works its way toward the outcomes to be measured in determining success (Elmore, 1985; Dyer, 1999; Recesso, 1999). Practically, under the forward mapping approach, policymakers tend to initiate and try to affect the implementation by imagining what the best possible structure would be. Then they define the implementation arena, determine the actors' roles, and later mandate the level of allocated resources, organisations, and rules that are consistent with their objectives (Elmore, 1985; Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988; Recesso, 1999). In short, forward mapping suggests that implementation is controlled from the top (Elmore, 1985), with perfect administration leading to perfect policy implementation (Hood, 1976 in Hill, 1997, and in Hill and Hupe, 2002). However, it can be argued that this position is flawed because the policy may fail for reasons beyond the policymakers' control (Recesso, 1999). There are several weaknesses of this traditional approach. For

instance, it tends to underplay the discretion of the local actor as an important component of policy analysis, and also the significance of organisational structure and of personal factors in determining the actual policy impacts as well as in explaining their success and failure (Elmore, 1979; 1980; 1982; Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988; Parsons, 1995; Hill, 1997). It also tends to overestimate the ability to foresee the impact of environmental influences on implementation (Recesso, 1999).

Against this traditional approach, Richard Elmore, suggests a backward mapping perspective that highlights the need to understand what is happening from the bottom end of the policy system (Hill and Hupe, 2002), and why and under what conditions policies are adopted locally (Recesso, 1999). Backward mapping is defined as:

"backward reasoning from the individual and organisational choices that are the hub of the problem to which policy is addressed, to the rules, procedures and structures that have the closest proximity to those choices, to the policy instruments available to affect those things, and hence to feasible policy objectives" (Elmore, 1980:601).

This perspective emphasises stakeholder perceptions of specific and important effects and local organisations' characteristics within a community environment (Elmore, 1979; McLaughlin, 1987). It also requires better empirical evidence of the complexity and dynamics of the interactions between individuals and groups in implementation processes (Barrett and Hill, 1981). By comparison with the top-down methodology, backward mapping is relatively free of pre-determining assumptions (Hill, 1997; Hill and Hupe, 2002), it is a form of policy analysis that acknowledges variables that exist outside the specific programme environment, and it highlights the importance of local discretion, complex interactions, stakeholders' opinions, organisational characteristics and social values (Elmore, 1979; Githens and Stetson, 1996; Hill, 1997; Recesso, 1999). Backward mapping begins at the local level and traces the actions back to their beginning (Elmore, 1979; 1985; McLaughlin, 1987; Parsons, 1995; Dyer, 1999). It reverses the traditional assumptions by using policy less to mandate resource allocation, structures and rules, but more to encourage the commissioning actors to work on the ground to fashion workable solutions to real problems, and to allow those solutions the opportunity to fail and the time to succeed (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988). The focus is therefore on the local actors, who are difficult to control (Hill, 1997), and on the use of discretion where organisational characteristics come into play in determining success and failure (Githens and Stetson, 1996; Recesso, 1999). The process of mapping then works backwards, asking "what

344

ability has each unit to affect the behaviour that is the target of the policy; and what resources would it require to do so" (Elmore, 1980:604).

In using backward mapping, data should be collected that describe the characteristics of local organisations, the perceptions of local stakeholders, actual activities at the local level, the environment in which policy is operating, and adaptation of the policy intent at local level (Elmore, 1985; Recesso, 1999). Attention is given to the importance of locality, situation and conditions under which the policy is being implemented (Parsons, 1995; Githens and Stetson, 1996; Matsui, 1997). Its elements also include measuring the level of specific and important changes (Recesso, 1999). Further key elements of backward mapping in policy analysis are listed the Table 11.1.

Table 11.1 Summary of key elements of backward mapping

It is effective in describing actual versus perceived implementation.
It is effective in explaining actual versus perceived participation.
The effect of the locality is considered to help to explain variation in implementation.
Perceptions of importance and policy effect are measured.
A more complete picture of policy implementation is presented.
The thoroughness with which policy implementation information is provided is at a high level.

Drawn from Recesso (1999)

Backward mapping basically explains the extent to which the locality's perceptions and actions influenced the variations of implementation (Elmore, 1985; Parsons, 1995; Matsui, 1997). From Table 11.1, it is evident that backward mapping is useful for determining and explaining the relationships between the locality prior to policy implementation and how policy, as intended to be implemented by government, is adapted to those conditions, and why implementation did or did not take place. This requires the researcher to examine all the conditions surrounding the policy (Recesso, 1999). Although it is true that policy exists to create change at the local level, it is the locality which ultimately decides how the policy's intent will be adapted to meet its needs (Lipsky, 1980; Barrett and Fudge, 1981; Elmore, 1985; Alesch and Petak, 2001), and backward mapping can ascertain whether those environments are associated with policy implementation success.

Studies by Recesso (1999) on the implementation of a School to Work Opportunity policy and by Dyer (1999) on the implementation of educational policy in India found backward mapping to be an effective approach. The effort at backward mapping yielded data that explained how the operational and decision-making conditions within the locality impacted upon implementation. Pre-existing conditions in and around schools and the perceptions of relevant stakeholders were therefore

345

measured for the backward mapping process. The study findings also contributed to an improved understanding of how the implementing organisations and the environments operated and reacted to the policy. These studies also suggested that backward mapping potentially has universal application, with the potential also to replicate the research procedures followed in these studies.

Backward mapping for policy can facilitate better recognition that localities may interpret the intent of policy rather differently from that of the policymakers (Lipsky, 1980; Elmore, 1985; Recesso, 1999). While forward mapping assumes the failure to meet objectives is due to the inability of localities to implement (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988), backward mapping assumes a variation in local interpretation results in a variation in adaptation and implementation (Davies and Mason, 1984; Elmore, 1985; Githens and Stetson, 1996). The analysis is built from a local perspective to explain local actions to meet government policy guidelines. It also looks for actual documentation and reviews initial findings to gain a clearer understanding as to why certain perceptions are held and actions taken (Recesso, 1999). It is noteworthy that even the best of intentions and the clearest of goals can prove to be ineffective in achieving desired or expected results (Ingram and Schneider, 1990:69). Therefore, the lack of policy implementation may not be related to ability to control or local inability to pursue the set objectives; instead, it may be more to do with discretion based on perceptions at the local level (Recesso, 1999). From this perspective, future policy making should be based on more complete information on the locality in which the target population resides and for which policy is intended, and less on clearer policy goals (Lipsky, 1980; Barrett and Fudge, 1981; Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988; Elmore, 1985; Githens and Stetson, 1996).

This study has shown that Thai tourism policy implementation is guided by a strong top-down approach in which policymakers control the organisational, political and technical processes of implementation. This is not surprising since many still believe that it is the policymaker and the clarity of policy goals that make the difference at the point of implementation (Hill, 1997; Hill and Hupe, 2002). However, information required for backward mapping would be important to help to explain the varying degrees of implementation and for indicating how mediating variables may be dealt with in the future (Recesso, 1999; Dyer, 1999). Since the link between policy intent and policy action can be problematic (O'Toole, 2004), such an alternative and systematic approach can help to understand implementation and possible gaps between policy and practice.

Although backward mapping provides for more global understanding of how policy implementation works and what impacts on its success, in cases where there is no means for discretion by local actors, then backward mapping may not be the most appropriate method (Recesso, 1999). Furthermore, if in practice the case study being examined involves a highly centralised system, coupled with strong patron-client relations and corruption that are strongly embodied within the society, then backward mapping may have significant drawbacks if it is used on its own. For instance, some countries can only be understood if full attention is paid to the mismanagement and patron-client relations (Kwadwo and Shabaya, 2005), and others have problems with inefficient legal systems (Besancenot and Vranceanu, 2002). It is widely accepted that these traditions are undesirable but that it is not simple to remove them. Backward mapping that places such a high value on the role of local actors, local organisations, local market conditions and local preferences (Recess, 1999), might thus be susceptible to those norms and institutionalised practices that endorse opportunities for corruption, nepotism and other inappropriate policy implementation practices. The more rigid frameworks, legislative processes and interpretive frameworks of forward mapping may have much to offer in these circumstances. It therefore makes sense to suggest that there may be many situations, especially in developing countries, where forward mapping might usefully be combined with backward mapping in new, "hybrid approaches". Indeed, such hybrid frameworks may be the most suitable to understand policy implementation in the real world, with its complex social connections, in most if not all circumstances. Specifically for developing countries, the combination of both forward mapping and backward mapping may be important so as to help discourage corruption and other misconduct at the local level. Tourism policy implementation in developing countries may therefore be best understood by using a hybrid approach. For example, Barrett and Fudge (1981:25) argue that implementation should be seen as a policy – action continuum, in which "an interactive and negotiative process is taking place over time, between those seeking to put policy into effect and those upon whom action depends". Also, Parson (1995:471) and Lewis and Flynn (1979) put forward a behavioural model which views implementation as 'action' by individuals which is constrained by the world outside their organisations and the institutional contexts within which they endeavour to act. Other hybrid theories that may be useful here include looking at implementation as evolution (Majone and Wildavsky, 1978), as learning, and as inter-organisational relationships (Hjern and Porter, 1981).

11.6.2 Tourism empowerment and new knowledge

It has been argued that hybridity between forward mapping in a top-down approach and backward mapping in a bottom-up approach can be useful to understand policy implementation. Similar flexibility and hybridity has recently been proposed in other recent literature on tourism policy and planning. And this literature also increasingly proposes approaches that consider bottom-up as well as top-down perspectives. Therefore, recent studies stress the need for local and community involvement as well as empowerment for more effective tourism development and planning (Murphy, 1985; Marion and Farrell, 1998; Scheyvens, 2002; Sofield, 2003). Attention is increasingly given to grassroots stakeholders as tourism affects the lives of many people in local areas, often bringing significant negative impacts (Ashley and Roe, 1998). This new emphasis has been influenced by shifting political theories and ideologies towards planning and development, such as sustainable development, Agenda 21, community involvement in tourism (CIT), tourism development and community participation in the tourism development process (CPTDP), and stakeholder collaboration and participatory planning (WTO, 1997; Ashley and Roe, 1998; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Mowfort and Munt, 2003; Tosun, 2005). In addition, there has been more recognition that policy can be highly complex and ambiguous (Hall, 2003; Hall and Jenkins, 2004), and most importantly that it is usually operated in local environments (Tosun, 2000). Approaches to tourism policy and planning have thus evolved greatly, which according to Tosun (2006) has involved moves from myopic and rigid concerns to more comprehensive, flexible, responsive, systematic and participatory approaches (Murphy, 1985; Inskeep, 1994; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). Although it is not simple to apply all these recent approaches in tourism, especially in the developing world where they may be less directly relevant (Tosun, 2001; 2006), it is believed that views about appropriate strategies and actions will continue to evolve (Ashley and Roe, 1998).

There is a growing emphasis in the policy literature on local community empowerment and local capacity building. This too sits well with the new approach to policy implementation suggested here that gives increased prominence to grassroots perspectives. Although few have explicitly tied community empowerment and tourism together (Sofield, 2003), it is now generally accepted that unless residents are empowered to participate in decision-making and ownership, then tourism development will not reflect community values and will be less likely to generate sustainable outcomes (Milne, 1998; Timothy, 2002). Four dimensions of empowerment are often

suggested: namely, economic, psychological, political and social, which have been explored by Scheyvens (1999 and 2002). Political empowerment can help to ensure that a community's needs, interests, votes and concerns guide the development of any tourism project from the feasibility stage through to its implementation (Scheyvens, 1999). It is also argued that local communities should be able to exert some control over tourism activities, which involves political empowerment, power decentralisation from the national level, and capacity building.

The hybrid approach to policy implementation, including forward and backward mapping, that is advocated here sits well with several types of "new knowledge" being suggested recently in tourism research. This relates to understanding tourism's complex relations with its wider environment in terms of complex adaptive systems, flexible and adaptive management, complex adaptive tourism systems (CATS), and advanced sustainability (Mclain and Lee, 1996; Reed, 2000; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2005). It is increasingly recognised that the tourism industry's diverse relationships with nature and society lead to difficulties of non-linearity and unpredictability (Holden, 2005), and that there are crucial issues of values, power, contestation and disputed governance (Bramwell, 2006). The changing conditions, complexity and uncertainty (Reed, 2000) mean that things can only be fully understood in the context of complex systems and through integrated approaches involving inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary perspectives. This involves contemporary tourism research retreating from reductionism (Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004) and a focus on presumed simple, linear processes, and instead it entails considering the world in terms of interactive processes and of complex, dialectical connections between tourism and both social and natural systems (Bramwell, 2006). This captures new types of knowledge in order to comprehend the dynamic interactions of natural and social systems (Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004; 2005). These ideas reflect trends toward greater flexibility and working with grassroots stakeholders. This is seen directly in the idea of adaptive management, whereby stakeholders co-manage on the basis of long understanding and reciprocal social learning (Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2005:115). All these significant new insights are argued to facilitate new ways to study tourism policy implementation, and they lend credence to the proposed complex, hybrid and combined top-down and bottom-up approach to the study and practice of tourism policy implementation.

11.6.3 Relevance in a highly centralised governance system and paternalistic society

Research on policy implementation in developing countries tends to focus more on the administrative apparatus, and the policy goals and procedures of implementing bureaucracies (Grindle, 1980). The findings of this study show that common factors affecting policy implementation involved an overly centralised administrative structure (Garcia-Zamor, 1990; Younis, 1990), the growing but limited economy, the restrictive political culture (Gow and Moss, 1988), a shortage of resources facilitating inter-governmental relations (Synder *et al.*, 1996; Garnett *et al.*, 1997), a limited local involvement (Puppim de Oliveira, 2002; 2005), and a poor recognition of seemingly unrelated events that are significantly affected by traditional, local socio-cultural values (Hafez Awamleh, 1990; Brinkerhoff, 1996a; Mortan, 1996; Tong *et al.*, 1999). And it is suggested that these factors probably frequently intervene between policy and actual achievement in many developing countries.

The study also recognises that the over-emphasis on a top-down approach in most developing countries probably hinders policy implementation and restricts attempts to fully understand these processes. The study strongly suggests the importance of local, institutional and socio-cultural characteristics, with these appearing to have strongly influenced the implementation of the three tourism-related policies in Phuket. As a result, the study points to the significance of backward mapping in a bottom-up approach that recognises variables outside of policy goals and its designed processes in policy implementation, such as local actors, local discretion and institutional characteristics (Elmore, 1980; 1985; Davies and Mason, 1984; Parsons, 1995; Hill, 1997; Hill and Hupe, 2002).

However, this study also fully recognised that in the developing world there are highly embedded political structures and institutionalised socio-cultural values that must not be overlooked, notably complex hierarchies, political corruption, cronyism and patron-client relations (Hewison, 1997a; Murray, 1997; King, 1999; Sparkes, 1998; Esterik, 2000; Arghiros, 2001; Nelson, 2001; McCargo, 2002). There may also be specific relations between political and economic power, urban and rural power, official and unofficial power (Callahan, 2005) which help to explain the relative inactivity and submissive nature of people (Komin, 1991; Boyle, 1998; Browell, 2000). For these reasons, this study used a conceptual framework that began with a top-down, forward mapping approach, but it also allows for reading from right to left and that has arrows that flow in all directions, so it also incorporates the potential for backward mapping. It

thus allows for a hybrid approach. The initial focus on a top-down perspective was considered necessary due to this being the emphasis in practice in many developing countries. One cannot simply discard the nature and situation in which policy is being implemented, despite the top-down emphasis being seen as a limitation and impairment for developing countries (Hutchcroft, 1997; Cassing, 2000; de Mello and Sab, 2002; Fadahunsi and Rosa, 2002; Callahan, 2005; Olken, 2005). And clientelistic practices are considered to be widespread in many developing countries, and to operate as almost a parallel economy with its own traditions and values (Bowles and Garoupa, 1997; Fadahunsi and Rosa, 2002). It has been suggested that there is a need to follow these institutionalised norms and relations to make things work in developing countries, and that distinctions between appropriate and inappropriate or legal and illegal have become blurred and perhaps irrelevant (Fadahunsi and Rosa, 2002). Thus, one might contend that, in the specific circumstances of many developing countries, backward mapping may make more sense academically rather than practically, and that forward mapping has greater overall relevance. This is because elements of forward mapping in a top-down approach should not be completely removed from implementation processes in developing countries. Nevertheless, perhaps there remains scope for a hybrid, interactive, iterative process of both forward and backward mapping to understand the tourism policy implementation even in the developing world (Barrett and Fudge, 1981; Lindblom and Woodhouse, 1993).

11.6.4 Revisiting the model

This section revisits the earlier conceptual framework on tourism policy implementation in developing countries in order to consider its theoretical, methodological and practical contributions, thereby addressing the study's second objective. It is argued that the framework (1) demonstrated the value of a mixture of both developed world theories and developing world practices for an understanding of tourism policy implementation in the case study. Further, (2) the framework explicitly identifies key influences and environments affecting tourism policy implementation, and it (3) provides an interactive view of tourism policy implementation by recognising the significance of both forward mapping in a top-down approach and backward mapping in a bottom-up approach. The framework (4) also had practical implications for research methodology and methods used in the study. This framework can be seen as a normative model that has potential useful applications in developing countries and elsewhere. Importantly, it helped to show that policy implementation was not a linear

process, and that local implementers and institutions have important roles. It helped to identify various "on-the-ground" variables, notably political, economic and socio-cultural influences, that are integral to the policy implementation process. It suggested that governments must be realistic about what actually happens on the ground in order successfully to put policy into practice. For instance, in the case of Phuket, Thailand, various exogenous factors as well as local implementers – outside the designed programme of policy implementation – clearly have significant impacts on the policy implementation outcomes. At the same time, the use of the conceptual framework suggested that policy evaluation and revision, as well as more participatory and consultative processes, can help to improve the success of policy implementation.

The complex and dynamic nature of public policy, the tourism industry and implementation processes mean that there probably is no definitive answer to successful tourism policy implementation. It is argued that the model developed to understand tourism policy implementation performed well and has real potential value for other researchers. Perhaps, adding a box labelled "adaptive policy process" might further highlight the adaptive management processes involved in tourism policy implementation in the dynamic developing world context. Nevertheless, this is not proposed as it can easily be understood from the existing conceptual framework. The framework is commended to other researchers as a contribution to the bodies of theory related to tourism policy and to tourism in developing countries.

11.7 METHODOLOGY FOR STUDYING TOURISM POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

This section discusses the overall methodological paradigm and specific methods that may be appropriate for studying tourism policy implementation.

11.7.1 The methodological paradigm

This study demonstrates that tourism policy implementation is not only politically but also institutionally and socio-culturally specific. Any paradigmatic approach that recognises the relevant complexities, external environments and socio-cultural contexts in the real world will appropriately facilitate the study of this topic.

Constructivism was adopted in this study as it was considered important to see truths as created by the subjects' interactions with the world and their own perspectives on them (Gray, 2004). The study also used this perspective as it focuses on culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of society (Crotty, 1998:67). This

paradigm also pays attention to social reality rather than the natural world, reflecting the distinctiveness of humans against the natural order (Bryman, 2001; Holiday, 2002). In practice constructivism helps to generate common interpretations by individuals and groups that help to understand the institutional and socio-cultural factors affecting tourism policy implementation. It is very different from scientific and objectivist paradigms such as positivism that see social phenomena in similar ways to natural science, with social life explained in the same way as natural phenomena (May, 2001).

For this study, it is believed that the chosen constructivism paradigmatic approach enhanced understanding of the nature of social reality and, in particular, of the complex and iterative processes of tourism policy implementation. At the same time, it may be valuable to assess the topic from other paradigms and using other methods, in part in order to further verify the validity of the findings.

11.7.2 The methods

It is contended that the dynamic and complex nature of tourism policy implementation lends itself to the adoption of qualitative research methods. This study has used a wide variety of qualitative techniques, which provided rich data and were important in triangulation (Punch, 1998). However, while the techniques of direct and participant observation were used, they were not central to the study, although they generated extra information as part of the case study data collection (Yin, 1994) and they aided in methodological and data triangulation. Based on the lessons learnt from conducting this study, it is felt that it would have been useful to have conducted more participant observation work as this would have assisted the researcher in understanding and explaining the human actions in the social scene (May, 2001). However, it should be noted that this technique can be costly, time-consuming and demanding, such as in terms of gaining access through the gatekeepers that are characteristic of Thai institutions, particularly when the researcher is largely an outsider with no internal connection other than being a university lecturer in Phuket.

Among other techniques, the study adopted semi-structured interviews as the main technique for collecting qualitative data, which provided fairly rich and comprehensive data (Silverman, 2005) about the complex political and socio-cultural contexts of tourism policy implementation. Individual, face-to-face interviews were found to have been a good way of accessing people's perceptions and meanings related to their constructions of social reality (Punch, 1998). In the context of Thai society it may well be less useful to attempt to use focus group interactions to collect data on the

study's topic, because people are likely to be reluctant to express their own personal views, especially if they are critical views. In Thailand the traditions and culture mean that people tend to avoid confrontation and conflicts, to accept status, power and hierarchy and to emphasise social harmony and smoothing (Komin, 1990; Boyle, 1998; Bechtel and Apakupakul, 1999; Pornpitakpan, 2000). This restriction is a pity as, in other contexts, this technique can stimulate people to make explicit their views, perceptions and motives, and it can be very flexible, aid recall, and facilitate cumulative and elaborative discussion (Gray, 2004:177). Fontana and Frey (1994) stress that focus group discussions depend on group culture and dynamics. It is important to note that in evaluating these different methods, the main contention is not to illustrate if one produces better 'truth' than others, but to explain their strengths and weaknesses for producing social knowledge, especially in researching tourism policy implementation in a developing world context.

11.8 LIMITATIONS AND STRENGTHS OF THE STUDY AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Consideration is given now to aspects of the study that worked well and those that worked less well. Suggests are also provided on future directions for research on tourism policy implementation, based on lessons learnt.

11.8.1 Limitations

The study faced some practical difficulties due to the sensitivity of the topic under examination, which is clearly a delicate issue in the Thai socio-cultural context. This meant that the researcher felt constrained about asking a direct question relevant to the issues of patron-client relations and corruption, despite these being features of Thai political, governmental and business arenas that are regularly noted in the media. The indirect questions on this topic inevitably produced some responses that were less helpful, but it is felt this was inevitable and unavoidable. Another issue was the fact that the researcher is not seen as an insider in the case study area, despite being Thai and working there for several years, but not being born or resident long-term in Phuket and thus not having extensive familial and social contacts there. This probably led to occasional difficulties in gaining access to a few respondents and to some official and private documents, although the researcher only failed eventually to secure an interview with one targeted respondent (Phuket Town's Mayor). This also limited access to official meetings, although this was not intended to be a major part of the study

354

methodology. Overall, it is believed that with more insider or internal connections, easier access and faster responses would have been provided.

Another limitation was that ideally more participant observation would have been used, as undoubtedly this would have provided valuable insights into policy implementation "on the ground". More such observation would have been undertaken if there had not been tight time constraints. Finally, more direct attention might have been applied to the backward mapping approach, as a more consistent focus on this might have uncovered more 'truths' relating to the implementation of tourism policies at the local level. Influenced by Recesso (1999), this would have involved the collection of more local level data related to the local environments in which tourism policy is implemented. Nevertheless, much attention was paid to explaining variations between policy intent and local adaptation based on the local characteristics of tourism and society in Phuket and the in-depth views of local actors.

11.8.2 Strengths of the study

As previously discussed, this study has various strengths. For example, it represents an integration of ideas from several disciplinary fields in order to understand the research topic. The conceptual framework developed in the study has proven to be very useful in evaluating all three case study policy issues. Its themes and detailed elements also contributed to the meticulous research approach and methods used to study the practice of tourism policy implementation. The framework also illustrates the importance of feedback for the top-down approach, and it also allows for the backward mapping of a bottom-up approach to the study of policy implementation. Further, it recognises the local, institutional and socio-cultural roles and characteristics that have not always been given sufficient attention in tourism policy research. Consequently, it was possible to explore the relationships between policy implementation, the specific Thai case, and the wider context of developing countries. The framework also demonstrates the fact that tourism policy implementation is dynamic, complex and iterative. Moreover, it is believed that the framework can be replicated in studies by other researchers evaluating tourism policies and policy implementation.

The adopted philosophy, research strategies, approaches and methods that were linked together also contributed to a systematic approach to the research. The multiple methods used also allowed for research triangulation in various ways, thus adding to the reliability and validity of the research. The fact that both top-down and bottom-up perspectives were integrated into the approach also clearly enhances the research and

brings new ideas for the body of tourism theory. Further, evidence from the study findings adds support to the value of backward mapping and of adaptive perspectives on tourism policy implementation. The use of the three different tourism-related policy issues also added a comparative dimension to the research and enabled the framework to be applied in differing contexts. In sum, it can be said that the development of the conceptual framework and the chosen methodology assisted the study to meet the overall research aim and more specific objectives. It will also put a new spotlight on the under-researched topic of tourism policy implementation.

11.8.3 Future research directions

A number of suggestions for future research are made in order to strengthen subsequent work on tourism policy implementation. First, it is considered important that more attention is paid to tourism policy implementation as this was shown to be a clear research gap, and there are notable areas that seem ripe for further assessment, notably the practices on the ground linked to broad theories and concepts concerning the policy process. This topic deserves more study when tourism is the world's largest industry and it is undergoing rapid, dynamic, at times ill-considered and uncontrolled development (Hall and Page, 2000). Attempts should also be made to understand more fully the backward mapping of the bottom-up approach to policy applications in tourism, a concept that has not previously been considering in this field and has not been widely applied more generally. Backward mapping mechanisms in tourism policy clearly can help to explain the relationships between local characteristics, policy variations and policy intent, including in developing countries that usually have a traditional top-down approach. And hybrid theories may offer even more potential for tourism scholarship.

Second, it would be valuable to undertake studies of tourism policy implementation that adopt a comparative, cross cultural approach between the developed and developing worlds, and between different areas or countries (Younis, 1990). In fact, it would be beneficial simply to undertake another case study in a developing country, for comparative purposes. Finally, further research could consider tourism policy implementation between different geographic and administrative scales, notably at national and local levels, so as to examine whether there are different processes and problems at each scale. To advance understanding and theoretical development in this field it is necessary to review theoretical ideas and also to base the work in studies of real world practices.

11.9 CONCLUSION

This study critically examined the implementation of tourism policies and regulations in a developing world context and it has developed a theoretical framework on this issue which was then used to meet three specific research objectives. Following the first research objective, the study has reviewed key literature from various fields, notably policy studies, tourism studies and third world development. It has shown that (1) little has been said about tourism policy implementation in developing countries; (2) there is a prevalent top-down approach to policy implementation in which governments prioritise policy intent and its directives; (3) local, institutional, socio-cultural and other external characteristics have considerable impacts on implementation outcomes in developing countries; and (4) tourism policy implementation is complex and dynamic.

Related to the second objective, the study developed a conceptual framework linking public policy and implementation, tourism industry and development, and the developing world context in a way that helps to explain tourism policy implementation in developing nations. The conceptual framework was based on western literature and developing world empirical practices, with the intention that it would have general applicability for all three tourism policies examined in the study due to its flexible and interactive nature. Its key characteristics are that it incorporates both top-down and bottom-up approaches, as well as allowing for the dynamic relationships associated with this social phenomenon. It also accommodates adaptive and flexible responses to tourism policy and planning. A backward mapping approach that values local, institutional and human characteristics in policy implementation is facilitated in the model. The framework's flexible and iterative nature is believed to have potential value for other researchers examining policy implementation in other case studies.

To meet the final research objective the study has applied the framework to evaluate three different types of tourism policies in Phuket, Thailand. Assessment of the views of relevant stakeholders shows that (1)Thailand has a centralised public administrative system which rarely encourages local participation in tourism policy-making and implementation. It indicates that (2) under global economic pressure Thailand focuses strongly on economic priorities and that this can often weaken effective policy implementation in certain policy fields. It is suggested that (3) the institutional context in this case study is complex and is strongly influenced by traditional, hierarchical, and bureaucratic processes. Further, (4) the local socio-cultural characteristics are influential, including cultural characteristics that promote submissive attitudes and inactivity, patron-client relations, and an emphasis on gratitude and social

harmony. These have been very significant factors promoting non-implementation, and they can sometimes work against local needs and adversely affect economic performance and personal benefits. It is clear that tourism implementation in developing countries is complex and that it is difficult to achieve without a more insightful comprehension of the surrounding environment.

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367

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Executive Dean of Faculty
Professor Christine Booth

Sheffield Hallam University
School of Sport and Leisure Management
City campus, Howard St. Sheffield
SI 1WB, UK

lh June 2003

Dear

I am writing to request your agreement to be interviewed by me in connection with my PhD research at Sheffield Hallam University, UK.

My PhD research is on *'Obstacles to the implementation of tourism policies and regulations in Phuket, Thailand'.* The research examines the sources of any gaps between selected tourism policies and regulations and their implementation. The intention is to develop a theoretical perspective on this issue that can be applied in other contexts.

The research is sponsored by the Rajahbat Institute, Phuket. I am employed by the Institute as a Lecturer in Tourism Management. My academic supervisors at Sheffield Hallam University are Dr. Bill Bramwell and Dr. Philip Long.

I am writing to you as my research depends on interviews with key actors who are affected by tourism-related policies and regulations. I am interested in three areas of tourism-related policy. These are: Beach Safety; the Enhancement and Conservation of the National Environment (Protected Areas in Phuket); and the Better Social Order or Night Entertainment policy. I recognise that you may be affected by only one or two of these policies, and I am interested in your opinions on that policy or policies. I would be very grateful if you would agree to be interviewed. I anticipate an interview lasting no longer than about one hour.

The research findings will be used only for academic research purposes. The names of all participants in the research will remain confidential and you can be assured that your name and your personal views will not be revealed at any time to a third party. The tapes of interviews will also be destroyed following their transcription.

Thank you for your attention. I will be telephoning you within a week to discuss this and, if appropriate, to arrange a meeting.

Yours sincerely,

(Ms. Oratai Krutwaysho)
PhD candidate
School of Sport and Leisure Management
Sheffield Hallam University, UK

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I am undertaking research for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Sheffield Hallam University in the UK. The research is entitled *"Obstacles to the Implementation of Tourism Policies and Regulations in Phuket, Thailand".* It examines the sources of any gaps between selected tourism policies and regulations and their being put into practice. The study looks at three areas of tourism policy.

1. Beach Safety policy

2. The Enhancement and Conservation of the National Environment (Protected Areas in Phuket)

3. The Better Social Order Policy (Night Entertainment policy).

I understand that you may be affected by only one or two of these policies and I am interested in your opinions on that policy or policies.

Statement of Confidentiality

The research is purely for academic research purposes. The names and opinions of all participants in the research will always be kept confidential. You can be assured that your name and your personal views will not be revealed at any time to a third party. The interview should take no longer than one hour. With your permission, I will use a tape recorder, again the tapes are for the purpose only of academic analysis. All tapes and participant's names will be destroyed after the transcribing process. The production of this study will be in English and the translation will be undertaken with the assistance of two academics from the English Department at Chiangmai University.

Thank you for your time.

Ms. Oratai Krutwaysho